A tug-of-war: power, the media and a politician

An analysis of the media content of two German newspapers from 2003 to 2012 regarding coverage of the political career of Christian Wulff

Master-Thesis

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Abstract

This study aimed to explore the instruments and resources of power displayed by the media in their coverage, using a case study approach. For a period of nine years, media coverage of a German tabloid and a quality newspaper about the politician Christian Wulff was analysed with the help of a Content Analysis. Additionally, a Critical Discourse Analysis was conducted during Wulff's loan affair in 2011 and 2012, aiming to reveal the media's role in his political downfall. The broad findings suggest that the media have many powerful resources at hand while shaping their coverage, and that they are well aware of their strength. There were striking differences between the reports issued by the two media, which can partly be explained by the different self-concepts of the two media, and their different target audiences. The tabloid was much more deeply involved in the case and pushed either Wulff's rise or downfall with tactical moves. Although the politician made mistakes and weakened his position, this study concluded that both media exceeded their authority, appearing as central actors and moral judges, and caused the politician's resignation.

Keywords
media power, Bildzeitung, Süddeutsche Zeitung, Christian Wulff, Critical Discourse Analysis, Content Analysis
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1. Introduction

It is an unambiguous fact that on February 17, 2012, Christian Wulff resigned from his office as President of Germany. The circumstances surrounding his resignation are, however, more ambiguous. There are, for instance, contrasting opinions as to why the politician stepped down; Christian Wulff said he resigned because he had lost the public's trust, but the public prosecution indicated he withdrew because he was being investigated for accepting and granting advantages. Moreover, the media portrayed him as morally unacceptable as President and he therefore had to resign, but others considered he had been the victim of a ten week media campaign aimed at overthrowing him. The role of the media in the so called ‘Wulff case’ is especially controversial. Media scholar and freelance journalist Marlis Prinzing described the coverage on Christian Wulff as a tightrope walk between perfectly right and legitimate, and nasty. Many German media organisations presented themselves as advocates for the freedom of the press and as the unyielding Fourth Estate, closely monitoring the activities of those in power. On the other hand, critics such as Michael Götschenberg described the media as an institution that had exceeded its authority on the ‘hunt’ for Wulff (2013: 11) and more than 50 percent of the citizens questioned in a Emnid survey in January 2012 blamed the media for being unfair to Wulff and for not providing balanced information.

This thesis will begin by considering how Christian Wulff’s resignation arose and why there are such opposing views on his withdrawal and the role played by the media. About ten weeks before Christian Wulff resigned, in December 2011, Germany’s largest tabloid ‘Bildzeitung’ (BZ) published a report that the politician had signed a private loan contract from a business contact in 2008 to avoid high interest rates for his private residence. He was reproached for accepting advantages. Just before Christmas, Wulff said in a statement that he should have avoided this arrangement and he apologised. This could have marked the end of the affair, but further revelations about Wulff’s close ties to rich businessmen emerged. The media asked, how did he benefit from these ties? And how did the businessmen benefit from association with him? It was the beginning of a flood of media reports; all German media, national and local, quality and tabloid, public and private media organisations joined BZ in their coverage about the politician. The media made it their business to carefully examine his past, searching for all kinds of irregularities and gifts that he had accepted, and they found plenty of evidence against Wulff. For example, he spent holidays with his entrepreneur friends, as a student he had possessed a Rolex watch although his parents were not wealthy and he was often seen at parties and receptions with his wife. He was called the “German Berlusconi” (der Freitag), a “Schnorrer” (Lausitzer Rundschau), “a President with a high cringe factor” (Focus).

The loan transgression was expanded by additional media coverage when it became known in early January 2012 that Christian Wulff had tried to intervene in the tabloid coverage.

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4 Kolhoff, Werner (2012): http://www.lr-online.de/meinungen/tschuldigung-Volk;art1086;3631423
He left a voice message on the voice mailbox of Kai Diekmann, Editor-in-chief of the tabloid, just before the first publication of his private loan contract. Through detours and in a fragmented manner, this information reached the public. As the whole content of this message was never released, there is controversy over Wulff intended to achieve through his call. According to him, he only wanted to postpone the publication, but the tabloid indicated he wanted to suppress it. In this way, the tabloid became the second “protagonist” of the affair, wrote the newspaper “taz”\(^6\). Wulff’s call was viewed as an attack against the freedom of the press, which was not only aimed against the tabloid\(^7\), according to the German Association of Journalists. Subsequently, the affair took on a “momentum” among media people, claimed the Swiss newspaper “Neue Zürcher Zeitung”, that had nothing to do with questions of substance anymore\(^8\).

However, there is no doubt that, apart from the questionable role of the media in the affair, different factors contributed to Wulff’s political downfall; first and foremost, Wulff himself. Götschenberg wrote in his book ‘The bad Wulff?’, that Christian Wulff himself gave cause for legitimate criticism, offending the German sense of justice and making too many mistakes whilst trying to handle the mass media (Götschenberg 2013: 11).

The Wulff affair was a highly controversial topic and was much discussed in politics, society and the media for a period of over two months, revealing the relationship between politics and the media in Germany. Hence, it is an attractive subject for different strands of study, especially media research, as the event would not have taken place without the media’s revelations. Questions are raised over whether the media fulfilled their democratic role or whether they exceeded their power. Richard Gutjahr, a journalist and blogger, called the Wulff affair “a struggle for power” between the politician and the media (2012), and it is precisely this tug-of-war for power which will be researched in this thesis. The main research questions formed to investigate this event are: ‘Which role did the media play in Christian Wulff’s political downfall?’ and ‘Which instruments and power resources were at the disposal of the media and how did they use their power in the media coverage?’

The national tabloid BZ, with a daily readership of around 2.8 million, is synonymous with the Wulff affair because it was the first organisation to publish the details of Wulff’s private loan contract and it continued to actively investigate Wulff’s past during the whole period of December 2011 to February 2012. A few months after Wulff’s resignation, two journalists from BZ were given one of the most important German awards for journalists, the Henri-Nannen-Preis, for investigative journalism in the Wulff affair, which was, again, widely and controversially debated. BZ was recognised for this research because the tabloid organisation did not only monitor the events, it actively participated in the situation with the publication of Wulff’s call to its editor-in-chief. It was also selected for another reason, namely that the tabloid was said to have a close relationship with the politician before December 13, 2011 and reported the Wulff family favourably (Goethe Institut 2012). Thus, it will be interesting to discover how the tabloid’s transition from favourable to critical coverage occurred. The national quality newspaper ‘Süddeutsche Zeitung’

\(^6\) http://www.taz.de/85644/
\(^7\) http://www.djv-niedersachsen.de/startseite/ueber-uns/pressebereich/detail/article/303.html
\(^8\) http://www.nzz.ch/aktuell/startseite/zur-strecke-gebracht-1.15125869
(SZ), with a daily circulation of 1.4 million, was chosen as the counterpart of BZ for this analysis. It is assumed that the quality organisation reported the Wulff affair in a completely different and more balanced manner because it aims to reach a different audience and covers less sensational events. Moreover, it was chosen because it did not stand out as an actor during this period, making it a suitable form of media for a comparative analysis.

Returning to the research questions of this thesis, when aiming to reveal the tools of power used by the media, there will be a strong focus on the media coverage. Journalists and editors shape their reporting by different means and media text is not produced by one person; on the contrary, numerous decisions and selection processes precede the final journalistic product, allowing the media to control the outcome of their production. Firstly, it is decided whether an issue will be covered at all; afterwards, journalists must decide how it is reported and in which order events are presented. Then choices are made over which details to exclude, from which perspective the event is presented, with which words and according to which sources. The theoretical framework will break down the different steps of decision-making in journalistic production that precede the final product. The identified steps of decision-making are then put into practice and, in retrospect, with the help of content analysis and a critical discourse analysis, this thesis aims to compare how the two media shaped their content in different ways, thus how they exerted their power through media texts before the affair was revealed, during the whole period of the transgressions and after Wulff's resignation. This thesis thus seeks to understand the media's instruments of power and how the media perceived and applied their own power towards Wulff.

Since the role of the media is controversially debated and the question is whether they exceeded or fulfilled their role, it is an important topic for society and journalism research. Moreover, the topic of this thesis is not only of relevance to a German audience, but is also a subject of discussion for other democracies with a free media, as it deals with the powers and freedoms of the press. As Christian Wulff's affair occurred recently, it has not yet been researched to any great extent; in particular, there has been no comprehensive comparative study, which is the aim of this thesis. Comprising analysis of 304 texts over a period of nine years using two different methods, this research aims to make meaningful statements about the particularities of this case study and power relations between media and politics in Germany.

This work consists of eight chapters. Chapters two and three provide the scholarly background for this study. Chapter four addresses the research questions and hypotheses and Chapter five explains the study design. It is followed by an analysis of the results (Chapter 6) and a discussion (Chapter 7). This thesis ends with a conclusion and further perspectives for research (Chapter 8).

2. Same event, different stories: theoretical reflections on decision-making processes in journalistic production at the macro-level

The power struggle between the media and the politician Christian Wulff is the topic of this thesis, which aims to reveal how power is applied and reflected in journalistic products, hence in media
texts. With this aim in mind, this chapter seeks to answer the following questions: ‘What is power?’; ‘In which areas do the media exert power and influence?’ and ‘How can this power be revealed from a theoretical viewpoint?’

Media texts are not a one-step phenomenon, they emerge as a process and different production steps lead to the final journalistic product. Hence, this chapter aims to break up the final product, the media text, by dividing it into these different steps, based on previous research of authors such as Lippmann, Entman, Fairclough, van Dijk (1921, 1993, 1989, 2004) and others. The different steps build upon one another and are mutually dependent. At each step in the process, journalists can select between different alternatives and decide how they shape their story – they have freedom to act and, consequently, power.

The purpose of this chapter is not to reveal human imperfections or to condemn journalistic performance. On the contrary, the objective is to identify those steps where journalists can choose, consciously or unconsciously, from different options regarding how to cover an event. It starts at a rather abstract level, where journalists decide whether a story should be covered at all. In this sequence, each step builds on the previous steps and becomes more specific until the media content is broken down to hidden ideologies and values that underlie the media texts. On the basis of these theoretical steps of decision-making, including conceptual approaches such as gatekeeping, news values, framing and objectivity, the criteria for the content analysis (CA) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) will later be developed with the goal of drawing conclusions on how SZ and BZ perceived and exercised their power on different levels towards the politician Christian Wulff.

As power displayed in media texts is at the core of this study, it is necessary to begin with a definition of power.

2.1. More than pure information: the display of power in media discourse
Although power is an omnipresent social phenomenon, there is significant disagreement about its definition. A general definition, based on Foucault's work from 1976, says that power describes the relationship between individuals or groups, where one party influences the actions of the other party. Power includes the notion of a particular group having greater control of certain key resources than other groups. Hence, power always means inequality. Power is also connected to freedom, as those in power have the ability to decide between different alternatives. In his Encyclopaedia of Power, Dowding points out that power is not necessarily negative and related to abuse: “Where agents have interests that are at variance with each other, they come into conflict and power plays out to the advantage of the strongest. Others see power more in consensual terms where working together leads people to achieve more than they could on their own” (Dowding 2011: 24). Yet, power is never static, as it is the consequence of a dynamic process of carrying out conflicts and disputes over the control of resources. The government, for example, can wield power, but according to Foucault's “Microphysics of power”, power is a social network, that penetrates and encompasses all social relations and there is, consequently, no single central authority of power (Foucault 1976: 114).

Mayr distinguishes two strands of power research: power as domination and power as
persuasion (2008: 12ff). The first strand, power as domination, focuses on specific organisations and institutions of power that use discourse to legitimate themselves and justify their actions; examples of such institutions that play a significant role in reproducing or changing ideological relations are the media, the family, the legal system and the Church (Mayr 2008: 13). Legitimation of the demands of such institutions implies the de-legitimation of less powerful groups or institutions. Van Dijk for instance showed in his article “Power and the news media” that the powerful groups, white authorities in his research, did not only use the media to secure their powerful position, but that the demands of the opposing group, in this case ethnic minorities, were presented as less legitimate (1995).

Power as persuasion places a strong emphasis on strategies and techniques of power, trying to understand how “dominant groups in society succeed in persuading subordinate groups to accept their own moral, political and cultural values and their institutions through ideological means” (Mayr 2008: 13). Persuasion and thus the exercising of power works because dominant cultural groups operate through the means of language by creating discourse and representing it as natural. Those dominant groups successfully rule by consent; the more naturalised and commonsensical the discourse appears, the greater their success (Mayr 2008: 14). Such dominant groups are, however, only temporarily and partially successful as there are numerous groups in society struggling for power. Dominant groups therefore need to work to maintain power in a manner such that large groups of society internalise their values and morals.

Three different groups play a role in this thesis, namely politicians, represented by Christian Wulff, the media and their audience, all viewed from the media's perspective. Each of these groups controls certain key resources that make them powerful. At the same time, each is also limited in their ability to act because of being controlled by the power of another group. To conclude, the respective groups all occupy an area of ambivalence between exercising power themselves and being used to wield power for powerful groups. The interrelations between the groups will be outlined briefly as follows.

The mass media's power over politicians comprises their disposal of two key resources: firstly, they have an audience. They can reach more people than the average person or company, thus, what they say carries weight. Secondly, the media can shape their products. For instance, journalists have the ability to decide whether a story is covered or not and, if so, they decide how the story is told. Because of these abilities, the media are of particular interest to politicians. Politicians in a democracy need the attention of the public, their voters, and the media are the connecting link for politicians to address the public. In his article “Best frenemies: politicians and the press” Runciman not only recognises the media's power to keep a politician on the media agenda, but also to suppress information and shut out competitors (2011). Political actors do not only have to react to media issues to respond to the public's needs, “it also stimulates them to embrace these issues as soon as possible. Since the media are often their sole means to reach out to the public (Pritchard 1992) and since the media’s issue attention cycle is short (Downs 1972), political actors tend to react almost immediately” (Walgrave and Van Alest 2004: 16). Even though journalists should be objective, politicians know that in the end the journalist decides on the coverage and on the way the politician is framed and presented. It is understandable that
politicians aim to depict themselves to the public in the best light possible, but it also means that
this desire for positive coverage influences the relationship and exacerbates the politicians’
dependency.

“Thus, the kind of relationships politicians develop and maintain with journalists has a
significant impact on their chances of gaining media attention, being able to
“speak to” the public and potentially influencing the debate. [...] Politicians
recognize that poor media skills, including relationship management with journalists,
can be detrimental to their political success.” (Ross 2010: 274)

By asking or avoiding particular questions and by leading the discussion, journalists can exercise
additional power.

As scholars such as Perloff and van Aelst (1998, 2009) highlight, politicians also control
key resources that allow them to assert influence over journalists, namely information and
popularity. Journalists, in order to be competitive in their business, always need to know what is
going on in the world and they need first-hand information. They also need sources they can
quote and rely on to be considered trustworthy and credible. “Sources, particularly those in
government, are the lifeblood of news” observes Perloff (1998: 223). Consequently, and also
because of constraints of time, journalists benefit from personally knowing politicians whom they
can easily contact for a statement. Politicians, of course, know the needs of journalists. By
refusing to give an interview or keeping a journalist waiting, politicians can put pressure on
journalists and therefore assert power. On the other hand, by privileging particular media outlets
with exclusive information, politicians have reasonable hope to believe that they can influence
how the debate is led and how they are covered as a part of the debate.

Thus, journalists and politicians both control key resources such as public attention or
information (Strömbäck and Nord 2006: 148). Gans describes that relationship of
interdependence between journalists and politicians as a dance, “for sources seek access to
journalists, and journalists seek access to sources. Although it takes two to tango, either sources
or journalists can lead” (2004: 116). In van Aelst's view, the question who is leading the dance
undermines the fact that there is interdependence and that although there is a leading partner,
both dancers mutually influence each other (2009: 1). Moreover, the influence and the power that
both the media and the politicians wield is unstable and varies depending on the cultural
background, the situation and the individuals involved. Ross observes that this dance is a “rather
fluid affair, with partners changing direction at short notice, positions negotiated with varying
degrees of clumsiness and poise, but all dancers claiming to show the best footwork” (Ross
2010: 288).

Politicians and the media share common ground in that they need the public to safeguard
their future. Politicians are elected by the citizens, thus they have an interest in maintaining a
good relationship with the population and must address its needs in their political programmes.
The media, except public service media, comprises businesses that need to sell their products to
the general public in order to survive; they rely on sales figures. If the public does not buy their
goods anymore, media organisations have to re-approach the interests of their audience and
shape their product according to their consumers’ preferences. Moreover, citizens are benefiting
from the age of the Internet, as it allows them to address and criticise politicians and media
outlets faster and more directly. However, the public's influence on politicians and the media is
time-lagged, as politicians and media organisations usually act first and only then can the public
can exert its influence by reacting to the previous action. Thus, the public's power lies more in
agreeing or disagreeing with the performance of politicians and the media (Jäckel 2008: 240). In
turn, this shows that, in the majority of cases, politicians and the media have the power to
determine the topics in which the public should be interested. Presumably, the media in particular
have a large impact on what reaches the attention of the audience, as they also channel political
communication. Stolte points out that in a well-functioning democracy, these dependencies and
differences in power between politicians, the media and society are desirable because they
permit mutual control of each group and, in the ideal case, the result is that none of the groups
dominate the others (Stolte 2001: 62).

Christian Wulff and/or his advisers were, apparently, aware of his need to be popular
among the public and the media's power to achieve that, as he made some personal stories
available to popular press such as BZ. BZ, on the other hand, benefited from exclusive stories
and unique knowledge about some parts of Wulff's life. For quite a while, the power play between
the two parties seemed to be well-balanced until, and all of a sudden to the outside observer, the
tide turned and the struggle for power between the two became evident. By analysing the texts
produced by BZ and comparing them to those of SZ, this thesis aims to learn more about the
relationship between Wulff and the tabloid and Wulff and the media in general. Another focal point
are the so called “underhand tactics” (Ross 2010: 274) of the media, and the means of editors
and journalists to shape a story, displaying conscious decision-making and the exerting of
influence. This leads to the next sections, which address these means, previously mentioned as
steps of decision-making, beginning with the media’s power to decide whether a story is at all
newsworthy.

2.2. To become or not to become: gatekeeping in journalism

The first step in the sequence of decision-making processes in journalistic production lies with the
selection of stories, which events will become a story and which not. Journalists are at the source
of information: media organisations receive information from different sources such as news
agencies and press officers etc., and every day they cope with immense amounts of information.
On behalf of their audiences, journalists must decide on and select what is relevant and important
to them, thus what is newsworthy. By holding the power to decide on the newsworthiness of
events, journalists become “the filters for either inclusion or exclusion of information” (Zelizer et
al. 2010: 50), also referred to as gatekeepers. White was the first to apply the term to journalism
in 1950, viewing media workers as controlling the gates of information (Zelizer et al. 2010: 50) by
making choices about what deserves coverage and what is left out. This inevitably raises a
question over why journalists choose certain stories and which set of criteria leads them in this
selection process. To judge the newsworthiness of stories, journalists apply news values, defined
by Zelizer and Allan as “a subjective set of criteria that journalists use to assess the
newsworthiness of events or topics” (2010: 89).

In order to understand what determines the news, so-called news values, it is necessary
to first establish what is meant by ‘news’. Harrison’s general definition of news is “what is judged to be newsworthy by journalists, who exercise their news sense within the constraints of the news organizations within which they operate” (2006: 13). However, she points out that there is more than one definition of the term according to who is elaborating on it, whether academics, practitioners or ordinary citizens. It remains, though, that news is a subjective selection of world events and news will vary according to the journalist and the organisation for which he/she works. Harrison adds furthermore that there is not only one form of ‘news journalism’, but several such as tabloids, quality, documentary, civic etc., which emphasises once again the subjectivity and actual indefinability of the concept, as the journalist will adapt the news to the target audience and to the required type of news journalism (2006: 13).

Even though the idea of ‘news values’ is a concept difficult to grasp, the selection of news is, according to Kepplinger and Ehmg, a non-random decision, based upon “the characteristics of the objects to be selected and selection criteria” (Kepplinger et al. 2006: 26). The characteristics of news stories are so-called news factors; for example, the number of people involved in an incident or the degree of damage. Unlike the news factors, news values denote journalistic judgement about the significance of news factors; thus the selection of inclusion and exclusion, what will be included in media reports or excluded from the media coverage. Inclusion and exclusion are thus journalistic decisions about what is important and worthy of cover and what is not; subjective news values help them during the selection process. In her report “Newsrooms Go Online”, Singer states that the selection procedure is grounded on “the broad ethical norm of public service: The information […] should in some way contribute to our ability to be free and self-governing citizens” (Friend, Singer 2007: 29). Not all researchers are as idealistic about journalistic gatekeepers as Singer. O’Neill and Harcup point out that “[n]ews values are a slippery concept” (2009: 162), as they are socially constructed, they can change over time, there are no fixed rules of newsworthiness and journalists must develop a sense of determination regarding what will be news.

By identifying the news value of a story, the researcher receives more information on how the story was told instead of why it was told (O’Neill and Harcup 2009: 163). Although knowledge about the selection process of news might be incomplete, different scholars have developed theoretical criteria to explain journalistic choices in retrospect. News values shall be identified in this research using O’Neill and Harcup’s ten criteria of news selection. According to them, the more criteria are fulfilled, the more likely it is that an event will be covered. The authors’ list provides criteria that result from mainstream media research in the Western world, which makes them appropriate for this study in the German media.

“The Power Elite: Stories concerning powerful individuals, organisations or institutions.
Celebrity: Stories concerning people who are already famous.
Entertainment: Stories concerning sex, show business, human interest, animals, an unfolding drama, or offering opportunities for humorous treatment, entertaining photographs or witty headlines.
Surprise: Stories that have an element of surprise and/or contrast.
Bad News: Stories with particularly negative overtones, such as conflict or tragedy.
Good News: Stories with particularly positive overtones such as rescues and cures.
Magnitude: Stories that are perceived as sufficiently significant either in the numbers of people involved or in the potential impact.
Relevance: Stories about issues, groups and nations perceived to be relevant to the audience.
Follow-up: Stories about subjects already in the news.
Newspaper Agenda: Stories that set or fit the news organization's own agenda.”

Application of this list to the sample of this thesis will allow further conclusions on what the media consider to be newsworthy, so which stories pass the gate in which circumstances. It will reveal what was the main thrust of their coverage and which information about Wulff the media considered to be important for their readers to know. Originating from the assumption that the two media organisations have different news values and, hence, covered their stories about Christian Wulff in different ways, the question arises whether there is such thing as an objective reality and how objectivity can be applied in news reporting. Objectivity is the next of level of decision-making and the topic of the next subchapter.

2.3. Subjective objectivity in news reporting
It is the task of journalists to report the issues and the world as they are; this implies that journalists tell the truth. But what is the truth and is there such a thing as an objective truth? The previous elaborations on gatekeeping and news values have already shown that journalists assert an influential presence in the selection of stories. In his resignation speech, Christian Wulff said that the media coverage had hurt him and his wife (e.g. SZ 17.02.2012) and that he had a different view on events. Also, from just skimming a few texts from SZ and BZ, it is clear that there were huge differences in the coverage of the two organisation; hence, they also had different views on issues. This makes it worthwhile to look at the notion of objectivity in journalism and how it can be applied.

Viewed from a historic perspective, the 1920s marked the emergence of the objectivity debate. After journalists became alert to the danger of governments using the press for propaganda campaigns, for instance during World War I and II, and it became more common for press agents to present only a distorted version of the truth, there were growing demands for objective reporting in order to come closer to the truth (Zelizer, Allan 2010: 99). This debate then raised the question whether there is such a, thing as an absolute truth and according to Zelizer and Allan, the term was modified “to the capacity to report things as they ‘really are’ and rests on multiple adjacent values, including conformity with the facts, accuracy, and veracity of claims” (2010: 162). It also soon became clear that neutral, impartial and unbiased reporting is easier to define than to conduct in a socially constructed world, as, according to Berger, Luckmann and other social scientists, all our theoretical and scientific knowledge about the world as such and about ourselves is socially constructed:

“Social order is a human product, or, more precisely, an ongoing human production. It is produced by man in the course of his ongoing externalization.

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9 It will not be possible to research who played a role in the decision-making process to withhold or disseminate information about Christian Wulff and who, in the case of BZ, decided on the tone of coverage about Wulff. To make valid statements about such decision-making processes and different power levels in the newsroom, interviews with journalists and editors such as observations of routines in the newsroom would have been necessary. News values, however, can be identified by analysing and comparing news texts through the perspective of time, from the beginning of Wulff's political career until its end, and this might allow the researcher to draw some conclusions about gatekeeping and power levels in the German media.
Social order exists only as a product of human activity. Both in its genesis (social order is the result of past human activity) and its existence at any instant of time (social order exists only and insofar as human activity continues to produce it) it is a human product.” (Berger et al. 1966: 52)

Hence, depending on where, in which culture and under which circumstances a human being grew up, his/her view, perception and knowledge of the social world is determined by these factors; thus, perceptions of reality differ. Even facts and the “objectivity of the institutional world, however massive it may appear to the individual, is a humanly produced, constructed objectivity” (Berger et al. 1966: 60). Consequently, as facets of this social world in humanly produced media institutions, journalists do not deliberate over any objective standards or facts; it’s rather conventions that lead their routines (Lippmann 1921: Chapter 23).

Some less idealistic authors claim that the ideal of objectivity was only applied by media owners to earn more money in order to attract a greater readership and to not offend advertisers (Baker 1994: 29). Ward went further, as objectivity, in his opinion, is undesirable because it forces writers to use restricted formats and it constrains the whole idea of the free press, concluding that a “democracy is better served by a non-objective press where views compete in a marketplace of ideas” (2009: 302). Kim confirms Ward's opinion, as objectivity, from her viewpoint, does not only have negative consequences for journalists, but also for the audience, as objective reporting that neither highlights positive aspects nor deemphasises negative elements will “disassociate their readers from the public arena” (2012: 56).

Yet, objectivity is still a professional ideal in many journalistic cultures, aiming to legitimise journalists' claims to holding a professional status, although journalism does not, contrary to other professions, possess a body of knowledge that would justify such a claim (Schudson, Anderson 2009: 97). According to Schudson and Anderson, objectivity serves as both a strategy to fix journalism's professional borders and as a routine practice to justify the claim to professionalism. Ward's definition puts modern objectivity in more concrete terms and makes it more realisable: “[o]bjectivity is not the absence of interpretation. It is the testing of interpretations by the best available methods and restraining standards. Journalists are objective when they submit their writings to critical evaluation” (2004: 22). Using Ward's elaborations and definition, a newspaper has to make a clear distinction between opinionated texts, such as comments and editorials, and more sober texts such as news stories. In news stories, the expression of opinion has to be attributed to a source in either a direct quote or a paraphrase. The “rule of balance” (Ward 2004: 20) requires the presentation of all major viewpoints in a fair manner, even if that may harm the report. Considering Ward's definition of modern objectivity, this thesis intends to analyse how objective, balanced and critical reporting by BZ and SZ was about Christian Wulff before, during and after his loan affair. The research sample will be examined for different degrees of objectivity and whether there were examples of deliberately one-sided coverage, which will allow conclusions on how the media applied their power to shape stories.

An objective reality apparently does not exist and issues can be viewed from different perspectives. These perspectives are also known as frames, segments of the whole picture that highlight only parts of reality. The next section deals with these so called frames in media coverage, which marks the next step of decision-making and the exerting of influence and power.
2.4. Fragments of the big picture: news frames

Framing is an interdisciplinary field of research, used in many different areas such as economy, psychology, political and media science etc., but its growing popularity goes hand in hand with considerable inconsistencies in the theoretical framework of the concept. Entman consequently calls framing a “fractured paradigm” (1993: 51). Other scholars, however, do not agree with him in terms of naming and refer to the field as a theory or an approach. There are manifold definitions of framing, but as this research is carried out in the field of media sciences, it will focus on media frames and it will briefly touch on frames as a psychological concept.

Framing is based on the assumption that issues can be viewed from different perspectives. The media then presents only one or a few perspectives of an issue, which either leads the audience to the development of a particular approach towards an issue or results in the reorientation of their thinking towards that issue (Chong and Druckman 2007: 104). The media achieve such an effect by “select[ing] some aspects of a perceived reality and mak[ing] them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation” (Entman 1993: 52).

Nevertheless, frames are structures that lead the perception of reality “about what exists, what happens, and what matters” (Gitlin 1980: 6) and analysing them “offers a way to describe the power of a communicating text. Analysis of frames illuminates the precise way in which influence over a human consciousness is exerted by the transfer (or communication) of information from one location - such as a speech, utterance, news report, or novel - to that consciousness” (Entman 1993: 51). According to Entman, Matthes and Pellicano, a central organising idea or a specific way of presentation is at the core of frames (2009: 175). Frames can be seen as structures of salience and contextualisation, into which events or problems can be fitted (Entman 1993: 53). By presenting a problem in a text in a certain way, thus with a specific frame, the author of the text may influence the perception of the social reality of the reader on that topic. As a result, the framed text has the power to shape the reality of the reader and a frame analysis can provide insights into how journalists adjust or structure events around a central organising idea (Entman 1993: 54).

From a psychological point of view, a frame is an individual cognitive structure, which helps to organise the processing of information (Minsky 1974: 2). According to Minsky, an individual frame is a data structure connecting already stored information with new incoming information (1974: 2). Hence, individual frames help human brains to understand, interpret and stereotype new impressions and to match them to existing schemas. Taking the two conceptions of framing into consideration, namely individual and media frames, they are both mental structures of the brain and a communicative device, constantly applied in the media discourse. Consequently, media frames work best in the domain of socially shared beliefs and values, connecting swiftly with people’s prior knowledge as “[t]hey are pervasive, and are often taken for granted. They set the parameters of a broad framework within which news discourse is
constructed, transmitted, and developed" (Pan and Kosicki 1993: 57).

Since the existence of frames throughout media coverage is widely believed, it is then a question of how media frames work and what their traits are. Media frames have several characteristics, but only the most relevant to this research will be used. One of their features is their ability to simplify complex issues and package information by emphasising some elements of a perceived reality, whereas others are completely left out: “The media do not serve as a mirror, reflecting all reality […] the media serve as a window through which media consumers see only a small segment of reality” (Paxton, 2004: 44). Although just presented in segments, media frames are used in such a way that the world beyond direct experience looks natural (Gitlin 1980: 6). Another feature is that framing works through the journalist’s angle on a story, the choice of sources and photos, “subtle changes in the wording of the description of a situation [that] might affect how audience members interpret this situation” (Scheufele 2000: 309). This goes supports Gerald Seymour’s often quoted statement “One man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter”, meaning that, based on different choices of words, a person or event might be perceived and valued in different ways. Furthermore, according to Entman et al., “[a] frame repeatedly invokes the same objects and traits, using identical or synonymous words and symbols in a series of similar communications that are concentrated in time. These frames function to promote an interpretation of a problematic situation or actor and (implicit or explicit) support of a desirable response, often along with a moral judgement that provides an emotional charge” (2009: 177).

Lastly, although frames appear natural and taken for granted, they are not fixed and everlasting, but frequently contested and renegotiated (Scheufele 1999: 106).

Elaborations on how framing works lead to the question of how journalists chose their perspective and which factors influence them to frame issues in a certain way. There is little specific knowledge on what influences journalistic decisions, but guidance may be extracted from previous research. Scheufele indicates at least five factors that potentially influence journalistic processes: “social norms and values, organizational pressures and constraints, pressures of interest groups, journalistic routines, and ideological or political orientations of journalists” (Scheufele 1999: 109). Thus, the application of different frames can be expected not only in distinct cultures, but also in the same culture and even in the same organisation. Based on his own writings and the work of authors such as van Dijk and Edelman, Scheufele concludes that these five factors can be grouped into two categories, namely frames of professional and social routines as well as ideological frames (Scheufele 1999: 110).

Framing is, according to McCombs, no diabolic process (2003: 2). If implemented unconsciously and/or as a measure of routine, it is not intended to show a biased version of reality, as “[f]rames enable journalists to process large amounts of information quickly and routinely: to recognize it as information, to assign it to cognitive categories, and to package it for efficient relay for their audience” (Gitlin 1980: 7). Nevertheless, media frames are, even if unintentionally, a strong factor of influence on the audience’s perception of the world: “the mass media are, to say the least, a significant social force in the forming and delimiting of public

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As this research is conducted in the field of media sciences, the psychological concept of frames, including details on how frames shape understanding and at what levels they operate mentally, will not be pursued any further in this paper.
assumptions, attitudes, and moods – of ideology in short” (Gitlin 1980: 9).

In contrast with unconscious framing processes is strategic framing, an active process. Journalists may significantly spin their stories to shape public discourse in a certain way and to get their message across, as de Vreese discovers in studies among different European news organisations (2005: 59). He does not, however, give any explanation as to why and when journalists neglect their own claims to objectivity.\footnote{Framing effects cannot be as clearly explained as the theory. Although researchers such as Druckman (2001) have been studying framing effects among audiences, they have not yet been able to establish valid statements about the consequences of framing. Just as frames are influenced at the individual level by those who establish them, so are frames influenced by those who receive them. A member of the audience may already have a strong opinion towards an issue and is therefore not open to new frames or there may be competition of several frames from different sources; for example, as the person receives his/her information from different media outlets (Entman et al. 2009: 185ff).}

Changes in the selection of frames or the application of an underlying set of frames are hints for a strategic involvement of the media in a debate and their display of power. With regard to the current case study, the research sample will be analysed for changing news frames regarding Wulff over the years, when these changes took place and frame differences between the two media organisations.

As frames are believed to exist, it is now a question as to how and by which means frames are integrated into texts, which leads to the next level of selection in journalistic productions. The following section is dedicated to storytelling and narratives and will give further information on how frames are applied in media texts.

2.5. Getting the message across by means of storytelling and narratives

The term story is widespread in the news business, as journalists write news stories, feature stories etc. and many refer to themselves as storytellers. Looking at news as stories, “the telling of a happening […], written or spoken with the intention of entertaining or informing” (Lule 1954: 3), leads to a different understanding of news. In contrast to a chronological account, stories seek coherence and meaning, and the storyteller takes a key role at the centre of the story (Bird, Ardenne 2009: 207), since they decide how and from which perspective the story is told and which information might be left out.

It was assumed earlier in the subchapter about objectivity that reality is a human construction and objectivity is out of human reach. It was also assumed that there is more than one viewpoint on issues and events; consequently, there are different ways of telling a story and describing events. As this is in contrast to the notion of objectivity and factual reporting, Bird and Ardenne argue that “journalists operate like traditional storytellers, using conventional structures to shape events into story – and in doing so define the world in particular ways that reflect and reinforce audiences’ notions of reality” (2009: 205). Stories are used to explain events, phenomena and things that cannot be easily rationalised; in this sense, news comforts and provide a sense of control (Bird et al. 2009: 206). Klaus and Lünenborg argue, in line with Bird and Dardenne’s view, that journalistic products do not serve to impart knowledge, but present different interpretations of the world and social events and by doing so, journalistic narratives contribute to establishing a common cultural understanding (2002: 104). Authors such as Lule, Bird and Dardenne point to the mythological function of news as an ongoing process of
storytelling, “taken from and shaped by the shared experiences of human life, that have helped structure and shape stories across cultures and eras” (Lule 1954: 15). This implies that journalists telling news as stories or myths may frame the world in prevalent conventions, enhancing existing values, beliefs and ideologies.

With different options of how to tell a story, journalists can draw upon various narratives, “involving sequence, setting, perspective, characterization, tone, and relationship with the public” (Zelizer et al. 2010: 77). A distinction will be made between two main news narratives: the information model and the story model. The information model of news, associated with the inverted pyramid as well as being impassive in tone, “allows the information to stand before the story” (Zelizer et al. 2010: 77), contrary to the story model, associated with the anecdotal lede and other narrative devices such as conflict, climax, metaphors and irony, which seeks to captivate the attention of the audience. However, a clear cut distinction between the two models is difficult to establish, as journalists can employ different narrative strategies and apply them to different degrees in their stories.

In view of the case study, this research aims to reveal how the stories about Christian Wulff were told in different ways in the two news organisations, thus which narratives were employed, how and in which order. This research also pays attention to the use of prevalent conventions in order to shape events into stories. This will reveal much about how the media organisations exerted their influence and power in the case study about Christian Wulff.

The previously mentioned steps all build upon one another; gatekeeping and the decision whether a story becomes a story or not is the precondition for decisions on differing degrees of objectivity, on the selection of frames and the choice of varying narratives. Each of these different steps is a powerful mean in itself, as it allows journalists to choose between different alternatives and exert influence on the media content. Yet, these different steps do not stand on their own, as they are interdependent and interrelated and the result is an array of influential tools journalists possess to shape their stories.

3. Underlying features: theoretical reflections on decision-making processes in journalistic production at the micro level

Although the previously mentioned steps have sequentially become more detailed, they refer to the macro level of media content; in this chapter, this thesis aims to identify steps at the micro level, such as linguistic choices, emotional elements, ideologies and the selection of sources to achieve a comprehensive picture of how power works in media texts, hidden and unhidden. Before proceeding to the next step, some general reflections on tabloid and quality press shall be stated here to give some context on the different approaches of the two wings of press coverage.

3.1. Two contrasting media organisations
The two media organisations chosen for this research are involved in both national print and online media in Germany, but apart from this common factor, SZ and BZ differ significantly in regard to what they report on, how they cover events and whom they aim to reach with their
coverage.

The Bildzeitung (BZ), literally translated as “picture newspaper”, was founded in 1952 by Axel Springer. During the first years of publication, BZ was a literal realisation of its name: mostly pictures with captions. Today it is Germany’s biggest national tabloid newspaper, still with multitudinous pictures, but more text and numerous regional newsrooms. According to its own information, the online version Bild.de was launched in 1996, but the online news text only began in 2006.

BZ’s most famous slogan Form your own opinion!, alluding to the second German meaning of Bild (imperative of the verb bilden, meaning to form or shape) best describes the newspaper’s vision of itself. According to the organisation’s guiding principles, BZ is independent, non-partisan and critical, intending to inform and entertain its readers and to give them orientation, whilst its journalists are fully aware of their responsibilities towards their readers.

Opinions about BZ in Germany are divided. Despite its high readership, BZ is highly criticised for its undifferentiated coverage and some claim the newspaper should not be allowed to be called a newspaper as BZ “makes use of the journalistic craft, though not as its main purpose, but only if necessary and for its own benefit” (Arlt, Storz 2012: 84). However, its popularity makes BZ an essential part of the German media landscape, important for other media organisations, businesses and politicians. More specifically, politicians and other celebrities have discovered the tabloid raises awareness of their own presence, which is demonstrated by Wulff’s attempt to make useful connections to the media organisation.

His fall is an example of BZ’s methods, as former BZ Editor-in-chief Stefan Aust explained “Politicians often make the mistake that they confuse short-term alignment of interests with long-lasting friendships. They also tend to try to exploit the media for their own purpose. That may easily backfire” (2012). In addition, Mathias Döpfner, a board member of Axel Springer Verlag said in an interview that BZ applies the lift principle “The people who are with us on the way up are with us on the way down” (Bissinger 2006).

BZ sold an average of 2.841 million newspapers per day in 2011, and receive an average of 195 million visitors to their news website every month.

BZ was chosen for this research for several reasons. Firstly, for some years, there was “a solid strategic relationship” between the tabloid and the politician, until there was sudden friction which then manifested as a relationship between “disappointed lovers who end up mutually estranged”, as Hachmeister explained in an interview. Secondly, BZ cannot be viewed as an outside observer during the affair, since the President’s call (and possibly also earlier occurrences) involved the media organisation in the affair. Thirdly, BZ is the largest German tabloid paper and probably best represents the German yellow press. The final reason for the selection of BZ for this research was the easy accessibility of news texts in the online archive.

The Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ), which literally translates as “South German newspaper”, was founded in 1945 as the first newspaper of Bavaria after World War II. Although it was named after and published in Southern Germany, it is not a local paper, but one of the largest national

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newspapers with editorial offices in the whole country. The online version of the newspaper was launched in October 2002 and was restructured and redesigned in 2006. The texts on the news website consist of articles from the print paper, articles from the online newsroom and agency reports. Apart from politics, the newspaper dedicates considerable space to cultural issues and is particularly famous for its front page column Streiflicht and its documentary page Seite 3.

In its guiding principles, SZ describes its journalistic products as opinionated and independent, written by critical journalists for critical readers. The news organisation sees its core tasks as providing reliable information for the free formation of opinion of their readers and encouraging them to adopt a liberal and tolerant attitude. According to its own statements, the newspaper is not attached to any political party or belief.

With 1.41 million daily readers, the newspaper enjoys a reputation for delivering high quality coverage; similarly, the news website is gaining in popularity with 1.56 million visitors per week in 2011. By its own account, SZ is the best-selling and most frequently read newspaper in Germany, skipping BZ and other tabloids in their comparison.

SZ was chosen as the counterpart for BZ for a comparison of the media coverage before, during and after Christian Wulff's loan affair, as its journalists were not investigating the case independently, at least not at the beginning of the disclosure. Contrary to BZ, who was exposing the revelations about Christian Wulff, the quality media organisation did not become involved in the news item and rather reported information from other news organisations. Hence, it is assumed that the SZ coverage provides a more balanced viewpoint, at least more than BZ. Moreover, just like BZ, SZ is a national newspaper with local branches. Despite or perhaps because of its strong emphasis on critical and opinionated coverage, SZ is considered to be a quality paper and is thus contrary to BZ. SZ was chosen rather randomly as a representative of German quality newspapers in this research and accessibility to news texts was another selection criteria.

According to Conboy and Mittelberg, quality and tabloid media differ significantly with regard to the linguistic features they use. Both authors conclude from their studies that tabloids such as BZ use a specific language as an editorial strategy to approach a particular readership. The target group of the tabloids is the largest group of the population, the masses of ordinary people, and the tabloids strategically approach the masses by deploying dialects and registers that are characteristic for this group of people (Conboy 2006: 11).

"In using a range of distinctive and identifiable dialects, the tabloids enable the reader to use the newspaper as a textual bridge between their own experience of the culture in which they live, and their own attitudes and beliefs within a range of language which is a close approximation of what they imagine themselves to be using when they speak of these things themselves. In other words, the language of the tabloids talks their language." (Conboy 2006: 11)

The deployed vocabulary, style, content and even advertisements in tabloids build on the assumption of the average reader's language, income and social class (Conboy 2006: 16). Also, tabloids do not only match their readers' language and thus everyday life, but also build a community of shared beliefs and attitudes among their readers:

"It does this by presenting forms of group knowledge constructed through versions
of 'social memory' within the lifestyle experiences of individual readers [...] This style of language forms an essential part of an ideological pact with the readership [...] This language is rich in its own tradition of metaphor, word play, categorization and compression of narratives. These are features that embody a particular relationship between a newspaper's readership and the contemporary world.” (Conboy 2006: 12ff)

Mittelberg’s analysis of the language of BZ is merely descriptive of linguistic elements and, although it dates back to 1967, Mittelberg’s results are in line with Conboy’s observations. He emphasises the usage of a very emotional and visual language, rich in metaphors, catchphrases and other rhetorical devices such as strategically positioned punctuation, in particular question and exclamation marks, and capital letters. Moreover, Mittelberg observes a striking discrepancy between often cleverly used expressions and stereotypical generalisations (1967: 318).

The layout features of the tabloid press are bold headlines, big photos, striking colours and rather short texts with photos or subheadings interrupting the flow of writing (Zelizer, Allen 2010: 155). Tabloids speak the language of their readers, applying dialects and registers, as well as a conversational style, and create in this manner “a particular relationship between a newspaper's readership and the contemporary world” (Conboy 2006: 15). Arlt and Storz point out that the language of tabloids such as Bild “that comes along so simple, dull and ruthless is a highly complex and highly sensible product. With intelligence, routine, radicalness and relentless smartness, they produce a mass medium in the Bild newsroom” (2012: 22).

The characteristics of quality papers are the opposite, as texts generally prevail over pictures, the headlines are smaller and the paper’s layout is less sensational. According to Loudova, the language of quality papers is both conversational and sophisticated, creating an entertaining and informative product (2011: 8).

Tabloids strongly focus on celebrities, human interest and sensational stories; politics and economics are covered rather marginally, unless their protagonists are the centre of interest. When dealing with celebrities, tabloids often use their first names or nicknames and consequently create a sort of familiarity and naturalise the presence of these people in the news (Conboy 2006: 22ff). As easily as tabloids create familiarity towards unknown persons, they create feelings of group membership and a distinction between 'us' and 'them' (Conboy 2006: 61), which will be the topic of the subchapter ideological messages in media discourses.

While this chapter focuses on a few specific characteristics of media language, the following section will discuss language and its power more generally, emphasising its role and influence in media discourse.

3.2. The power of language: the choice of words in the media discourse

Extending the previous elaborations on framing, story-telling and narratives, which were identified as shaping and decision-making tools in journalistic routines, this chapter is dedicated to the topic of language and choice of words in media discourse. The term “choice of words” implies that decisions on wording are another step in the journalistic selection process, because journalists have several options at hand from which they can choose. This research acknowledges the powerful role of language, as “subtle changes in the wording of the description of a situation
might affect how audience members interpret this situation” (Scheufele 2000: 309).

In order to understand how journalists transport their perception of reality, it is necessary to take a step back and recognise the central role of language in society and in the media discourse. According to Matheson and many others, language is more than a simple means of denoting things. It is a social practice, inextricable from society, and never a neutral means of communication. Language is seen as a store of values and ideas (Matheson 2005: 4), thus not merely reflecting reality, but central to also creating reality. The German Federal Ministry for Education, Science and Culture wrote in their information sheet “Power and language” that “[o]ur usage of language reflects social phenomena and language may reinforce, justify or establish those phenomena. Language may express power relations or at least make claims to power. [...] With language, we reproduce concepts and world views; on a more or less conscious way, we transport attitudes and opinions that we apply to our social environment and therefore to other people and groups of people.” (Federal Ministry for Education, Science and Culture 2001: 3f)

A set of discourse practices and conventions naturalise such attitudes and power relations in a manner that “they may come to be seen as simply ‘there’ in a common-sense way, rather than socially put there” (Fairclough 1992: 9). Hence, by using specific words of a language, the speaker agrees, voluntarily or involuntarily, to a certain conception of the world and is placed in the paradoxical situation of simultaneously being in charge of the language and being captured by it (Billig 1991: 8). These assumptions attribute language an important role in social life, reflecting the ideologies, structure and power relations of a society. Consequently, the analysis of language goes far beyond a linguistic assessment of signs, symbols and simple sentences. It enters another level, the level of language as an instrument of concepts, beliefs and identities that includes disciplines such as linguistics, sociology, psychology and others.

Critical linguists such as Fairclough (1992) refer to the use of language in speech and writing as discourse. Discourse is thus “a culturally and socially organised way of speaking” (Mayr 2008: 7), that links meaning, doing and interacting to the context of language usage. In this sense, discourse is not a mere linguistic concept, as it overcomes the distinction between linguistics and social sciences. Furthermore, discourse does not consist of a single statement, but is integrated in a larger context. Jäger defines this context of discourse as a “flow of knowledge, as a social storage of knowledge, respectively, through time, that determines individual and collective acting and creating, by means of which [discourse] exercises power” (2006: 84). Discourse thus wields power by regulating social activities and determining the roles of social actors in social systems.

Media texts make up a significant part of everyday discourse. Just as any user of language is master and slave of it at the same time (Billig 1991: 7), so are journalists and consequently the media. Through language, picture and sound, the media transport messages that contain ideologies. In many cases, the news consumer is unaware of how these messages are transported, and how they may influence his/her opinion on a certain topic.

“Just as language cannot reproduce an objective reality, so too fail the media. It is almost impossible to speak of neutrality when referring to the media, for the very simple reason that each journalist already intervenes in the material through
selection, editing, composition and choice of distribution. The selection of what is shown also reflects unconscious stereotypes of the journalist.” (Al-Radwany 2007: 7)

Since media texts are not excluded from social processes such as constant struggles for power and identity, Wodak and Busch advocate a critical observation of them, “Particularly the language of the mass media is scrutinized as a site of power and struggle, as well as a site where language is often only apparently transparent. Media institutions often purport to be neutral, in that they provide space for public discourse, reflect states of affairs disinterestedly, and give the perceptions and arguments of the newsmakers” (Wodak and Busch 2004: 110). Thus, the theoretical scholarly perspective and the practitioner’s point of view contradict each other here, highlighting a promising research aspect for this study with the aim of better understanding the shaping role of language in the media discourse about Christian Wulff.

3.3. More than just the facts: the role of emotions in media discourse

Objectivity and neutrality are out of reach in a social world constructed by humans. The logical consequence for the media is that information, facts and rational analysis are not the only components of journalistic products; besides, the transfer of knowledge, emotions such as anger, empathy and dismay are part of human communication and in the media discourse, they are transported through pictures, intonation and/or language. Although emotions cannot be eliminated, varying degrees of emotionalisation can be found in the media, implying that the expression of emotion can indeed be controlled and influenced (Cho et al. 2003: 310). Consequently, the application of emotional expressions can be seen as another step of decision-making and selection in media businesses.

Authors such as Yell and Kepplinger et al. draw from their studies that particular discourses, for instance the coverage of natural disasters, wars, humanitarian crises and scandals, are often highly emotionally charged. According to the criteria of Kepplinger et al., the latter part of the case study, the affairs of Christian Wulff, could be identified as a scandal, because a public figure was accused of having violated a social norm and relevant media covered the case intensively which caused consistent views and widespread anger among the audience (2012: 659). This, in turn, implies that the coverage of Wulff’s affairs and his resignation was emotionally charged and it is the aim of this subchapter to identify the tools newsmakers use to integrate emotions into media texts.

Emotions can be created on the graphical, lexical, grammatical, structural, pragmatic and frame level and they are constructed in different ways, by description, expression and elicitation (Ortner 2011: 3). Describing emotions refers to portraying the emotions of people involved in an event; the second option denotes the journalist’s expression of his/her own opinion and the third option “is the staff of life for tabloids, while actively pursuing the emotions of the recipients in an explicit and obvious way” (Ortner 2011: 9). On the graphical level, emotions can be expressed

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13 This thesis will neither explain the role of emotions in psychological and neural processes, nor will it research how and to what extent media discourse elicits emotions among the public. Based on the results of the work of Kepplinger and other authors, who conclude that media discourses are emotionally loaded, the case study will only be analysed for emotional expressions and conclusions drawn on different degrees of emotionalisation.
Journalists can choose between different frames and the respective choice of frames may significantly influence the audience’s opinion and emotional attitude towards an event or a person. As described in Kepplinger et al., the following set of criteria have an influence on the formation of opinion: people judge events in different ways when its consequences are either “(a) small or large, (b) caused or not caused by human behaviour, (c) by people following selfish goals or altruistic/common goals, (d) by people who were or were not aware of the consequences of their decisions, and (e) by people who could have acted differently or who were constrained to act the way they did” (2012: 661). According to the authors, the audience would experience anger if they perceive the actor as being responsible for causing substantial damage because of selfish goals. On the other hand, if the actor is perceived as not responsible and thus not guilty, the audience would perceive sadness or no emotions (Kepplinger et al. 2012: 661). With regard to the coverage of Wulff during his last weeks in office, this thesis will pay particular attention to how the media used specific means such as frames and typography to influence the audience and create a certain emotional attitude towards the politician. Emotional elements in texts such as exclamations can sometimes be obvious; many, however, are rather hidden and absorbed unwittingly by the reader. Because certain elements are so hidden and inconspicuous and yet, they can be so influential, they deserve close consideration in the following subchapter.

3.4. Discovering underlying meanings: ideological messages in media discourses

The last aspect of these theoretical considerations, which have addressed different steps in the journalistic selection process to shape media coverage, is underlying ideological messages. Using the term underlying implies that ideologies are largely, if not totally, unconscious, which gives them a special role in this list of decision-making processes in journalistic production. Moreover, the employment of ideologies can be seen as the sum of all the previously mentioned steps, such as decisions on the degree of objectivity or emotionalisation in media texts.

In his text “Ideology and discourse analysis”, van Dijk defines what ideologies are and what they are not (2006: 117); according to the author, there are four prototypical features or notions that help to define the term. Firstly, ideology is viewed as conceptual, referring to beliefs, notions and ideas; secondly, these ideological concepts are not private or individual property, but socially shared; thirdly, ideologies are fundamental cognitive functions that control and organise socially shared beliefs, and fourthly, ideologies are acquired gradually and they may also change during a lifetime. Ideologies are not necessarily negative; for example, there are racist, but also antiracist ideologies. Some ideologies become so widespread that they develop into generally valid values such as human rights discourse (van Dijk 2006: 116). To sum up, ideologies are “foundational beliefs that underlie the shared social representations of specific kinds of social
groups. These representations are in turn the basis of discourse and other social practices” (van Dijk 2006: 120).

If ideologies, however, become common sense and people do not think about their maxims, values and opinions anymore, there is a danger that they will unconsciously confirm inequalities in society:

“In ordinary thinking, people use a ‘common sense’, which they do not themselves invent but which has a history. As critical theorists from Marx onwards have stressed, common sense is a form of ideology. This means that common sense not only has a wider history, but that it also possesses present functions, which relate to patterns of domination and power. In using common-sense notions, people find themselves repeating the assumptions of their times. Moreover, according to theorists of ideology, they will be repeating assumptions which will confirm existing arrangements of power. In this way, the continuing history of domination flows through the patterns of commonsensical thinking.”
(Billig 1991: 1)

Such domination through powerful groups led to the term hegemony, which is, according to Marx and Engels, the control over economic structures, institutions of society and political ideological institutions by a ruling class (in Altheide 1984: 477). Hegemony is thus the basis of the ideology that Fairclough defines as “meaning in the service of power” (1995: 14). It is a constant struggle for domination/subordination that takes places at different levels: economically, politically and ideologically, and in different domains: education, family, media etc. (Fairclough 1995: 76).

Keeping Fairclough's definition in mind, hegemony is not only something the ruling class does, but the activities of any social group in gaining, expanding and maintaining power for whatever purpose.

This leads to the question how the media are involved in reinforcing ideologies. Altheide concludes that the guidelines, work routines and orientations of journalists are interlaced with dominant ideologies and that journalists tend to cover stories that are conservative and support the status quo (1984: 478). The media express such identification with dominant ideologies through discourse, using particular discursive structures and strategies. These structures and strategies include verbal constructs such as the use of ‘us’ and ‘them’ (van Dijk 2006: 125). Additionally, it refers to non-verbal practices, including the content and style of news reports, “all aspects of news gathering, attending to sources, interaction with other journalists as well as news actors, and the organization of the professional activities of journalists (meetings, deadlines, etc.). […] Thus, the multitude of activities that define daily news- and program making in the newspaper or on television may themselves be ideologically based, and fundamentally influenced by social actors participating as members of various social groups” (van Dijk 1997: 34).

Although content, form and style might all be ideologically relevant, and texts are indicators of ideological processes and structures, for Fairclough “it is not possible to ‘read off’ ideologies from texts. This is because meanings are produced through interpretations of texts and texts are open to diverse interpretations” (1995: 71). Bearing in mind this consideration, this thesis will pay particular attention to the criteria of the analyses, which will be outlined in the following chapter, as they might be 'ideologically contaminated' due to the author’s own cultural and social background.
4. Research questions and hypotheses

In the previous literature review of theories in media sciences, different means of journalistic influences and different steps in decision-making processes were shown. They can be classified under five main aspects of journalistic power: change in coverage, linguistic and value differences, frames, objectivity and manipulation and selection of sources. This led to the following research questions and hypotheses for this study.

The initial questions of this research are as mentioned in the introduction: Which role did the media play in Christian Wulff’s political downfall? Which instruments and resources of power were at the disposal of the media and how did they use their power? These queries leads to several sub-questions: how did the coverage change throughout the sample, especially in BZ? What were the different linguistic features of the two media organisations? Which frames were used most prominently before, during and after the affair by each outlet and how did they shape the content of the story? How objective were BZ and SZ in the coverage of Christian Wulff before, during and after his loan affair, according to the standards established by Ward? How did the press create feelings of group membership, how was a separation between ‘Us’ and ‘Them’ set up and how are such separations manifested in the texts?14

Originating from Christian Wulff’s resignation after the revelations of his affairs by the media, the main hypothesis of this study is that the media have the power to bring down politicians. It is assumed that the media are aware of their decision-making power in the production process of media content and their impact on politicians, as well as on the public. It is argued that in a number of situations, journalists and editors consciously use their power to create certain effects and to exercise influence. The following hypotheses all underlie the principal assumption that a lot of influence is connected to the decision-making ability of the media within the production process.

Change in coverage

Media scientist Lutz Hachmeister states that Christian Wulff experienced an extreme high and later an extreme downfall with the tabloid BZ15, which leads to the first hypothesis, that coverage in the tabloid BZ changed significantly in the period from 2003 to 2012. While the tabloid coverage was positively biased before the affair, the negative bias was higher in BZ during and after the affair.

Hypothesis 1: The reports in BZ changed radically from positive coverage in the years before the affair to negative coverage during and after the affair.

Language and value differences

In their studies of tabloids, Mittelberg and Conboy both conclude that papers such as BZ use specific linguistic means such as strategically positioned punctuation, emotional and visual

14 As this research focuses on a comparison of media coverage, the hypotheses on power relations only apply to subjects on the content, text and linguistic level that can be researched with the help of a CA or CDA.
language (Mittelberg 1967: 318) to appeal to a certain readership and to achieve certain effects. According to the authors, these linguistic features distinguish tabloids from other media outlets. Hence, it can be hypothesised that the language patterns in BZ in the coverage about Christian Wulff were more emotive and sensational than in SZ. Conboy also analysed the news values of tabloids and opines that there is a discrepancy between tabloids and quality media in terms of which stories were covered and how, as he notices a strong focus on celebrities, human interest, sport and sensational stories in tabloids (Conboy 2006: 22 ff).

**Hypothesis 2**: The news values and linguistic features in BZ were more polarising and shaped by emotions and sensationalism than those in SZ.

**Frames**
Authors such as Scheufele have pointed to the importance of the first frames that are applied to an event, as different news organisations as part of the same media landscape often tend to present events in similar ways and use consistent frames. This leads to the assumption that SZ and BZ also used similar and consistent frames during the period under question. In the case of the affair, it is furthermore assumed that Wulff was presented as being accountable for his situation.

**Hypothesis 3**: The media used a specific set of frames that was applied during the whole period of the affair, attributing full responsibility to Christian Wulff for all his actions.

**Objectivity and manipulation**
It was stated in the subchapter *objectivity* that there is no such thing as a neutral or objective reality because reality is a human construction, consisting of many different and conflicting viewpoints. Although quality media such as SZ may come closer to balanced and impartial reporting than tabloids, there will also be bias in the coverage of the quality paper. In some areas, journalists may not be aware of their bias and partiality; in others, however, it is argued that the media, which include the quality and the tabloid media outlets, were conscious of being selective and one-sided.

**Hypothesis 4**: To a certain extent, the media deliberately used biased elements.

**Selection of sources**
Based on van Dijk's works (e.g. 1995, 2004) and some presumptions on the case study of Christian Wulff, it is assumed that the media perceived themselves as more powerful than Christian Wulff and the general public. This will be displayed in the choice and position of sources in the sample of the case study.

**Hypothesis 5**: The sense of superiority of the media over politicians and citizens is reflected in the selection of sources.

These five hypotheses will be tested with the help of a content analysis and a critical discourse analysis for the case study of Christian Wulff, displayed in the next chapter.
5. Methodology and data description

Investigating the power of the media in the case of the politician Christian Wulff is challenging, as one cannot simply identify power relations from an article; media texts are complex structures, carrying several layers of meaning that have been preceded by a number of selection processes. These processes and layers have been pointed out in the literature review of the macro and micro levels of texts in Chapter two and three. To understand the role of the media in Christian Wulff's political career and their influence in his downfall a mixed method approach is used to capture those complex structures. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the methodology and to describe the data used for the study of power relations between Christian Wulff and the German media, represented by a quality and tabloid media outlet. The chapter deals with the study design, research methods, methods of data collection, sample selection and data processing and analysis.

As the focus of this research lies in revealing instruments of power in media texts, this study is designed to compare the content of two different media outlets (comparative analysis). Additionally, this study does not rely on one method, but applies two complementary methods. A content analysis (CA) is used to analyse a large number of texts from SZ and BZ, dating from 2003 to 2012. Analysing this sample with the help of a CA will allow conclusions to be drawn on trends and changes in the coverage of the politician in both media outlets. The literature review was divided into two parts: the macro and micro level of texts. The CA will analyse the sample of this study at the macro level, aiming to allow conclusions on frames used, the degree of objectivity, story-telling devices and others. In succession, a critical discourse analysis (CDA) will be applied to a number of texts from both media outlets, directed at the micro level of the media texts. This qualitative approach will analyse linguistic structures, emotional expressions and ideologies, which will allow deeper insights into hidden structures and the exertion of power by the two media. As this research consists of different methods with different purposes, it has a mixed approach. This research is deductive as it started with the topic idea, some scientific theories and hypotheses. Following the top-down-approach, the data was then collected and analysed to test the hypotheses.

5.1. Research methods
5.1.1. Content Analysis (CA)

CA is a research method widely used in different disciplines, as it allows the systematic analysis and classification of a large number of texts (Macnamara 2005: 1). Holsti’s and Neuman’s definition of CA provides a thorough overview of the concept of this method and why it is relevant for the case study of Christian Wulff.

“Content analysis is a multipurpose research method developed specifically for investigating a broad spectrum of problems in which the content of communication serves as the basis of inference.” (Holsti 1969: 2)

“A technique for gathering and analysing the content of text. The ‘content’ refers to words, meanings, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes, or any message that can be communicated.” (Neuman 1997: 272)
Consequently, CA is a suitable technique for a considerable sample of texts that aims to address a number of problems or, in other words, questions. As the sample size of this research consists of 304 texts that must all be analysed in the same way in order to make valid comparisons between the texts, and since it aims to answer a number of research questions (Chapter four), CA was selected as one of the research techniques for this study. By processing a large number of texts about Christian Wulff from different periods, the results of this study will become more representative and valid, as they indicate changes and trends.

The CA of this thesis has both quantitative and qualitative traits, as the coding of some of the categories is mere calculation, such as counting the number of adjectives; other categories, however, are more interpretative and thus qualitative, such as the analysis of names and synonyms used to refer to Christian Wulff and their classification as either positive, negative or neutral. The coding categories are derived from both the text data, as well as theory and research findings from other scholars. The coding scheme contains open and closed categories. For the closed categories the coder either needs to select only one variable or multiple ones, if necessary. The closed categories serve to show assumptions that derive from theoretical considerations, such as the use of particular news values, frames or sources. The open categories, on the other hand, derive from the text data. It was observed, for example, when skimming the research data, that BZ and SZ used a considerable number of rhetoric devices, such as metaphors, catchphrases and allusions when referring to Wulff. This category will thus count the number of rhetoric devices and note them for later evaluation.

Building upon the theoretical framework, outlining decision-making processes in journalistic production and the complexity of media texts (Chapter two and three), and the research questions raised in Chapter four, the following criteria for the coding scheme were designed. Further information on the variables, categories and coding rules can be found in the coding sheet in the Appendix.

**Objectivity**: According to Ward's definition of modern objectivity (2004: 20 and Chapter 2.3. of this thesis), each text will be checked for the attribution of quotes to sources, balanced coverage with the presentation of several sides or viewpoints of the story and (self-)criticism. The category tone, with the options positive, negative and neutral, also aims to draw conclusions about the degree of objectivity in a text.

**News values**: Harcup and O'Neill's list of news values have already been mentioned (Chapter 2.2.). They are the different categories of this variable.

**Framing**: The category consists of eleven distinct frames, partly based on the studies of Semetko and Valkenburg (2000: 96), partly developed by the author for this case study on the basis of a previous analysis. The frames for the analysis are as follows: responsibility frame, morality frame, economic consequences frame, conflict frame, human interest frame, victim frame, accusation frame, 'guy from next door'/family man frame, glamour frame, political loser frame and political winner frame.

**Agenda-setting**: To gain some insights on the media agenda, the category size was developed,
taking into account the total number and length of texts. As numerous texts were taken from the websites of the news organisations, the category position of the texts in the newspaper was left out.

**Narratives and story-telling:** Several categories in the coding scheme were developed to analyse how a story was told. This includes the form of presentation, syntactical and rhetorical structures, the use and position of sources, and the analysis of adjectives and synonyms used to describe Wulff.

The biggest benefit of the CA is also its biggest disadvantage: a CA allows the analysis of the content of a larger amount of data, but analysing a large volume of data does not permit the deeper analysis that goes beyond the content level. As the topic of this study is power relations that are often hidden, there is need for a second methodological approach: the CDA to complement what the CA cannot achieve.

### 5.1.2. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

CDA is an interdisciplinary approach and unites several disciplines such as sociology and linguistics. Unlike a CA, a CDA only looks at a small number of texts, but more closely. For van Dijk “Critical Discourse Analysis’ (CDA) has become the general label for a special approach to the study of text and talk, emerging from critical linguistics, critical semiotics and, in general, from a socio-political conscious oppositional way of investigating language, discourse and communication” (1995: 17). It attempts to reveal and uncover what is latent and hidden, disclosing dominance, power and social control as it is manifested in texts. As power relations, dominance and influence are at the core of this thesis, this method was chosen as an extension to the CA, aiming to provide deeper insights into how SZ and BZ presented and judged the politician Christian Wulff during his affair.

According to van Dijk, many aspects of the struggles and negotiations for power displayed in media discourse have become naturalised, and even appear to members of society as ‘normal’ or ‘common sense’ (2006: 116). Consequently, this research intends to reveal and raise awareness of such naturalised ideological expressions within the media coverage about Christian Wulff. The CDA also aims to test the hypothesis of whether the coverage during the affair was more negative than before the affair in both media organisations and, more importantly, how and with the help of which means such negativity is manifested in the discourse. Moreover, a major aim of this CDA is to yield perceptions on moral and other social values in Germany, displayed in the news coverage about Christian Wulff.

Van Dijk, Jäger, Fairclough and Mayring provide a variety of analytical tools that should reveal some insights into the hidden structures of the media texts during the affair of Christian Wulff. A detailed description of the analytical tools, which are a combination of different approaches by various scholars, is included in the Appendix. Yet, the main foci of the analysis are formal and content-related structures, such as the configuration of ideology and identity.

### 5.2. Sample selection and data collection

The sample for this study was chosen on purpose, as specific events in the career and life of
Christian Wulff were selected. The sample can be divided in two categories: political and private events. With regard to political events, Christian Wulff gained federal and national political importance with his first election victory in Lower Saxony in 2003, which is used as the starting point of this study. Other milestones in his political career were Wulff's re-election in Lower Saxony in 2008, his victory in the presidential elections in 2010 and his resignation after the discovery of several financial irregularities. For the elections, a sample of ten days, including some days before and after the election such as the polling day, were coded (February 26 to March 7, 2003; January 20 to 30, 2008; June 25 to July 5, 2010). Regarding the affair, Wulff's private loan was revealed on December 12, 2011, and he bid farewell on March, 8, 2012. All texts that were published during these periods in the print and online edition of each outlet are coded, including multiple publications on one day by the same news organisation. The majority of the data for the analyses of the media organisations comes from the online archives of both news websites. SZ has a well-organised, but expensive online archive that goes back to 1992. All texts that required a fee, dating from 2008 and earlier, were therefore taken from the Microfilm Archives of the German Language Press in Dortmund. As the online archive of BZ only dates back to 2006, all BZ texts about the Federal Election in 2003 were also taken from the microfilm archives. The research sample thus includes print and online text. Online text has the great advantage since it is easily accessible via the Internet, but it is unclear how many changes or updates have been applied to an article afterwards, whereas printed text cannot be changed.

With regard to the second sample category, Wulff's private life, some events that were covered in the media were also selected. This includes occasions such as Christian Wulff's break-up with his wife Christiane in 2006 and their divorce and his marriage with Bettina Körner in 2008, who gave birth to a son shortly after their wedding. Especially, the tabloid BZ dedicated a number of texts to these private events in Christian Wulff's life, which was the reason for adding this second category of events to the sample. The sample for private events was collected in a different way, as, compared to the elections, the newspaper coverage was not clustered around these events over specific periods of time. A keyword search with terms such as 'divorce', 'Bettina Körner', 'wedding' and 'birth' on the news websites helped to find appropriate texts.

Only texts that were marked as news stories or background articles about Christian Wulff were chosen for this thesis, as one feature of this research is to show the expressions of opinion in such stories. Texts that are intended to contain strong opinion, and are thus designated as commentary or editorial, were excluded. The same applies for all texts that only contained other press reviews or quotes from politicians, as well as original speeches, press releases and texts that were labelled as agency material.

The texts were archived as pdf files in different folders (a folder was made for each time period (e.g. elections 2003) and for each method (CA and CDA)).

All 198 texts are coded by means of the categories of the CA. Additionally, two weeks of coverage during the affair were chosen to be analysed with the help of CDA: the first week when Wulff's private loan affair appeared on the media agenda (December 12 to 20, 2012) and the week before he finally resigned (February 10 to 17, 2012). Because of the abundance of coverage of both media organisations during these two weeks, only texts that consisted of 250
words or more were analysed, which finally led to a sample size of 50 texts. Specific elaborations on the findings in all categories can be found in the following chapter.

5.3. Data processing and analysis
To develop the criteria for the coding scheme, for instance the frames, the works of other authors mentioned in the literature review were referenced (e.g. Ward, Semetko and Valkenburg). Parts of the sample were analysed to detect patterns that are specific to this case study and completed the coding scheme. A pre-analysis was conducted on texts from both media outlets to assess whether the coding categories actually measure what they were supposed to measure. For the CA, the first five texts published after Wulff's resignation in each media outlet were chosen for the reliability test.

It turned out that some rules\textsuperscript{16} needed to be more precise; thus, some specifications were made. Also, in a few cases, an additional category was added; for the variable sources, for instance, Bettina Wulff was added as a category such as the position of sources within the text. The researcher and coder, as well as an independent person, retested the revised coding scheme. There were two differences in the results in the category frames and stylistic devices. When the results were reviewed, the differences turned out to be misunderstandings and were, again, defined more precisely in the coding scheme. As the results of both coders were identical after the following test, the codes and variables were adopted for the CA. For the CDA, an analytical fact sheet that the author had developed previously for a similar study was used. It was tested on its applicability to this study with two texts, one from each media organisation. The analytical fact sheet turned out to be applicable and was adopted without modifications.

After coding the variables, the texts of SZ and BZ were analysed in parallel in order to make direct comparisons, for instance in terms of the structure of argumentation. Considerable differences are noted under other remarks and are referred to in the later analysis. The data processing was carried out in chronological order, starting in 2003 and ending in 2012 and the CA was conducted before the CDA.

Large tables on paper were used for the CA and the final results were later processed in Microsoft Excel. A number of graphs can be found in the findings and the tables for all categories, and variables are located in the Appendix. At first, each category was analysed separately; later, certain categories were related to each other; for instance, the type and position of sources in the text such as how the source evaluated Wulff or his actions. The same is true for different time periods, which were first processed separately; later, different periods and events, for instance before and after the affair, were pooled in one table or graph. By processing the data in two ways, separately and pooled, comparisons can be made and trends and changes become recognisable.

For the CDA, all texts were analysed according to the order and criteria of the fact sheet. For each text, a sheet was completed. After all texts were processed, the coverage of each media

\textsuperscript{16} As mentioned previously, the frames were partly drawn from Semetko and Valkenburg, others were developed for this study. The frame “Guy from next door/family man frame” was added after the pre-analysis and the coding rules for the frames were described more specifically. Also, the rules for the stylistic devices according to Früh needed clarification.
organisation at the beginning of the affair and shortly before Wulff's resignation was compared; in other words, the coverage of the two outlets is compared to each other.

5.4. Methodological limitations
Both methods, CA and CDA, are scientific techniques and aim to create valid and reliable results. Yet, both are prone to human error. The CDA, always performed by a human being that is also situated in the discourse and influenced by his/her social background, is obviously likely to be influenced by the coder's perception of reality, his/her bias and interpretation of the event. CAs focus more on counting and identifying certain trends and changes, though less error-prone. Some authors even claim that CAs can produce objective results (Macnamara 2005: 2). Berger and Luckmann, however, object to that claim of objectivity, as media texts in particular are open to various interpretations and thus cannot be objective (1966: 25). The author tried to carefully reflect her own social background, for instance, her bias with regard to the tabloid BZ, and intended to be very critical while creating the coding variables and performing the CA and CDA. Nevertheless, errors cannot be excluded.

6. Findings and analysis

This chapter addresses the findings of the CA in the first subchapter. The results are presented in the order of the criteria that were used in the coding scheme. For the CDA, the second method used in this study, a distinction between the findings and results is not as easy, as the CDA in itself is interpretative and explanatory (Dirks 2006). Therefore, the second part of this chapter connects the results of the two methods with each other and analyses them.

6.1. Findings of the CA
The sample for the CA comprises texts from both news organisations from 2003 to 2012. The large sample is used to compare the two media outlets and to make a long-term analysis of the coverage of the politician Christian Wulff in each outlet.

a. Size
For McCombs, the size and amount of texts give information on how important a news organisation perceived an event to be (2003: 3). When applying this assumption to this study, it is observed that BZ published more texts than SZ, but SZ published considerably longer texts with an average of 302 words compared to BZ with an average text length of 219 words. During all the events from 2003 to 2012, both news organisations published longer background articles and very short news items. It can be seen in Figure 1 that BZ published fewer texts on the Federal Elections in Lower Saxony than SZ, whereas SZ wrote less about Christian Wulff's private life and his relationship to Bettina Wulff than BZ. On this matter, it is noticeable that BZ texts about the Wulff couple were all published in 2006, 2007 or 2008, whereas SZ started publishing more texts about the couple in 2010, when Christian Wulff was already President of Germany.

Compared to the Federal Elections, the presidential elections were covered more
intensively by both media organisations, but the increase in coverage was significantly higher in BZ. This rise can be explained by the fact that Christian Wulff advanced from his position as a federal politician to a national politician. The 14 months period comprising the revelation of Wulff's affairs, his resignation and farewell ceremony is characterised by a high text density in both media.

b. Tone

This category is intended to measure the overall tone of the text when addressing the person Wulff, making a distinction between positive, negative and neutral/mixed. Overall, the category neutral/mixed was attributed more often to texts from SZ than BZ. It is true for both media outlets that the tone of coverage was more positive before Wulff's affair was revealed, from 2003 to 2010, than during the affair and after his resignation. A total of 12 out of 13 texts in BZ about the couple Bettina and Christian Wulff were marked as positive. Before the presidential elections in 2010, BZ was slightly more positive towards Wulff's challenger Joachim Gauck. The tone, however, changed with the outcome of the elections to a very positive coverage for Christian Wulff. Figure 2 shows that the majority of texts in BZ, taken from the sample before the affair, were marked as positive towards Wulff. Only two out 48 texts were marked as negative in BZ. A similar trend, although not as prevalent as in BZ, could be found in SZ; almost 90% of the texts published about Wulff from 2003 to 2010 were either marked as positive or neutral with the major proportion of neutral texts.
With the revelation of the affair, the tone of the coverage in both papers became more negative. Just as prior to the affair, the majority of texts in BZ were not assigned to neutral. Unlike before, the coverage was largely marked as negative. During the affair, the majority of SZ texts were also assigned as negative, although, compared to BZ, the amount of neutral texts was considerably higher. In the case of SZ, the negativity increased over the course of the affair; in BZ, a negative tone towards Wulff could be found from the first days after the first publication of the affair. Interestingly, four texts published during the affair in BZ were counted as positive coverage. In all cases, the content was mainly about Christian Wulff's wife Bettina, who was, apart from a few negative texts, still positively addressed in the tabloid. After the affair, a trend towards more neutral texts could be observed for both news organisations.
c. Form of presentation

In this category, a distinction was made between factual/sober, explaining/informing/educating, committed/convincing, critical/analytical/annotating, exciting/sensational/emotional, polemic/ironic and entertaining/humorous to identify how the media organisations approached certain topics. Each text was assigned to only one category; the category that was most prominent in that text. Both news organisations used a wide variety of different forms when presenting their texts. Before the affair, almost one third of all texts from SZ were assigned to the text type factual/sober. Only one out of 38 texts was marked as exciting/sensational/emotional in SZ in the sample about the couple; this is unlike BZ, where the majority of texts were assigned to the exciting/sensational/emotional category. Not only texts about the Wulff couple, but also many texts about political events such as the Federal and presidential elections conveyed an emotional and/or sensational perspective in BZ. Entertaining and humorous texts were found to be the second highest classification in BZ from 2003 to 2010. A few polemic, ironic texts were found in SZ, whereas this form of presentation was not found at all in BZ.
In 2011 and 2012, the period of time before and after Christian Wulff's resignation from the role of President of Germany, great differences in the form of presentation could be found between the two news organisations. The most prevalent category in SZ is texts that were marked as sober/factual, whereas this form ranks only fourth in BZ. The greatest number of texts was assigned to the categories committed/convincing and exciting/sensational/emotional in BZ, while the opposite holds true for SZ; together with entertaining and humorous texts, these two categories rank lowest in the sample of SZ before and after Wulff's resignation. In BZ, only one text out of 114 was assigned to ironic/polemic, whereas almost 10 percent of all texts of SZ published in 2011 and 2012 were marked as ironic/polemic.

![Figure 3.2: form of presentation according to Geretschläger 2011 - 2012](image)

**d. Frames**

To answer the research question ‘Which frames were used most prominently before, during and after the loan affair of Christian Wulff?’ all texts were subject to a framing analysis, comprising eleven different frames. As several of the examined texts included more than one frame, the total number of frames does not correspond to the total number of texts. There was no distinction made between the most outstanding frame and the less prominent.

The tabloid and the quality media organisation used similar frames in covering news about Christian and Bettina Wulff; the human interest frame was followed by the nice guy/family man frame and the glamour frame in both cases. However, SZ used a greater variety of frames and, as the total number of texts was lower in SZ than BZ, none of the selected frames considerably stands out in SZ. Looking at all the frames used between 2003 and 2010, it can be seen that the conflict, victim and accusation frames were completely absent in the BZ coverage, while the conflict frame was applied nine times in SZ. This is due to the fact that Wulff was elected only in the third ballot, which SZ presented as a conflict between the German political parties with Wulff as a member of the governing party CDU. In the sample from BZ, the political loser and political winner frames can both be found in the sample about the presidential elections.
in 2010. This supports the elaborations on the tone of the text where it was stated that BZ was slightly more positive towards Wulff's challenger before the elections. Hence, the political loser frame was applied before Wulff was elected President of Germany, whereas the framing changed to political winner after his election. Moreover, the human interest, nice guy/family man and glamour frames were ranked highly in BZ, while in SZ the trend of a greater distribution of frames continued.

Overall, more frames were applied in the coverage of the affair in 2011 and 2012 than in the previous years in both media. Three different frames per text were used in BZ on average, whereas SZ used an average of 2.8 frames per text. The conflict frame ranks first, followed by the responsibility frame in both media outlets. The five most prominent frames in both media organisations, including the abovementioned categories, are accusation, morality and economic consequences, with a slightly different order. In both media organisations, the accusation and morality frames were not applied from the beginning; these two frames replaced the economic consequences frame and extended the responsibility frame, which were the two most prominent in December 2011, during the first weeks of the affair. The economic consequences frame gained in importance in both media after Wulf's resignation, when his gratuity was discussed. Interestingly, Wulff was framed as a political loser only five times by each media outlet. Whenever the human interest and the glamour frames were applied in BZ, the content of the text was in most cases about Bettina Wulff or the whole Wulff family.
e. Objectivity

As objectivity in media texts is an unattainable goal, this category is based on Ward's definition of modern objectivity (2004: 20), leading to three criteria: attribution of information to sources, balanced coverage and (self-)critical coverage. First of all, (self)-critical coverage was found only five times in the whole sample and only in SZ. Such coverage refers to texts where journalists made critical assessments of their own performance or the media's performance such as publications where certain values or basic assumptions were questioned and reflected upon. The fewest number of texts assigned to the category self-critical coverage was consequently found in BZ, although SZ did not score considerably higher.

In the period before the affair, the coverage of BZ was marked as more objective in terms of attribution and balance than SZ.
During the affair, and after Wulff's resignation, texts in SZ were more balanced than texts from BZ, while the number of attributed sources was comparable in both samples. However, the percentages of both media organisations in the category balance were much lower in 2011 and 2012 than in the previous texts dating from 2003 to 2010. In terms of attribution, this category only coded quotes or the rephrasing of quotes; it did not code cases where the media organisation hid a source and presented information as mere facts without attributing it to a source. However, in several cases, it became apparent that the organisation did not have access to certain information such as the content of a text message on a mobile phone, private phone calls or internal meetings. Many such cases were found in BZ, which will be further elaborated throughout the CDA.

In terms of balance, only the number of sources of the different publications was counted; the order in which the sources were presented, however, was not coded here, but in the category sources. Thus, it can be stated that although a significant number of texts of a media organisation might be coded as balanced, this information might not be meaningful due to other factors such as the positioning of sources within the texts, as the later elaborations show.

f. News values
The news values selected as variables here are based on O'Neill and Harcup's work and aim to identify what leads journalists to choose to cover an event or not. As there are no criteria or written rules for news values, it is difficult to make valid statements on the underlying values of news production. As, according to Gans, the selection of stories and consequently news values go hand in hand with the selection of sources (1979: 45), the identified news values are cross-analysed with the selected sources in the conclusions.

As is the case regarding frames, more than one value could be applied to a text, thus the total number of values does not correspond to the total number of texts. As the protagonist of the case study is a political figure, the value power elite was identified as the most important feature
throughout the whole sample and in both media outlets. However, when both media organisations reported on the private life of the Wulffs, the value *power elite* could not be identified; on the contrary, values such as *surprise, entertainment* and *celebrity* were foremost in both the tabloid and the quality publication. *Follow-up* was recognised as another prominent value in both papers, but particularly in BZ. When Wulff separated from his first wife and introduced his new girlfriend who later became his wife, BZ followed-up on all these human interest stories. Later, during the affair, both media tended to pursue previous story lines.

The value *newspaper agenda* was notably higher in BZ in 2011 and 2012 than in SZ. Presumably, this is due to BZ's involvement into the affair, as the tabloid had a personal interest in covering the event. In SZ, this value was identified only later on, when SZ participated more in the conflict, particularly in the discussion about Christian Wulff's relationship with the media. The high amount of coverage of the affair in both publications, and the news value *relevance* that also ranks highly in both outlets during that period of time, are indicators for the perceived importance of the event for the media. It is interesting to note that Wulff's resignation was not considered to be a *surprise* or *bad news* in either paper.
g. Rhetorical structures in the whole text

In this category, all rhetorical devices such as metaphors, allusions, rhetorical questions etc. were counted and assigned to the subcategories positive, negative or neutral/mixed, depending whether they affirmed, condemned or were neutral towards Wulff and/or his actions.

Many rhetorical devices were found in the texts of both media organisations. It was noted, however, that texts that were assigned to the subcategory factual/sober (see section c. Form of presentation) contained the least number of rhetoric devices used by both news organisations, whereas the opposite is true for texts marked as polemic/ironic and exciting/sensational/emotional. From 2003 to 2010, the majority of rhetorical devices found in SZ were marked as neutral. The same applies for BZ, but with a considerably lower percentage of neutral devices and higher values for positive rhetorical structures. With the beginning of the affair, the number of rhetorical devices decreased in BZ; in SZ, the average number of rhetorical devices remained more or less steady. In both organisations, a trend towards using more negative rhetorical devices to refer to Christian Wulff and/or his actions was noticeable; almost 60 percent of all devices were assigned to negative in the tabloid, as well as in the quality paper.
h. Use of sources and location in the text

In this category, the number of sources was counted and their position in the text was assessed. It was also evaluated whether the statement of a source was positive, negative or neutral towards Wulff and/or his actions. Only statements in quotation marks or reported speech were counted.

The number of quotes was higher in SZ in the coverage about the elections in 2003, 2008 and 2010, as well as during the affair and after Wulff’s resignation, than in BZ. However, BZ used almost twice as many quotes as SZ in the coverage about Christian Wulff and his wife. Another general result is that the highest number of quotes or indirect speech could be found in the second third of the texts from both media organisations, whereas the first and last third of the texts contained comparatively fewer statements. The following figure shows that politicians, including Wulff himself and politicians from his own and other parties, achieved by far the highest percentages in the case of both media outlets. Thus, the share of official sources in the media discourse clearly dominated over other sources such as experts or citizens. In both media and in
both periods, thus from 2003 to 2010 and from 2011 to 2012, quotes or reported speech from Christian Wulff ranked highest, followed by statements from politicians from other parties and politicians from his own party. Both media outlets quoted other media considerably more often than experts and citizens. From 2003 to 2010, SZ quoted more citizens than experts; in BZ, the results were reversed.

During the weeks of this affair, Christian Wulff only occasionally gave interviews or statements, thus the number of quotes from him was limited. However, the number of Wulff's statements in the media coverage of SZ and BZ remained steady and did not fluctuate significantly. This can be explained by the repetition of certain quotes and the usage of older quotes that Wulff expressed in the past and which were, at times, used out of context.

During the second examined period, the trends had reversed in both media, as citizens were quoted more often than experts in BZ and vice versa in SZ. The overall lowest number of quotes came from Bettina Wulff. In 2011 and 2012, no quote from Bettina Wulff could be found in SZ, whereas BZ included 30 statements from the Ex-President's wife during that period. In the previous period, she achieved a share of 8.1 percent of all quotes in BZ and 3.1 percent in SZ.

As van Dijk (1996: 93) concludes from his research, the position of quotes in the texts reveals some insights regarding whom the journalists perceive as powerful; this aspect is also researched in this thesis. Apart from the fact that the beginnings and ends of texts from both media contained a lower number of quotes or reported speech, no valid results could be drawn from this analysis. Statements from all the different subgroups could be found at all positions in the texts; in particular, the number of quotes in the first and last third were almost equally distributed across all subgroups in both quality and tabloid papers.
Finally, all quotes and statements, except those from Wulff, his wife, his spokesman and his lawyers, were assigned to the categories positive, negative or neutral. Similar to the findings regarding positioning of sources, no meaningful trends could be recognised; negative and positive statements towards Wulff from all the different subgroups could be found in the first, second and last third of the texts of both papers from 2003 to 2012. The great majority of these quotes were marked as neutral. At 60 percent, the quantity of neutral quotes remained steady in BZ from 2003 to 2012. Some variations in the number of positive and negative quotes could be found, however; the previous 11 percent of negative quotes in the period of 2003 to 2010 rose to 29.8 percent during the affair and after Wulff’s resignation in BZ. On the other hand, the 27.9 percent of positive quotes identified during the first examined period decreased significantly to only 11.3 percent in BZ. In SZ, the quantity of negative and positive quotes towards Wulff was equally distributed, with some seven percent from 2003 to 2010. In 2011 and 2012, neutral

Wulff, his wife, spokesman and lawyers were excluded from assignment to positive/negative/neutral categories because this study aims to reveal which sources the media used to reinforce their attitude towards Wulff and how they saw the politician. It is logical to exclude Wulff from this category, as his attitude towards himself cannot be assessed.
quotes decreased from 85.1 percent to 59.8 percent. The previous equal shares of positive and negative quotes changed to a predominance of negative statements (31.6 percent) over positive quotes (8.6 percent).

i. Stylistic devices
Apart from rhetorical structures, stylistic devices as proposed by Früh were researched to observe the means journalists used to modify arguments or certain viewpoints. Similar to frames and news values, more than one stylistic device such as irony or implications could be chosen for a text and multiple incidences of one specific device in one text were possible. It must be stated that several texts from SZ and BZ did not contain any of the proposed stylistic devices. Linking the different variables, texts without any stylistic devices were mostly also categorised under the variable factual/sober with regard to the form of presentation. A larger number of texts that did not carry any of Früh’s stylistic devices was found in SZ and, overall, the number of stylistic devices identified was lower in SZ compared to BZ.

With regard to all the texts from 2003 to 2012, irony was the most prominent device used by SZ, whereas irony could be found only occasionally in BZ. In BZ, on the other hand, emotionalisation, either positive or negative, was used the most frequently of all the different devices. It can also be observed that BZ turned from a more positive form of coverage in the first period from 2003 to 2010 to a more negative approach to coverage in the second period of 2011 and 2012; a similar trend could be observed in SZ, but was considerably less visible. The overall second most frequently used device in SZ was the relativisation of an argument through contrasting arguments. Thus, SZ often mentioned the arguments of several parties, but weakened some by reinforcing a contrasting argument. This device was also used many times by BZ in 2011 and 2012. Several times during the affair, BZ downgraded Wulff’s statement or the statement of a source that supported him. On the other hand, a source that contradicted or blamed Wulff was upgraded with positive adjectives or other attributions 27 times in BZ during the course of the affair and its aftermath; SZ rarely applied such devices. The hiding of unconfirmed information amounted to 8.5 percent of all devices used in 2011 and 2012 in BZ and to 5.8 percent in SZ and will be addressed later again in section on the CDA. Moreover, Früh identifies the repetition of identical or similar statements as a means to stress and highlight the importance of an aspect. This approach was found 21 times in SZ and 17 times in BZ in the coverage of the affair.
j. Adverbs and adjectives used to describe Wulff or his actions

Similar to the category *rhetorical structures*, all adjectives were counted and marked as either *positive*, *negative* or *neutral/mixed*. The texts from SZ were overall richer in adjectives than the texts from the tabloid. During the period from 2003 to 2010, more than double the number of adverbs and adjectives were found in the quality paper compared to the tabloid. In SZ, there was an almost equal distribution of *negative*, *positive* and *neutral* adjectives/adverbs referring to Bettina and Christian Wulff. In BZ, the proportion of *positive* adjectives was highest during that period and the highest number of *positive* adjectives was found in the texts shortly after the presidential elections in 2010.
Throughout the duration of Wulff's transgressions and after his resignation, an increase in the number of adjectives and adverbs was found in all texts. More than half of all adjectives and adverbs were, however, assigned to neutral. The proportion of positive adjectives and adverbs was higher in BZ in 2011 and 2012 than in SZ. This again confirms previous observations that, in many cases, positive attributions referred to Wulff's wife, Bettina.

In BZ and SZ, the adjectives that were used to describe Wulff before his infringements not only address his behaviour, but also provide some information on how the media organisations assessed Wulff's character. Adjectives such as nice (25.06.2006), smart (11.06.2006), clever (21.01.2008), loving and passionate (both 01.07.2010) were used in BZ to describe Wulff's qualities. Similar patterns could be found in SZ as well, with adjectives such as accurate (04.03.2003), gentle, relaxed, confident (all 27.02.2003) and romantic (27.10.2010). A change occurred between this first examined period and the second in 2011 and 2012, when adjectives were limited to behavioural descriptions, such as tense, depressed and almost emotionless (all 17.02.2012) in BZ and defiant, calm, cautious and fragile (all 18.12.2011) in SZ.

k. Synonyms for Wulff
Mittelberg concluded from his analysis of the German tabloid BZ in 1967 that BZ used and invented nicknames for popular personalities, especially celebrities and politicians who appeared regularly in its coverage to create a sort of familiarity between the celebrity and its readership (1967: 25). Thus, all names for Wulff were collected and assigned either to official name or colloquial/familiar. In this research, BZ referred to Wulff in the great majority of cases with his name or official position such as Prime Minister of Lower Saxony and, later, head of state or President of Germany; synonyms that were marked as familiar/colloquial were rather allusions and a nickname could only be found for Wulff's second wife Bettina, who was referred to as “Bella Bettina” (BZ 15.02.2012) on their state journey to Italy. Yet, on June 11, 2006, when Wulff
announced his separation from his first wife Christiane, BZ published a text about the couple referring only to both of them by their first names, which created some proximity and familiarity. A total of 21 different synonyms in the category *familiar/colloquial* were found in BZ from 2003 to 2012, such as *the son-in-law of one’s dreams* or *the dream of every mother-in-law* (both 11.06.2006), *the tumbler toy with the charm of the perfect son-in-law* (17.02.2012), *01 (22.12.2011)* referring to him being the head of state and *the lone Wulff* (03.01.2012).

In addition, the quality paper SZ was quite imaginative in terms of inventing names or attributions for Wulff. Such attributions and synonyms were mostly found in texts that were coded as *polemic/ironic*, whereas colloquial names were discovered in *factual/sober* texts. From 2003 to 2012, 39 different names for Wulff were identified and assigned to the category familiar/colloquial, and some of these names appeared several times in SZ. Most of these colloquial names for Wulff are cynical and exaggerate a certain characteristic: SZ, for instance, criticised Wulff several times for being *boring* and *without any rough edges* (29.06.2010), which was complemented through expressions such as *the master of ordinariness* (23.01.2008), *the nice Mister Everyone*, *the softie for everyone*, *the feel-good-Wulff* (all 23.06.2010), *President Schmeichelstein* (03.07.2010), *mummy’s favourite* (23.06.2012) and *mollycoddle* (27.02.2003). In allusion to BZ’s coverage on Wulff’s private life, he was referred to as *daddy* (02.03.2003), the *super-family-Wulff* and the *daddy of the nation* (both 23.01.2008). Wulff’s relationship to Merkel was also the subject of several neologisms, including names such as the *President of Merkel’s mercy* and *a playing piece of the chancellor* (both 12.01.2012).

**6.2. Comparing BZ and SZ with an analysis of the CA and CDA**

In the case of CDA, a clear distinction between findings and interpretation cannot be made, as CDA in itself interpretative. For this reason, this subchapter combines different aspects of this research. Firstly, it describes and analyses the results of this study; hence, it combines the findings and analysis. Secondly, it considers the results of both methods. This means that the topics from the previously described findings will be pursued here. It is important to note that the two methods will not be dealt with separately, as they complement each other in many ways. The CA, for instance, was used to examine the adjectives and synonyms used by the media to refer to Christian Wulff. These results will be incorporated into the linguistic analysis of the CDA. The same holds true for the frames; while the CA established the prevalence of certain frames and how they changed, the CDA took a closer look at how these frames were implemented into the discourse by closely examining a few texts. Many such interweavings can be found in the following elaborations.

As a theoretical framework developed from the findings of other scholars is the basis for this study, and the research questions and hypotheses were produced, to a large extent, according to it, this subchapter formally follows the structure of Chapter two and three. It starts at the macro level in the case study of Christian Wulff, including elaborations on gatekeeping, objectivity etc., finally leading to the micro level, including explanations of ideologies, emotions

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19 The results of the CDA cannot be presented in graphs and tables; however, a fact sheet for each text analysed can be found in the Appendix.
etc. Unlike the literature review, this section does not start with power and how it was applied by the media in the case study; on the contrary, as power is at the core of this thesis, it will be dealt with in a separate chapter.

a. Gatekeeping
Decision-making in journalism begins with gatekeeping; in other words, whether a topic will be covered at all. Based on news factors and news values, journalists and editors decide on behalf of their audience what it is important for the public to know or not know, and which stories would sell best in their opinion. Apart from the elections in 2003 and 2008, BZ dedicated a significant number of texts to the coverage of Christian Wulff\(^{20}\) when his first marriage ended, during the presidential elections in 2010, throughout his transgressions and after his resignation. With his willingness to tell the tabloid details about his private life and his victory in the presidential elections, Wulff gained stature with BZ and the tabloid's gates became more permeable for stories about the politician. The amount of coverage increased significantly in December 2011 and over the following weeks, when texts on the politician could be found on an almost daily basis on the tabloid's website, with reports about every new development in the affair. The level of inclusion of texts on Christian Wulff is an indicator for the perceived importance of the politician for the readership of BZ, particularly during the affair in 2011 and 2012. However, the reasons to increase the coverage on Wulff during that period were different, as there was no event in the political or private life of Christian Wulff that triggered this amount of coverage. On the contrary, the infringement was identified unexpectedly and had no relation at all to any event in Wulff's life or an ongoing political discussion. This points to the powerful role of the tabloid in this case study, as it was able to trigger a debate which encompassed the whole country for several months.

This brings up another key point: news values as the next step in the decision-making process in journalistic production. It could be noted that power elite and follow-up where constantly the most prominent values during the whole sample of the case study. Yet, newspaper agenda, relevance and magnitude gained in importance in 2011 and 2012, during the course of the affair. This increased interest can be explained by the role BZ played in the transgressions, as the tabloid revealed the affair and carried out extensive research on the different aspects of Wulff's undertakings. Because of Wulff's voicemail message on the mailbox of the editor-in-chief of BZ, the tabloid took centre stage and an active role in the discussions; several times, BZ published short texts entitled “On our own behalf” (e.g. BZ 06.01.2012), to justify its own actions or to contradict statements from Christian Wulff. Summing up, the frequency of texts on Christian Wulff in connection with the most prominent news values identified in the CA point to the conclusion that Christian Wulff was already an important elements of the tabloid's agenda before his infringements and he gained even more importance through the coverage of the tabloid during this affair.

Looking at the change of news values and especially the increased coverage, generally, it could be observed that SZ published fewer texts on Christian Wulff in comparison to BZ and SZ's

\(^{20}\) Due to the limited scope of this study, no valid comparison on the coverage of other politicians or German celebrities in the tabloid BZ can be made. This statement is thus based on the comparison of coverage provided by BILD and SZ.
stories usually focused on politically relevant topics, such as elections. The gate for stories on Wulff's professional life was wider than for private family stories in SZ; his wife was mentioned only occasionally and, when this occurred, it was usually in the more ironical texts. Wulff gained in importance on SZ's agenda when he became a candidate for the presidential elections as the number of stories on him increased considerably. SZ reported cautiously about Wulff when the first allegations were made against him in December 2011. Later, with the number of scandals increasing, Wulff became a constituent component of the newspaper coverage of SZ. During the affair, SZ ignored a number of smaller scandals that were mentioned in BZ, but the coverage on Wulff rose remarkably as a consequence of two incidents: firstly, Wulff's call to Diekmann to intervene in the tabloid's coverage and, secondly, when it became known that there were inconsistencies in Wulff's statements, for instance with regard to his relationship with the entrepreneur Egon Geerkens.

In the sample of the CDA, both news organisations basically reported on the same topics (the revelation of Wulff's loan affair, Wulff's holidays taken free-of-charge at his friends' residences, Wulff's relationship with his entrepreneurial friends, Wulff's call to the editor-in-chief of BZ, the removal of Wulff's immunity etc.), but sometimes with a temporal difference. BZ was the first news organisation to report on the loan affair and stressed that they were the first organisation to uncover details about Wulff's transgressions throughout the whole period of time. SZ reported on Wulff's loan affair for the first time one night after BZ had written about it for the first time. This applies also for later cases; SZ, for instance, reported a day later than BZ regarding the discovery that Carsten Maschmeyer, a friend of Wulff, paid an advertisement campaign for Wulff's book. Whenever anything was publicly released, the two organisations reported about it simultaneously, but BZ appeared to show more initiative concerning the investigation of new details. Moreover, there was not only a time lag on some of SZ's reports; in some cases they did not report all aspects. With regard to Wulff spending his holidays free-of-charge at his friends' residences, BZ reported in detail about all the different journeys in different texts, whereas SZ dealt with the topic in only one text, without mentioning all the specific details. The same is true for Wulff's wife, Bettina, who was mentioned occasionally in SZ, whereas BZ dedicated entire texts to her. To conclude, BZ reported earlier on more topics and in more detail.

b. Objectivity

Based on Ward's definition, modern objective reporting is the absence of value judgement, an expression of opinion of the journalist and the balancing of sources (2004: 20). Although the sample excluded comments and editorials in both analyses and focused only on news stories, analytical texts and background articles, some sort of judgement and opinion could be found in almost all BZ texts, as the findings of the CA showed. When referring to Wulff, the overall tone of the text was mainly positive before the affair, mainly negative during the affair and mostly neutral after the affair. The very fact that such differences can be assigned so clearly to certain periods of
time shows the tabloid’s role in influencing the tone of the debate. The balance of sources and the attribution of information to sources were identified as other important aspects in terms of modern objectivity. The figures from the CA showed that most quotes and indirect speech in BZ were attributed to a source and that the texts were more balanced before the affair than during. However, in connection with the findings from the CDA, these results must be considered to be relative, as it could be shown that BZ hid a significant number of sources. In several cases, it became obvious from the reports that BZ had access to confidential or information that was not in the public domain, but did not display it as such (e.g. content of SMS and private phone calls). Furthermore, there were other examples of inaccuracy found in the sample from BZ; some quotes were repeated several times, but with slight changes to the wording (e.g. BZ 16.12.2011). Furthermore, comparisons with SZ showed that a number of sources were quoted out-of-context (e.g. BZ 20.12.2011), and sometimes, particularly with regard to numbers and figures, the tabloid mentioned differing amounts even when referring to the same issue (BZ 01.07.2010). In other areas, however, it could be noted that BZ was very precise in its descriptions of people, surroundings or circumstances. In particular, texts featuring a lot of unconfirmed information or using hidden sources contained a high number of details, covering up the missing facts and creating proximity to the event as well as a sense of credibility. Superficially seen, the great majority of texts from the BZ sample applied journalistic techniques to enhance credibility in reports; for example, the inverted pyramid, and the use of sources to attribute information and provide a balance between different viewpoints. Yet, a deeper analysis with the help of a CDA revealed in many cases that these techniques were used to obscure a lack of confirmed information. When considering the main hypothesis of this research, the obscuring of secret sources and unconfirmed information reveal a decision and can be assessed as a conscious choice. This, in turn, leads to the conclusion that the tabloid organisation was aware of its decision-making powers with regard to applying differing degrees of objectivity, and used them to achieve a stronger effect when covering Christian Wulff. This confirms hypothesis four in the case of BZ, verifying that, to a certain extent, the media deliberately used biased elements.

In the SZ sample, the distinction between news stories and background stories was clearly recognisable. Commonly, there were more news stories than background articles, but a regular alternation of both text types was found in the coverage. The differences between those two styles of text were easy to distinguish whilst reading; although it is interesting that the news organisation did not visibly assign them to different categories. The tone in news stories throughout the whole sample was generally neutral. The content of the texts was based on information that was confirmed by some sort of source. Within such stories, very little room was given to interpretations, opinions of the journalists or irony. Background stories, on the other hand, were generally much longer and contained a considerable amount of evaluation, irony and opinion; they were less restricted in both form and language. Some stories were extremely biased regarding the facts and sources presented (e.g. SZ 20.12.2011). During the affair, these texts always adopted a negative tone towards Wulff. As there was such a clear-cut distinction between news stories that fulfilled the criteria of modern objectivity according to Ward (to a large extent) and background stories that apparently allowed the journalists to support a side, this must be
seen as an editorial line and a conscious decision. SZ, however, supported and even required strong opinions in some of their texts, whereas news stories contained none of these characteristics. A similar trend could be observed with regard to the use of sources. Generally, in background texts, the journalists used fewer quotes in comparison to news stories. The writers of background stories tended to build a large proportion of the texts on their knowledge of the situation and its background. Some quotes were even repeated several times for rhetorical reasons, as occurred on December 20, 2011. However, whilst news stories often only reported one specific event from one side, the balance of sources from different viewpoints was often given in background stories. To conclude, the editorial policy of SZ apparently allowed their journalists to use their own knowledge and interpretations without attributing them to sources in background stories, whereas news texts required a strong attachment of the information to sources. All in all, this also confirms hypothesis 4 for SZ, assuming that, to a considerable extent, the quality paper deliberately used biased elements under the criteria of Ward's modern objectivity.

c. Frames

Paxton explained media frames as “a window through which media consumers see only a small segment of reality” (2004: 44). The case study of Christian Wulff is a great example of the existence of frames, showing how BZ and SZ presented only parts of a perceived reality.

When scrutinising the frames in SZ, an interesting evolution was found. Throughout the whole sample, Wulff was viewed through the responsibility frame in the great majority of cases; the only exception are the presidential elections in 2010 that were framed as a strategic political move of Chancellor Angela Merkel and her coalition parties, while Wulff did not have a lot of freedom to act. He was mostly presented as being accountable for either his professional success (before the affair) or his political defeat (during the affair and after his resignation). The responsibility frame was often connected with at least one other frame. This section will examine the evolution of the additional frames and the events that caused different frames to be added. In 2003, in the coverage of Wulff's electoral victory in the federal elections, he was still married to his first wife Christiane. Subsequently, with his new partner Bettina, the glamour and family man frames were added. Wulff was thus perceived differently with his new partner and, at first, the new couple was seen rather positively; during the infringements, however, their taste for luxury and glamour was not appreciated (e.g. SZ 19.12.2011). Wulff's actions as part of the loan affair brought him into conflict with the law and other politicians. Therefore, the conflict frame was in SZ in 2011 and 2012, often displayed through a line-up of the contrasting parties.

Concerning the frames in BZ, the previous conclusions can be confirmed, namely that the frames in stories about Wulff before the affair were mostly positive, portraying him as a very popular and successful politician who had still remained down-to-earth, until December 12, 2011, the crucial day when the coverage changed. With or because of these changes, the frames also altered to framing Wulff in a more negative light. This is why the CDA looked more closely at the use of frames and how they were applied during the affair.
Table 2 Frames found in the sample of the CDA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>SZ 12.-20.12</th>
<th>BZ 12.-20.12</th>
<th>SZ 10.-17.2</th>
<th>BZ 10.-17.2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Responsibility frame</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morality frame</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic consequences frame</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict frame</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human interest frame</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim frame</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusation frame</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Guy from next door'/'family man frame</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glamour frame</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political loser frame</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political winner frame</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The numbers varied significantly between the two weeks of analysis and also between the two organisations due to the differing amounts of coverage indicated in the last line of the table. It can, however, be observed that some changes took place. The conflict and responsibility frames were most prominent in both papers and during both weeks. In all texts that applied the conflict frame, Wulff and his family were one party of the conflict. His opponents, however, varied; in most cases, other politicians disagreed with Wulff, but different experts and citizens were also adversaries. Whenever the responsibility frame was applied, Wulff was presented as fully responsible and accountable for his behaviour. In both papers, Wulff's actions were always described through the active voice and without any euphemisms; on the contrary, verbs such as mislead (BZ 12.12.2011), deliberately deceived (BZ 18.12.2011) and covered up (SZ 20.12.2011) imply an awareness and responsibility for such actions.

In the tabloid, the economic consequences frame could be identified as an underlying notion, but also a comprehensive frame during the period of the affair, as Wulff's financial wrongdoings were the starting point of a new set of frames in the coverage. At the same time, it was a constant factor in the coverage of the tabloid around which everything turned. Together with the economic consequences frame, Wulff was always presented in terms of the responsibility frame, in that he acted willingly and knowingly, and was thus fully accountable for his actions. In the first report about Wulff's private loan, for instance, a common strategy of the tabloid was displayed: the tabloid started its text with the question “Did Wulff deceive the Parliament?” (BZ 12.12.2011). In the course of the text, the tabloid answered the question it had raised in the

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21 Again, the total number of texts does not correspond with the total number of frames.
22 All translations were made by the authors of this study.
headline by explaining what had happened and how Wulff reacted in that situation, concluding “THIS WAY, WULFF HAD DECEIVED THE PARLIAMENT” and convicting him of knowingly doing the wrong thing. Moreover, BZ never presented Wulff as being in a dilemma or being limited in his decisions in any situation before or after Wulff's resignation; on the contrary, it was clear that Wulff had different options to hand and that he could have acted differently.

As the economic consequences resulting from Wulff's behaviour turned out not to have a striking impact on the budget of the public and, consequently, did not significantly harm his popularity at the beginning of the affair, this frame was extended and enriched with the morality and accusation frames. By judging Wulff's financial wrongdoings and his dealings with accusations on moral grounds such as sincerity, honesty and integrity, and in connection with his office as President, the tabloid took the affair to a different level and emerged as a moral authority, adjudicating on good and bad performance, as well as moral and immoral behaviour in the case of Christian Wulff. Interestingly, BZ did not express many direct accusations against Wulff itself; on the contrary, the tabloid rather applied the accusation and morality frames by quoting the calls for resignation from other politicians, as well as negative comments and parodies from other media organisations (e.g. extracts from a satirical song by FAZ in BZ 10.02.2012). This reluctance to accuse Wulff directly points to another decision-making process, as, originally, the tabloid was deeply involved in the affair because of its previous close relationship to Wulff and Wulff's voicemail message to the editor-in-chief of BZ. In consequence, it can be seen as an editorial strategy that BZ, on the one hand, actively pushed the development of the affair by conducting a lot of research and disclosing a number of details about his affairs during this period of time; on the other hand, BZ remained rather passive in making direct calls for Wulff to step down and used other media outlets or the politicians in their reports to implement these frames.

In SZ, the financial elements were also mentioned, but played a minor role in comparison to the moral aspect. There is one more important observation to mention: in December, the moral frame was applied to Wulff's behaviour by SZ, but it was not yet seen as an indicator of an immoral character. The publication of Wulff's message on Diekmann's mailbox at the beginning of January is a decisive event in the frame analysis of SZ; at this point, the accusation frame was added to the responsibility and moral frames. Furthermore, the moral frame changed from descriptions of his behaviour to drawing conclusions on his character as irresponsible and full of self-pity (SZ 5.1.2012). This is when the tone became more aggressive and SZ took a more active role in the course of the affair; however, SZ never manipulated the affair by revealing more details, as did BZ and other media. The economic consequences frame was often used to reinforce the moral or accusation frames, but it only gained prominence with Wulff's resignation and the discussion about his gratuity. In the weeks between the voicemail message for Diekmann (at the beginning of January) and Wulff's resignation (mid-February), accusations decreased again slightly in SZ.

On February 17, 2012, both media organisations published a text that dealt with the
content of Wulff's resignation speech. The texts were very different in terms of structure and content, but the selected frames overlapped. Both texts included the conflict, moral, accusation, responsibility and political loser frames; BZ also used the political winner frame, as it made a comparison between Wulff's career in Berlin (political loser) and Lower Saxony (political winner). The whole text in BZ was built upon the assumption that Wulff unites two sides of himself that are in conflict with each other (conflict frame). Sometimes the 'good' Wulff was stronger; for example, when he was still governing Lower Saxony, but sometimes the 'evil' Wulff took control; for instance, when he took advantage of his rich friends. Neither the good, nor the evil finally won, as "they failed because of each other" (BZ 17.02.2012). The journalist from BZ recognised that Wulff was suffering as a result of his political crisis, but opined that he had put himself in such a position (responsibility frame), as "over years, he carelessly accepted invitations from his rich and sparkling friends. He borrows a mobile phone for a discreet phone call and makes himself vulnerable to blackmail." This ironic expression "discreet phone call" refers to Wulff's call to BZ, also known as the voicemail affair, and it displays the moral frame; the journalist is of the opinion that Wulff as a political professional and lawyer should know what is right or wrong, even if it is not prohibited by law. The accusation frame applies as the author presented Wulff as voluntarily and knowingly overstepping some moral boundaries. From a scholarly perspective, this text is very interesting. According to Chong and Druckman, a frame comprises a certain perspective on an issue (2007: 104) and Scheufele writes that frames are not fixed and everlasting, but constantly contested and renegotiated (1999: 106). The framing analysis confirms their conclusions, as it has shown that there was a radical and very sudden change of perspectives on Wulff in the coverage of BZ. Yet, this article reconciles the two set of frames by presenting Wulff as a split personality. In a way, it is again a new perspective on the politician and verifies the influence wielded by journalists when selecting segments of a complex picture.

The journalist from SZ also used a comparison, not of the two sides of the same person, but between two previous resignations of presidents. Köhler was described as modest and morally perfect; on the other hand, Wulff's behaviour of his last few weeks in power was described as morally reprehensible. Honesty, sincerity, confidence and modesty were important values in the eyes of the author and, according to him, Wulff had violated such moral values (moral frame). “Wasn't it like tediously pulling teeth? How can he call that “sincere”?” (SZ 17.02.2012). Wulff was seen as responsible for his actions, as he made his decisions (responsibility frame) and the journalists accused him of not speaking the truth and admitting his faults: “That he plays an important role in it- not a word about it...He dedicates three unconvincing sentences to the investigations against him” (accusation frame). The journalist's anger was expressed particularly strongly when Wulff partly blamed the press for his downfall, whereas the journalist found all faults lay with Wulff himself. Because of his behaviour, Wulff was in conflict with the law (conflict frame) and the journalist framed him as a political loser, since Wulff created “his own conception of the world” and justified his action until pressure from outside forced him to resign.

Hypothesis 3 assumed that the media used a specific set of frames during the whole period of the affair, attributing full responsibility to Christian Wulff for all his actions. Although there were some variations, the underlying set of the responsibility and conflict frames, strongly connected to the morality frame, was used continuously by both media outlets, which confirms the hypothesis. This observation is also in line with Entman, who states that one characteristic of frames is the promotion of a causal interpretation and moral evaluation (1993: 52).

As a result of the frame analysis, a general conclusion, on which most arguments are built, can be made: none of the texts published during the affair presented Wulff as a victim. Implicitly or explicitly, the two media organisations presented Wulff as accountable for his actions and problems and this underlying assumption is not only supported and reflected by the frames. For example, on December, 20, SZ published an opinionated and ironic text about the whole affair. The text started with a quote from Wulff some years ago: “Honesty can be painful.” By means of this quote, which was repeated three times, the journalist evaluated Wulff’s behaviour over the past few years. Through the frames, structure of argumentation and some ambivalent wording, Wulff was defeated with his own arguments and the writer reached the conclusion that Wulff was fully aware of his wrongdoings and that his values are morally questionable.

In a second step, the criteria of appraisal theory (see Kepplinger et al. 2012: 661) were applied and it was found that, throughout the period of the affair, Wulff was presented in SZ and BZ as causing his own problems (b) because of selfish goals (c) and that he could have acted differently (e). The extent to which these three criteria were applied in both media organisations was high, to a comparable degree. Differences between SZ and BZ could be observed with regard to whether the damage Wulff caused was great or small (a) and whether he was aware of the consequences of his decisions (d). BZ paid particular attention to sums of money; for instance, regarding the financial advantages Wulff experienced because of his private loan and the amount of gratuity Wulff would receive after his resignation, emphasising the severity of the damage he caused. On March 7, 2012, BZ wrote “Unlike Wulff, it's not yet over for German taxpayers. They have to pay for the resigned head of state.” Titled “From now on, Wulff costs...” the tabloid listed all the financial state support Wulff would receive. Such presentations in BZ displayed the great and significant damage Wulff caused, especially for the German population. In SZ, amounts of money played a less significant role, thus the financial damage caused by Wulff for the German population was presented as less severe in comparison to BZ.

Both media outlets produced texts in which the journalists framed Wulff as knowing the consequences of his wrongdoings (e.g. BZ 12.12.2011; SZ 20.12.2011); on the other hand, SZ and BZ also acknowledged that Wulff had his own logic and justice and that he seemed to be neither aware of doing something wrong, nor of the consequences of his actions (e.g. BZ 16.2.2012, SZ 17.2.2012). To sum up, both media presented Wulff as fulfilling the majority of criteria in order to be perceived as guilty by the audience, which, according to the appraisal theory, would lead to anger among the population.

d. Storytelling
Both news organisations applied the inverted pyramid in many cases. Thus, new and what the
media considered to be the most important information was mentioned at the very beginning of the text. However, SZ and BZ did not necessarily apply the inverted pyramid in background articles or analysis pieces. Additionally, BZ reversed the rule of the inverted pyramid in a few instances of news texts and it was striking that the older information was sometimes mentioned first before the new information. On December 13, for example, BZ reported contradictory statements from Christian Wulff and Egon Geerkens. Before mentioning the contradictions, thus ‘new’ information, BZ repeated everything that had been revealed about Wulff’s loan affair so far, hence ‘old’ information. The news was only mentioned in the middle of the text. This confirms Bird and Ardenne’s statement that journalists do not report reality, but use “conventional structures to shape events into stories” (2009: 205).

As the sample of the CDA comprises a rather large number of texts, no general statements on the structure of argumentation can be made. The texts differ across the whole sample, thus balanced coverage mentioning more than one viewpoint or argument for both sides can be found in BZ and SZ, as well as one-sided coverage of an event, on the other hand. However, even if several viewpoints were presented within the same text and even if they were contradictory, the text could still be biased, as the following example shows. On December 16, 2011, SZ and BZ both showed two perspectives on how Christian Wulff might have received the money for his house loan from his private creditor, Egon Geerkens, as Geerkens and Wulff’s statements contradicted each other. In both media, however, Geerkens’ quotes were mentioned first, he was presented as active, while Wulff was mentioned second and thus only seemed to be reacting. Yet, the negative presentation of Wulff was a lot stronger in BZ, where more space was dedicated to Geerkens’ viewpoint. Wulff’s opinion was summed up in only a few sentences and only after Geerkens’ statements were mentioned. In SZ, there is more variety of sources and Geerkens and Wulff seemed to have a discussion, as their quotes alternated. Although both perspectives were mentioned in both texts, they were modified through the different positions of each source in the text. Thus, the structure of argumentation, viewed individually, is not indicative, and should be treated as one factor in an interplay of many.

Although BZ did only marginally participate in the accusations against Wulff and rather reported those of others, the tabloid continually emphasised its efforts and role in revealing the affair and it could be noted that a number of texts were structured around BZ’s investigations. The tabloid hence took the centre stage in its own texts, which introduces the next point of this analysis: storytelling in the tabloid. During the period of the affair, the tabloid presented itself as always being at the centre of events, acquiring current updates and first-hand-information, and at the same time, by not directly adopting an accusatory position, it distanced itself from the proceedings and took the role of an outside observer. By describing scenarios and giving very detailed descriptions of people and happenings, BZ brought their readers closer to the events, which could be observed in the whole research sample from 2003 to 2012. For example, reporting on the party held after Wulff’s inauguration as President, BZ described in detail all the food on the buffet (BZ 02.07.2010). Yet, the tabloid disassociated itself from the protagonists, as described above, much more during the affair than at any time before. The use of direct speech on numerous occasions intensified the effect of bringing the reader closer to the centre of the
action and, by means of rhetorical questions and exclamations, the tabloid addressed the reader directly and involved him in the events.

BZ drew many of its interpretations of situations from these descriptions. For instance, during the affair, when Wulff was often reluctant to speak to the press, BZ could, only observe that he “seemed to be quite relaxed, demonstrated serenity” (BZ 06.01.2012). Hence, a huge proportion of the information in BZ, especially background articles, was based on the perception and evaluation of the journalist observing the event. Also, in a number of cases, BZ paid more attention to how a person said something, including information on body language, facial expressions and tone of the voice, than what the person actually said; thus, the observation skills of the journalists were treated as more important than the content of the communicative act.

Furthermore, the tabloid tended to structure their stories around persons than happenings. This confirms Bird and Ardenne's observation that journalistic stories often do not reflect the original order of events, but use conventions to create meaning and coherence (2009: 207). Indeed, events played an important role, particularly during the revelations of Wulff's affairs, as they continued the story; yet, each story or event had a protagonist around whom the story revolved. To create proximity and familiarity between the protagonist and the audience, in numerous texts BZ included additional private details about the protagonist, such as hobbies and preferences, but also information about the person’s height, weight and even heart rate, that were not necessarily connected to the content of the story. One learns that Christian Wulff likes whole milk chocolate and Bionade the most, that his resting heart rate is 56 and that he is prone to kidney stones (BZ 29.06.2010). His wife Bettina hates shopping and loves nail polish from Chanel (BZ 02.07.2010). SZ instead took events as reasons to publish a story. Until Wulff's private life became a significant part of the affair, his personal details had never played an essential role in its coverage. Another general remark is that SZ never addressed the reader directly or induced close proximity to the events or protagonists of a story, unlike BZ.

In her textual analysis of BZ, Voss recognised constant repetition as another means to create comfort and familiarity for their audience (1999: 73). Since the number of repetitions in the sample of BZ was striking, especially during the affair when Wulff's behaviour was repeated continuously, Voss’ conclusions align with the results of this study.

Instead of including several topics in one text, BZ published several shorter stories and treated distinguished topics separately. More complex issues were often broken down to simple and easily comprehensible matters, although this led, in a number of cases, to ignoring considerable amounts of information. This, in turn, meant that some multifaceted and complex issues were narrowed down to a few perspectives or even one-dimensional presentations, which were particularly noticeable in comparison with reports from SZ that were much more complex. Furthermore, BZ provided comprehensive background information on a number of topics, for instance Wulff's friend, Egon Geerkens, which can also be seen as attempts to improve understanding and avoid ambiguities.

Moreover, it could be observed that the tabloid did not maintain a constant line of storytelling, neither in news texts nor in background articles. Texts could be found in which the tabloid applied prevailing journalistic standards of the information model, including the inverted
pyramid, balanced reporting and impartiality; in other texts, however, the story model prevailed and the tabloid even established a completely new order of events, participated in the actions and took sides. To conclude, in terms of storytelling, the tabloid created a certain tension between familiarity and unpredictability. Repetition of events and common patterns in terms of text structure and language schemes conveyed familiarity; at the same time, the coverage of the tabloid did not present a fixed pattern of telling the story in the same way. The case study of Christian Wulff is a perfect example of the tabloid not maintaining the same line and changing its coverage and storytelling from one day to the next without giving any prior notice. Connecting these conclusions to the initial hypothesis, it can be seen that also with regard to storytelling, BZ was well aware of some of its decision options.

In SZ, a distinction must be made between news stories and background texts. In news stories, the new information generally featured first and was attributed to a source. Furthermore, there was very little use of stylistic devices such as allusions and irony. This line of unambiguous and information-based story-telling was continuous throughout the whole sample from 2003 to 2012. There were, however, different rules for background stories. Compared to news stories, that showed a lot of similarities in terms of structure, background stories were composed in many different ways and individual writing styles of different authors were recognisable. Background stories either provided a reflection and analysis of a sequence of events, or highlighted and abstracted one aspect; thus, these texts often created a distance from single events.

The narratives and storytelling devices used in BZ and SZ often contrast and are a great example of the many options journalists possess when shaping their stories (Zelizer et al. 2010: 77), which is synonymous with their power and influence.

e. Language

Billig and other authors describe language and its power as multi-layered concepts (1991: 8), reflecting social phenomena such as identities, world views and relationships (Federal Ministry for Education, Science and Culture 2001: 3). Moreover, it is impossible to simply read power relations from texts. Therefore, this complex topic was analysed in several steps and from different perspectives through CA and CDA.

Syntax

No general statements can be made about the syntax used throughout the articles. Texts from BZ and SZ both contain very short and longer sentences, both used nominal and verbal styles such as active and passive voices, as the results of the CDA showed. Nonetheless, there are some differences. Compared to BZ, SZ used longer sentences overall, with occasionally up to four subordinate clauses, but sentences with one or two subordinate clauses were employed more often. SZ sometimes disconnected parts of a sentence, but as a stylistic device to emphasise an aspect (e.g. “This world almost seems to be from a thousand and one nights. Namely verbatim.” SZ 19.12.2011); syntactically correct sentences were recognised as an important feature in the coverage of SZ. It was noticeable that SZ only used short and elliptic sentences in analytical texts and background articles, they were not found in news stories.
In contrast, the great majority of sentences in BZ were short, simple and without interleaving that could endanger the clarity of the message. Consequently, comprehensibility and unambiguousness could be identified as comprehensive and important factors in the tabloid coverage, as well as indicators for editorial strategies and processes of decision-making. It was noted that numerous elliptic sentences were included in the sample of BZ and coherent clauses were often separated into individual sentences. Apart from using short and simple sentences to express information clearly and unambiguously, these sentence constructions fulfilled another function, as they continuously interrupted the text flow, pointing the attention of the reader to particular aspects, but also creating a certain tension and increasing the speed of the text flow. Voss concludes from her research that these choppy sentences were used to create additional suspense and agitation, as well as to involve the reader emotionally (1999: 37).

The great majority of sentences used by both media organisations were declarative clauses. In SZ, a small number of questions, mostly rhetorical, were found. These questions were always located within the text. In BZ, the proportion of questions and exclamations was much higher compared to SZ. Of the 32 texts that were analysed in the CDA, ten included a question and two an exclamation in the headline; 16 more exclamations were found within the sample of BZ. The number of exclamations was not distributed evenly, but clustered in a few texts with up to four exclamations. These texts were generally rich in different types of grammar (exclamations, questions, ellipsis), whereas the majority of texts in BZ only contained declarative sentences. Suspension points after incomplete sentences are another difference between the two media. No suspension points were found in SZ, whereas BZ used this technique six times, mostly to end a text or a paragraph.

It is valid for both outlets that more opinionated texts contained greater variation in terms of punctuation than rather fact-based news texts.

Use of many different punctuation marks is another approach by BZ to interrupt the sentence flow, pursuing the syntactical trend of drawing the reader's attention to certain aspects.

Both news organisations embedded one-word quotes, or short fragments of quotes, in numerous cases. A distinction can be made between the two media regarding introducing the quote when it was not embedded; in the majority of cases, BZ used ellipses by just mentioning the name and profession of the source or a conjunction such as 'and'. The opposite is true for SZ; most quotes were introduced with grammatically complete sentences and incomplete sentences were the exception.

Great differences could be found in terms of typographic emphasis, which aims to visually highlight something from the text, thus drawing the reader's attention. SZ rarely used any kind of typographic emphasis. Occasionally, a single word was highlighted by quotation marks or in italics, mostly to express irony. Only the headline, lede and subheadings were in bold in all SZ texts. The opposite holds true for BZ, as typographic accentuation was commonly encountered; for example, the use of italics, bold and capital letters, as well as bold and capital letters at the same time. In many texts, the majority of sentences were highlighted by the mentioned methods. The great extent of the emphasis in BZ made it difficult to draw any conclusions from it, as in a number of texts everything seemed to be of great importance to the author and thus worthy of
accentuation. Nonetheless, a few inferences can be made. The most prominent means to stress an aspect was bold, followed by italics, capital letters and capital letters in bold, but the latter was used by far the least and only for a few words. In most cases, however, the whole sentence was highlighted. Italics was mostly found at the beginning or very end of the texts and whenever a certain scenery or atmosphere was described. No code of practice could be found for bold or capital letters, as all kind of sentences were stressed in this way, including quotes, and at any position within the text.

As large proportions of texts in BZ were generally highlighted in one way or another, it can be concluded that most of the selected information included in the coverage of BZ was perceived as outstandingly important by the news makers. However, the headlines and ledes, as well as the end of each text, were generally particularly eye-catching in terms of typographic emphasis, but also regarding the information displayed there, as these parts often contained rhetorical devices and dramatic or sensational expressions (e.g. “The Wulffs are still able to smile!” BZ 13.01.2012). This can be seen as a strategic way to enticing the reader to start reading an article and to finish it. As it was observed that the tabloid pays attention to structural clarity and reader-friendliness, the typographic emphasis can also be understood as a means to visually structure texts. This matches the salience of syntax and punctuation in many BZ texts; in BZ, it is about standing out and guiding the reader’s attention. Although these features might be typical for tabloids (Conboy 2002), they are deliberate and powerful actions from news makers.

Lexicalisation

Similar to syntax, it is difficult to make any general statements about the choice of words. No significant differences could be found in the CDA between the first and the second week of analysis with respect to the lexicon. Also, the sample comprises texts from both media organisations that were both rich and poor in rhetorical devices. Similar to syntax, there was a correlation between the expression of opinion and the number of rhetorical devices in both cases; the more opinionated a text was, the higher the chance of identifying a number of rhetorical devices.

Yet, some differences could be found in the selection of such devices. A comparable variety of different stylistic devices could be identified in both media, but BZ used considerably more rhetorical approaches than SZ (18 percent more). Metaphors and figurative elements ranked first in both cases, and made up one third of all devices in BZ and SZ. As these devices were used less by SZ, the amount of metaphors was 15 percent lower than in BZ. In the case of BZ, ellipses (14 percent of all rhetoric devices in BZ), superlatives (7.4 percent), rhetorical questions (6.3 percent) and the use of colloquial language (5.6 percent) were ranked consecutively after metaphors. The distribution was different in the case of SZ: metaphors were followed by irony (13.4 percent of all rhetorical devices in SZ), ellipses (9 percent), alliteration (5.8 percent) and personification (5.3 percent). It was striking that SZ used almost twice as many ironic elements as BZ. The humorous rhetoric in SZ was sarcastic or cynical in most cases (e.g. “The spectacle, that the two Presidents perform, has traits of a grotesque. (…) It’s a topsy-turvy world: for months, there have been speculations whether Wulff’s financially strong countrymen
will one day help out the chronically broken people of President Napolitano. And now it's Napolitano who puts up a protective screen above Wulff, a screen of integrity, aura and a perfect reputation” (SZ 15.02.2012). There were, however, also cases where stylistic devices such as allusions or the use of colloquial language created a less aggressive and more funny, comedic element (e.g. “Prince Charles of German Politics” SZ 19.12.2011, “Wulff's resignation means a great deal of work to some people: the carnivalists from Cologne and Mainz” (SZ 17.02.2012) . If humour was found in BZ, it was always very cynical (e.g. “BILD overflies the Rubicon with Wulff”, “Wulff's office paid for all the flights. BILD will reimburse the money after returning. By transfer. And not in cash.” 14.02.2012).

According to Schwarz-Friesel, ironic elements create a critical distance from an event or a person, as they are indirect speech acts and they do not show the author's emotional attitude explicitly (2009: 230). This critical distance through humour could be observed in numerous cases in the sample of SZ. Staged performances of the politician were recognised as the superordinate topic of ironic and satirical coverage in SZ. It is common practice that politicians stage events, it is part of their job and journalists know this. With the help of such events that often include an emotional component (Hofer 2013: 400), politicians such as Wulff try to make a good impression and to connect with the public to win elections, for instance. When comparing the coverage of the two media outlets, it was interesting to see how differently they dealt with such staged events. BZ often embraced Wulff’s aims, especially before the affair was revealed, and covered events such as receptions positively, emotionally and without a critical distance, whereas SZ never just adopted what was staged. This means whenever the journalists perceived an event to be staged, in other words aimed to create a positive effect for Wulff, the SZ writers disassociated from him. For instance, during the presidential election campaign in 2010, Wulff travelled throughout the country to meet people, hold opening speeches and producing “pretty pictures” (SZ 24.06.2010); again and again, the SZ-journalist who accompanied him created distance by ridiculing these staged events (e.g. “Maybe such a trip is a good compensation for the bad media coverage. There is hardly anyone who doesn't greet him happily, who isn't well disposed towards him or who doesn't wish him luck for the elections next Wednesday. The real life shakes his hand and smiles” SZ 24.06.2010). Another favourite topic for ironic coverage was staged joint appearances of Christian and Bettina Wulff (e.g. SZ 19.12.2011) and official events (e.g. SZ 13.01.2012). On the one hand, this resulted in de-emotionalisation, as the intended positive message Wulff aimed to transmit was not adopted; on the other hand, this criticism, displayed through irony and satire, led to more negative attributions. During his election campaign in 2010, for instance, Wulff tried a ship simulation while some journalists were present. As he did not do well, the SZ-journalist concluded that “of, course, he isn't in control”, neither during the simulation, nor in his political life: “The candidate is sweating. “What I don’t like is that the helm and my compass don't really seem to fit,” he said. A beautiful sentence. He should say something like this on a party congress of the CDU” (SZ 24.06.2010). With his performance in the simulation machine, Wulff definitely did not want to express a lack of control and that he does not have a plan, and yet, that is the message the SZ-journalist transmitted, both implicitly and explicitly. Thus, Wulff's intended message was understood by the journalist, but its meaning was reversed and consequently de-emotionalised.
Nevertheless, it cannot be concluded that the irony in this case does not have an emotional level; on the contrary, negative allusions and attributions in irony are an interplay of cognitive and emotional information, as concluded by Schwarz-Friesel in her analysis of speech acts (2009: 230).

It has been stated in the findings of the CA that there was a radical change in the tone of coverage in 2011, which was, of course, also displayed in the language. While the adjectives, adverbs and metaphors for Christian Wulff were prevalingly positive before his private loan contract became known, the number of positive descriptions dropped considerably when the affair was disclosed, but no drastic increase in negativity could be found, particularly not during the first days after the revelation of the affair. Overall, the linguistic means, such as adjectives and figurative expressions, during the affair were not outstandingly biased in a negative way, which supports the previous conclusion that BZ did not take a leading role in accusing Wulff. It rather presented itself as a solid, neutral and investigative media outlet. In order to retain its credibility among its audience because of the drastic change in coverage, the tabloid employed a more subtle strategy; instead of increasing the amount of unfavourable comments in their coverage, the tabloid continually added material to the case and in that way, kept the debate alive. It critically assessed Wulff’s actions and asked numerous rhetorical questions that raised doubts as to his suitability for the office of presidency and his credibility. Using this method, the tabloid did not take the offensive, but led the debate from the background and gradually displayed Wulff as morally reprehensible. Because of the change from a positive bias towards Wulff to critical and sceptical coverage, especially with regard to his morality and credibility, this decisive turning point can be viewed as a conscious decision of the news-makers.

The analysis has shown that metaphors and other devices of figurative language were a prominent stylistic device in SZ and BZ. To understand the importance and impact of metaphorical language in media texts, visual language shall be discussed here very briefly. Through metaphors, according to Jain, a theoretical and abstract content becomes tangible, concrete and comprehensible (2002: 17). To Lakoff and Johnson, metaphors mean seeing and thus comprehending. Our thought is “fundamentally metaphorical” (Lakoff, Johnson 1980: 195) and thus visual language helps humans to gain a better understanding of concepts. But metaphors only gain meaning if the depicted picture is understood. Understanding visual language is consequently a process of encoding and decoding. Due to different concepts of reality, humans will decode and interpret pictures in different ways. Pictures are open to various interpretations and they “typically hide indefinitely many aspects of reality” (Lakoff et al. 1980: 208). Metaphors in the media thus offer many opportunities to make a concept clear and understandable. On the other hand, media metaphors, as tools to create depictions through language, can point too much in a certain direction, oversimplifying ideas or creating a picture of a perceived reality. In the words of Snævarr, metaphors are “seeing-as”, opinions and hence patterns that lead us to perceive an event in a specific, predetermined way, often linked to emotions (2010: 2).

As this study concentrates on Wulff, two metaphorical references for him were chosen for a closer analysis. A few days before his resignation, BZ titled a text “BILD and Wulff fly over the
Rubicon” (BZ 13.02.2012, BILD fliegt mit Wulff über den Rubikon) and SZ called Wulff the “Prince Charles of German politics” (“Prinz Charles der deutschen Politik” SZ 17.12.2011). The headline from BZ has three meanings in this case. Firstly, it was published when BZ actually flew over the river Italian Rubicon with Wulff, when a journalist from the tabloid paper accompanied Wulff on a state visit to Italy. Secondly, the headline is an allusion to the saying ‘crossing the Rubicon.’ The small river Rubicon was the boundary between Cisalpine Gaul and Italy in 49 BC. At that time, Julius Caesar and his forces were called back to Rome, but he said “The die is cast” and crossed the Rubicon with his troops to defeat their enemies. Caesar’s act was a declaration of war against Rome and resulted in a war. Since then, ‘to cross the Rubicon’ became a popular phrase describing a step that irrevocably commits a person to a given course of action (Merriam Webster). As this headline was published just a few days before the public prosecution demanded to remove Wulff's immunity and before his resignation, BZ knew that some serious accusations were raised against Wulff, based on investigations by the media, and could be a hint to future developments. This metaphor could also refer to the behaviour of the BZ journalist asking disallowed questions; the text said that Wulff never mixed foreign and domestic politics, thus he refused to answer questions concerning Germany on a journey abroad. However, the journalist, according to his own descriptions, did not stick to the rule and asked questions about Wulff's affairs whenever he got the chance. Consequently, he crossed a border with his behaviour. Thirdly, and most importantly, as discussed previously, Wulff called the editor-in-chief of BZ and left a message on his voicemail in which he literally said that a report from BZ about his private loan would “cross the Rubicon” and that it was a declaration of war (BZ 04.01.2012). To sum up, this example shows that this headline goes far beyond its literal meaning. It characterised the tense relationship between the news organisation and the politician, namely that both parties irrevocably crossed a boundary and that the die was cast. However, it remains questionable whether the reader has the cultural knowledge to understand the historic meaning of the metaphor and sufficiently detailed knowledge about the affair to understand the allusion to Wulff's voicemail message.

Just as the first example had several meanings, the second metaphor, Wulff as the “Prince Charles of German politics” which was published in SZ, had underlying connotations. Prince Charles and Christian Wulff had in common that, despite their influential position, they were both ranked second after a more powerful person, the British Queen and the German chancellor, Angela Merkel. Before his marriage to his first wife, Diana, failed, Prince Charles was free of scandal. His divorce from his first wife and his relationship with his mistress made him a popular topic in the British tabloids. Similarly, BZ and other German media depicted Wulff as the perfect politician with the charm of the perfect son-in-law (BZ 05.06.2006). When he announced his separation from his first wife and introduced his new girlfriend in the same breath, he became widely discussed in the tabloids. In contrast to Prince Charles, Wulff was covered quite positively (e.g. BZ 05.06.2006) but, like Prince Charles, he was mostly featured in the media because of his

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love life and not because of politics. Charles' second wife, Camilla, is said to have a foible for hats and dresses\textsuperscript{26}, hence luxury, which matches the description of Bettina Wulff in this SZ text. In connection with the title of the article, “Dangerous glamour”, the journalists from SZ criticised the Wulffs and how they presented their glamorous life to the tabloids. Just as Prince Charles has a moral, representative role, Wulff, with a similar role, should not have appeared in the media because of his luxurious lifestyle, in the opinion of SZ. As the SZ text provided a lot of context, the comparisons between Wulff and Prince Charles became very clear, as did the criticism of the Wulffs.

By telling stories with the help of many figurative elements, the tabloid applied the literal meaning of its name (which translates as picture newspaper). Overall, it can be stated that the message or meaning of the figurative elements and other rhetorical devices was simple, clear and unequivocal in the majority of cases. Thus, these devices served to communicate a specific message and to reinforce a certain effect; at the same time, they served to improve the general comprehensibility of the texts because of their unambiguous meanings. During the affair, for instance, BZ used a number of metaphorical expressions from the semantic field of weather, including rain, thunderstorms, and heavy grey clouds, to highlight the negative situation in which Wulff found himself.

In the sample of SZ, figurative elements had the opposite function. They were intended to be ambiguous and sometimes the opposite of what was meant was written. Using these devices, the writers expected their audience to understand the ambiguity and implicit connotations, because otherwise they would not get their communicative message across. This allows some conclusions on how the SZ journalists see their audience. Firstly, as the news organisation provided its audience with less detail and fewer repetitions of past events during the affair in comparison to BZ, it is assumed that its readership needs more analysis and reflection than an enumeration of details. Secondly, it assumed its audience had some background knowledge of the case study, as SZ left out and summed up events; also, it implied shared knowledge as its linguistic expressions were repeatedly vague and ambiguous.

Apart from the invention of words (e.g. “Wulffs Wahrheits-Wurstelei” SZ 20.12.2011) and the use of some interesting nicknames for Wulff (e.g. “Mum's favourite” SZ 23.06.2010), SZ mainly applied expressions from general language, which excluded foreign words and specialist vocabulary in most instances. Compared to BZ, the linguistic patterns, as well as punctuation, were unobtrusive and they did not stand out visibly in the text flow in SZ. The sentence structures were also generally clear and easy to read. The linguistic patterns in SZ, including vocabulary, grammar and sentence structures, were more diverse and sophisticated than in BZ. Exceptional words, incorrect and/or incomplete sentences were used occasionally and only as a mean to emphasise an aspect within the text flow.

Other important indicators for the expression of opinion were adverbs and adjectives. In many cases, a single word modified the whole meaning of the sentence or showed the opinion of the journalist regarding an event or action. Similar to rhetorical devices, the more opinionated a

text appeared, the more adjectives and adverbs it contained and vice versa. Hard news stories in the texts of both media organisations comprised a significantly lower percentage of opinion expressing adjectives and adverbs than texts that fell into the categories background article or evaluation/analysis. There were no fundamental differences between the number of adverbs and adjectives in the texts of the two organisations. On February 17, 2012, the day of Wulff's resignation, both papers published several texts, from which the following examples are taken. A journalist from SZ wrote:

“He dedicated three unconvincing sentences to the investigations against him... Always sincere? Didn't he keep it secret that he had a business relationship to the Geerkens? Wasn't it like tediously pulling teeth?... Many things were different in 2010, when Horst Köhler resigned. It was the humble resignation of a humble man... If Köhler gave up his office too early, Wulff definitely waited too long.”

If this extract is read again without the underlined adjectives and adverbs, it becomes clear how these words reinforce the negative tone of the text. In the following extract from BZ it becomes also clear, how adjectives and adverbs increase either the negative or the positive tone of a text:

“Finally, in 2003, he wins. And he governs well, is popular and citizen-centric... But there is also the other Christian Wulff... The lawyer and professional politician seriously thinks that everything that is not prohibited by law is alright. Pursuing this logic, he subtly disguised his relationship to the entrepreneur Egon Geerkens.”

Since the journalists avoided modifying words such as adjectives and adverbs in hard news texts and used them extensively in other genres, it can be concluded that such processes were conscious acts and examples of the media's exertion of influence on the coverage.

Some articles covered a specific topic, to which the vocabulary was also adapted. On December 20, 2011, for example, a text in SZ began with an older quote from Wulff: “Honesty can hurt”. The vocabulary of the text then contained a number of words from the semantic fields of honesty (truth, deny, violation, untruth, cover-up, the whole truth, to make a clean sweep) and hurt (pain, to hurt, the degree of pain, painful, sensibility to pain, painless). Similar examples could be found in BZ, where repetition of thematic vocabulary supported the overall topic of the text. Wulff's silence was a prominent topic in BZ at the beginning of the affair (December 14 and 15, 2011), with expressions such as to remain silent, to waste no words, to not say a word, to not comment, a very long silence, to cloak oneself in silence, to break one's silence. BZ also tended to create scenarios or an atmosphere, often in a stereotypical way; for instance, romanticism on Valentine's Day and harmony during the Christmas season.

The content of journalistic texts is not always based on confirmed facts. On the contrary, journalists also build upon their own capabilities to observe, conclude and make future predictions (Ward 2004: 22). Thus, some sort of speculation or forecast was frequently encountered in the analysis of SZ and BZ. In SZ, it was clear when the journalist provided their own opinions on possible future events, as words and expressions such as probably, apparently, it seems and auxiliary verbs like could, should, would were often used when journalists dealt with unconfirmed facts or his/her own observations. Examples in BZ, where speculations became apparent, were also found, but less prevalently than in the quality paper. In BZ, speculations, half-
truths or unconfirmed information were often presented as facts. In many cases, this was admitted only further down the text, or it became apparent that information was not as definite as presented when the text was compared to a similar article in SZ. On December 20, 2011, for example, BZ wrote in its headline: “The Council of Elders declared itself not competent: The Constitutional Court is supposed to clarify Wulff's affair!” based on a statement from a politician who said the Constitutional Court now remained the only option for critics after the Council of Elders was unsuccessful in solving the affair. Taking this information for granted, one would think the Constitutional Court would soon deal with the affair. Later in the same text it said, however, “Wulff's loan affair would be a case for the Constitutional Court”. The use of ‘would’ changed the context and showed a degree of uncertainty, but the question is whether the reader would notice such a difference in wording. Comparing the coverage of SZ to BZ, even more differences became evident. On the same day, SZ rephrased the same quote of the same politician, but its longer version: “Thümler had advised the opposition to choose either of these ways [a parliamentary investigative committee or going to court] if they doubted Wulff's statements – but not the Council of Elders.” SZ reported that there was still freedom to act, there were still two options available, whereas BZ indicated there was just one possibility left and half of the facts were presented as if no uncertainty remained. There were many such examples in BZ, and a few in SZ, but overall, doubts and modality were expressed more openly in SZ.

There was more variation of conjunctions and sentence connectors in SZ, and it can be stated that overall a larger vocabulary was used in SZ. In SZ, the language registers varied between formal, sophisticated and conversational. It was observed that little specialist terminology was applied in the coverage of BZ and the texts were rather characterised by the usage of simple vocabulary and colloquial expressions, evoking the impression of oral language and aiming to meet the language register of the average reader, which corroborates the research results from Heppenstiel, Mittelberg, Voss and Conboy. Often, there was little variation in the wording and repetition of terms was a common feature in BZ.

The linguistic characteristics of tabloids are well-researched and, overall, many could be found in the sample of BZ, but not as often or as strikingly as expected. Especially during the weeks of the affair, BZ refrained from overloading their texts with sensational expressions and obvious value judgements. This verifies previous observations that BZ had to bridge the sudden break with Christian Wulff and presented itself as a serious and independent news organisation, investigating the past of the politician.

Of course, the abovementioned categories of lexicalisation do not cover all the linguistic means applied by the journalists; however, they show how language can transport messages that go beyond the meaning of words. They also show how simple variations of words can lead to a different meaning, just as Scheufele describes in his essay “Agenda-Setting, Priming and Framing Revisited” (2000: 309).

f. Emotions
In media coverage, emotions cannot be contemplated separately from other concepts. Linguistic expressions, for instance, can be highly emotional, as described in the previous section. Hence,
the following paragraphs highlight some of these aspects, but also summarise.

In terms of expressing and describing emotions, more emotive texts were found in BZ. SZ was less emotive in terms of lexis, typography and syntax; emotive methods at the pragmatic and frame level could be found to a comparable degree in both media.²⁷

Bayer et al. found in their recently published study “Font size matters” that typographic emphasis in texts have the power to enhance emotional effects among readers (2012: 6). It is against this background that the enormous number of typographic techniques in the texts of BZ stands out. Large headlines and subheadings, bold, italics and/or capital letters were found in every text. SZ only set their headlines and subheadings in bold, whereas capital letters were completely absent and two words in italics were found in the whole sample. When it comes to expressing emotions through punctuation, similar patterns can be observed. A variety of punctuation marks and especially exclamation marks were found in BZ, evoking dramatic effects and pointing to the expression of emotions (Ortner 2011: 4). Texts from BZ usually contained a greater variety of punctuation marks than SZ texts, even if they were assigned to the category hard news story. In SZ, hard news stories were marked by little usage of punctuation marks apart from full stops, commas and double points, whereas background articles and evaluations also contained questions marks and hyphens. The syntax described previously showed that BZ used many very short and elliptic sentences, which are, according to Ortner, another indication of the expression of emotions, since such structures interrupt the sentence flow and consequently highlight an aspect (2011: 4). Voss’ observation that choppy sentences create agitation (1999: 37) highlights this, as elliptic sentences were largely found in the whole coverage of BZ. Without even considering the content or linguistic choices, it could be observed that BZ accelerated and interrupted the text flow again and again. Through the abovementioned means, BZ aimed to draw the reader's attention to particular words or passages of the text that were, in some way or other, of importance and contained emotional elements. In SZ, such elements could only be found in more opinionated texts as a stylistic technique.

Overall, contrasting emotional elements, as well as varying degrees of emotionalisation, could be recognised in the sample of BZ. The texts about the Wulffs as a glamorous celebrity couple before the revelation of the affair showed a strong positive emotional attitude towards the couple, resulting from an interplay of affirming frames and linguistic patterns for the actions of Christian and Bettina, as well as the selection of supporting sources. Apart from a few texts during the affair, Bettina Wulff was always presented in an extremely positive light. One way of applying positive emotional components is to create proximity to the protagonist and allowing the reader to identify with him/her. In the case of Bettina Wulff, BZ highlighted several times the fact that she is “our” First Lady (e.g. 15.2.2012), hence creating a “we”, and resulting in group feeling between the reader and the protagonist. With regard to Christian, his positive popularity in the tabloid rose with his new partner and decreased drastically with the revelation of his private house loan contract and other transgressions. While the positive emotional expressions before the affair were explicit and apparent, emotionalisation was applied in more subtle ways during the

²⁷ This paper only concentrates on how emotions were described or expressed, it will not address how the media elicited emotions as this would require an audience study.
affair. As mentioned above already, the language patterns were not outstandingly negative towards Wulff, nor did the selected sources only contradict or reject Wulff; however, the frames, structure of argument and the usage of stylistic devices, particularly rhetorical questions and metaphors, were based on the underlying accusation that Wulff had violated moral values and social norms by taking financial advantage of his profession and political position. According to Kepplinger et al., this would make the audience feel anger towards Christian Wulff. The negative emotional expressions in the tabloid became more exposed after Wulff resigned, when his military tattoo and gratuity were discussed in the media discourse, displayed most apparently in the selection of frames, language and sources. Here again, the perceived financial injustice was used to convict Wulff and stir up envy and anger towards him, as the German taxpayer, including the readers of BZ, were presented as the direct victims of Wulff’s wrongdoings. Just as BZ positively emotionalised its texts by means of creating identification with the protagonist, the tabloid applied negative emotionalisation by creating a separation. During the Christian Wulff affair, BZ drew a clear distinction between him and the German population. While he was “our” President before his affairs were revealed, thus a member of the group set up by the tabloid, the boundaries of membership had shifted and excluded him from the group with the revelation of his moral imperfection.

In terms of emotive lexis and pragmatics, which focuses on the analysis of adjectives, adverbs, and rhetoric devices such as metaphors, allusions and rhetorical questions, a similar quantity of emotive expressions could be found in both papers. In BZ, such devices were distributed more evenly throughout all the texts in contrast to SZ, where agglomerations of emotive expressions could be found in some texts, whereas others were almost emotionless in this regard. The most emotional texts could be found in both outlets during the last days of Wulff’s Presidency. Two very contrasting emotions, admiration and anger, expressed by the respective authors, were chosen as examples for this analysis. Admiration was expressed by the BZ journalist who accompanied the Wulffs on their state visit to Italy, where he revised his opinion towards Bettina Wulff (BZ 15.02.2012). His descriptions of her are all over-positive (*open-minded, instinctively, friendly, modest, polite, interested, eager to learn, charming, self-confident*). This corresponds with the stylistic devices used (*Bella Bettina, his better half, she peppered him with interesting questions, she cuts a good figure, she wraps him around his finger*) and the author agrees with the Italians that rave about “our First Lady not only because of her blond hair and her long legs”. Six sentences within the text are in bold to place greater emphasis on the positive aspects. Although the author avoided the subject pronoun I, his opinion was clearly shown: “Those who thought she was more interested in Versace and Gucci than Verdi and da Vinci were taught better, she is truly his better half” [...]after this journey one has to admit: It would be a pity about this First Lady.” Contrary emotions were found in SZ towards Christian, showing how BZ controlled the emotional presentation for each person.

The emotion that prevails in Thorsten Denkler’s text in SZ from February 17, 2012, is anger. His disagreement with Wulff’s attitude towards the press who revealed his affairs is particularly strong (“In the world view of Christian Wulff, it’s this press that is to be blamed for his fall.”) The journalist used a large number of quotes from Wulff’s speech; at the same time, he
invalidated all these quotes by comparing them to Wulff's actions of the past weeks. The colliding definitions of the sincerity of Wulff and the journalist were especially striking: "(Wulff:) “I made mistakes, but I was always sincere.” “Always sincere? Didn't he keep it secret that he had a business relationship with the Geerkens? Wasn't it like tediously pulling teeth? How can he call that “sincere”?” The journalist summarises his impressions in a final judgement over Wulff: “If Köhler gave up his office too early, Wulff definitely waited too long...The country will have a new president in 30 days. There is one thing we can be sure of: It will be a better president. It almost doesn't matter who it is.”

Descriptions of emotions, thus an interpretation of how a person might have felt in a certain situation, were more common in BZ. The tabloid wrote, for instance on January 22 that Wulff was “furious” (BZ 02.01.2012) when he called the tabloid's editor-in-chief, that he felt “haunted” and was “being treated in an unfair manner” by the press, and Bettina Wulff was “happy” during an event with children (BZ 13.01.2012). The addition of the adverb “demonstratively”, which was used three times in the coverage of the New Year's reception in the President's residence, showed some emotive descriptions, as well as the comment that the chancellor “jokes demonstratively with the Presidential couple”, whereas Edda Müller and Michael Konken “withdrew demonstratively from the reception” (BZ 13.01.2012).

As the German Press Council has already reprimanded BZ numerous times for its inappropriate sensational coverage28, reports that have a strong appeal to the emotions of the reader, sensationalism was also one of the criteria of this research when examining emotionally charged coverage. The tabloid reports researched in this thesis were more sensational overall in terms of content and form than the reports from the quality organisation, structuring their stories on the basis of sensational topics such as celebrities, elites and scandals (Grabe, Zhou, Barnett 2001: 638). In terms of form, it could be observed that the majority of texts in BZ began and ended with some kind of dramatic or controversial element to catch the reader’s attention and featured exaggerations, as well as over-emphasis, as means to dramatise incidents. An example of such an exaggeration is the labelling of Wulff’s private car; in the descriptions of the media, Wulff loved luxury and his car, a SUV Skoda Yeti, was labelled as a limousine (BZ 17.2.2012). Moreover, the terms “dramatic” and “fuss” were encountered frequently in connection with Wulff during the affair. However, the degree of sensationalism varied considerably in BZ, particularly in the reports about the affair. As a result, it can be concluded that variations in the degree of sensational expressions are conscious decisions in news-making and are an editorial strategy to increase sales in times of market-driven journalism (Grabe et al. 2011: 637). Thus, hypothesis 2 can also be confirmed, which presupposed that the coverage in BZ was more polarising and shaped by emotions and sensationalism than that of SZ. Yet, the display of emotive elements during the affair was not as obvious and persistent as assumed, for many such elements were inconspicuously integrated into the discourse.

The above example shows that such ironical and emotional elements were frequently found in background stories and analyses of SZ, since comparable texts were found in the whole

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sample, both before and during the affair. In comparison with BZ, however, different degrees of emotionalisation could be observed between the two media outlets. Sensational stories were common in BZ, but almost absent in SZ. As described previously, the reversal of Wulff’s intended message and the addition of critical elements through irony were already present in SZ before the revelation of his private loan contract; in BZ, this form of emotional coverage was absent before December 2011 and was only applied a few times during the period of the affair. Hence, in the coverage of SZ emotions were overall less visible, as irony is not displayed as explicitly as other forms of writing. Yet, it does not mean that the SZ coverage was less emotionally charged, as ironic exaggerations and understatements and even biting humour were an essential part of texts from the quality media outlet, especially during the affair.

Taking everything into consideration, by using different techniques, both media presented Wulff as acting selfishly, of harming society, of being aware of committing wrongdoings and of having had the chance to act differently. This would, according to Kepplinger, make the audience feel anger towards Wulff (2012: 661). The presentation of Wulff in BZ was steady throughout the period of the affair; in SZ, it developed throughout the duration of the affair, since in the beginning the damage Wulff created was not presented as being harmful to a large group of society.

**g. Ideological messages**

Ideologies and underlying meanings are the last stage of this analysis, as they are the least obvious of all the previously taken steps. Moreover, they can be seen as the sum of all the previous steps. As there are no tools per se to detect ideologies in texts, they were examined from different perspectives that give hints on how the two media organisations assessed Christian Wulff, their audience, power relations and their own role in the scandal.

**Intertextual references**

According to Burger, intertextuality is more complex than quoting a source as it builds on the assumption that a text is never detached and isolated, but is “only one phase in a chain of texts that are based on each other” (Burger 2005: 74). Quotations are only one characteristic of intertextuality and will be dealt with separately in this paper. The focus of this item is on other types of intertextuality in the sample for the CDA and on implicit references in particular, as they will show to what the media referred, implicitly and explicitly.

Besides quotes, hyperlinks in the online texts of the two media organisations were the most obvious examples of intertextual references. It is noticeable that no hyperlinks were found in many of the BZ and SZ texts; there were also, in turn, texts that contained numerous hyperlinks. In most cases, the two media organisations linked their readers to other texts on their website. BZ, for example, compiled a thematic database on Christian Wulff in which all articles about him can be found in alphabetic order; most of the hyperlinks lead to any of the texts in the database.

In SZ, some links did not have any thematic connection. On December, 20, 2011, for instance, the word “Euro” was underlined. If this hyperlink is clicked, it leads to an article about the Euro crisis under the section Economy. Moreover, even if the name of another media organisation was underlined on the website of SZ, the link led the reader only to a SZ site. On very few occasions,
SZ linked their readers to other websites such as that of the German Presidential Office. BZ did not link to other media organisations and there were very few links to other websites. In terms of short summaries, they occurred mostly at the end of a text, BZ continually gave overviews on what had happened previously. SZ also repeated information, but it was typically information about the last events and not a summary of the whole affair.

Both media organisations often referred to other media organisations as indirect sources and used imprecise specifications. For instance, SZ wrote on December 16, 2011: “According to media reports, the borrowed money apparently stems from the entrepreneur Egon Geerkens- and not from his wife as it was claimed before.” This information does not clarify who, when and how many media reported this news and, most importantly, how the media that first reported the news acquired that information. Overall, the media relied heavily on one another. In many other cases, the news was not even based on media reports or any other source, as the following example from BZ shows: “It was announced that Wulff in 2009 accepted an invitation from the jam manufacturer ‘Zentis’ to the German filmball in Munich” (BZ 21.01.2012). It remains an open question who originally announced that information.

When both publications drew conclusions in almost the same wording, it raises the question how German news organisations work, how closely they are interlinked and how much of the content is original content. One such case were texts in SZ and BZ that were published in the afternoon of December 30, 2011, with identical information and just a few variations in the wording. BZ wrote “Wulff had signed a new loan agreement only shortly before Christmas. This sounded different in a written statement from December 15.”, SZ wrote “The President signed his new loan agreement with the BW-Bank only shortly before Christmas. In mid-December, this sounded different.” The first sentence in both examples could have been taken from a press release, but the second sentence seems like a conclusion and it would be a great coincidence if both papers had arrived at the same deduction and had chosen the same words. The source of this information is not disclosed and it remains thus unclear who copied from whom. Before the affair was revealed, thus from 2003 to December 2011, SZ clearly disassociated itself from the yellow press, including BZ, that reported Christian Wulff and his family favourably. All in all, SZ often took the position of an outside observer, criticising people and institutions without demonstrating close ties to anyone. Also, during the first days of the revelations, SZ did not display a close relationship with the other German media. Later, with the publication of Wulff’s call to BZ’s editor-in-chief, SZ presented the German media as a whole and itself as a part of it. As presented in SZ, the call to the tabloid was an offence against all journalists and a violation of the freedom of the press. During the whole sample, the interdependence and interconnectedness between the German media could be seen, as both media outlets more or less wrote about the same events and quoted each other repeatedly.

Intertextuality can also take place in the form of allusions or variations. BZ used various allusions and modifications of film titles: a text was entitled “The lone Wulff” (BZ 3.1.2012) in reference to the film “The Lone Wolf”. Furthermore, “The double Wulff” (BZ 17.2.2012) alludes to the twin sisters Luise and Lotte in Erich Kästner’s film “The Double Lottchen”. The literal German translation of the film “The Intouchables” is “Almost best friends”, which was also the title of a text
in BZ on February 10, 2012, referring to the relationship of Christian Wulff and his friend David Groenewold. Intertextual references could also be found in the quality paper. On December 22, SZ referred to Wulff’s spokesman Glaeseker as Mephistopheles, the devil and the origin of the evil in Goethe’s Faust. Some allusions to a different genre could also be found in SZ. On December, 19, one paragraph of text seemed as though it was written for children: “But one has to write it off, because taking pictures and making copies is not allowed. These are the rules of the game. A lovely trainee is sitting in between the journalists and pays close attention that nobody with a mobile phone takes en passant a picture of the President’s sale contract. Telephones are capable of so many things these days.” In a different text, a sort of data profile is imitated: “One can already get a used Christian Wulff for 2.49 Euro. 224 pages long, hard-cover, published in 2007 by Hoffmann und Campe. The title of the book: Better the truth. The content: A conversation between Wulff, who was Federal Chairman of the CDU of Lower Saxony by then, and the journalist Hugo Müller-Vogg. It’s not really a hit: On the site of the online bookseller Amazon it can be found ranked 23,896 of the best-selling books” (SZ 20.12.2011).

These intertextual allusions, especially when they refer to a popular film or piece of literature, bear a second meaning. The journalist chose that reference, assuming his readership shares his knowledge, to emphasise a certain attitude or evoke an emotion. By calling Glaeseker Mephistopheles, Glaeseker is automatically depicted as a bad character that seduces Faust, alias Wulff, to evil. Such references are powerful, as they transmit much more than pure information.

Provision of background knowledge and detailed information

In this category, the CDA sample was analysed for the kind of background knowledge the two media organisations provided for their readers. This gives an insight into what journalists perceived as important and how they assessed their readers.

Laws, legal regulations and the opinion of an expert with regard to a certain topic were often encountered as means to provide background knowledge to the reader. Both news organisations, for instance, provided information on the Minister Act that Wulff allegedly violated, the salary and gratuity of Presidents and what political immunity meant. Both media consulted experts from the construction industry and from the business and financial sector, e.g. a law expert to evaluate the different facets of Wulff’s affairs and to support the media’s accusations against Wulff. Two question-answer texts, one from each paper, were published on February 17, 2012, the day of Wulff’s resignation, addressing the same themes: Wulff’s future, the election of the new president and possible candidates. Interestingly, the questions and the order of the questions were similar in both papers. BZ extended its text with some additional questions, to which the tabloid paper did not give a clear reply. The question “Which job will Bettina Wulff perform now?” is answered with an enumeration of what she did before and what her predecessor did. The same holds true for the question “How much does Wulff owe his lawyer?” BZ could not give a precise answer, but based its reply on estimations of what the daily rate could have been, concluding with an approximate amount of money.

Furthermore, both papers dedicated at least one text to the affair and how it was revealed
by the media; BZ strongly focused on its own ambitions, efforts and role in the affair. In a text titled “This is how BZ revealed Wulff's affair” from February 17, 2012, the name of the paper can be found 16 times, of which four are in the headline and lede. This was the most extreme example, but BZ did not shrink from presenting its decisive role in bringing Christian Wulff down. If the coverage of the tabloid is compared with that of the quality paper, a different picture emerges. Other media organisations were indeed mentioned in BZ, but only marginally. In the coverage of SZ, BZ plays an important role in the affair, but only next to the other two investigating papers “Stern” and “Spiegel”. In this context, it is also interesting to observe on which topics the media did not provide any background information and which methods they applied to receive information. BZ, for example, was very detailed about what its journalists did and how long they had been investigating the case; nevertheless, details on how they gained access to certain information was often missing. The role of the media in the affair and a critical reflection of it were also missing from the coverage of both media.

One element where BZ provided a considerable amount of background information is completely absent from SZ’s coverage, namely Wulff's family, in particular his wife, Bettina. SZ did not care how she dealt with the transgressions of her husband, what she was wearing at receptions or how she was trying to enjoy peaceful Christmas celebrations with her family, despite all the media hype. If Bettina Wulff was ever mentioned in SZ, it was only a few sentences.

Details are also a kind of background information. In most cases the readers did not attend a journalistic event, so details can provide a feeling of how something happened. BZ tended to include a variety of details when an event such as a press conference or a reception was covered. The exact timing, the clothes people were wearing (including the colour, brand and the fit of the item) and the weather were important details that were encountered in several texts; for example, the BZ text from February 13:

“Rome, 10:45 am, blue sky, four degrees... During the speeches in the President's palace, Bettina Wulff is sitting in the first row. She is wearing a simple, dark grey trouser suit and a long blazer. Her hair is tied back in a ponytail.”

Details can also be found in SZ, but the quality paper focused more on specifics from verbal statements than visual details. A journalist from SZ, for instance, dedicated a whole paragraph of text on February 17, 2012 to one single word:

“Decisive is this little word, that makes her [Angela Merkel] praise appear poisoned. Merkel says, with his resignation, Wulff had given up “his” conviction that he did not violate justice and the law to protect the Presidency. Merkel belongs to those who carefully weigh up their words if it's important. She had written them down. And when she came to that point, she explicitly emphasised the word “his”. It is clear what she wants to say. She isn't as convinced of his innocence anymore.”

The examples in this section are all means of emphasis; by consulting experts, the media seek support for their arguments, by pointing to its own role in the affair, BZ praised itself, and by providing lots of details, journalists again draw the reader's attention to a few particular words or aspects that consequentially appear more important than others.
Presuppositions

Basically, presuppositions are the opposite of the previous category provision of background knowledge. According to the Oxford University Dictionary, a presupposition is “a thing tacitly assumed beforehand at the beginning of a line of argument or course of action,” consequently, what the journalists implied their readers already know. In general, it can be said that the sample from both media organisations was written for a German audience, as the journalists of both papers presupposed that the reader had some knowledge of German culture and history, especially with regard to politics. It is, for instance, taken for granted that the audience knows the different political parties and the positions of some popular politicians. It is also assumed people know that the President of the Federal Republic is a moral authority, associated with an impeccable reputation and values such as honesty, respect and credibility. In the case study, Wulff held this position and consequently represented these values. At no point in any of the analysed texts were the role and tasks of the President described explicitly, but Wulff’s behaviour was evaluated in light of these values. During the affair, the term credibility was mentioned 12 times in BZ and nine times in SZ (including quotes), honesty and reliability were mentioned five times in SZ and three times in BZ. The repeated references to such terms indicate the importance they apparently have for presidents.

The use of metaphors and idiomatic expressions with a particular meaning or connotation, either positive or negative, are another form of presupposition. As mentioned above, journalists used numerous metaphors to reinforce a certain impression or to boost an effect. By applying such stylistic devices, the journalists presuppose that their audience has some linguistic and cultural knowledge to be able to understand the double sense of the expression. The application of other stylistic devices, such as rhetorical questions and allusions, also express presupposed knowledge. If the journalist had not assumed that his audience knew what he/she was implying, he/she would have added context. Again, taking the example “Mephistopheles” (SZ 22.12.2011) as a name for Wulff’s spokesman, Glaeseker, “Mephistopheles doesn’t whisper anymore” is the headline and the terms ‘Mephistopheles’ and ‘whisperer’ were used synonymously for Glaeseker within the text. It is also implied that Glaeseker was someone who acted only in the background and he was dreaded and admired at the same time. These characteristics also apply to the literary character in Goethe’s Faust, but a connection can only be established by access to what van Dijk calls ‘socially shared knowledge’ (2006: 117). According to van Dijk, socially shared knowledge, beliefs and values are ideologies, as they have a profound and multi-layered meaning and only those who share them comprehend the whole message.

The role of the press in Germany is also based on shared knowledge in the media dialogue during the affair, several facets of which were of importance. Wulff’s voice message on the mailbox of Kai Diekmann, Editor-in-chief of BZ, was commonly seen as an attack on the freedom of the press (e.g. BZ 03.01.2012); press freedom was hence given great importance. Another aspect was the persistence of the media in revealing different aspects of Wulff’s infringements. When Wulff and other politicians had sometimes criticised the media for their

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harsh coverage (e.g. BZ and SZ 17.02.2012) and for not ending the coverage (e.g. SZ 23.12.2011, BZ 17.1.2012), the media either did not comment on such statements or defended their actions (e.g. BZ 17.02.2012). The media as ‘fighters’ against corruption was presented as another facet (SZ 15.02.2012). SZ and BZ both dealt with these three different aspects, but they did not adopt a clear position on the role of the press at any point during the affair.

Probably the most important presupposition in this research is the role of the President in Germany. On a very few occasions, BZ and SZ explicitly referred to the President's role in Germany as a moral authority and example. Yet, BZ and SZ's accusations and judgements against Wulff were all built on moral grounds. It became clear only from their criticism what is expected from a President and what he is not supposed to do: a President should be honest, sincere and not selfish, if he commits a mistake, he should admit it and do better in the future, he should be transparent and his whole life should be an epitome of morality. As the revelations of his transgressions proved that he did not embody these values, he was convicted without a court, as Kepplinger said in an interview (2012). The media implicitly took the role of judges. During the weeks of the affair, the foreign press also commented on this political scandal. The texts written about it fell into two groups: the first category reacted with a lack of understanding how a considerably small scandal could create a momentum of its own; the second category gave detailed explanations why Wulff's wrongdoings were judged so harshly, hence background information on implicit values. Billig called this unspoken knowledge, evident to the members of one culture and incomprehensible for the members of a different culture, “common sense” (1991: 1). In particular, the distribution of the roles and duties of the media and Christian Wulff as President was not discussed openly in the media discourse at the time, but was taken for granted. According to Billig, such common sense knowledge is a form of ideology, as it continues “existing arrangements of power” (1991: 1). Moreover, van Dijk concludes that shared knowledge is ideologically biased if ideologies are the basis of social representations (2004: 6). The elaborations above have shown that in the media discourse of Christian Wulff, the distribution of roles was such common knowledge. Power is not static (Foucault 1976: 114), nor are social roles. In the case study of Christian Wulff, it can be observed that the roles of the politician and the media are both contested and this happens again at the presuppositional level. It begins with Christian Wulff, who, indisputably, made mistakes and tried to test the boundaries of his social role. Even if he did not violate any laws, he gave cause for criticism as he violated unwritten social rules by, for instance, receiving financial advantages and trying to influence the coverage of the tabloid. Moreover, Wulff crossed a border when he alone decided to “terminate the business relationship” with the tabloid (Götschenberg 2013: 140). The media, seeing themselves as watchdogs of those in power, reacted to this shift. All the investigations and coverage of Wulff were implicitly justified as a reaction to the President exceeding his power. The tabloid proved to be particularly persistent in putting Wulff in his place, whereas SZ joined the struggle for power much later. However, by acting as a moral authority and condemning Wulff, the media also exceeded its original boundaries.

As presuppositions are so elusive and yet so present in the whole media discourse about Christian Wulff, the discussion will focus further on this topic.
According to van Dijk, imbalances in the press are often displayed through their choice of sources; minorities often remain silent, are only quoted with suspicion, or are placed in the latter part of the text (2006: 139). Thus, a journalist might present the opinion of different parties, but the order and positioning of such sources within the text provides information about whom the journalist perceived to be more or less important.

The CA showed for both news organisations that official sources dominated coverage; for instance, politicians (62.7 percent of all BZ’s sources and 61.4 percent of those used by SZ). Of course, the case study took place in the political sphere and politicians are consequently useful sources to comment on Wulff’s affairs. Wulff himself also counted as an official source because of his political position. BZ quoted the Wulffs and their spokesman or lawyer more often than SZ (38.3 percent in BZ compared to 25.7 percent in SZ). This does not mean BZ was more balanced in their coverage, as a lot of quotes dated from some time ago, from older interviews or statements when he was still Minister of Lower Saxony. However, quoting Wulff out of context was not only done by BZ, but also SZ. In both media, Wulff's quotes are distributed evenly throughout the texts, but a large number of texts in both papers followed a so called ‘attack/defence’ structure. Wulff did or said something that caused criticism or was contradicted by someone (attack), Wulff then defended himself or a politician came to his defence, followed by at least one more criticism. It was remarkable that in the majority of texts with such a structure the critics had the first and the final say.

Comments from politicians, including Wulff, were evenly distributed through all parts of the text (beginning, middle and end). There was no strong dominance of sources from one particular party. Yet, it was noted that during the affair critical opinions regarding Wulff were placed rather high up in the text, compared to sources that defended him. Overall, there is a slight preponderance of rather negative opinions towards Wulff, compared to neutral or supportive opinions in both media. Some politicians such as Thomas Oppermann, Andrea Nahles, Erwin Lotter, Angela Merkel and a few others commented on the affair at the very beginning. Although there was some variation, both media basically referred to the same group of people who constantly commented on and evaluated Wulff's behaviour. Unfortunately, the question of whether these politicians offered statements on their own initiative or whether the media kept asking the same people cannot be answered. However, this does show, once again, how intertwined the media are with one another, as well as the media's power to select their sources and position their quotes within the text. This is how, according to van Dijk, the media exercise control and influence the reader's perception on the situation (1996: 89).

The second most frequently mentioned source in the whole sample were other media (23.8 percent in BZ, 20 percent in SZ), followed by sources that were marked as ‘other’ (friends of Wulff, extracts from laws or regulations etc.; 18.6 percent in BZ, 11.9 percent in SZ). Quotes from experts and citizens were least frequent; quotes by citizens do not even reach five percent of the sample of either of the two organisations (3.8 percent in SZ and 3.6 percent in BZ). Citizen's comments also include opinion polls, so are not necessarily individuals speaking. This means that no individual citizen’s opinion was quoted in the sample of BZ; SZ quoted three tweets from
twitter and three voxpops, in addition to some opinion polls. Moreover, when citizens were mentioned at all, in the majority of cases it was in the lower third of the text.

Both media featured very short quotes, consisting of one or two words only, and longer quotes, consisting of several sentences. To sum up, comparing the characteristics of source attribution, there are no significant differences between the quality and the tabloid media organisations. It was, however, discovered in the CDA that there were many more sources than those mentioned in the texts. For the following analysis, a distinction was made between generalised sources, referring to expressions such as “behind closed doors it was said”, “many said” etc., and completely unattributed sources, where it is obvious to an attentive reader that the journalist used a source, but did not reveal it. In SZ, there were very few cases where information was not attributed. Sources were either precisely labelled or it became clear that the information was based on observations of the journalists. In BZ, on the other hand, a considerable number of generalised sources were introduced with expressions such as “behind closed doors” (15.12.2011), “Merkel’s camp believes” (15.12.2011), “many expect” (21.12.2011), “the whole of Germany talks about his loan affair” (14.12.2011). Some passive constructions were also used to avoid the precise labelling of sources (“It is agreed upon...”, “It is assumed...” 17.2.2012). These expressions leave the reader considerable scope for interpretation, as it is unclear how numerous many are or who exactly it is who agrees or assumes. However, the sample of BZ shows even greater examples of inaccuracy. According to the texts written during Wulff’s last days in office, journalists from BZ seemed to be everywhere and have access to anything. On Thursday, the day before Wulff’s resignation, the heads of the public prosecution held an internal meeting in their office in which they decided to demand the withdrawal of Wulff’s immunity. BZ not only knew about the meeting, but also what had been talked about; however it is not clear how the tabloid came to know this information. Later that day, Wulff met with his closest advisers in his office. Angela Merkel joined them by telephone and BZ knew what she said. The opposition also held a telephone conference and once again BZ had access to it, as the tabloid wrote: “SPD faction leader Steinmeier was caught off guard on a visit to Abu Dhabi by the developments. Jokingly he says on the phone “I was just on my way to the Emir”” (17.2.2012). Additionally, BZ knew that Wulff received text messages from his friends on his mobile phone, wishing him strength for his statement (17.2.2012). These examples were all taken from the same text, but this text was not an outstanding example; on the contrary, there were numerous examples where BZ had access to internal, confidential and private information and did not reveal its sources or how its journalists came to possess such information. These examples reveal how comprehensive the network of sources of the tabloid is and how powerful they are in accessing all kinds of information. Furthermore, it shows the tabloid’s self-confidence; apparently, there was no need to justify its selection of information or to establish credibility by revealing its sources. These patterns only became obvious in the CDA, they did not stand out in the texts and it can be assumed that the average reader would not notice the omission. In connection with the finding that texts with a lot of vague and unattributed information contained lots of details and description to create proximity to the event, this leads to the conclusion that the choice of the news-makers to hide imprecision through highlighting detailed information was consciously made. Comparable examples could not
be found in SZ; thus, the paper apparently did not have access to such exclusive information or did not want to risk its credibility by publishing unattributed information. However, in some cases, SZ bypassed the problem by attributing such information to BZ without mentioning that the tabloid did not quote a reliable source. On January 8, 2010, SZ adopted a quote from BZ that stemmed from an internal meeting of Wulff and his advisers. One day later, SZ quoted from a similar incident, but this time with the addition “wrote Bild am Sonntag without naming sources” (9.1.2012).

Even more evidence of imprecision in BZ can be found. Occasionally, BZ used the same quote in the headline or lede and again in the text with some small changes. The lede from January 22 contained a quote “In the Middle Ages, one would have been burned at the stake.” A few paragraphs later, the same quote is repeated, but with a slightly different wording: “Yes, at that time one might have been burned at the stake.” The same holds true for quotes from a written statement of the President that were slightly changed. The original statement was published on the website of the German Presidential Office and said: “I regret that. It would have been better if I had mentioned this private contract with Mrs Geerkens, apart from answering the request of members of the Lower Saxony Parliament, as I never had and I still don't have anything to hide on this matter.” BZ changed it to: “Wulff stated: “Should have mentioned the credit” (15.12.2011) and a day later, BZ changed it again to “I REGRET THAT” (16.12.2011) in capital letters. Maintaining precision in order to enhance its credibility does not seem to be a core value of BZ; on the contrary, it seems more important for the tabloid to highlight parts of information for its readers, even if that means slightly changing a quote.

One incident is of special interest and neither SZ nor BZ provided enough context to show how the information about that incident reached the public. As discussed earlier, Wulff called the editor-in-chief of BZ on December 12 to intervene in the publication of the first text regarding his private loan contract, but the call itself and a few quotes from it were only reported on January 2, 2010. According to BZ, “two days after the first BILD publication about the loan contract (Tuesday 13.12.2011), the President tried to get in touch once more with the editor-in-chief of BILD and personally apologise for the tone and content of his utterance on the voicemail. For this reason, BILD-Zeitung refrained from reporting this happening after a broad editorial debate” (BZ 02.01.2012). Based on this statement from BZ, other media could not have known about the call. However, miraculously, the public came to know about the call and parts of its content as all of a sudden national media reported it. Certainly, BZ passed on that information, which was another strategic move by the tabloid. In doing so, the tabloid withdrew from the matter and left the criticism to others. Although BZ was a central part of this situation, it seemed from the coverage that BZ was a neutral observer. It made its viewpoint clear about what had happened, but briefly and without the emotional coverage that has been pointed out before. Furthermore, BZ subsequently reported the criticism of other media without taking a clear position. This example shows how the tabloid operated in the background while handing the leads to others.

Presentation and evaluation of the relationships between the different parties to the conflict

‘All against one’ one would be an appropriate description of the conflict between Wulff and his
opponents, as displayed in the media discourse of SZ and BZ. This merits two questions that are difficult to answer: who are Wulff's opponents and why are these opponents opposed to Wulff, or what is their interest in being involved? 'All' in this case refers to everyone who was presented in the media as being involved in the conflict, at least to a certain degree; this includes politicians from Wulff's own party and other participants such as the media, different experts, citizens and the law. This enumeration of opponents shows that for instance the law as a collection of legally binding rules cannot be opposed to anyone. It has to be remarked that opponents or conflict partners do not need to be actual opponents; the term refer to everyone whom the media perceived as being involved in the case. There were several examples where both media organisations interpreted neutral quotes in a negative way. The quote “I can't find any legal wrongdoing” is modified by the addition of “A poisonous response came from the Parliamentary Party Leader Peter Altmaier” (BZ 14.12.2011). The praise from Angela Merkel for Wulff on his resignation day was also similarly ‘poisoned’: “Merkel says, with his resignation, Wulff had given up “his” conviction that he did not violate justice and the law to protect the Presidency... It is clear what she wants to say. She isn’t as convinced about his innocence anymore” (SZ 17.12.2011). There were more cases where the media interpreted statements and seemed to know better than the politicians what they really wanted to say; for example, Peter Altmaier, apparently repeated his statement “like a mantra” (SZ 20.12.2011) and Alexander Dobrindt, who “routinely stood before the press and said what a professional has to say in such a case: “There is nothing that could be criticised in any way”” (BZ 14.12.2011). The conflict was not presented as an ‘all against one’ case from the beginning, especially in SZ. However, with more details on Wulff's affairs being uncovered, the amount of criticism rose and the number of supportive voices decreased considerably. It will remain unclear whether such an increase in negative reactions in the media coverage reflected the actual rise of negative opinions towards Wulff within society, or whether the media encouraged critical voices.

In the following paragraphs, all involved parties will be described separately to establish how the media described their power within the conflict, starting with the protagonist of the affair, Christian Wulff. The coverage in SZ and BZ presented Christian Wulff as actively and fully responsible and accountable for his affairs, as he could have acted differently. During the first days of the affair, Wulff was presented as reluctant and hesitant, as both media organisations disapproved of Wulff's late reaction concerning the reports. Only on December 13, 2011, three days after the first publications regarding his private loan contract, did Wulff comment on the event for the first time. After his first statement and in the following weeks, Wulff was portrayed as being “conceding” (SZ 20.12.2011) and “combative” (SZ 15.02.2012; BZ 18.02.2012) at the same time. Wulff sought contact with the press and citizens and admitted some faults or wrongdoings. However, both publications accused him of applying so called “salami tactics” (SZ 20.12.2011; BZ 18.01.2012), in that he admitted faults bit by bit and only when he could no longer deny an incident (SZ 20.12.2011). Apart from telephoning the editor-in-chief of BZ, Wulff's behaviour was not portrayed as aggressive. Yet, he was described as “combative”, because he did not shy away from being in touch with the press, although he then only answered the questions he wanted to (SZ 21.12.2011 and 15.2.2012), and because he insisted on remaining in office and kept making
plans for the next years of his Presidency (SZ 20.12.2011, BZ 19.12.2011 and 17.2.2012). Another common presentation of Wulff in both media was the portrayal of a President who withdrew into his own world, where his own concepts of justice and fairness reigned. This representation was particularly strong shortly before and after his resignation (BZ and SZ 15.-17.02.2012). As previously outlined, BZ went even further, as one of the journalists diagnosed a dissociative personality disorder between the good and the evil Wulff (BZ 17.02.2012).

Both media also recognised Wulff had limited freedom of action. Apart from his own actions, Wulff was restrained by the investigations of the media and public prosecution such as the criticism from other politicians limited him, in the opinion of BZ. SZ also remarked on such restraints, but the political power game was the most influential in limiting his authority “In any case, Wulff doesn't appear like the President who is in the centre because of his authority. Rather like having a marginal role in a play of power, where it's not yet clear whether he is still a player or he has just been a chess piece of the chancellor. A chancellor who could decide at any time to take that piece from the board” (SZ 12.1.2012).

Both media organisations remarked that Wulff suffered during the crisis. Descriptions of his physical decline were more frequent in BZ, where Wulff was depicted as tense, pale, depressed, thinner than before and with deep worry lines (BZ 22.12.2011, 5.01.2012, 17.02.2012). However, these representations did not elicit pity for Wulff, as the texts in BZ always indicated that Wulff found himself in such a situation because of his own behaviour. As previously discussed, nicknames in both media outlets underscored the above explained depictions of Wulff: “the President of Merkel's mercy” (SZ 12.01.2012), “the Prince Charles of Germany” (SZ 19.12.2011), “like a tumbler toy” (BZ 17.02.2012) and “the double Wulff” (BZ 17.02.2012). Although SZ and BZ aimed to give evidence for their conclusions about Wulff by describing his behaviour, their evidence is interpretation.

In SZ, Bettina and Christian Wulff were portrayed as a union. She did not say a lot, but smiled often, sometimes “provokingly” as if she wanted to say “you [the press] are not going to break us” (SZ 15.02.2012). In SZ, she was also deemed partly responsible for his sudden taste for luxury, as Wulff behaved differently when he was still with his first wife (SZ 19.12.2011). BZ also portrayed her as being responsible for the changes in Christian Wulff: “She freed him from his good-husband image” (BZ 17.02.2012). Until shortly before the crisis, she was positively described as the beautiful, sporty, always smiling wife (2006-2011) in BZ, but during the affair her taste for luxury became her downfall, as she also seduced her husband according to the tabloid (BZ 17.02.2012). The portrayal of Bettina Wulff then changed radically to very positive descriptions again during a state visit to Italy where the BZ journalist observed “those who thought she was more interested in Versace and Gucci than Verdi and da Vinci are proven wrong” and he concluded that “Bella Bettina” is “truly his better half” and if her husband resigned, “it would be a pity about this First Lady” (BZ 15.02.2012). The tone in descriptions of Bettina Wulff also remained positive afterwards. The previous elaborations on Christian and Bettina Wulff have shown that media coverage is largely based on interpretations of actions and events and that these can change and be interpreted differently. In connection with the previous elaborations on objectivity, these examples show the subjectivity of media coverage, and yet, these
interpretations can be very powerful, as the media's power is “persuasive, in the sense that the media primarily have the potential to control to some extent the minds of readers or viewers” (van Dijk 1995: 10).

Politicians are constantly under scrutiny from the German media, but during Wulff's affairs SZ and BZ only focussed on Wulff and no other politicians were criticised. Angela Merkel was attacked by some opposition politicians before Wulff's resignation, but this criticism appeared only marginally in the political media discourse about the President. Harsh criticism came from the opposition, and the media sometimes 'borrowed' the quotes from politicians for their own purposes. Andrea Nahles, for example, called Wulff a “Pinocchio”; SZ later used that expression three times in their text (SZ 31.01.2012) and Stefan Wenzel labelled Wulff a liar; BZ used that label twice in their article (BZ 27.01.2012). Both media remarked that Wulff's party and his coalition partners reacted “cautiously” (SZ 18.12.2011) in supporting Wulff at the beginning of the affair, and even when they backed him, it did not convince the media: “Full support is something different!” commented BZ on the quotes of some politicians on December 15, 2011. Towards the end of Wulff's career as President, there was comparably little criticism from high-ranking politicians from Berlin, which the media explained as a political strategy or simply deemed a “gag order” (BZ 17.01.2012).

The press is listed as one of the parties opposed to Wulff for the very reason that the media did not cover Wulff impartially. Numerous examples from the previous analysis have shown that the media did not only observe the affair as a neutral outsider, but also became active in accusing Wulff. SZ and BZ, as representatives of the German media, portrayed the press in different ways; in some cases, the media organisations drew a clear distinction between their own publication and the rest. In other cases, the press was presented as a whole. Generally, it can be stated that the press tended to perform and present itself as a unit when it dealt with topics such as the freedom of the press or the task of the press to scrutinise those in power (SZ and BZ 17.02.2012). Media organisations disassociated themselves from the rest when they wanted to point out their individual role. SZ occasionally distanced itself from others such as BZ, that were heaping accusations on Wulff (e.g. SZ 19.12.2012), whereas BZ made a clear distinction between itself and the rest of the press most of the time to highlight its special role during the affair. According to its own information, BZ had been investigating Wulff's private loan for a long time prior to the revelation and it played a leading role in disclosing a number of details about Wulff (BZ 17.02.2012). Moreover, Wulff's “threatening call” to BZ (BZ 17.02.2012) shifted the tabloid into the centre of the affair. In the eyes of other media, including SZ, BZ was distinguished from the rest for a different reason; BZ had covered the Wulffs more positively before the affair, which SZ called a “perfect symbiosis”, in the form of private and exclusive stories from the popular couple in exchange for positive coverage in Germany's most popular tabloid (SZ 03.01.2012). Then the tone of coverage changed and the tabloid changed sides. Especially after the publication of Wulff's call, SZ attributed BZ a more important role in the conflict than other media; for instance, it labelled the conflict “Wulff versus Bild-Zeitung” (SZ 06.01.2012). It could, however, be noted that there was generally little criticism between the two in the media sphere during the two months duration of the affair. The media also collaborated a lot, as they exchanged
information, quotes and statements. In this respect, some differences were also recognised. Whenever SZ referred to other media, it quoted new information or sources. BZ, on the other hand, often quoted from commentaries of other media. Examples from “devastating”, “destructive” and “damning” press reports (BZ 19.12.2011, 05.01.2012, 09.02.2012) then underlined and reinforced the overall negativity of the texts.

Experts consulted by the media during the affair, for instance, publishers, and financial and legal experts, confirmed Wulff’s transgressions in all cases by giving background information on certain legal regulations or procedures in the construction and publishing industry. No expert took Wulff’s side from either SZ or BZ. Experts in BZ were lauded with positive attributions such as “renowned” (BZ 18.12.2011, 20.12.2011) and “very experienced with a great reputation” (BZ 13.01.2012). Mentioning the full title and position of the expert, such as “Constitutional law expert Professor Hans Herbert von Arnim” (BZ 17.02.2012), enhanced not only the status of the expert, but also the credibility of the media outlet, as its argument was confirmed by a specialist. This was in contrast with how Wulff was presented in the tabloid, which never awarded any positive attributions to him during the affair.

Citizens played only a minor role in the process of uncovering the infringements of Christian Wulff, thus they were mentioned only occasionally and mostly in the form of opinion polls. During the first few months of the affair, there was no majority opinion for or against Wulff among the citizens and the results of the polls were not very expressive (SZ 20.12.2011; BZ 06.01.2012). In these cases, the media mentioned the polls only at the end of a text. Mid-January, the survey results for Wulff changed and the great majority of the Germans judged Wulff as not credible and demanded his resignation (BZ 14.01.2012; SZ 03.02.2012). Such “crashing” (SZ 03.02.2012) and “devastating” (BZ 10.02.2012) poll values piqued the interest of the media and the results were mentioned further up the texts. SZ marginally mentioned a protest against Wulff (SZ 07.01.2012) and the opinions of a few citizens during a reception in the President’s official residence (SZ 12.01.2012). The media must sell their products to the public; thus, it could be assumed that they are oriented towards their clients and that the opinions of citizens ranked high in importance. As mentioned previously, the opposite was true in both media organisations. German citizens had the fewest quotes during the whole coverage and thus the average reader, who represented the majority of group members, was not greatly valued. Consequently, hypothesis 5, assuming that the sense of superiority of the media over politicians and citizens is reflected in the selection and number of sources, can be confirmed only in part, as contrary to the citizens, politicians were quoted much more often than media organisations. Moreover, although politicians were quoted most frequently, often in prominent places of text in SZ, it can be denied that the media outlet identified strongly with the political elite, as politicians were always subject to critical scrutiny and the journalists often disagreed with them.

The law as an opponent to Wulff occupied a different role than all of the other mentioned parties. The law itself is just a set of criteria and rules to manage human behaviour, but in the media discourse about Christian Wulff justice and law were given a human face in both media outlets via the head of the prosecution. Interestingly, both media organisations intensified the ‘humanisation’ of the law, as reports about the prosecutor Clemens Eimterbäumer were shaped
with the *human interest* frame (SZ and BZ 17.02.2012), providing information on Eimterbäumer's hobbies and family situation. In BZ, Eimterbäumer additionally received very positive attributions such as "courageous", "experienced", "brave" and "humorous" (BZ 17.02.2012), as his endeavour to remove the President's immunity led to Wulff's resignation. The law represented the official and objective criteria and Wulff's behaviour was measured against these standards. In particular, BZ must have realised that, despite their efforts to make Christian Wulff step down, they did not have the power to overthrow the President, if he wanted to remain in office. The positive attitude and relief expressed by BZ towards the prosecution, who provided the objective standards and held the power to overthrow the President, was remarkable.

None of the different parties who were ranged against Wulff had a connection; their only common feature was their criticism of Wulff's behaviour, to a certain extent. The whole conflict as presented in the media was artificial; it was a one-way communication of criticism, as politicians, citizens and experts criticised Wulff, but not vice versa. The only confrontations in this case study could be found between Wulff and the media, as there was action and reaction. Moreover, the media did not only portray the conflict between Wulff and his 'opponents', but also participated in it by interpreting actions and thus shaping how the different parties were placed and represented in the overall conflict. This gave the media more power than any other party involved in the conflict.

**Sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists**

According to van Dijk, the amount of access to the press and the positivity of coverage provides information on groups, their importance and group memberships: "those who belong will have more access, especially the elites, but at the same time, they will also be represented more positively" (van Dijk 1996: 100). The previous elaborations on different parties to the conflict and their relationships already presupposed the existence of certain groups. Along with the analysis of sources and certain lexical choices, preferences for certain groups and group memberships in the media could be recognised.

The strongest group membership displayed in both media organisations represented the press itself. The press referred to one another on numerous occasions without criticism; SZ referred more frequently to BZ than vice versa. BZ had a greater and earlier involvement in the case study than SZ, as, according to its own information, it had been investigating Wulff's private loan contract for three years before the affair was actually revealed (BZ 17.2.2012). SZ joined the media discourse only when the affair was published. Especially during the first weeks of coverage, thus in December 2011, SZ presented itself as an outside observer. After Wulff's phone call to the editor-in-chief of BZ, which was perceived as a violation of the freedom of the press (SZ 5.1.2012), SZ became more involved in the affair. From that time, SZ presented the press, including itself, as advocates for the freedom of the press with a duty to investigate Wulff (SZ 5.1.2012, 17.2.2012). The journalist who reported Wulff's resignation speech was particularly angry with Wulff, who, as the text said, made the press responsible for his downfall (SZ 17.2.2012). The presentation of the press as a consistent group was not found in all texts by SZ, but it was generally found more often in SZ than BZ.
In contrast with SZ, who often presented the press as homogeneous group, BZ sometimes presented itself as belonging to the 'press group', but more often formed its own group. The membership of its own organisation was strongest in the tabloid, as BZ pointed again and again to its important and outstanding role during the affair in numerous texts (13.-19.12.2011, 2.1.2012, 5.1.2012, 9.1.2012, 9.2.2012, 10.2.2012 13.2.2012, 15.2.2012, 17.2.2012). When Wulff resigned, BZs pride in its own efforts became particularly clear in a text containing the word BILD 16 times (BZ 17.12.2012).

The sudden exclusion of Wulff from BZ was a very interesting and subtle strategy and deserves special attention. As their approach was so different to how the tabloid covered Wulff previously, it can be assumed that this change in attitude and the associated coverage were a conscious decision and a strategic change. Wulff was presented as a member of the “good guys” before December 12, 2011. Despite the fact that he left his first wife for another woman, conservative BZ decided that the previously “blameless Wulff” deserved “a second chance” (BZ 5.6.2006) and described him as “nice” (25.6.2006), “loving” and “passionate” (both 1.7.2010). His girlfriend, later his wife, Bettina, was also attributed similar positive characteristics. This was during the time when the tabloid identified with the couple and welcomed “our” President (e.g. BZ 2.7.2012) as a group member of the tabloid’s community. Shortly afterwards, readers were presented with an overwhelming amount of evidence that showed Wulff’s wrongdoings during the period in which his transgressions were revealed. Particularly during the period directly after the case was exposed, BZ did not take a stand; rather, it detached from Wulff and presented itself as a critical outside observer. The revelation of his bad characteristics then gave a reason for him to be excluded from the group; the President was opposed by “the whole of Germany” (e.g. BZ 12.1.2012). Only after an increasing number of accusations against Wulff did the tabloid occupy a clearer position in opposition to the politician. At the same time, in order to avoid losing its credibility, BZ acknowledged Wulff’s good points and presented him as a split personality, in whom good and the evil fight each other. By doing so, BZ took the role of a moral authority; based on behavioural observations, the tabloid decided whether Wulff was a good or a bad guy and, as a consequence, whether he was allowed to be a group member or should be excluded from the community set up by the news organisation. The tabloid made the rules and expected group members to comply with directions. At the same time, BZ did not necessarily stick to its own rules; since it did not constantly maintain the same approach to its coverage, it allowed the news-makers to change direction, as demonstrated by the coverage of Wulff.

A set of values that determined group memberships could also be noted in the coverage of SZ. SZ had an unwritten set of moral values that included honesty, respect for the freedom of the press and admitting mistakes. Wulff's behaviour was judged in a number of texts according to these values. The quality outlet applied a kind of rebuke-praise-system; Wulff's actions were assessed and, if he acted incorrectly according to SZ, his deed was often contrasted with an alternative mode of action. On December 20, 2011, for instance, a journalist wrote about Wulff's piecemeal tactic towards information transparency: “already as Minister of Lower Saxony in 2010, he could have got things straight.” On the other hand, SZ also acknowledged Wulff’s efforts (e.g. 23.06.2010) or agreed with the view of others who praised him (e.g. after Wulff's first statement...
after BZ had revealed details about his private loan contract, several politicians accepted Wulff's apology and so did SZ 15.12.2011). Despite these moral judgements, SZ never set up an ideological group with him. It became clear that SZ sees itself as a watchdog of politicians and, even though other politicians do not violate values (including Wulff before December 12, 2011), the publication would not identify itself with such elected officials.

As social institutions in a social world, the media are not excluded from processes such as the formation of groups and defining the boundaries of their membership, as stated by van Dijk in his publication “Power and the news media” (1995: 11). SZ and BZ were both members of various groups and were influential in setting limits for their members, which again indicates the media's power in setting the tone of the discourse and, more importantly, who is also allowed to participate.

**Expression of the journalist's own opinion**

Taking into consideration all the previous elaborations on journalistic choices such as frames, lexical options and the selection of sources, it becomes clear that all the texts are influenced by the opinion of the journalist and/or the media organisation. Most of this judgement is, however, rather invisible and consists of inconspicuous expressions of opinion that presumably will not attract the attention of many readers, but will influence the reader's perception of the person or the event. As all these aspects have already been covered extensively, only a small selection of a few opinionated expressions shall be highlighted at this point. At this stage the focus is on the moral claims and values that were expressed by the journalists with regard to Christian Wulff's actions, especially in view of his moral authority as President of Germany.

Comparing Wulff's behaviour to a moral example was a prominent method used by both media organisations to show how Wulff jeopardised certain ethical values such as decency, dignity and honour. One example was found in SZ, in coverage on the New Year's reception in Bellevue, when the Wulffs helped an old lady who could hardly walk. The observing journalist wrote about the scene “She had preferred to leave her walking aid outside. This probably had to do with the dignity of an old lady, she never allows that dignity to be taken from her. Indeed, this lady could teach a lot to Wulff” (SZ 12.01.2012). A similarly clear example in which SZ accused Wulff of a loss of moral values was found in a text from February 15, 2012, where Wulff was compared to the Italian President, who is “honourable, respectable” and possesses “integrity, aura and a perfect reputation”, unlike Wulff. BZ also applied comparisons to moral examples; for instance, when Bettina Wulff asked a 93-old-lady for the secret of her age, the lady answered “A clear conscience”. BZ then implied that Bettina needs to clear her conscience in order to reach old age. Even Wulff's former spokesman, Olaf Glaeseker, was presented as an example of moral values that Wulff did not possess, as Wulff “dropped his closest friend and adviser”, but “we will never know from Glaeseker what really happened, as his loyalty to his “number one” will probably never end” (BZ 22.12.2011).

Wulff's relationship with the truth was also a topic in both publications, as BZ wrote on January 27 that, according to the public prosecution, “Wulff can be called a liar” and SZ claimed that Wulff had a “tactical relationship towards truth […] There is never anything completely wrong,
but only occasionally is something completely true" (SZ 07.01.2012). BZ occasionally employed scenarios to make a moral point. For instance, the tabloid featured peaceful Christmas scenery and implied that Wulff did not fit in those surroundings because of his wrongdoings (BZ 17.12.2011), or used weather descriptions such as dark clouds and rainy weather to reflect the atmosphere at his residence (BZ 19.12.2011). SZ did not use scenarios, but occasionally commented on older quotes from Wulff focusing on his 'tarnished' morals. The quality paper re-quoted Wulff's statement “Honesty can hurt” several times, concluding that “now, it hurts in particular” (SZ 20.12.2011). Moreover, according to SZ he also said “Morality can only be prescribed limitedly” and the journalist commented “When Wulff is right, he is right” (SZ 20.12.2011).

Much of the conflict researched in the case study took place at a moral level, as, for a long time, the accusations against Wulff were juridically irrelevant. Moral rules are generally unwritten and compliance is presupposed (Berger et al. 1966). Therefore, it is an interesting observation that moral accusations were expressed clear by both media during the period of the affair. By doing so, BZ and SZ behaved as moral watchdogs for the actions of Christian Wulff; a role to which the media had assigned themselves. On the other hand, neither publication offered an open and critical reflection of the media's role in the Wulff affair.

This chapter has shown separately and in detail the many tools wielded by the media to influence their coverage. Each of these tools is powerful in itself; combined, they are even more effective. This power is not negative in principle; on the contrary, the media were created to control politicians and others in power and consequently were provided with certain powers (McNair 2009: 239). However, since it is debatable whether the media fulfilled their role or exceeded their power in the case of Christian Wulff (Götschenberg 2013: 11), the next chapter will investigate with this issue.

7. Discussion

Which role did the media play in Wulff's political downfall? Did they fulfil their democratic function or exceed their power, as this thesis asked in its introduction?

The analysis has shown that the media had powerful tools to hand which they often used consciously: tactical and strategic decision-making processes could be recognised in both publications and in various facets of their approach. The media are intentionally equipped with powers; yet, the boundaries of their power are not defined by law and this makes it difficult to assess whether the press exceeded its powers during Wulff's transgressions. Two aspects, however, indicate that the media went too far. In their guidelines, SZ and BZ both point to their journalistic independence from their sources and their avoidance of one-sided coverage (Süddeutscher Verlag 2013, Axel Springer Verlag 2013). Additionally, the German Press Codex defines the goals of the German media as being a source of reliable and balanced information and acting as the controlling fourth estate (2013). Looking at the results of this media analysis, it can be seen that the media not only transmitted information, but became actively involved in the events; they were central actors. From 2003 to 2012, BZ was never independent from the
events surrounding Wulff. Although it presented itself as a neutral and outside observer, the tabloid was the second protagonist of the case study; SZ was not nearly as involved in the events. However, with the revelation of Wulff's intervention call to BZ, SZ abstained from its previous observational status and became one of the pack “hunters” targeting Wulff. By becoming involved, neither media was able to provide independent and balanced information.

Apart from being actors in the event, both media developed into moral judges over the course of the affair. BZ and SZ saw it as their duty to investigate and/or assess Wulff's actions from both the past and present. Both media outlets observed the politician's behaviour and from it drew conclusions on his character. During the course of the affair, the media went even further: based on their own moral grounds and without a court, they 'convicted' Wulff of having lost his credibility and of no longer being morally acceptable as President of Germany; they used their own moral compass to evaluate the politician's actions. This is in contradiction to the media's role as the Fourth Estate, a controlling body, but not a judging and condemning organ. For BZ, the moral threshold was already exceeded with the first revelation, as Wulff had “misled” (BZ 12.12.2011) Parliament for his own financial benefit. The coverage during the weeks following the first publication contributed to evidence that Wulff had continuously failed to speak the truth (at least, not the whole truth) and that he had gained personal advantage from his office. The journalists from SZ censured Wulff for only admitting his infringements bit by bit, but the moral threshold of the quality organisation was reached later when Wulff's attempt to influence the tabloid's coverage became public.

BZ and SZ both contravened their own guidelines and the principles of the German Press Codex. Even though they violated their boundaries to varying degrees, as there were significant differences in the coverage by SZ and BZ, it can be stated that both media exceeded their authority and abused some of their powers. Although the prosecutor and not the media ultimately caused Wulff's resignation, Götschenberg discovered that BZ and other media had continuously put pressure on the public prosecutor, forcing them to react and prove the circumstances of the case (2013: 255). As the media coverage even influenced justice, this is another indicator of the power of the media and their habit of overstepping their boundaries. The result of this research is consequently the finding that the media caused Christian Wulff's resignation.

Although the enormous power of the media is acknowledged, it cannot be proven that the media have the power to bring down any politician, which was the main hypothesis of this thesis. It must be mentioned that Wulff’s case is special, as such intensive criticism by numerous media organisations against one person for such a long time is very unusual in the German press. So what were the conditions that made this case so extraordinary and provided the media with so much power? Assuming that BZ's first revelation of Wulff’s private loan was just ordinary media criticism, the questions arise: how could this issue take on such dimensions and what where the conditions that allowed the transition from ordinary, everyday criticism to the scandalisation of his misbehaviour?

To answer these questions, it must be remembered that the empowerment of the media and the disempowerment of the public and Christian Wulff was not a one-sided process. Distribution of power is always about negotiating resources and it takes (at least) two to
negotiate: when one side demands and takes more power, this implies automatically that the other side complies (Dowding 2011: 24). Thus, the following elaborations will show the preconditions and conditions that empowered the media during the Wulff affair and led to the scandalisation of Christian Wulff.

The first precondition that empowered the media and at the same time weakened Wulff's power was Wulff's relationship with the yellow press, which had become too close. He had entered into an interdependent relationship with BZ in particular, without realising that the conditions were shifting and that apparently, there is no such thing as friendship between two “business partners” who both want the maximum possible profit from each other. Apparently, Wulff was too naive in believing that his positive status in the yellow press would not change as long as he kept to the rules by feeding particular media outlets with exclusive details about his private life. Hachmeister (2012) called Wulff's faith in the benevolence of the media “a strategic failure”.

Secondly, scandals do not exist as such, scandals are human-made. They are based on violations of socially determined norms and values. Thus, turning a misbehaviour into a scandal is a process and the first requirement for this process is that the misbehaviour is identified as such by a large number of people in order to be denounced publicly (Kepplinger 2009: 119). Hence, a politician must violate some fundamental norms and values of his/her culture and the violation of the norm has to be so evident that people and journalists unite in opposition. In the case study, the media found sufficient legitimate reasons for reproach of the behaviour of Christian Wulff to accuse him in public. Wulff violated the financial sense of justice of the German people by enriching himself via his professional position. He accepted a private loan for his house with better conditions than the majority of the population could access and he was said to have spent cheaper holidays at residences of friends. Furthermore, Wulff was not transparent with regard to his private loan, which made him a liar in the eyes of the media (BZ 12.12.2011).

Thirdly, more than one media organisation, at best several key media, must unite to overthrow a politician. Hachmeister (2012) concludes that, despite the fact that BZ is a powerful media organisation, it would not have had the power to bring Wulff down alone; it needed the support and attention of numerous important media outlets. In Wulff's case, several media such as BZ, Spiegel and Stern were simultaneously investigating Wulff's private loan, all striving to disclose new information. Compounding the problem was the fact that the media were in competition with one another, trying to outdo each other's investigations by constantly publishing new details of Wulff's actions.

Fourthly, according to von Gottberg (2010), some pre-conditions simply resulted from Wulff's position in society. In his article “Scandalization, Outrage, Consequences”, von Gottberg concludes that the more eminent a person, the greater the public's interest in his/her wrongdoing. In addition, the outrage becomes even greater if the victim of scandalisation is actually popular in society or if the person stands for the upholding of morals and values (2010: 3).

With the fulfilment of these preconditions, the foundation was laid for a public denunciation of Christian Wulff in the media. Yet, taking into account other recent examples of various other condemnations of public figures in the German media, (e.g. Klaus Wowereit, Peer
Steinbrück) this is no guarantee that criticism will become a scandal. There is no such thing as a
typical development of a scandal, in the course of which the media force a politician to resign
(Kepplinger 2009: 120). Each scandalisation proceeds differently and all sides add their part to
that complex interplay of empowering and disempowerment. A few examples from the affair will
be shown, whereby the power relations shifted and one side gained ground, whereas another lost
ground.

Although the media did not display it openly in the discourse, they continually reached the
limits of their power. Wulff was very reluctant to speak to the press during this affair. In numerous
texts, both media outlets mentioned their attempts to obtain a statement from Wulff, but as he
refused they either had to repeat the same quotes or refresh old quotes. Wulff was also in the
very favourable position that he did not have a boss who could fire him. For longer than two
months, he was harshly criticised and frequently asked to step down, but he did not because he
had the power to sit out his personal crisis. The media realised that, despite all their efforts, all the
evidence they found to convict him and the increasing aggression in the media discourse, they
could not make him step down. Shortly before Wulff's resignation, the number of texts about Wulff
rose considerably and displayed severe criticism, especially the texts in BZ. The media started
the debate and kept it alive, but although they might have contributed to motivating a prosecutor
to bring charges against Wulff and pushed the legal process, in the end it was the prosecution
that made Wulff resign.

By continually publishing new aspects of Wulff's affairs and reflecting on them in the
meantime, the media legitimised and justified its huge amount of coverage. In connection with
Wulff's reluctance to criticise the media (because of his previous call to Kai Diekmann), they did
not even need to defend themselves or be self-critical, which, evidently, empowered them. The
transition from presenting Wulff as someone who simply took financial advantage from his office
to someone who is morally reprehensible and unsuitable to be President of Germany was another
tactical move by the media that legitimised further reports and, more importantly, calls for
resignation. Moreover, the combination of, on the one hand, the inactivity of Wulff, other
politicians and the public (as displayed in the media coverage) and, on the other hand, the
incessant activities of the media, led to a clear power imbalance in favour of the media.

Through many strategic moves, the media and especially BZ could defend and expand
their grounds for complaint. The best example is the successful transition of BZ from a popular	abloid magazine, known for its home stories and sensational coverage, to a serious investigative
media outlet within just a few days. The change in coverage was visible in every respect: in the
selection of news values, in the wording, in the choice of frames, and in the selection of sources.
Yet, the change was presented as the consequence of thorough research, resulting in serious
allegations against Wulff and substantiated with solid arguments. This way, the tabloid did not
lose its credibility; on the contrary, it enhanced its authority. By highlighting its unique position
within the affair, the tabloid maintained a distance from other media organisations and could score
Wulff's significant loss of power as its success.

However, in their rivalry and their desire to outdo one another, the media also weakened
themselves. In the beginning, only BZ and a few other media outlets actively investigated Wulff's
past. Eventually, more and more media outlets joined in. Many not only began to start reporting the affair, but also took action by revealing more of Wulff's transgressions and details of the scandals, SZ excluded. Even the media realised that by simply increasing the number of allegations, the serious accusations lost their importance and almost disappeared in the mass, which ridiculed the whole affair (e.g. BZ 10.02.2012). In retrospect, many aspects of the so-called media and loan affair of Christian Wulff appeared to be insubstantial and even ridiculous; in the end, the sum he allegedly pocketed for himself amounted to only 75,390 €.

To sum up, the main hypothesis of this research could not be confirmed. The media can bring a politician down only under specific circumstances and when many different factors interplay; the media can only be empowered when their opponent is simultaneously disempowered. The case of Wulff was unique and there are very few comparable cases in recent German history (e.g. the affair of Barschel and Pfeiffer) in which the media discourse developed such a momentum. Although the media presented themselves as more powerful than the politician during the affair, they also reached their limits, as shown above, and Wulff was also well aware of his abilities and used them, albeit less visibly.

8. Conclusion

This thesis aimed to research the power struggle between the German media and the politician Christian Wulff by means of analysing the coverage of two media from 2003 to 2012. What has become very clear through the conduct of the research is that the media have a great deal of power; in the figurative sense, SZ, and particularly BZ, showed powerful muscles in the tug-of-war with Christian Wulff. The media have the power to start a debate and to keep it alive, even though politicians or others try to intervene and stop it; they have the power to keep a topic on the public agenda even though the public does not consider it as important as the media. Moreover, they have the power to make certain information more prominent than other details, or alternatively remove it from the discourse, although this might be disproportionate to the event, and they have the power to access more information than the general public and yet, to present only a fraction of that information as the whole issue. They have the power to shape their coverage significantly and, in doing so, to influence and even change the public's opinion, and they have the power to change their opinion all of a sudden without needing to justify that change. Finally, they have the power to either celebrate or convict people as they preside over a sort of moral court, and they know their powerful resources, which makes them even more powerful.

BZ took a prominent role before and during the affair as, at first, its coverage was positively biased in Wulff's favour, but all of a sudden turned against him. By flooding the public with an overwhelming amount of evidence that questioned Christian Wulff's ability to be President and a moral example, it freed itself from having to explain its sudden change of mind and created a smooth transition from very positive to negative coverage. Wulff's attempt to intervene in their coverage also benefitted the media; publicly, the tabloid became a victim whereas it kept pulling the strings in the background, as displayed in the media discourse. The majority of accusations against Wulff by BZ were built on underlying moral grounds that were only discovered with the
help of thorough research (CDA). Overall, the tabloid’s coverage during the 10 weeks of the affair was ingenious, as it kept attacking Wulff’s power without making itself vulnerable to attacks, it presented itself as an outside observer despite being a protagonist, it presented a huge amount of imprecise and unconfirmed information without that being obvious and, over a period of weeks, it subtly build up accusations against Wulff in order to conclude that he was unacceptable as President.

SZ, the quality media organisation, was not as involved as BZ in the whole issue. It was never as positively biased towards Wulff as the tabloid, before or during the affair, and it did not participate in the investigations. A turning point in the SZ’s coverage occurred when Wulff’s intervention call became known. Previously, it had reported slightly negatively about the President’s affairs; at that time, however, the coverage in SZ became increasingly negative. The quality media interpreted Wulff’s call as an attack against the whole media landscape and united with the tabloid in accusing Wulff. The accusations made by the quality media were more abstract and only based on moral violations. Unlike BZ, the way Wulff dealt with the accusations against him and his insincerity were more important to SZ than the fact that he had accepted a private loan for his house.

Some of the differences in coverage are due to the different audiences the two media aim to address. BZ, for instance, aims to attract readers with different educational backgrounds with a simple, clear and unambiguous coverage. SZ aims to reach more educated readers, and ambiguous and abstract aspects were recognised in many texts. Despite these differences, it was interesting to note that during the affair the frames and underlying moral accusations showed a high degree of overlap, although the texts did not closely resemble one another, showing how intertwined the German media are.

Power is not necessarily negative; it becomes destructive only when it is abused (van Dijk 1995: 11). The case of the political downfall of Christian Wulff showed in an exemplary manner how the politician disempowered himself through making many mistakes, which, in turn, empowered the media. The media then did not limit their own powers, but expanded them; they appeared as central actors and moral judges instead of being independent and outstanding observers that provide balanced information. Hence, they exceeded their power and eventually caused Wulff’s resignation. It has been shown, however, that this case is not the norm, but a rare exception. Nevertheless, precisely because this case occurred and the media exceeded their authority, it is an important topic for research and society. Even today, two years after the affair was revealed, Christian Wulff is still a topic in the news from time to time. The journalist Michael Götschenberg recently published a book in which he described the background to the affair from his journalistic perspective; Hans-Jürgen Arlt and Wolfgang Storz have expanded their previous analysis of BZ with regard to the affair and other media scholars have published essays and interviews on the subject (e.g. Pörksen, Hachmeister, Kepplinger; all 2012). By comparing two completely different media with each other with the help of two methods, this research has contributed to revealing the powerful tools wielded by the media and how they were applied in the case of Christian Wulff. However, to make the results more representative and to make reliable statements about the German media landscape and their moral values, it would be necessary to
analyse further media coverage, including video and radio reports. Unfortunately, the author discovered the leading role of the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung in pushing the accusations against Wulff too late, otherwise this would have been included in the analysis. Generally, the sample for this research was too large for the scope of a Master’s thesis and it would have been preferable to reduce it, especially the sample for the CDA.

This thesis only examined the power struggle from one side: the media coverage. Little could be said about the public's role, as there was so little information to analyse in the coverage. As stated in the theoretical framework, media texts are never a reflection of reality, and objectivity is out of reach of humans (Berger et al. 1966). Hence, to receive a more comprehensive picture, it would be necessary to carry out some audience research on how the public perceived the media's power and the media's role during the affair. A large part of this study was dedicated to revealing underlying values and ideologies and it would be an interesting topic to test by way of a survey for audience research to what extent the public adopted the view on Christian Wulff that was transported by the media. It would also be interesting to analyse all the comments readers published under the online texts of the media organisations, which would allow conclusions to be drawn on whether these readers adopted or rather rejected and questioned the media's viewpoints. The author requested an interview with Christian Wulff, as it would have been useful to see how Christian Wulff perceived his own abilities and power with regard to the media, the media's power and its influence on the public in particular during his affair; unfortunately, it was denied. Moreover, this study only scrutinised the coverage of two media outlets. Finally, during an internship in the newsroom of a big German newspaper, the author received some interesting background information from media people on Christian Wulff, his affair and its background. Therefore, it would also be insightful to conduct interviews with journalists who reported on Wulff during the affair.
9. List of references


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Bild.de <bild.de>
SpiegelOnline <spiegel.de>
Süddeutsche.de <sueddeutsche.de>
I. List of articles

Critical Discourse Analysis

SZ

3. Bundespräsident äußert sich zu umstrittenem Privatkredit Wulff gesteht Fehler ein (President comments on controversial private loan – Wulff acknowledges mistakes) 15.12.2011
8. Was die Akten des Bundespräsidenten verraten (What the files of the President reveal) 19.12.2011
12. Ältestenrat in Hannover bricht Sitzung ab (Council of Elders cancels the meeting) 20.12.2011
13. Bundespräsident Wulff in Italien "Wie konnte es so weit kommen?" (The President in Italy "How could it get that far?") 15.02.2012
15. Warum Wulff um seinen Ehrensold fürchten muss (Why Wulff has to worry about his gratuity) 17.02.2012
16. Wulff-Rücktritt Der Tag zum Nachlesen- Teil 1 (Wulff's resignation- Reread the events of the day (part 1 before Wulff's resignation)) 17.02.2012
17. Wulff-Rücktritt Der Tag zum Nachlesen- Teil 2 (Wulff's resignation- Reread the events of the day (part 2 after Wulff's resignation)) 17.02.2012
18. Vertrauen verspielt, Amt verloren (Wulff explains his resignation- Confidence gambled away, office lost) 17.02.2012

BZ

5. Hat Wulff gegen das Ministergesetz verstoßen? (Did Wulff violate the Minister Act?) 15.12.2011
6. Warum dürfte der Freund mit auf Auslandsreisen? (Why was his friend allowed to join him on journeys abroad?) 15.12.2011
7. Wulff bedauert Verschweigen (Wulff regrets his silence) 15.12.2011
9. Aussage gegen Aussage (One person's word against another's) 16.12.2011
10. Wulff entschuldigt sich per SMS bei Millionärs-Freund (Wulff apologizes via SMS to his millionaire friend) 17.12.2011
14. BILD fragte nach: Das Paar verbrachte die Woche unbezahlt in Italien (BILD inquired: the couple spent a week free of charge in Italy) 19.12.2011
15. Wulff unter Druck: 6 Mal Ferien bei Unternehmer-Freunden (Wulff under pressure: six times
holidays with business friends) 19.12.2011
16. Scheel fordert mehr Respekt vor Wulf – und seinem Amt (Scheel demands more respect for Wulf- and his office) 19.12.2011
17. Wie lange hält das Amt solche Schlagzeilen aus? (How long does his office tolerate such catch lines?) 19.12.2011
18. 42 000 Euro Maschmeyer bezahlte die Anzeigen für das Wulf-Buch (42.000 Euros-Maschmeyer paid the advertisements for Wulf's book) 19.12.2011
19. Ältestenrat in Hannover erklärt sich für nicht zuständig- Staatsgerichtshof soll Wulff-Affäre aufklären! (Council of Elders declares itself as not competent- Superior Court is to clarify the affair!) 20.12.2011
20. Welche Vorwürfe treffen zu, welche sind läppisch? (Which accusations apply, which ones are foolish?) 10.02.2012
21. Desaströse Umfrage-Werte für den Bundespräsidenten (Devastating survey results for the President) 10.02.2012
22. BILD fliegt mit Wulf über den Rubikon (BILD overflies the Rubicon with Wulf) 14.02.2012
24. Bella Bettina begeistert Italia (Bella Bettina enthuses Italia) 15.02.2012
25. Staatsanwaltschaft will Aufhebung der Immunität (The prosecution wants the removal of Wulf's immunity) 16.02.2012
27. Fragen & Antworten zum Rücktritt Kriegt Christian Wulff jetzt 199 000 Euro Sofort-Pension? (Questions and answers about Wulf's resignation- Does Christian Wulff now get an immediate pension of 190.000 Euro?) 17.02.2012
28. Familie wieder zu Hause Hier kommen die Wulffs in Großburgwedel an (Family comes home- The Wulffs arrive in Großburgwedel) 17.02.2012
29. Chronik So deckte BILD die Wulff-Affäre auf (Chronic- BZ revealed Wulff's affair like this) 17.02.2012
30. Christian Wulf erklärt seinen Rücktritt Das Protokoll der dramatischen Stunden (Christian Wulf announces his resignation- A protocol of the dramatic hours) 17.02.2012
31. Wie ergibt es der Präsidenten-Gattin nach dem Machtverlust? (How is the President's wife after the loss of power?) 17.02.2012

Content Analysis

SZ

2003

1. Triumphale Siege für die CDU 3.2.2003
2. Der diskrete Charme der Seriosität 3.2.2003
4. Wenn die Hände in den Himmel greifen 4.3.2003
5. Umkehr der Verhältnisse 5.2.2003

2008

1. Lächeln aus der tiefsten Mitte 23.1.2008
2. Duell ohne Dramatik 25.1.2008
6. Der Tag der gewieften Interpreten 29.1.2008
8. Selbst die Gegner fanden Wulff gut 29.1.2008
2010

1. Präsidentenwahl: Wulff gegen Gauck Der Sanfte und der Redner 23.6.2010
4. Bundespräsidentenwahl: Denkfabrik in Bellevue Wulff will kluge Köpfe um sich scharen 28.6.2010
5. Papa gegen Pathos 29.6.2010
9. Der Mensch ist des Menschen Wulff 30.6.2010
11. Bundespräsidentenwahl: Reaktionen "Das ist kein gutes Ergebnis" 1.7.2010
12. Und er ist doch der Richtige 2.7.2010
13. Das Gift des Zweifels 2.7.2010
14. So wahr ihm Gott helfe 2.7.2010
15. Bundespräsident: Wulff, Glaube und Amt Gott schütze unser Land 2.7.2010
20. Chefparteifreunde gehen auf Distanz zu Wulff 5.01.2012
21. Wulffs Antworten zu Ende gedacht 5.01.2012
22. Wulffs Antworten zu Ende gedacht 5.01.2012

2011-2012

8. Was die Akten des Bundespräsidenten verraten 19.12.2011
12. Ältestenrat in Hannover bricht Sitzung ab 20.12.2011
35. Der Bundespräsident und die Wahrheit Nie ganz falsch, nie ganz richtig 7.01.2012
36. Neue Ungereimtheiten beim Hauskauf 7.01.2012
37. Rede wirft neues Licht auf Wulffs Gratis-Urlaub 7.01.2012
40. Ungeklärte Details- Was der Präsident offenlässt 9.01.2012
42. Wulff schrumpft sein Versprechen 10.01.2012
45. Merkel und Minister beim Neujahrsempfang des Bundespräsidenten- Lächeln für Wulff 12.01.2012
49. Staatsanwaltschaft spricht von "bloßen Vermutungen" - und will nicht ermitteln 18.1.2012
54. Wulff geht nach neuen Vorwürfen in die Offensive Aufklärer in eigener Sache 22.1.2012
63. Privatwagen des Ehepaars Wulff beschäftigt Staatsanwaltschaft 2.2.2012
64. ARD-Deutschlandtrend Wulff unbeliebter als Westerwelle 3.2.2012
65. Wulff-Freund Groenewold beklagt "konstruierten Vertuschungsvorwurf" 8.2.2012
68. Bundespräsident Wulff in Italien "Wie konnte es so weit kommen?" 15.2.2012
69. Staatsanwaltschaft will Wulffs Immunität aufheben 16.2.2012
70. Wulff droht Aufhebung der Immunität Staatsanwälte wollen gegen Wulff ermitteln 17.2.2012
71. Detail zu Wulff-Verfahren Brisantes in zwei Umzugskisten 17.2.2012
73. Wulff gibt Erklärung ab Der Bundespräsident tritt zurück 17.2.2012
74. Warum Wulff um seinen Ehrensold fürchten muss 17.2.2012
75. Wulff-Rücktritt Der Tag zum Nachlesen- Teil 1 17.2.2012
76. Wulff-Rücktritt Der Tag zum Nachlesen- Teil 2 17.2.2012
77. Vertrauen verspielt, Amt verloren 17.2.2012

Farewell ceremony 2012
6. Hintzes Aussagen brachten Wulff in Bedrängnis Entlastungsdokument machte Staatsanwälte
neugierig 20.2.2012
17. SPD schlägt Reform des Ehrensolds vor vor 7.3.2012

Christian and Bettina Wulff 2006 – 2011

2. Wulff sagt Ja 21.3.2008
3. 2 Trauerklöße auf Reisen 16.5.2008
4. Bettina Wulff- Die Piefkeflüsterin 5.6.2010
5. Hafen der Freundschaft 29.7.2010
6. Bettina- Ein Glücksfall für Deutschland 27.10.2010
7. First Lady steht zu ihrer Tätowierung 11.5.2011

BZ

2003

2. Um 18.20 Uhr gratulierte SPD-Gabriel seinem Nachfolger Christian Wulff 3.2.2003

2008


2010

1. Schwarz-Rot-Wulff Der total nette Präsidenten-Wahlkampf 25.6.2010
2. Debatte um die Wahl des neuen Bundespräsidenten Weizsäcker mischt sich ein! 26.6.2010
3. Steinmeier fordert freie Präsidentenwahl 26.6.2010
5. Die „Direktwahl“ bei BILD.de Hier wählen SIE den Präsidenten! 28.6.2010
8. Wulff gegen Gauck Heute fällt die Vorentscheidung 29.6.2010
9. Wulff will Köhler als Berater 29.6.2010
11. Christian Wulff wäre der jüngste Bundespräsident 29.6.2010
12. 3 Szenarien Das könnte heute passieren 30.6.2010
14. Bettina Wulff oder Daniela Schadt Wer wird Deutschlands First Lady? 30.6.2010
15. Sensation bei der Bundespräsidentenwahl Wulff scheitert im 1. Wahlgang - Denkzettel für Merkel 30.6.2010
16. Wahl-Drama Das Minuten-Protokoll Teil 1 1.7.2010
17. Wahl-Drama Das Minuten-Protokoll Teil 2 1.7.2010
18. Christian Wulff ist neuer Bundespräsident Das war knapp! 1.7.2010
19. Die Wulffs besuchen ihr neues Schloss 1.7.2010
20. Das will der neue Präsident jetzt anpacken 1.7.2010
21. So denkt das Volk über die Wulf-Wahl 1.7.2010
22. Nach dem Wahl-Drama Gauck ist reif für die Insel 2.7.2010
23. Bundespräsident Christian Wulff vereidigt Die neuen Schlossherren sind im Bellevue! 2.7.2010
25. 1. Sommerfest der Wulffs Unser neues Präsidtenpaar hält Hof 2.7.2010
26. Die mit den Wulffs tanzen 3.7.2010
27. Lady Lässig 4.7.2010

2011-2012

10. Wulff entschuldigt sich per SMS bei Millionärs-Freund 17.12.2011
18. 42 000 Euro Maschmeyer bezahlte die Anzeigen für das Wulff-Buch 19.12.2011
29. CDU fordert Weihnachts-Frieden für Wulff 23.12.2011
34. BW-Bank kündigt interne Prüfung an 31.12.2011
35. In eigener Sache Der Wulff-Anruf beim BILD-Chefredakteur 2.1.2012 (sehr kurz )
36. Wulf-Anrufe lösen neue Debatte über Amtsverständnis des Bundespräsidenten aus 2.1.2012 (sehr kurz )
38. Der einsame Wulf - Kaum noch Unterstützung für den Bundespräsidenten 3.1.2012
40. Wulff stellt sich das ganze Interview mit dem Bundespräsidenten 5.1.2012
41. Vernichtendes Presse-Echo auf Wulff-Auftritt 5.1.2012
42. Wulff lehnt Veröffentlichung von Mailbox-Anruf ab 5.1.2012
44. Wulffs trotzige Durchhalte-Rede in Bellevue „In einem Jahr ist alles vergessen“ 8.1.2012
47. Schloss Bellevue Wulff empfängt Diplomaten aus aller Welt ...und hält erste Rede nach Affäre 10.1.2012
55. Neues Details aufgetaucht Wulff-Sprecher kassierte 2100 Euro Gehaltzulage 3.2.2012
57. Neues Details aufgetaucht Wulff-Sprecher kassierte 2100 Euro Gehaltzulage 3.2.2012
58. Wie lange war Wulff Anwalt? 1.2.2012
60. Polizei stellt Unterlagen in Wulffs Amt sicher 1.2.2012
64. Vorwürfe gegen Glaeseker Seit wann wusste Wulff Bescheid? 2.2.2012
67. Wieder neue Details aufgetaucht Wulff-Sprecher kassierte 2100 Euro Gehaltzulage 3.2.2012
70. Neues Details aufgetaucht Wulff-Sprecher kassierte 2100 Euro Gehaltzulage 3.2.2012
71. Wie lange war Wulff Anwalt? 1.2.2012
73. Polizei stellt Unterlagen in Wulffs Amt sicher 1.2.2012
76. Audi Q3 kostenlos genutzt? Bettina Wulff stoppt Bericht über privaten Autokauf 2.2.2012
77. Wieder neue Details aufgetaucht Wulff-Sprecher kassierte 2100 Euro Gehaltzulage 3.2.2012
78. Wulff lud Freunde zum „Nord-Süd-Dialog“ ein 5.2.2012
79. Neues Details aufgetaucht Wulff-Sprecher kassierte 2100 Euro Gehaltzulage 3.2.2012
80. Polizei stellt Unterlagen in Wulffs Amt sicher 1.2.2012
83. Desaströse Umfrage-Werte für den Bundespräsidenten 10.2.2012
84. Spott und neue Rücktrittsforderungen 10.2.2012
86. Es wurden keine Filme produziert, es gab keine Büros und keine Mitarbeiter! 11.2.2012
89. Noch keine offiziellen Ermittlungen 15.2.2012
Bella Bettina begeistert Italia 15.02.2012
Staatsanwaltschaft will gegen Wulff ermitteln Die Immunität des Bundespräsidenten 16.02.2012
Staatsanwaltschaft will Aufhebung der Immunität 16.02.2012
Fragen & Antworten zum Rücktritt Kriegt Christian Wulff jetzt 199 000 Euro Sofort-Pension? 17.02.2012
Familie wieder zu Hause Hier kommen die Wulffs in Großburgwedel an 17.02.2012
Chronik So deckte BILD die Wulff-Affäre auf 17.02.2012
Christian Wulff erklärt seinen Rücktritt Das Protokoll der dramatischen Stunden 17.02.2012

Farewell 2012

1. Das ist der mutige Staatsanwalt, der Wulff zu Fall brachte ...und schon am Samstag das Ermittlungsverfahren einleitete 18.2.2012
2. Brötchen, Blumen und viel Zeit für die Kinder Die Wulffs sind wieder in Großburgwedel 20.2.2012
7. Hier kommen die Möbel der Wulffs in Großburgwedel an 27.2.2012
12. Grossburgwedel, gestern 17.18 Uhr Hier fährt der Staatsanwalt bei den Wulffs vor 3.3.2012
15. Ehrensold, Büro, Sekretärin, Fahrer... Hat Ex-Präsident Wulff die Privilegien verdient? 5.3.2012
17. Wulff wünscht sich ein Lied mehr als alle anderen vor ihm 6.3.2012
18. SPD-Spitze hält „würdevolle Veranstaltung“ für kaum möglich Wulff soll auf Zapfenstreich verzichten 7.3.2012

Christian and Bettina Wulff 2006 - 2011

1. Seine neue ist alleinerziehende Mutter 5.6.2006
2. Sie joggt, sie lacht, sie singt im Chor 7.6.2006
4. Eine Ehe, die zwei Menschen einsam machte 11.6.2006
6. CDU-Wulff und seine schöne Bettina – Liebesglück unterm Dach July 2006 (no exact date)
7. Wulffs neue Frisur – Kurz, frech, frisch 20.11.2006
## II. Coding sheet for the content analysis

1) Only one tick per category  
2) More than one tick/choice per category is possible

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Closed variables</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Rule</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Size</td>
<td>Average length of text</td>
<td>The total number of words are counted and divided through the total number of texts for each media outlet</td>
<td><em>Example</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total number of texts on the event</td>
<td>The total number of texts on each event (e.g. Elections 2003, Elections 2008 etc.) is counted</td>
<td><em>Example</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Tone (1)</td>
<td>Neutral/mixed</td>
<td>Texts of this category are neither positive nor negative towards Wulff or contain both, positive and negative perspectives</td>
<td>e.g. ”Wulff rejects the reproach of deception” SZ 13.12.2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>Texts of this category defend/applaud Wulff's actions, his personality etc.</td>
<td>e.g. ”A marriage that made two people feel lonely” BZ 11.06.2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>Texts of this category give the overall impression that it condemns Wulff's actions, his personality etc.</td>
<td>e.g. “From Thursday, the former President will cost us 1 million per year” BZ 07.03.2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Form of presentation (1)</td>
<td>Factual, sober</td>
<td>Texts of this category are as factual and sober as possible, they report about events and persons in a balanced way.</td>
<td>e.g. “Questions and answers about the resignation- Will Wulff get an immediate pension of 199 000 Euro?” BZ 17.02.2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Explaining, informing, educating</td>
<td>Texts of this category give the reader additional information on a topic and try to transmit knowledge.</td>
<td>e.g. ”President Wulff and the loan- ties in Hanover” SZ 13.12.2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Committed, convincing</td>
<td>Texts of this category try to convince the reader of a certain viewpoint or opinion, they focus on one or a few selected views instead of multiple views.</td>
<td>e.g. “Wulfs Wahrheits-Wurstlelei” SZ 20.12.2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Critical, analytical, annotating</td>
<td>Texts of this category deal critically with a certain topic, question viewpoints and may show the reader a different perspective.</td>
<td>e.g. “Contradictions surrounding the bonus mile flights of the President.” BZ 13.01.2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Exciting, sensational, emotional</td>
<td>Texts of this category aim to evoke emotions among the reader and through language, they do not only convey information, but also an emotional perspective.</td>
<td>e.g. “After 598 days: All of the sudden, she isn't First Lady anymore” BZ 17.02.2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Entertaining, humorous</td>
<td>The primary aim of texts of this category is not the mere provision of information, but they are meant to entertain the reader.</td>
<td>e.g. “Carnival fans in Mainz and Cologne have to change with regards to their”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
weapons for the traditional parade. Up to now, one could see Wulff as a rabbit on the slaughtering block. As the hatchet has already fallen, they have to think of something different.” SZ 17.02.2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frames (2)</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Polemic, ironic</td>
<td>Texts of this category question certain viewpoints or opinions with the help of irony and/or sarcasm.</td>
<td>e.g. “President of Merkel's grace” SZ 13.01.2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsibility frame</td>
<td>“This frame presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for its cause or solution to either the government or to an individual or group.” (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000: 96). It refers to news texts that shape public understanding in such a way that a person or group is perceived as responsible to have caused or to solve a certain problem.</td>
<td>e.g. “Like no other presidential couple before, the Wulff's succeeded in producing briskly and persistently nice pictures in the yellow press. It's not Wulff, but his wife who is playing the decisive role.” SZ 19.12.2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morality frame</td>
<td>“This frame puts the event, problem, or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions” (Semetko et al 2000: 96). Due to the norm of objectivity, journalists often (indirectly) use moral assessments to evaluate situations. They do this for instance by allowing a source to raise the question.</td>
<td>e.g. “They are asking how it could happen that the confessing Catholic Christian Wulff is now abandoning his wife.” BZ 11.06.2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic consequences frame</td>
<td>“This frame reports an event, problem, or issue in terms of the consequences it will have economically on an individual, group, institution, region, or country.” (Semetko et al 2000: 96). The impact and the economic consequences are often an important factor in the news, when journalists for example show great gains or losses of money.</td>
<td>e.g. “Unlike Wulff, it's not yet over for the German tax payer. They have to pay for the resigned head of state.” BZ 07.03.2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict frame</td>
<td>According to Semetko et al “[t]his frame emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups and institutions as a means of capturing audience interest” (2000: 95). This frame will address the visibility of conflicts in newspaper coverage concerning the politician Christian Wulff. If an article shows disagreement between individuals, groups or institutions, it is considered to be part of the conflict frame.</td>
<td>e.g. “Til now, Christian Wulff had always reaffirmed that he hadn't received the loan from his rich friend, but from his wife Edith (49). Now it's precisely his wealthy patron, who incriminated him.” BZ 17.12.2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human interest frame</td>
<td>“This frame brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue or problem […] such a frame refers to an effort to personalize the news, dramatize or emotionalize the news, in order to capture and retain audience interest” (2000: 96). If journalists include a personal story of an individual that is related to a bigger story, it is considered part of the human interest frame.</td>
<td>e.g. “How is the President's wife doing after the loss of power? Blond, with model measurements, tattooed, an illegitimate child, beautiful and self-confident. A woman that radiated through her husbands office like none of her predecessors.” BZ 17.02.2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Example</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim frame</td>
<td>This frame presents an individual or a group as not (fully) responsible for the situation they find themselves in. If a news text presents someone as a victim of someone else, the media, him or herself etc. it is considered part of the victim frame.</td>
<td>Not found in the sample</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusation frame</td>
<td>This frame applies if an individual or a group is defamed and fully blamed for doing wrong and causing a certain problem. Compared to the responsibility frame, the tone of a news text with the accusation frame is more negative.</td>
<td>e.g. “Always sincere? Didn't he keep it secret that he had a business relationship to the Geerkens? Wasn't it like tediously pulling teeth? How can he call that “sincere”?” SZ 17.02.2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Guy from next door'/family man frame</td>
<td>A male character is positively portrayed as a sincere, down-to-earth and friendly person. He is presented as almost perfect with only a few defects that make him seem more human.</td>
<td>e.g. &quot;He is the nice Mr. Everyone, who wants to take care of everything.&quot; SZ 23.06.2010</td>
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<tr>
<td>Glamour frame</td>
<td>An individual or a group is positively portrayed in an attractive, exciting and romantic way that makes them seem appealing and special. This frame applies if someone for example is described as charming and beautiful in an accordingly glamorous setting.</td>
<td>e.g. “Before Christian Wulff married his Bettina on March 19, 2008, he was considered down-to-earth, conservative, but als boring. The glamour only came with Bettina.” BZ 02.07.2010</td>
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<tr>
<td>Political loser frame</td>
<td>This frame presents a person that failed politically in winning the elections or getting into higher positions because of either bad luck, poor skills or bad performance. If someone is portrayed as incompetent and unable to win this frame applies.</td>
<td>e.g. “Confidence gambled away, office lost” SZ 17.02.2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>Political winner frame</td>
<td>This frame presents a person that won the elections or got to a higher position because of his/her hard work, outstanding capabilities or luck. This frame applies if someone is portrayed as successfully in what he/she is doing in politics or enjoys popularity among the population.</td>
<td>e.g. “Christian Wulff is the real winner!” BZ 28.01.2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Objectivity (2)</td>
<td>Attribution to sources refers to the use of quotes and paraphrasing of what a source has said especially when it comes to the expression of opinion.</td>
<td>e.g. “Wulff had assured that the loan for his house in Burgwedel was from Edith Geerkens, the wife of the entrepreneur.” SZ 16.12.2011</td>
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<tr>
<td>Balanced coverage</td>
<td>Balanced coverage refers to the presentation of all major viewpoints of the story in a fair manner.</td>
<td>e.g. “In a TV interview, deputy editor-in-chief of Bild, Nikolaus Blome, claims that Christian Wulff didn't only want to postpone the article, but “clearly” suppress it. In contrast, Wulff's lawyer said his client wasn't afraid of publishing the content of the voicemail message.” SZ 09.01.2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Self)-critical coverage</td>
<td>(Self)-critical coverage refers to journalists who submit their coverage to critical evaluation.</td>
<td>e.g. “How the media put Wulff under pressure” SZ 13.01.2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>Power Elite</td>
<td>Texts concerning powerful individuals, organisations or institutions.</td>
<td>e.g. “It's the New Year's reception of the President... Christian Wulff enters the Langhanssal, accompanied by his wife, a few minutes after 10 am. A wall of cameras, microphones and press people have build up in front of him.” SZ 12.01.2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celebrity</td>
<td>Texts concerning people who are already famous</td>
<td>e.g. “Germany loses hitherto the most extraordinary wife of a President!” BZ 18.02.2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>Texts concerning sex, show business, human interest, animals, an unfolding drama, or offering opportunities for humorous treatment, entertaining photographs or witty headlines</td>
<td>e.g. “Dangerous Glamour. A week ago, everything was just fine for Christian and Bettina Wulff...One week later, nobody talks about that anymore.” SZ 19.12.2011</td>
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<tr>
<td>Surprise</td>
<td>Texts that have an element of surprise and/or contrast</td>
<td>e.g. “It's a unique historical event: the public prosecution has demanded to remove Wulff's immunity.” SZ 17.02.2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad News</td>
<td>Texts with particularly negative overtones, such as conflict or tragedy</td>
<td>e.g. “The army hospital in Berlin received the emergency call at 23:58. On the phone: Christian Wulff. Only seconds later, an ambulance with the number 1704 sped to the President's official mansion in Dahlem.” BZ 23.02.2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>Good News</td>
<td>Texts with particularly positive overtones such as rescues and cures</td>
<td>e.g. “The baby has arrived- it's a boy! Christian Wulff in the joy of fatherhood.” BZ 13.05.2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magnitude</td>
<td>Texts that are perceived as sufficiently significant either in the numbers of people involved or in the potential impact.</td>
<td>e.g. “Did Wulff deceive the Parliament? Christian Wulff has been caught up by an affair from his time as Prime Minister of Lower Saxony.” BZ 12.12.2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relevance</td>
<td>Texts about issues, groups and nations perceived to be relevant to the audience.</td>
<td>e.g. “Wulff makes a statement. The President steps down.” SZ 17.02.2012</td>
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| Follow-Up               | Texts about subjects already in the news. | e.g. “Chronic- BZ revealed Wulff's affair
### Newspaper Agenda

**Texts that set or fit the news organization's own agenda.**

*Example: “On our own account: Bild transmits Wulff the exact wording of the voicemail message.” BZ 06.01.2012*

### Negative

The number of negative rhetoric devices such as metaphors, rhetoric questions, allusions etc. are counted in each text. A text can contain negative, positive and mixed structures. Negative refers to a rhetoric device that condemns Wulff or his actions.

*Example: "Rather like a having a marginal role in a play of power, where it's not yet clear whether he is still a player or he has just been a piece of the chancellor. A chancellor, that could consider any time to take that piece from the board." SZ 12.01.2012*

### Positive

The number of positive rhetoric devices are counted in each text. A text can contain negative, positive and mixed structures. Positive refers to a metaphor, comparison, example, figurative description or catchphrase that affirms Wulff or his actions.

*Example: “Bella Bettina” BZ 15.02.2012*

### Neutral/ mixed

The number of neutral/mixed rhetoric devices are counted in each text. A text can contain negative, positive and mixed structures. Neutral/mixed refers to devices that are neither positive nor negative towards Wulff, to devices that contain both positive and negative perspectives or if the coder is in doubt.

*Example: “A double Wulff” BZ 17.02.2012*

### h) Use of sources and positions in the text (2)

#### i) Christian Wulff (beginning, middle or end of the text)

With the help of a ruler, each text is divided into three equal parts. Then, the number of quotes and statements in indirect speech expressed by Christian Wulff, his spokesman or his lawyer are counted for each part of the text.

*Example: beginning of the text: “He didn't have the broad confidence of the public anymore, Wulff explained.” SZ 17.02.2012*

#### ii) Bettina Wulff (beginning, middle or end of the text)

With the help of a ruler, each text is divided into three equal parts. Then, the number of quotes and statements in indirect speech expressed by Bettina Wulff are counted for each part of the text.

*Example: beginning of the text: “Her hope for the holidays: “That our children will have jaunty Christmas celebrations.”” BZ 23.12.2011*

#### iii) Other politician of his party and his coalition party (beginning, middle or end of the text; positive, negative or neutral)

With the help of a ruler, each text is divided into three equal parts. Then, the number of quotes and statements in indirect speech expressed by politicians of the CDU, CSU and FDP that refer to Christian and/or Bettina Wulff are counted for each part of the text. Each statement is also assigned to the category positive (applauds Wulff), negative (condemns Wulff) or neutral/ mixed (neither clearly positive nor negative towards Wulff). If in doubt chose neutral.

*Example: neutral, beginning of the text: “Altmaier said with view to Wulff's "regretful statement" from yesterday that the debate about the President should be interrupted throughout the Christmas period and into the new year.” SZ 23.12.2011*

#### iv) Other politician of the opposition (beginning, middle or end of the text)

With the help of a ruler, each text is divided into three equal parts. Then, the number of quotes and statements in indirect speech are counted for each part of the text.

*Example: positive, end of the text: “Thomas Oppermann, leader of the SPD*
| text, positive, negative or neutral | expressed by politicians of the opposition parties (SPD, Grüne, Linke etc.) that refer to Christian and/or Bettina Wulff are counted for each part of the text. Each statement is also assigned to the category positive (applauds Wulff), negative (condemns Wulff) or neutral/ mixed (neither clearly positive nor negative towards Wulff). If in doubt chose neutral. | parliamentary party: "It deserves our respect that Christian Wulff admits his faults." BZ 16.12.2011 |
| Experts (beginning, middle or end of the text; positive, negative or neutral) | With the help of a ruler, each text is divided into three equal parts. Then, the the number of quotes and statements in indirect speech expressed by an expert (e.g. estate agent, lawyer etc.) that refer to Christian and/or Bettina Wulff are counted for each part of the text. Each statement is also assigned to the category positive (applauds Wulff), negative (condemns Wulff) or neutral/ mixed (neither clearly positive nor negative towards Wulff). If in doubt chose neutral. | e.g. negative, middle of the text: “It is about “the hiding of financial circuits,” the expert said.” SZ 07.01.2012 |
| German citizens (beginning, middle or end of the text; positive, negative or neutral) | With the help of a ruler, each text is divided into three equal parts. Then, the the number of quotes and statements in indirect speech expressed by citizens (e.g. vox pops, opinion polls) that refer to Christian and/or Bettina Wulff are counted for each part of the text. Each statement is also assigned to the category positive (applauds Wulff), negative (condemns Wulff) or neutral/ mixed (neither clearly positive nor negative towards Wulff). If in doubt chose neutral. | e.g. negative, middle of the text: “Does Wulff still have this sense [of what's right and wrong]? Corinna Schneider has a very brief reply: “No.”” SZ 13.01.2012 |
| Media (beginning, middle or end of the text; positive, negative or neutral) | With the help of a ruler, each text is divided into three equal parts. Then, the the number of quotes and statements in indirect speech expressed by a media organization that refer to Christian and/or Bettina Wulff are counted for each part of the text. If, for instance, a politician's statement is quoted from a different media organization, the source is assigned to the category "politician". Only if the media organization is the primary and only source, it is assigned to this category. Each statement is also assigned to the category positive (applauds Wulff), negative (condemns Wulff) or neutral/ mixed (neither clearly positive nor negative towards Wulff). If in doubt chose neutral. | e.g. neutral, middle of the text: “The magazine Stern reports that new contradictions could get Wulff into trouble.” BZ 01.02.2012 |
| Other (beginning, middle or end of the text; positive, negative or neutral) | With the help of a ruler, each text is divided into three equal parts. Then, the the number of quotes and statements in indirect speech that refer to Christian and/or Bettina Wulff are counted for each part of the text, expressed by persons that do not fit into any of the previous categories (e.g. statements of institutions, friends of Wulff etc.). Each statement is also assigned to the category positive (applauds Wulff), negative (condemns Wulff) or neutral/mixed (neither clearly positive nor negative towards Wulff). If in doubt, | e.g. negative, end of the text: “Joachim Meisner, cardinal in Cologne, advised Wulff to step down, if the accusations against him were true. If such accusations applied to him as a churchman, “I would have to lay down my shepherd's crook, I would resign,” he said.” BZ 20.12.2011 |

XIV
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i) Stylistic devices according to Werner Früh (2)</th>
<th>chose neutral.</th>
<th>e.g. “Maybe it's due to Wulff's own pain sensitivity, that he passed the truth by a hair's breadth four years later in the Parliament of Lower Saxony when he was asked about his business relationship to Egon Geerkens.” SZ 20.12.2011</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Irony</td>
<td>Irony can be used in the whole text or just parts of the text to indirectly express a negative attitude towards a topic or to question a viewpoint</td>
<td>e.g. “Maybe it's due to Wulff's own pain sensitivity, that he passed the truth by a hair's breadth four years later in the Parliament of Lower Saxony when he was asked about his business relationship to Egon Geerkens.” SZ 20.12.2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implications</td>
<td>Implications and presuppositions refer to knowledge that the writer implies the readers has, knowledge that is being taken for granted.</td>
<td>e.g. “Maschsee-Connection” SZ 13.12.2011, “Prince Charles of German politics” SZ 19.12.2011</td>
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<tr>
<td>Emotionalization a) positive; b) negative</td>
<td>Emotionalization a) positive; b) negative refers to the use of words that have either a positive or negative connotation in describing a person or an event</td>
<td>e.g. positive: “Wulff is considered an even tempered character. He doesn’t like choleric behavior.” SZ 24.06.2010</td>
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<tr>
<td>Downgraded status of the credibility of a source</td>
<td>Downgraded status of the credibility of a source: A source and his/her statement are downgraded or disqualified by means of negative attributions and/or connotations.</td>
<td>e.g. “scrap dealer friend Egon Geerkens” BZ 16.12.2011</td>
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<tr>
<td>Upgraded status of the credibility of a source</td>
<td>Upgraded status of the credibility of a source: A source and his/her statement are upgraded or upvalued by means of positive attributions and/or connotations.</td>
<td>e.g. “The renowned party expert professor Martin Morlok (University of Düsseldorf) critiqued Maschmeyer’s campaign for Wulff's book as “a strange deal with an amigo.”” BZ 20.12.2011</td>
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<tr>
<td>Relativization of an argument through contrasting arguments</td>
<td>Relativization of an argument through contrasting arguments: An argument is modified and loses some of its power by means of a contrasting argument.</td>
<td>e.g. “Wulff contradicts the elaboration of Spiegel - One person's word against another's.” BZ 16.12.2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiding of unconfirmed information/speculations</td>
<td>Hiding of unconfirmed information/ speculations: An aspect is presented as a fact, although the information is not yet confirmed.</td>
<td>e.g. “Friends send text messages to Wulff, wishing him luck for his statement.” BZ 17.02.2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetition of identical/similar statements</td>
<td>Repetition of identical/ similar statements: A statement gets particular importance as the author repeats it in similar or identical words.</td>
<td>e.g. “President may be called a “liar”...In the current debate about Christian Wulff's loan and media affair, one may well call the President a liar without being punished... Wenzel had called Wulff a “liar” in an interview and asked him to resign.” BZ 27.01.2012</td>
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<td>Pointing to lacks in the line of reasoning</td>
<td>e.g. “Many of the honored invitees emphasize it. That they have been invited by the President. Not by Christian Wulff.” SZ 13.01.2012</td>
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<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Example</th>
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<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>An adjective used to describe Wulff or his actions is negative and condemns him or his action</td>
<td>e.g. “loving and passionate” BZ 01.07.2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>An adjective used to describe Wulff or his actions is positive and applauds/defends him or his action</td>
<td>e.g. “fragile” SZ 18.12.2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>An adjective used to describe Wulff or his actions is neither positive nor negative</td>
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<tr>
<th>j) Adjectives used to describe Wulff or his actions</th>
<th>Neologisms used to describe Wulff</th>
<th>Official names</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>Colloquial names</td>
<td>Job descriptions and official references the media used to refer to Wulff</td>
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<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
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**Code book**

The code book and categories for the content analysis were designed to answer the research questions. This section will briefly outline the rules and guidelines for each category.

a) Size

The texts will be coded for the length of each text and the total amount of articles each of the events (federal elections in 2003 and 2008, presidential elections etc.). The length and quantity of the articles will indicate the perceived importance of the event in each newspaper.

b) Tone

The category of tone is aimed at measuring the overall tone of the news text. A distinction is made between positive, negative and neutral. The positive tone refers to a text that gives the overall impression that it defends/applauds Wulff's actions, his personality etc. The negative tone refers to an article that gives
the overall impression that it condemns Wulff's actions, his personality etc. Lastly, the neutral/mixed tone refers to articles that are neither positive nor negative towards Wulff or to articles that contain both positive and negative perspectives.

c) Form of presentation
This separation is aimed to show differences in coverage among the different texts, based on criteria of Geretschlaeger that he developed for his analysis of Austrian newspaper coverage (1979: 64).

Factual, sober: Texts of this category are as factual and sober as possible, they report about events and persons in a balanced way.
Explaining, informing, educating: Texts of this category give the reader additional information on a topic and try to transmit knowledge.
Committed, convincing: Texts of this category try to convince the reader of a certain viewpoint or opinion, they focus on one or a few selected views instead of multiple views.
Critical, analytical, annotating: Texts of this category deal critically with a certain topic, question viewpoints and may show the reader a different perspective.
Exciting, sensational, emotional: Texts of this category aim to evoke emotions among the reader and through language, they do not only convey information, but also an emotional perspective.
Entertaining, humorous: The primary aim of texts of this category is not the mere provision of information, but they are meant to entertain the reader.
Polemic, ironic: Texts of this category question certain viewpoints or opinions with the help of irony and/or sarcasm

d) Frames
To answer the research question which frames were used most prominently by BZ and SZ before, during and after the loan affair of Christian Wulff, a framing analysis will be conducted. The frame categories derive from both works of different scholars in media sciences (see below) and own observations of the texts.

Responsibility frame: “This frame presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for its cause or solution to either the government or to an individual or group.” (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000: 96). It refers to news texts that shape public understanding in such a way that a person or group is perceived as responsible to have caused or to solve a certain problem.
Morality frame: “This frame puts the event, problem, or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions” (Semetko et al 2000: 96). Due to the norm of objectivity, journalists often (indirectly) use moral assessments to evaluate situations. They do this for instance by allowing a source to raise the
question.

**Economic consequences frame:** “This frame reports an event, problem, or issue in terms of the consequences it will have economically on an individual, group, institution, region, or country.” (Semetko et al 2000: 96). The impact and the economic consequences are often an important factor in the news, when journalists for example show great gains or losses of money.

**Conflict frame:** According to Semetko et al “[t]his frame emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups and institutions as a means of capturing audience interest” (2000: 95). This frame will address the visibility of conflicts in newspaper coverage concerning the politician Christian Wulff. If an article shows disagreement between individuals, groups or institutions, it is considered to be part of the conflict frame.

**Human interest frame:** “This frame brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue or problem […] such a frame refers to an effort to personalize the news, dramatize or emotionalize the news, in order to capture and retain audience interest” (2000: 96). If journalists include a personal story of an individual that is related to a bigger story, it is considered part of the human interest frame.

**Victim frame:** This frame presents an individual or a group as not (fully) responsible for the situation they find themselves in. If a news text presents someone as a victim of someone else, the media, him or herself etc. it is considered part of the victim frame.

**Accusation frame:** This frame applies if an individual or a group is defamed and fully blamed for doing wrong and causing a certain problem. Compared to the responsibility frame, the tone of a news text with the accusation frame is more negative.

**'Guy from next door'/family man frame:** A male character is positively portrayed as a sincere, down-to-earth and friendly person. He is presented as almost perfect with only a few defects that make him seem more human.

**Glamour frame:** An individual or a group is positively portrayed in an attractive, exciting and romantic way that makes them seem appealing and special. This frame applies if someone for example is described as charming and beautiful in an accordingly glamorous setting.

**Political loser frame:** This frame presents a person that failed politically in winning the elections or getting into higher positions because of either bad luck, poor skills or bad performance. If someone is portrayed as incompetent and unable to win this frame applies.

**Political winner frame:** This frame presents a person that won the elections or got to a higher position because of his/her hard work, outstanding capabilities or luck. This frame applies if someone is portrayed as successfully in what he/she is doing in politics or enjoys popularity among the population.

e) **Objectivity**

The category of objectivity is aimed at measuring to which extend objectivity is applied in a news text. Ward's definition of modern objectivity (2004: 20) includes several means on how it can be applied in news texts, those means are used here to measure objectivity in BZ and SZ. Attribution to sources refers
to the use of quotes and paraphrasing of what a source has said especially when it comes to the expression of opinion. Balanced coverage refers to the presentation of all major viewpoints of the story in a fair manner. (Self)-critical coverage refers to journalists who submit their coverage to critical evaluation.

f) News values

News values are “a subjective set of criteria that journalists use to assess the newsworthiness of events or topics” (Zelizer et al 2010: 89). As it was outlined already in the theoretical framework, O’Neill and Harcup’s criteria of news selection will be applied in this research to show which criteria may lead journalists in either covering an event or not:

“The Power Elite: Stories concerning powerful individuals, organisations or institutions.

Celebrity: Stories concerning people who are already famous.

Entertainment: Stories concerning sex, show business, human interest, animals, an unfolding drama, or offering opportunities for humorous treatment, entertaining photographs or witty headlines.

Surprise: Stories that have an element of surprise and/or contrast.

Bad News: Stories with particularly negative overtones, such as conflict or tragedy.

Good News: Stories with particularly positive overtones such as rescues and cures.

Magnitude: Stories that are perceived as sufficiently significant either in the numbers of people involved or in the potential impact.

Relevance: Stories about issues, groups and nations perceived to be relevant to the audience.

Follow-up: Stories about subjects already in the news.

Newspaper Agenda: Stories that set or fit the news organization’s own agenda.” (2009: 168).

g) Rhetorical structures in the whole text

The category of rhetorical structures in the whole text is aimed at measuring the tone of the rhetoric device, such as metaphors, allusions, . A distinction is made between positive, negative and neutral. Positive refers to a metaphor, comparison, example, figurative description or catchphrase that affirms Wulff or his actions. Negative refers to a rhetoric device that condemns Wulff or his actions. Lastly, neutral/mixed refers to devices that are neither positive nor negative towards Wulff or to devices that contain both positive and negative perspectives. For Pan and Kosicki, rhetoric devices will provide insights on frames and ideological expressions (1993: 59f). Thus, the rhetoric devices will be highlighted in the texts for later interpretation.
h) Use of sources and location in the text

According to van Dijk (1995), the use of sources reveals much whom journalists perceive as powerful. The distinction in this paper will be made between Christian Wulff and/or his wife, other politicians, experts, German citizens, media and others, for sources that do not apply for any of the previously mentioned categories. The location of the source in the whole text, though when the person gets to speak, is also important to draw conclusions about the perception of power. The coder will thus also define whether the source is mentioned in the first, second or last third of the text. Moreover, the coder will mark whether a statement supports or confirms Wulff (positive), condemns or contradicts him (negative) or whether the statement is neither positive nor negative towards Wulff or it does not directly refer to him (neutral). This last feature excludes quotes from Wulff, his wife, his spokesman or his advocates.

i) Stylistic devices


Irony can be used in the whole text or just parts of the text to indirectly express a negative attitude towards a topic or to question a viewpoint. Implications and presuppositions refer to knowledge that the writer implies the readers has, knowledge that is being taken for granted. Emotionalization (a) positive; b) negative) refers to the use of words that have either a positive or negative connotation in describing a person or an event. Downgraded status of the credibility of a source: A source and his/her statement are downgraded or disqualified by means of negative attributions and/or connotations. Upgraded status of the credibility of a source: A source and his/her statement are upgraded or upvalued by means of positive attributions and/or connotations. Relativization of an argument through contrasting arguments: An argument is modified and loses some of its power by means of a contrasting argument. Hiding of unconfirmed information/speculations: An aspect is presented as a fact, although the information is not yet confirmed. Repetition of identical/similar statements: A statement gets particular importance as the author repeats it in similar or identical words. Pointing to lacks in the line of reasoning: The writer adds additional information that the source has not thought about or left out deliberately.

j) Adverbs and adjectives for Wulff or his actions
The coder will decide for each adjective whether it is positive or negative towards Wulff or his actions. If it is neither positive nor negative or the meaning is unclear, the third variable, namely neutral applies. As this is an open category, the coder will also note each adjective for later analysis.

k) Synonyms for Wulff
The last category is an open category where the coder will note examples of synonyms and designations for Wulff, a distinction between official and colloquial names will be made to reveal how the journalist sees Wulff. This category will be used later again in the CDA.

Analytical tools for the CDA

a) Formal structuring
This first step of the CDA will look at the context of the discursive event and at the formal linguistic structuring of the text, including an analysis of the structure of argumentation in the different news texts. Knowing about the choices of arguments such as the order in which journalists presented them gives an idea on how the journalists perceived the event, and what they perceived as important/unimportant. This step of analysis will also look at sentence structures. The arrangement of subordinate clauses, and the use of causal and conditional clauses such as passive and active voice may not be arbitrary as they can emphasize or downplay whom the respective journalist perceived as acting/reacting, and whom he/she blamed for certain events. The choice of words, synonyms, collocations, namings and possible figurative elements, shortly said lexicalization will be also analysed in this step. The analysis of lexical choices reveals associations the journalists drew, and shows underlying assumptions. (De)emphasizing certain aspects by using capital, italic or bold letters etc. is another important point in the analysis.

b) Content-related structuring
The second step of the CDA pays particular attention to content-related structures, including an analysis of the frames presented in the text. The structure of arguments already reveals some insights which information the respective journalists displayed or withheld, so what he/she perceived as important and newsworthy or not. Paying additional attention to frames gives more hints on how news frames potentially affect the audience's perception. It will also look closely at textual references and the provision of background knowledge. These observations indicate what kind of connections the journalists drew to other events and how they relates to the present case. It is also important to look at presuppositions, hence knowledge the journalist presupposes the audience has. Such assumptions are often presented as common sense and refer to ideological foundations.
c) Structuring of identities and ideologies
The last and probably most revealing step of the CDA aims to analyse how identities are set up, how the different actors are presented and what their relationships are. To find out about this, the sources used in the texts will be analysed. News reports build, to a large extent, on various sources that are quoted directly or indirectly in the text. Sources of information make the text appear authentic and fact-based. From the ideological point of view, the selection of sources and their position in the text provides useful insights whom the respective journalist includes or excludes, and who is considered as more/less important according to where they get to speak. It also aims to observe the presentation of the different parties of the conflict, generalizations, stereotypical arguments and the evaluation of their actions. The relationships between the different parties of the conflict will also be carefully examined. These observations display the viewpoint the journalist has on humans and society, such as whom he/she perceives as powerful/weak and whom he/she blames. This is closely related to the analysis of speech and communicative acts. Furthermore, the sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists and the possible distinction between insiders and outsiders will be analysed. As a last step, we will take an in-depth look at the expression of the journalist's own opinion, directly or indirectly.

d) other remarks
Any other comment or remark that does not fit into any of the previous categories will be written down here by the coder.
III. Results of the CA and CDA in tables in the order as presented in the coding sheet

1) Results of the CA

a) Variable: total number of texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event Description</th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Federal Elections 2003 (February 26 to March 7, 2003)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Federal Elections 2008 (January 20 to 30, 2008)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presidential Elections (June 25 to July 5, 2010)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loan affair and Wulff's resignation (December 13, 2011 to February 17, 2012)</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farewell ceremony (February 18 to March 8, 2012)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian and Bettina Wulff (2006 to 2011)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of texts</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1: total number of texts of the CA

1 The number in the middle of the circles always refers to the amount a specific variable was found in the sample
b) Variable: tone of the text

Time frame: Elections 2003 and 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(33,3 %)</td>
<td>(84,6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(16,6 %)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(50,1 %)</td>
<td>(15,4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of texts</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Time frame: Presidential Elections 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(58,6 %)</td>
<td>(5,9 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3,4 %)</td>
<td>(23,5 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(38 %)</td>
<td>(70,6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of texts</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Time frame: Mr and Mrs Wulff

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(92,3 %)</td>
<td>(14,3 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(7,7 %)</td>
<td>(85,7 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of texts</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Time frame: 2003-2010 (summary of the three previous tables)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(64,6 %)</td>
<td>(35,1 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(4,2 %)</td>
<td>(10,8 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(31,2 %)</td>
<td>(54,1 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of texts</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2.1: tone of the text 2003 -2010

Variable: tone of the text towards Wulff
Time frame: 2003-2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BILD</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>out of 49 texts</td>
<td>out of 37 texts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please see appendix for the coding rules and definition of categories

XXIV
### Time frame: during the affair (2011 and 2012)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>5 (4.2 %)</td>
<td>2 (2.6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>69 (70.8 %)</td>
<td>42 (54.5 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>25 (25 %)</td>
<td>33 (42.8 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of texts</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 2.2: tone of the text during the affair**

### Time frame: after the resignation 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>1 (4.6 %)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>7 (31.8 %)</td>
<td>3 (15.8 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>15 (63.6 %)</td>
<td>16 (84.2 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of texts</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 2.3: tone of the text after the resignation**
Time frame: 2011 and 2012 (summary of the two previous tables)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>6 (4,2 %)</td>
<td>3 (2,1 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>76 (63,6 %)</td>
<td>45 (46,8 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>40 (32,2 %)</td>
<td>49 (51,1 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of texts</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c) Variable: Form of presentation according to Geretschlaeger

Time frame: Elections 2003 and 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form of presentation</th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>explaining, informing, educating</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (7,7 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>committed, convincing</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>critical, analytical, annotating</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (15,4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exciting, sensational, emotional</td>
<td>1 (12,5 %)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertaining, humorous</td>
<td>3 (37,5 %)</td>
<td>2 (15,4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polemic, ironic</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (15,4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>factual, sober</td>
<td>4 (50 %)</td>
<td>6 (46,1 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of texts</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Time frame: Presidential Elections 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form of presentation</th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>explaining, informing, educating</td>
<td>2 (7,7 %)</td>
<td>3 (18,8 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>committed, convincing</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
<td>7 (37,5 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>critical, analytical, annotating</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5 (31 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exciting, sensational, emotional</td>
<td>9 (38,5 %)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertaining, humorous</td>
<td>11 (46,1 %)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polemic, ironic</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>factual, sober</td>
<td>2 (7,7 %)</td>
<td>3 (18,8 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of texts</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Time frame: Mr and Mrs Wulff

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form of presentation</th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>explaining, informing, educating</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (14,2 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>committed, convincing</td>
<td>2 (14,2 %)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>critical, analytical, annotating</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (14,2 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exciting, sensational, emotional</td>
<td>9 (64,3 %)</td>
<td>1 ( 14,2 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertaining, humorous</td>
<td>2 (14,3 %)</td>
<td>1 (14,2 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polemic, ironic</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (14,2 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BZ</td>
<td>SZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>factual, sober</td>
<td>1 (7,1 %)</td>
<td>2 (29 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of texts</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Time frame: 2003-2010 (summary of the three previous tables)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>explaining, informing, educating</td>
<td>2 (4,1 %)</td>
<td>5 (13,2 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>committed, convincing</td>
<td>2 (4,1 %)</td>
<td>6 (15,6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>critical, analytical, annotating</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8 (21 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exciting, sensational, emotional</td>
<td>22 (44,9 %)</td>
<td>1 (2,6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertaining, humorous</td>
<td>17 (34,7 %)</td>
<td>3 (10,4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polemic, ironic</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 (7,8 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>factual, sober</td>
<td>6 (12,2 %)</td>
<td>11 (29,4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of texts</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.1: form of presentation according to Geretschläger 2003 - 2010

Time frame: during the affair (2011-2012)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>explaining, informing, educating</td>
<td>11 (11,1 %)</td>
<td>18 (23,4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>committed, convincing</td>
<td>33 (33 %)</td>
<td>7 (9,1 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>critical, analytical, annotating</td>
<td>1 (1,2 %)</td>
<td>8 (10,4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exciting, sensational, emotional</td>
<td>31 (30,1 %)</td>
<td>1 (1,3 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertaining, humorous</td>
<td>5 (5 %)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polemic, ironic</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9 (11.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>factual, sober</td>
<td>19 (19.6%)</td>
<td>34 (44.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total number of texts</strong></td>
<td>99</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Time frame: after the affair (2012)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Explaining, informing, educating</th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>explanation, informing, educating</td>
<td>2 (9%)</td>
<td>4 (21.00%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>committed, convincing</td>
<td>5 (22.7%)</td>
<td>1 (5.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>critical, analytical, annotating</td>
<td>1 (4.7%)</td>
<td>2 (10.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exciting, sensational, emotional</td>
<td>7 (27.2%)</td>
<td>1 (5.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertaining, humorous</td>
<td>1 (4.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polemic, ironic</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>factual, sober</strong></td>
<td>7 (31.8%)</td>
<td>11 (58.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total number of texts</strong></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Time frame: 2011-2012 (summary of the two previous tables)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Explaining, informing, educating</th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>explanation, informing, educating</td>
<td>13 (11.4%)</td>
<td>22 (22.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>committed, convincing</td>
<td>38 (32.5%)</td>
<td>8 (8.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>critical, analytical, annotating</td>
<td>2 (1.7%)</td>
<td>10 (10.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exciting, sensational, emotional</td>
<td>38 (31.6%)</td>
<td>2 (2.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertaining, humorous</td>
<td>7 (5.3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polemic, ironic</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9 (9.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>factual, sober</strong></td>
<td>26 (17.2%)</td>
<td>45 (46.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total number of texts</strong></td>
<td>122</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 3.2: form of presentation according to Geretschläger 2011 - 201**

Please see appendix for the coding rules and definition of categories.
d) Variable: frames

Time frame: elections 2003 and 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Responsibility frame</td>
<td>4 (19 %)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morality frame</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic consequences frame</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict frame</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human interest frame</td>
<td>1 (9 %)</td>
<td>2 (9,5 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim frame</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusation frame</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Guy from next door'/family man</td>
<td>2 (18,2 %)</td>
<td>2 (9,5 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frame</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glamour frame</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political loser frame</td>
<td>1 (9 %)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political winner frame</td>
<td>7 (63,8 %)</td>
<td>13 (61,9 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of frames</td>
<td>11 (found in 8 texts)</td>
<td>21 (found in 13 texts)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Time frame: Presidential Elections 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Responsibility frame</td>
<td>6 (11,5 %)</td>
<td>12 (42,8 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morality frame</td>
<td>2 (3,8 %)</td>
<td>1 (3,6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic consequences frame</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict frame</td>
<td>9 (32,1 %)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human interest frame</td>
<td>5 (9,6 %)</td>
<td>2 (7, 1 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim frame</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusation frame</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Guy from next door'/family man</td>
<td>10 (19,2 %)</td>
<td>2 (7, 1 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frame</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glamour frame</td>
<td>7 (13,5 %)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political loser frame</td>
<td>5 (9,6 %)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political winner frame</td>
<td>17 (32,7 %)</td>
<td>2 (7, 1 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of frames</td>
<td>52 (found in 27 texts)</td>
<td>28 (found in 17 texts)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Time frame: Mr and Mrs Wulff

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frame</th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Responsibility frame</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1 (5,9 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morality frame</td>
<td>1 (3,7 %)</td>
<td>2 (11,7 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic consequences frame</td>
<td>1 (5,9 %)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict frame</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human interest frame</td>
<td>13 (48, 2 %)</td>
<td>6 (35,3 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame Type</td>
<td>Count (Percentage)</td>
<td>Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim frame</td>
<td>1 (5.9%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusation frame</td>
<td>1 (5.9%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Guy from next door'/family man frame</td>
<td>8 (29.6%)</td>
<td>3 (17.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glamour frame</td>
<td>4 (14.8%)</td>
<td>2 (11.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political loser frame</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political winner frame</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of frames</td>
<td>27 (found in 14 texts)</td>
<td>17 (found in 7 texts)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.1: all appearing frames Mr. and Mrs. Wulff

Figure 4.2: all appearing frames 2003 - 2010

Please see appendix for the coding rules and definition of categories.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time frame: during the affair (2011-2012)</th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Responsibility frame</td>
<td>78 (24,2 %)</td>
<td>56 (23,2 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morality frame</td>
<td>39 (12,1 %)</td>
<td>45 (18,7 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic consequences frame</td>
<td>40 (12,4 %)</td>
<td>28 (11,6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict frame</td>
<td>86 (26,7 %)</td>
<td>73 (30,3 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human interest frame</td>
<td>14 (4,3 %)</td>
<td>1 (0,4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim frame</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusation frame</td>
<td>49 (15,2 %)</td>
<td>31 (12,8 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Guy from next door'/family man frame</td>
<td>1 (0,3 %)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glamour frame</td>
<td>8 (2,5%)</td>
<td>1 (0,4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political loser frame</td>
<td>5 (1,6 %)</td>
<td>5 (2 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political winner frame</td>
<td>2 (0,6 %)</td>
<td>1 (0,4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of frames</td>
<td>322 (found in 99 texts)</td>
<td>241 (found in 77 texts)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time frame: after the affair (2012)</th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Responsibility frame</td>
<td>7 (18,4 %)</td>
<td>9 (26,4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morality frame</td>
<td>4 (11,7 %)</td>
<td>3 (8,8 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic consequences frame</td>
<td>7 (18,4 %)</td>
<td>6 (17,7 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict frame</td>
<td>12 (35,3 %)</td>
<td>14 (41,2 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human interest frame</td>
<td>3 (8,8 %)</td>
<td>2 (5,9 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim frame</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusation frame</td>
<td>5 (14,7 %)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Guy from next door'/family man frame</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glamour frame</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political loser frame</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political winner frame</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of frames</td>
<td>38 (found in 23 texts)</td>
<td>34 (found in 19 texts)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time frame: 2011-2012 (summary of the two previous tables)</th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Responsibility frame</td>
<td>85 (23,6 %)</td>
<td>65 (23,6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morality frame</td>
<td>43 (11,9 %)</td>
<td>48 (17,5 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic consequences frame</td>
<td>47 (13,1 %)</td>
<td>34 (12,4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict frame</td>
<td>98 (27,2 %)</td>
<td>87 (31,6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human interest frame</td>
<td>17 (4,7 %)</td>
<td>3 (1 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victim frame</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame Description</td>
<td>Frequency SZ</td>
<td>Frequency BZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusation frame</td>
<td>54 (15 %)</td>
<td>31 (11,2 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Guy from next door'/family man frame</td>
<td>1 (0,3 %)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glamour frame</td>
<td>8 (2,2 %)</td>
<td>1 (0,4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political loser frame</td>
<td>5 (1,4 %)</td>
<td>5 (1,8 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political winner frame</td>
<td>2 (0,6 %)</td>
<td>1 (0,4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of frames</td>
<td>275 (found in 97 texts)</td>
<td>360 (found in 122 texts)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.3: all appearing frames 2011 – 2012

**e) Variable: Objectivity according to Ward**

**Time frame: Elections 2003 and 2008**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attributed</td>
<td>8 out of 8 texts (100 %)</td>
<td>13 out of 13 texts (100 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balanced</td>
<td>6 out of 8 texts (83,3 %)</td>
<td>13 out of 13 texts (100 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical</td>
<td>0 out of 8 texts</td>
<td>1 out of 13 texts (7,7 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out of</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Time frame: Presidential Elections 2010**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attributed</td>
<td>25 out of 27 texts (89,7 %)</td>
<td>11 out of 17 texts (64,7 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balanced</td>
<td>22 out of 27 texts (79,3 %)</td>
<td>3 out of 17 texts (35,3 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical</td>
<td>0 out of 27 texts</td>
<td>0 out of 17 texts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out of</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Time frame: Mr and Mrs Wulff

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attributed</td>
<td>9 out of 14 texts (69,2 %)</td>
<td>5 out of 7 texts (71,4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balanced</td>
<td>4 out of 14 texts (30,8 %)</td>
<td>4 out of 7 texts (57,1 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical</td>
<td>0 out of 14 texts</td>
<td>0 out of 7 texts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out of</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Time frame: 2003-2010 (summary of the three previous tables)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attributed</td>
<td>41 out of 49 texts (85,4 %)</td>
<td>30 out of 37 texts (81,1 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balanced</td>
<td>32 out of 49 texts (66,6 %)</td>
<td>20 out of 37 texts (54,1 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical</td>
<td>0 out of 49 texts</td>
<td>1 out of 37 texts (2,7 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out of</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.1: objectivity according to Ward 2003 – 2010

Time frame: during the affair (2011 and 2012)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attributed</td>
<td>82 out of 99 texts (85,4 %)</td>
<td>65 out of 77 texts (84,4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balanced</td>
<td>31 out of 99 texts (32,3 %)</td>
<td>30 out of 77 texts (39 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical</td>
<td>0 out of 99 texts</td>
<td>2 out of 77 texts (2,6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out of</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Time frame: after the resignation 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attributed</td>
<td>17 out of 23 texts (77,3 %)</td>
<td>15 out of 19 texts (78,9 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balanced</td>
<td>8 out of 23 texts (36,4 %)</td>
<td>14 out of 19 texts (73,7 %)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Critical | 0 out of 23 texts | 2 out of 19 texts (10,5 %)  
Total | 23 | 19

Time frame: 2011-2012 (summary of the two previous tables)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attributed</td>
<td>97 out of 122 texts (82,2 %)</td>
<td>80 out of 97 texts (83,3 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balanced</td>
<td>39 out of 122 texts (33,1 %)</td>
<td>44 out of 97 texts (45,8 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical</td>
<td>0 out of 122 texts</td>
<td>4 out of 97 texts (4,2 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.2: objectivity according to Ward 2011 – 2012

f) Variable: news values according to Harcup and O'Neill

Time frame: elections 2003 and 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Power Elite</td>
<td>2 (12,4 %)</td>
<td>13 (32,5 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celebrity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>1 (2,5 %)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surprise</td>
<td>1 (2,5 %)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad News</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good news</td>
<td>1 (2,5 %)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magnitude</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relevance</td>
<td>7 (43,8 %)</td>
<td>11 (27,5 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Follow-up</td>
<td>7 (43,8 %)</td>
<td>12 (30 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper Agenda</td>
<td>1 (2,5 %)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of news values</td>
<td>16 found in 8 texts</td>
<td>40 found in 13 texts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Time frame: Presidential Elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Power Elite</td>
<td>17 (23,3 %)</td>
<td>17 (27 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celebrity</td>
<td>3 (4,1 %)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>9 (12,3 %)</td>
<td>2 (3,2 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surprise</td>
<td>3 (4,1 %)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad News</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good news</td>
<td>1 (1,4 %)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magnitude</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (3,2 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relevance</td>
<td>16 (21,9 %)</td>
<td>13 (20,6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Follow-up</td>
<td>24 (32,8 %)</td>
<td>16 (25,4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper Agenda</td>
<td></td>
<td>13 (20,6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of news values</td>
<td>73 found in 27 texts</td>
<td>63 found in 17 texts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Time frame: Mr and Mrs Wulff

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Power Elite</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celebrity</td>
<td>1 (4,7 %)</td>
<td>2 (14,3 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>2 (9,4 %)</td>
<td>3 (21,4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surprise</td>
<td>7 (33,6 %)</td>
<td>5 (35,8 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad News</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good news</td>
<td>1 (4,7 %)</td>
<td>1 (7,1 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magnitude</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relevance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Follow-up</td>
<td>10 (47,6 %)</td>
<td>3 (21,4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper Agenda</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of news values</td>
<td>21 found in14 texts</td>
<td>14 found in 7 texts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 6.1: news values according to Harcup and O'Neil Mr. and Mrs. Wulff

Time frame: 2003-2010 (summary of the three previous tables)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Power Elite</td>
<td>19 (17,3 %)</td>
<td>30 (25,9 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celebrity</td>
<td>4 (3,6 %)</td>
<td>2 (1,7 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>11 (10 %)</td>
<td>6 (5,1 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surprise</td>
<td>10 (9,1 %)</td>
<td>5 (4,3 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad News</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good news</td>
<td>2 (1,8 %)</td>
<td>2 (1,7 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magnitude</td>
<td>2 (1,7 %)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relevance</td>
<td>23 (20,9 %)</td>
<td>24 (20,7 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Follow-up</td>
<td>41 (37,3 %)</td>
<td>31 (26,7 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper Agenda</td>
<td>14 (12,1 %)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of news values</td>
<td>110 found in 49 texts</td>
<td>116 found in 37 texts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 6.2: news values according to Harcup and O’Neill 2003 - 2010

Time frame: during the affair (2001-2012)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Power Elite</td>
<td>97 (22 %)</td>
<td>76 (23,9 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celebrity</td>
<td>6 (1,4 %)</td>
<td>4 (1,2 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>9 (2 %)</td>
<td>2 (0,6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surprise</td>
<td>7 (1,6 %)</td>
<td>6 (1,8 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad News</td>
<td>6 (1,4 %)</td>
<td>5 (1,5 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good news</td>
<td>1 (0,2 %)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magnitude</td>
<td>47 (10,6 %)</td>
<td>36 (11,3 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relevance</td>
<td>78 (17,7 %)</td>
<td>63 (19,8 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Follow-up</td>
<td>94 (21,3 %)</td>
<td>75 (23,6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper Agenda</td>
<td>96 (21,8 %)</td>
<td>51 (16 %)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total number of news values: 441 found in 99 texts 318 found in 77 texts

Time frame: after the affair (2012)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Power Elite</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19 (22,6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celebrity</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>5 (6,9 %)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surprise</td>
<td>2 (2,8 %)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad News</td>
<td>1 (1,4 %)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good news</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11 (13.1 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magnitude</td>
<td>7 (9.7 %)</td>
<td>11 (13.1 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relevance</td>
<td>14 (19.4 %)</td>
<td>17 (20.2 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Follow-up</td>
<td>21 (29.1 %)</td>
<td>19 (22.6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper Agenda</td>
<td>22 (30.6 %)</td>
<td>18 (28.5 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of news values</td>
<td>72 found in 23 texts</td>
<td>84 found in 19 texts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Time frame: 2011-2012 (summary of the two previous tables)

| Power Elite | BZ (22.2 %) | SZ (23.6 %) |
| Celebrity   | 6 (1.1 %)   | 4 (1 %)     |
| Entertainment | 14 (2.6 %) | 2 (0.5 %)   |
| Surprise    | 9 (1.7 %)   | 6 (1.5 %)   |
| Bad News    | 7 (1.3 %)   | 5 (1.2 %)   |
| Good news   | 1 (0.2 %)   | 0           |
| Magnitude   | 54 (10.0 %) | 47 (11.7 %) |
| Relevance   | 92 (17.2 %) | 80 (20 %)   |
| Follow-up   | 115 (21.5 %)| 94 (23.3 %) |
| Newspaper Agenda | 118 (22.1 %) | 69 (17.1 %) |
| Total number of news values | 535 found in 122 texts | 402 found in 97 texts |

Figure 6.3: news values according to Harcup and O’Neill 2011 - 2012
g) Variable: Overall of rhetoric devices in the whole text

Time frame: elections 2003 and 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>12 (44.4 %)</td>
<td>9 (8.5 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>7 (25.9 %)</td>
<td>2 (2 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>8 (29.7%)</td>
<td>94 (89.5 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of rhetoric devices</td>
<td>27 (found in 8 texts)</td>
<td>105 (found in 13 texts)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Time frame: Presidential Elections 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>95 (36.8 %)</td>
<td>2 (2.6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>5 (1.9 %)</td>
<td>25 (32 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>158 (61.3 %)</td>
<td>51 (65.4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of rhetoric devices</td>
<td>258 (found in 27 texts)</td>
<td>78 (found in 17 texts)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Time frame: Mr and Mrs Wulff

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>48 (63.2 %)</td>
<td>6 (20 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (6.7 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>28 (36.8 %)</td>
<td>22 (73.3 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of rhetoric devices</td>
<td>76 (found in 14 texts)</td>
<td>30 (found in 7 texts)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Time frame: 2003-2010 (summary of the three previous tables)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>155 (37.9 %)</td>
<td>17 (8 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>12 (2.9 %)</td>
<td>29 (13.7 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>242 (59.2 %)</td>
<td>167 (78.3 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of rhetoric devices</td>
<td>409 (found in 49 texts)</td>
<td>213 (found in 37 texts)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 7.1: rhetoric devices in the whole text 2003 - 2010

Please see appendix for the coding rules and definition of categories
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time frame: during the affair 2011 and 2012</th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>32 (9%)</td>
<td>16 (4.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>214 (60.3%)</td>
<td>196 (60.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>109 (30.7%)</td>
<td>112 (34.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of rhetoric devices</td>
<td>355 (found in 99 texts)</td>
<td>324 (found in 77 texts)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time frame: after the resignation 2012</th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 (5.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>16 (43.2%)</td>
<td>24 (46.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>21 (56.8%)</td>
<td>25 (48.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of rhetoric devices</td>
<td>37 (found in 23 texts)</td>
<td>52 (found in 19 texts)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time frame: 2011-2012 (summary of the two previous tables)</th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>32 (8.2%)</td>
<td>19 (5.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>230 (58.7%)</td>
<td>220 (58.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>130 (33.1%)</td>
<td>137 (36.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of rhetoric devices</td>
<td>392 (found in 122 texts)</td>
<td>376 (found in 97 texts)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Variable: rhetoric devices in the whole text 2011-2012

Figure 7.2: rhetoric devices in the whole text 2011 - 2012

Please see appendix for the coding rules and definition of categories
h) Use of sources within the text

Figure 8.1: sources and their position in the texts 2003 - 2010

| Variable: sources in the first, second and last third of the text | Time frame: 2003-2010 |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Christian Wulf | 21 27 | 35 34 | 10 29 |
| Bettina Wulf | 4 3 | 7 2 | 7 5 |
| Politicians of Wulf’s party | 7 7 | 28 35 | 7 14 |
| Politicians of other parties | 10 19 | 22 45 | 10 19 |
| Experts | 2 9 | 5 6 | 8 3 |
| Citizens | 2 9 | 8 10 | 3 10 |
| Media | 3 3 | 2 8 | 1 1 |
| Other | 5 6 | 4 8 | 8 19 |

- **Bild**
- **SZ**
i) **Variable: Stylistic devices according to Früh that journalists use to modify viewpoints and arguments**

**Time frame: elections 2003 and 2008**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Irony</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implications</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive emotionalization</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative emotionalization</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downgraded status of the credibility of a source</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upgraded status of the credibility of</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Device Description</td>
<td>BZ</td>
<td>SZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relativization of an argument through contrasting arguments</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiding of unconfirmed information/speculations</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetition of identical/similar statements</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pointing to lacks in the line of reasoning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total of devices</strong></td>
<td>9 (found in 8 texts)</td>
<td>14 (found in 13 texts)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Time frame: Presidential Elections 2010**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Device Description</th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Irony</td>
<td>10 (18,9 %)</td>
<td>4 (19 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implications</td>
<td>13 (24,5 %)</td>
<td>3 (14,3 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive emotionalization</td>
<td>18 (33,9 %)</td>
<td>3 (14,3 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative emotionalization</td>
<td>5 (23,8 %)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downgraded status of the credibility of a source</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (4,7 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upgraded status of the credibility of a source</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (4,7 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relativization of an argument through contrasting arguments</td>
<td>2 (3,8 %)</td>
<td>4 (19 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiding of unconfirmed information/speculations</td>
<td>4 (7,5 %)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetition of identical/similar statements</td>
<td>7 (13,2 %)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pointing to lacks in the line of reasoning</td>
<td>9 (17 %)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total of devices</strong></td>
<td>53 (found in 27 texts)</td>
<td>21 (found in 17 texts)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Time frame: Mr and Mrs Wulff**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Device Description</th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Irony</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4 (26,2 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implications</td>
<td>8 (22,2 %)</td>
<td>2 (13,2 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive emotionalization</td>
<td>17 (47,2 %)</td>
<td>1 (6,7 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative emotionalization</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downgraded status of the credibility of a source</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (13,2 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upgraded status of the credibility of a source</td>
<td>3 (8,3 %)</td>
<td>1 (6,7 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relativization of an argument through contrasting arguments</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (13,2 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiding of unconfirmed information/speculations</td>
<td>4 (11,1 %)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Device</td>
<td>BZ (Found in 14 texts)</td>
<td>SZ (Found in 7 texts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetition of identical/similar statements</td>
<td>7 (19.4%)</td>
<td>3 (20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pointing to lacks in the line of reasoning</td>
<td>1 (6.7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of devices</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Time frame: 2003-2010 (summary of the three previous tables)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Device</th>
<th>BZ (Found in 49 texts)</th>
<th>SZ (Found in 37 texts)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Irony</td>
<td>12 (11%)</td>
<td>12 (24%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implications</td>
<td>22 (20.2%)</td>
<td>5 (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive emotionalization</td>
<td>39 (35.8%)</td>
<td>9 (18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative emotionalization</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downgraded status of the credibility of a source</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 (6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upgraded status of the credibility of a source</td>
<td>4 (3.6%)</td>
<td>2 (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relativization of an argument through contrasting arguments</td>
<td>3 (2.8%)</td>
<td>11 (22%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiding of unconfirmed information/speculations</td>
<td>5 (4.6%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetition of identical/similar statements</td>
<td>14 (12.8%)</td>
<td>3 (6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pointing to lacks in the line of reasoning</td>
<td>10 (9.2%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of devices</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 9.1: stylistic devices according to Früh 2003 - 2010

Variable: stylistic devices according to Früh
Time frame: 2003-2010

Please see appendix for the coding rules and definition of categories
### Time frame: during the affair (2011 and 2012)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Irony</td>
<td>10 (3,8 %)</td>
<td>56 (28,9 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implications</td>
<td>10 (3,8 %)</td>
<td>13 (6,7 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive emotionalization</td>
<td>20 (7,5 %)</td>
<td>2 (1 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative emotionalization</td>
<td>90 (34,1 %)</td>
<td>26 (13,4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downgraded status of the credibility of a source</td>
<td>17 (6,4 %)</td>
<td>6 (3,1 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upgraded status of the credibility of a source</td>
<td>21 (8 %)</td>
<td>4 (2,1 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relativization of an argument through contrasting arguments</td>
<td>54 (20,5 %)</td>
<td>58 (29,9 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiding of unconfirmed information/speculations</td>
<td>23 (8,7 %)</td>
<td>7 (3,6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetition of identical/similar statements</td>
<td>15 (5,7 %)</td>
<td>13 (6,7 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pointing to lacks in the line of reasoning</td>
<td>4 (1,5 %)</td>
<td>9 (4,6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of devices</td>
<td>264 (found in 99 texts)</td>
<td>194 (found in 77 texts)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Time frame: after the resignation 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Irony</td>
<td></td>
<td>20 (35,6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implications</td>
<td>5 (9,6 %)</td>
<td>2 (3,6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive emotionalization</td>
<td>4 (7,7 %)</td>
<td>2 (3,6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative emotionalization</td>
<td>25 (48,1 %)</td>
<td>15 (26,8 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downgraded status of the credibility of a source</td>
<td>3 (5,3 %)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upgraded status of the credibility of a source</td>
<td>6 (11,5 %)</td>
<td>2 (3,6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relativization of an argument through contrasting arguments</td>
<td>6 (11,5 %)</td>
<td>2 (3,6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiding of unconfirmed information/speculations</td>
<td>4 (7,7 %)</td>
<td>8 (14,2 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetition of identical/similar statements</td>
<td>2 (3,8 %)</td>
<td>2 (3,6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pointing to lacks in the line of reasoning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of devices</td>
<td>52 (found in 23 texts)</td>
<td>56 (found in 19 texts)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Time frame: 2011-2012 (summary of the two previous tables)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Irony</td>
<td>10 (3,2 %)</td>
<td>76 (29,4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implications</td>
<td>15 (4,7 %)</td>
<td>15 (5,8 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variable</td>
<td>BZ</td>
<td>SZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive emotionalization</td>
<td>24 (7,6 %)</td>
<td>4 (1,6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative emotionalization</td>
<td>115 (36,4 %)</td>
<td>41 (15,9 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downgraded status of the credibility of a source</td>
<td>17 (5,4 %)</td>
<td>9 (3,4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upgraded status of the credibility of a source</td>
<td>27 (8,5 %)</td>
<td>6 (2,3 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relativization of an argument through contrasting arguments</td>
<td>60 (18,9 %)</td>
<td>60 (23,2 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiding of unconfirmed information/speculations</td>
<td>27 (8,5 %)</td>
<td>15 (5,8 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repetition of identical/similar statements</td>
<td>17 (5,4 %)</td>
<td>21 (8,1 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pointing to lacks in the line of reasoning</td>
<td>4 (1,3 %)</td>
<td>11 (4,3 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of devices</td>
<td>316 (found in 122 texts)</td>
<td>258 (found in 97 texts)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 9.2:** stylistic devices according to Früh 2011 - 2012

Variable: stylistic devices according to Früh
Time frame: 2011-2012

Variable: adjectives describing Wulff or his actions

Time frame: 2003 and 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>5 (62,5 %)</td>
<td>28 (68,3 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>3 (37,5 %)</td>
<td>10 (24,4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 (7,3 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of adjectives</td>
<td>8 (found in 8 texts)</td>
<td>41 (found in 13 texts)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Time frame: Presidential Elections 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Positive</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 (62.8 %)</td>
<td>6 (9.8 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negative</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 (17.1 %)</td>
<td>26 (42.6 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Neutral</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 (20.1 %)</td>
<td>29 (47.5 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total of adjectives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 (found in 27 texts)</td>
<td>61 (found in 17 texts)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Time frame: Mr and Mrs Wulff

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Positive</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 (80 %)</td>
<td>6 (54.5 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negative</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 (27.3 %)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Neutral</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 (20 %)</td>
<td>2 (18.2 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total of adjectives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 (found in 14 texts)</td>
<td>11 (found in 7 texts)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Time frame: 2003-2010 (summary of the three previous tables)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Positive</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 (64.6 %)</td>
<td>40 (35.4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negative</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 (18.8 %)</td>
<td>39 (34.5 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Neutral</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 (16.6 %)</td>
<td>34 (30.1 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total of adjectives</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48 (found in 49 texts)</td>
<td>113 (found in 37 texts)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Figure 10.1: adjectives describing Wulff or his actions 2003 - 2010**

Variable: adjectives describing Wulff or his actions in the whole text  
Time frame: 2003-2010

Please see appendix for the coding rules and definition of categories
### Time frame: during the affair (2011-2012)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>82 (11.9 %)</td>
<td>57 (7.4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>224 (32.6 %)</td>
<td>274 (35.7 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>382 (45.5 %)</td>
<td>436 (56.9 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of adjectives</td>
<td>688 (found in 99 texts)</td>
<td>767 (found in 77 texts)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Time frame: after the resignation 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>7 (10.6 %)</td>
<td>2 (2.5 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>19 (28.8 %)</td>
<td>39 (49.4 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>40 (60.4 %)</td>
<td>38 (48.1 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of adjectives</td>
<td>66 (found in 23 texts)</td>
<td>79 (found in 19 texts)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Time frame: 2011-2012 (summary of the two previous tables)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>89 (11.8 %)</td>
<td>59 (7 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>243 (32.2 %)</td>
<td>313 (37 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>422 (56 %)</td>
<td>474 (56 %)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total of adjectives</td>
<td>754 (found in 122 texts)</td>
<td>846 (found in 97 texts)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 10.2:** adjectives describing Wulff or his actions 2011 - 2012
2) CDA

a) total number of texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Revealing of the loan affair</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 13 to 20, 2011</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stepping down</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 10 to 17, 2012</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of texts</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 11: total number of texts of the CDA

b) Use of stylistic devices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Device</th>
<th>BZ</th>
<th>SZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>metaphors and figurative elements</td>
<td>33.2%</td>
<td>32.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ellipsis</td>
<td>14.00%</td>
<td>9.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>superlatives</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rhetoric questions</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>colloquial language</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irony</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>13.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alliteration</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>personification</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speculations</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>22.8%</td>
<td>17.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Other: every stylistic device that appeared less than ten times throughout all analysed texts

Figure 12: use of stylistic devices in the CDA

Variable: use of stylistic devices (CDA)

Bild

269
found in 32 texts

SZ

223
found in 18 texts

- metaphors and figurative elements
- rhetoric questions
- alliteration
- ellipsis
- colloquial language
- personification
- superlatives
- irony
- speculations
- other (every stylistic device that appeared less than ten times throughout all analysed texts)

Please see appendix for the coding rules and definition of categories
IV. CDA fact-sheets for BZ and SZ

Bildzeitung

1st period: December 12 to 19, 2011


a. Formal structuring

structure of argumentation
- Wulff under suspicion for cheating the Parliament
- Wulff borrowed 500,000 Euros from a friend
- The Wulffs did not pay a flight upgrade and spend holidays free of charge at Egon Geerkens residence in Florida
- question from the Parliament in 2010 and Wulff's response
- but Wulff cheated, as he had a business relationship to Geerkens wife
- Who is Egon Geerkens?
- What kind of advantage did the Wulffs have from the private loan?
- Wulff replaced the private loan with a mortgage loan from a bank in 2010
- Wulff did not reply to BZ’s questions for days, only his spokesman gave a statement a few days later that the question had been responded truthfully

→ the headline question is answered in the course of the text supported by facts → hypothesis-testing

sentence structures
- headline is a question (two more questions in the following) → arouse curiosity → article answers all questions
- mostly written in nominal style
- both very short and longer sentences, but simple structure (no interfacing of subordinate clauses, maximum one subordinate clause)
- some short and incomplete subordinate clauses → ellipsis → emphasis
- mostly active sentences, few passive constructions

lexicalization
- conjunctions: and this/even though (2x), few conjunctions, mostly and
- semantic fields: moving (in die Irre führen, eingeholt werden → active and passive, figurative elements); lower Saxony (focus on the local aspect of the event → all actors come from there); borrowed and private (extensive use of both words as (verb and) adjective)
- numbers: focus on the amount of money and the low interest rate → emphasis on the relevance of the event
- no metaphors, few rhetoric devices
- cataphora: 1) the wife of a business owner from Lower Saxony 2) Egon Geerkens' wife 3) who is Egon Geerkens?
- punctuation: question marks, double point to express causality, hyphens to stress and separate facts, quotation marks for “business relationship” (ironic)

b. Content-related structuring

frames
- economic consequence frame, accusation frame, conflict frame

intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
- Egon Geerkens and his properties
- what Wulff did with the money and what he conditions of the private loan were

presuppositions
- No extra information is added for Christian Wulff and his wife, while there are details about Geerkens
  → Wulff must be regularly in the news, Geerkens not
- relevance/consequences of Wulff's actions are not mentioned

emphasis
- use of bold, italic and capital letters
- bold: subheadings and emphasis on Wulff's actions
- italic: BZ’s trials to get a statement and spokesman's statement
- capital letters: BUT BY DOING SO WULFF HAD MISLED THE PARLIAMENT → accusation

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies
Is the President liable to prosecution? 13.12.2011

a. Formal structuring

structure of argumentation
- question-answer text (3 questions, 3 answers)
- Did he make himself liable? Officially not, but the Minister Act from Lower Saxony does not permit the acceptance of gifts
- When did the affair begin? BZ already got hints in 2009, another media organization researching the case claimed to have access to the German land register and found out
- How did BZ receive the name of the creditor? BZ had access to the private loan contract of the Wulffs in Wulff's office

sentence structures
- headline is a question (three more questions in the following) → arouse curiosity → article answers all questions
- mostly written in nominal style
- short and long sentences, but simple structure (no interlacing of subordinate clauses, maximum one subordinate clause)
- some short and incomplete subordinate clauses → ellipsis → emphasis
- mostly active sentences, very few passive constructions

lexicalization
- conjunctions: and, but → very few conjunctions
- use of a modal adverb (zwar (although)) and subordinating conjunctions (zugleich, as far as)
- as far as identifiable → shows that BZ has not yet given up and keeps investigating → outlook on the future
- few rhetoric devices, simple and clear language
- punctuation: question marks, but no emphasis through the use of punctuation

b. Content-related structuring

frames
- economic consequence frame, accusation frame, conflict frame, morality frame, responsibility frame

intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
- reference to Spiegel, another media organization investigating the case
- text explained meaning of the private loan compared to an ordinary mortgage from a bank
- Minister Act is explained, which is then the explanation for Wulff's wrongdoing

presuppositions
why does BZ have the right to get access to Wulff's loan contract in Wulff's office?  

-- use of bold letters for the questions (questions serve as a kind of subheadings)

**c. Structuring of identities and ideologies**

**sources**

- official document (B) and court decision (M) are quoted  
- correction of statement of Wulff's office about BZ's own statement (E)

**presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict**

- Wulff did not do anything illegal, but he definitely benefited from that private contract  
- Geerkens did not have any visible advantages from the contract  
- the media act on behalf of the public

**relationships of the different parties of the conflict**

- Wulff against the media (that have an legitimate interest in discovering his personal wrongdoings because of their obligation to inform the public)

**speech and communicative acts**

- BZ identified  
- BZ expressly affirmed

**sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists**

- BZ presents itself as a closed group, the journalists back each other and it has a legitimate interest in investigating the case because of public interest

**expression of the journalist's own opinion**

- Wulff did not do anything illegal, but not everything that is legal is good/fair  
- BZ does not want to be wrongly quoted and corrected Wulff's office → accuracy in regards to its own interest

**d. other remarks**

- text gives an overview on what BZ considers the most important questions connected to this affair  
- why does BZ have such rights to see the private contract in Wulff's office (and no other media organization does)?

**More and more contradictions 13.12.2011**

**a. Formal structuring**

**structure of argumentation**

- New information in the Wulff case  
- repetition of all information: private loan and Wulff had denied to have a business relation to Geerkens, he then changed the mortgage and stated that he answered truthfully  
- but there are different versions on how he received the money  
- contradiction between Geerkens and Wulff's office  
- opinions on the case from opposition parties (critical)  
- vague statements from Wulff's own party  
- Wulff returned from his journey and will have a talk with the Chancellor about his affair the following day

**sentence structures**

- mostly written in nominal style, no adjectives to describe Wulff  
- mostly main clauses, few subordinate clauses (mostly relative clauses), simple structure  
- both very short and longer sentences, but simple structure (no interlacing of subordinate clauses, maximum one subordinate clause)  
- some short and incomplete subordinate clauses → ellipsis → catchline style  
- mostly active sentences, few passive constructions

**lexicalization**

- conjunctions: as sentence openers (But:, And:)  
- semantic fields:  
- numbers:  
- rhetoric devices: figurative elements (auftauchen (appeared), elliptic sentences  
- punctuation: exclamation mark in the lede → emphasis and attract interest of reader

**b. Content-related structuring**

**frames**

- economic consequence frame, accusation frame, conflict frame, morality frame
intertextual references and provision of background knowledge

- presuppositions
  - cultural value: corruption and the acceptance of benefits is not accepted in Germany

- emphasis
  - use of bold letters → emphasis on Wulff's denial, his contradiction with Geerkens, restrained comments from his own party, Wulff's possible talk with Merkel

**c. Structuring of identities and ideologies**

**sources**
- BZ quotes its own reports (B)
- Wulff's statement (B)
- Egon Geerkens (M)
- Wulff's office (M)
- Egon Geerkens (M)
- three opposition politicians (E)
- politician of Wulff's party (E)

**presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict**
- Wulff's office/spokesman contradicted Geerkens
- opposition politicians express their criticism

**relationships of the different parties of the conflict**
- Geerkens and Wulff are friends, but their versions of the loan contradict each other
- BZ presents both versions, but supports Geerkens (he speaks first and gets more credibility) → BZ is trying to reveal the 'truth'

**speech and communicative acts**
- BZ reports → neutral, harmless
- Wulff denied, explained, contradicted → self-defending

**sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists**
- BZ proudly presents its efforts in the investigation
- it also mentioned Spiegel → we the media

**expression of the journalist's own opinion**
- Wulff did not lie, but suppressing information is not any better

**d. other remarks**
- four times BZ points out its own investigations/efforts → self-representation
- the media usually announce first the new information, in this case BZ announced that there is news, then repeated what had been reported already before and only then gave the new information
- stringing together of quotes in three cases without connecting words/transitions → impression that parts were taken out of context → what information was left out?
- Where did BZ obtain that 'safe information' that Wulff will have a talk with Merkel the next day?

Christian Wulff is silent on the loan affair 14.12.2011

**a. Formal structuring**

**structure of argumentation**
- Germany is concerned with Wulff's affair, but he remains silent
- Wulff performs his job as usual
- BZ had information that Merkel wanted Wulff to take a stand on his affair
- Merkel's spokesman announced support for Wulff
- Wulff's party had not yet reacted to his affair
- Wulff's party supports him, but also disbelief
- speculation about a possible successor of Wulff

**sentence structures**
- mostly written in nominal style
- both very short and longer sentences, but simple structure (no interlacing of subordinate clauses, maximum one subordinate clause), a conjunction starts a new sentence in some cases, in two cases even a new paragraph (instead of combining two clauses → dramatic pause → emphasis)
- some short and incomplete subordinate clauses → ellipsis → emphasis
- mostly active sentences, few passive constructions

**lexicalization**
- conjunctions: but, and (connecting clauses, but also starters of new sentences)
- semantic fields: silence (remain silent, don't comment, waste no words, don't say a word, a very long silence)
- rhetoric devices: superlative (the whole of Germany), allusion (how much credit does Wulff have with Merkel? \( \rightarrow \) figurative element and allusion to his affair), metaphor (didn't waste a word, Feuerschutz geben (protect), rumbling, vergifteter Zuspruch (poisoned support), die Nase voll haben (be fed up) \( \rightarrow \) figurative language \( \rightarrow \) highlights the actions), generalizations (some, several \( \rightarrow \) inaccuracy \( \rightarrow \) exaggeration), contrast (the whole of Germany talks about his affair, but the head of state is silent)
- adverbs and adjectives: very, even, at least, poisoned \( \rightarrow \) expression of opinion
- punctuation: question marks to express doubt, exclamation mark to highlight the relevance, short sentences and full stops to make a pause

b. Content-related structuring
frames
- economic consequence frame, accusation frame, conflict frame, responsibility frame

intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
- opinions of other politicians, but surprisingly only from his party or the coalition \( \rightarrow \) no opposition
presuppositions
- cultural value: a head of state should act more professionally
emphasis
- use of bold, italic and capital letters
- bold: subheadings and emphasis of 'important' quotes and information
- italic: what Wulff did \( \rightarrow \) retrospective
- capital letters: HOW MUCH CREDIT DOES WULFF HAVE WITH MERKEL? RUMBLING IN HIS PARTY \( \rightarrow \) emphasis

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies
sources
- unevaluated/unchecked sources: the whole of Germany (B), some thought (B), several politicians (E), had been eagerly awaited (B)
- BZ (M)
- Merkel's spokesman Seibert (M)
- coalition politician (M)
- coalition politician (M)
- politician from his own party (E)
- several deputies (E)
presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
- "But the head of state remains silent" \( \rightarrow \) negative connotation \( \rightarrow \) the head of state should behave differently
- other politicians: reacted how professionals have to react, although they know better, speculation about a successor, get annoyed loudly \( \rightarrow \) bewilderment, hidden and open criticism
relationships of the different parties of the conflict
- Wulff doesn't behave professionally, other politicians do \( \rightarrow \) they back him
- Wulff behaves as if nothing had happened (continues with his routines)

speech and communicative acts
- a politician got annoyed loudly
- Wulff remained silent, didn't waste a word, presented an award
- Merkel's spokesman explained, added
sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
- author disappreciated Wulff's behaviour \( \rightarrow \) clear distinction
expression of the journalist's own opinion
- Dobrindt said what a professional has to say in such a situation
- there has been a very long silence
- at least Dobrindt and Seibert reacted
- eagerly awaited \( \rightarrow \) curiosity of journalist
- some thought, several politicians think
- a politician is fed up with Wulff's affairs

d. other remarks
- emphasis that BZ revealed the affair
- very opinionated text with ideological and imprecise expressions from the journalist
- several rhetoric elements to emphasis actions/events

LV
a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
- the green party wants to prove whether Wulff violated the Minister Act with his private loan
- politician demands meeting of the Council of Elders
- quotation of law which prohibits the acceptance of benefits
- The Wulffs had accepted a private loan with a low interest rate from a friend
- instead of 5.2% they paid 4%
sentence structures
- headline is a question → arouse curiosity, attract interest
- one short sentence, the rest is neither short, nor long; simple structure
lexicalization
- only one conjunction: if
- "soft loan" is mentioned three times in a very short text
- numbers: focus on the amount of money and the low interest rate → emphasis on the relevance of the event
- no metaphors, few rhetoric devices
- punctuation: question marks in the headline

b. Content-related structuring
frames
- economic consequence frame, conflict frame, responsibility frame
intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
- quotation of the Minister Act of Lower Saxony
presuppositions
- no information is given on Wulff's behaviour at that time → rather abstract and neutral text
emphasis
- use of bold letters: subheadings and 'important' information

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies
sources
- politician of the green party (B)
- Minister Act of Lower Saxony (M)
presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
- Wulff isn't active now
- politician of the green party demands a meeting
relationships of the different parties of the conflict
- the green party disagrees with Wulff's behaviour
speech and communicative acts
- politician of the green party demand, want to test
d. other remarks
- very short text
- neutral, impartial, fact-based

Why was his friend allowed to join him on journeys abroad? 15.12.2011

a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
- Why did Geerkens join Wulff three times?
- First joined trip was the day after the Wulffs bought the house
- shortly after the trip, Geerkens offered the private loan
- Geerkens joined Wulff for two more journeys (Japan and US) as part of his business delegation
- after the replacement of the loan, Geerkens was never again part of Wulff's delegation
- Geerkens said he never benefited from Wulff's position, he paid for himself
- the loan was an act of friendship and he wasn't an entrepreneur anymore
sentence structures
− headline is a question → arouse curiosity (one more question later)
− rather long sentences compared to other BZ-texts, but simple in structure
− only active sentences

lexicalization
− conjunctions: and → few
− rhetoric devices: allusion (der verschwiegene Kredit → the silent/withheld loan); contrast (Schrott- und Schmuckhändler (junk and jewellery dealer)
− punctuation: question marks to raise doubts, double point to express causality
− very specific and precise in terms of how long the trips were and where they went

b. Content-related structuring
frames
− economic consequence frame, conflict frame
intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
− Egon Geerkens' viewpoint on his relationship to Wulff
emphasis
− use of bold and capital letters
− bold: subheadings and emphasis on 'important' information
− capital letters: GEERKEN'S SPEAKS ABOUT HIS JOURNEYS ABROAD

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies
sources
− focus on Geerkens’ opinion → Wulff gets to speak only shortly
− Wulff's office (M)
− four quotes of Geerkens (M-E)
presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
− Geerkens and Wulff's statements contradict each other, as Wulff presents him as part of his business delegation, while Geerkens said he wasn't an entrepreneur anymore
relationships of the different parties of the conflict
− Wulff seemed to have benefited, Geerkens did it as an act of friendship
speech and communicative acts
− Geerkens himself said
sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
− criticism towards Wulff, Geerkens is presented more positive
d. other remarks
− one-sided text, focussing on Geerkens → he seems more credible than Wulff

Wulff regrets his silence 15.12.2011

a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
− Wulff breaks his silence and comments on his affair
− Merkel's statement on Wulff's comment
− Wulff wants to increase more transparency
− journalists at Wulff's residence to see his reaction
− Wulff had a phone conversation with the chancellor
− Merkel's spokesman later officially backed Wulff, but others criticise him
− other politicians even think about a possible successor
− the federal government claims to know where and with whom Wulff spent his holidays
− at an award ceremony Wulff didn't seem to be troubled
→ weird structure of the text at times
sentence structures
− many incomplete or interrupted sentences to create a pause/effect → emphasis
− mostly written in nominal style
− both very short and longer sentences, but simple structure (no interlacing of subordinate clauses, maximum one subordinate clause)
− mostly active sentences, few passive constructions
lexicalization
− conjunctions: few conjunctions
− many adverbs/phrases as sentence openers: however, moreover, later, within this context, it was said
semantic fields: silence (regrets his long silence, cloak himself in silence, broke his silence)
rhetoric devices: alliteration (the long silence, the long wait → contrast passive versus active; uneingeschränkte Unterstützung (full support)); figurative element (Wulff piped up, cloaked himself in silence, the affair had already caught up with him, ins Gebet nehmen (had a serious discussion with him), behind closed doors, it is fermenting, he uncoiled his program); generalizations (usually not even ten come, not really clever handling); speculation (Wulff suspected, it seemed, behind closed doors, a call from the chancellor)
adjectives for Wulff's actions: controversial, delicate, feeble, unfortunate dealing
punctuation: many punctuation marks that seem almost random or solely to break the sentence up to emphasize something; question mark to raise doubts, double point after an adverb or to express causality, hyphens to stress and separate facts, exclamation marks to emphasize and express opinion, suspension points to build up tension by not finishing the sentences

b. Content-related structuring
frames
- accusation frame, conflict frame, moral frame, responsibility frame
intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
- background knowledge on Merkel's private phone call to Wulff and what other politician say behind closed doors and what Wulff suspected
presuppositions
- BZ doesn't seem to have to explain where it gets its exclusive information from → unclear whether some parts are just speculation or information
emphasis
- use of bold, italic and capital letters
- bold: subheadings and emphasis on Wulff's actions
- italic: BZ's trials to get a statement and spokesman's statement
- capital letters: BUT BY DOING SO WULFF HAD MISLED THE PARLIAMENT → accusation
c. Structuring of identities and ideologies
sources
- much unconfirmed information → unclear whether some parts are just speculation or information
- Wulff's statement (B)
- Merkel's reaction to Wulff's statement (B)
- Wulff's statement concerning transparency (B)
- Merkel's spokesman (M)
- Politician McAllister (M)
- other media organization FAZ (E)
- opposition politician Andrea Nahles (E)
presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
- press is presented as taking actions, Wulff is passive or only reacts
- other politicians criticize him either openly or behind closed doors
relationships of the different parties of the conflict
- Wulff under scrutiny of the media and other politicians
- Wulff reacts slowly to demands
speech and communicative acts
- Wulff suspected, pipes up, regrets, explains
- Merkel emphasized, has a serious talk with him
sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
- BZ is part of the large group of journalists that want to know more about Wulff's affair and how he deals with the situation
expression of the journalist's own opinion
- Christian Wulff suspected
- it seemed as if he didn't care
- even the politicians of his own party don't fully support him anymore (full support sounds differently)
d. other remarks
- order of events is unclear, some seem quoted out of context
- many punctuation marks are used, some seem almost random or solely to create a certain effect, especially double points, hyphens and points of suspension
- BZ seems to have insider information → doesn't reveal its sources in three cases of this text where it would have been necessary → speculation or true information?

a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
− two lede sentences with exclamation marks
− Wulff gave his written statement after he had read what was said about him in the newspapers
− media organizations such as FAZ, Zeit and BZ announce his loss of credibility and want him to step down
− there had never been such massive criticism to a President
− that’s why Wulff finally reacted with a written statement to explain his behaviour
− Wulff is later backed by Merkel
− other politicians agree in accepting his explanation
− the federal government of Lower Saxony wants to know where he spent his last holidays and whether he violated the Minster Act

sentence structures
− mostly written in nominal style
− both very short and longer sentences, but simple structure (no interlacing of subordinate clauses, maximum one subordinate clause)
− some ellipsis
− mostly active sentences, few passive constructions
− three exclamations, two questions

lexicalization
− conjunctions: few conjunctions (and), twice as sentence opener
− rhetoric devices: colloquial language (Morgenlektüre (morning read), metaphor (he submitted to Merkel's wishes, he applied the emergency break, he broke his silence)
− adjectives for criticism of Wulff: devastating, massive
− verb formulate: it is mentioned twice that Wulff formulated his statement → hint that he expressed himself precisely for the first time during the affair
− punctuation: three exclamation marks to highlight the attention Wulff's affair gets, two hyphens to create a pause, double points to introduce quotes (mostly short introductions without a verb), two question marks

b. Content-related structuring
frames
− accusation frame, conflict frame, responsibility frame
presuppositions
− speculation that it was Merkel's wish to explain the affair as she promptly reacted after its publication
emphasis
− use of bold and capital letters
− bold: subheadings and emphasis on Wulff's actions
− capital letters: I REGRET THAT → emphasis is not in original

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies
sources
−
presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
− Wulff finally reacted when he had to (because the media criticism was so strong)
− the media demand his resignation
− other politicians accept his statement/apology
relationships of the different parties of the conflict
− the media want Wulff to step down, BZ explicitly doesn't express such demands → they speak through the words of other media organizations
− some politicians acknowledge Wulff's explanation, others not
− Wulff only reacts under pressure
speech and communicative acts
− Wulff formulated, broke his silence
− media organizations commented, speculated
sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
− BZ is part of the media landscape, but doesn’t take a stand in this text → expression of opinion through other papers and the position of these statements in the text → beginning → importance expression of the journalist’s own opinion
emphasize of one sentence of Wulff's statement → connection to the headline whether his statement is an apology
it's BZ's opinion that Wulff only reacted due to newspaper criticism and pressure from Merkel
d. other remarks
  - BZ mentions twice that Wulff's statement was printed on the official letter paper of the Presidential Office, this emphasis on his office is a strong contrast to demands of media organizations for him to resign
  - BZ here reports the expression of opinion of other media organizations; it does not explicitly express its own opinion, but by choosing only negative voices (demanding his resignation) it shows BZ's viewpoint
  - BZ writes that the statement was Merkel's wish → how do they know?
  - the question asked in the headline (is his statement an apology) isn't answered in the text
  - the order of events is mixed up: BZ mentioned Wulff's statement but first dedicates space to media criticism (which was published previously) before Wulff gets to speak
  - “I regret that” → quote of Wulff's statement is written with capital letters → emphasis not in the original

One person's word against another's 16.12.2011

a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
  - Geerkens comes up with another version of the private loan → his words against Wulff's
  - Wulff says the money came from his wife
  - Geerkens told Spiegel he had authorization to his wife's bank account and he transferred the money
  - Geerkens advocates later said the credit was granted through Edith Geerkens
  - Wulff rejected these statements
  - his bank confirmed that the money came from her
  - review: Wulff didn't mentioned his loan and misled the federal government
  - BZ revealed the affair, Wulff first remained silent, but then took position
  - Who is Geerkens?
  - Details about his relationship to Wulff (witness at both marriages), how he made his fortune and where he lives

sentence structures
  - headline stems from legal vocabulary → BZ takes the affair to a higher level
  - short and long sentences; clauses that belong together are sometimes torn apart → maybe there is a maximum length of a sentence at BZ
  - nominal style
  - some short and incomplete subordinate clauses → ellipsis → emphasis
  - mostly active sentences
  - two questions within the text that BZ answers

lexicalization
  - conjunctions: and, but, then → few
  - synonyms for Geerkens: Schrotthändler-Freund, Unternehmer-Freund, Bubi, väterlicher Freund, Selfmademan
  - adverbs showing opinion: suddenly, apparently, actually, however, firmly
  - legal vocabulary: his words against Wulff's → BZ takes the affair to a higher level → more serious
  - Rhetoric devices: irony ("all of the sudden, his junk dealer friend tells Spiegel a different story"); "It is almost baffling that not him but his wife..."), allusion (der verschwiegene Kredit → the silent/withheld loan); alliteration (really rich); contrast ("broke his silence, took a stand openly"); colloquial language ("Wirrwarr"; Schrotthändler-Freund", he sticks to it")
  - punctuation: question marks to raise doubts, double point to express causality, hyphens to stress and separate facts, quotation marks for nick names for Geerkens

b. Content-related structuring
frames
  - economic consequence frame, accusation frame, conflict frame
intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
  - Egon Geerkens, his life and relationship to Wulff
  - how the private loan was realized
presuppositions
- honesty and credibility are presented as cultural values

**emphasis**
- use of bold; italic and capital letters
- italic: emphasis within the text, mostly quotes
- bold: subheadings and emphasis 'important' information
- capital letters: WHO ARE THESE GEERKENS? → create curiosity
- bold + capital letters: \textit{DAS WIRRWARR UM DEN KREDIT; WULFF WIDERSPRricht DEN DARTSELLUNGEN DES SPIEGEL} → strong emphasis

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies

**sources**
- some unconfirmed facts, some sources are just named “friends” → imprecise
- Geerkens gets to speak first and longer → Wulff's version and the bank come in only later
- Wulff versus Geerkens (two different versions) (B)
- Geerkens (3 x) (B)
- Geerkens advocates (M)
- Wulff's advocates (M)
- Sparkasse (M)
- Wulff's statement (3x) (M)
- Friends and Wulff referring to Geerkens (E)

**presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict**
- text explores Geerkens role in the affair and what he got out of it
- Geerkens and Wulff contradict each other, the bank confirms Wulff's view
- Geerkens speaks in the first third, Wulff's version comes in only later

**relationships of the different parties of the conflict**
- Wulff's and Geerkens' relationship: who did benefit from whom and how?

**speech and communicative acts**
- Wulff insisted, contradicts, firmly rejects, didn't speak out, formulated
- Geerkens explained
- friends call him, murmur

**sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists**
- author clearly draws a distance between the two protagonists and their peculiar relationship

**expression of the journalist's own opinion**
- author questions how Geerkens achieved his fortune and why he is a close friend of Wulff
- the use of adverbs show the expression of opinion → doubts, irony

d. other remarks
- Wulff's speech acts are strong → interpretative
- order of sources is interesting → who speaks when?
- adverbs show interpretation and opinion
- a lot of emphasis is done through italic, bold and capital letters (almost the whole text seems emphasized)
- sort of profile of Wulff's friend Geerkens
- very detailed information about him → seems like insider information

Wulff apologizes via SMS to his millionaire friend 17.12.2011

a. Formal structuring

**structure of argumentation**
- Wulff apologizes to Geerkens via SMS for causing him trouble with the media
- more questions in the Wulff affair: did Wulff also misled the publication?
- His rich friend burdens him with his statement
- Geerkens has authorization for his wife's account and Wulff paid the loan back to a shared account of the couple
- which role did Edith Geerkens have? She is poor, hasn't worked in the past years and said she doesn't know anything
- Wulff maintains his view
- an opposition politician says it could become difficult for Wulff if he didn't tell the truth

**sentence structures**
- headline stems from legal vocabulary → BZ takes the affair to a higher level
- several (rhetoric) questions
- short and long sentences
- nominal style
- some short and incomplete subordinate clauses → ellipsis → emphasis
- mostly active sentences

**Lexicalization**
- conjunctions: and, but, then → few
- synonyms for Geerkens: Millionärs-Freund, wohlabender Gönner
- adverbs showing opinion: only, nonetheless, especially, equally offensive, actually
- Edith Geerkens is often referred to as Mrs Geerkens → sign of respect?
- Aus einfachsten Verhältnissen (from a poor background) → superlative → highlighting that Edith Geerkens doesn't have any money
- Playing a role
- Rhetoric devices: irony (“this week wasn't the best in the political career...”), metaphor (“fuss about his mortgage”, to play a role”), colloquial language (plaudern (chat)), rhetoric question (did Wulff not only misled the federal government, but also the public?)
- punctuation: question marks to raise doubts that something is wrong, double point to express causality, hyphens to stress and separate facts, quotation marks for nick names for Geerkens

b. Content-related structuring

**Frames**
- economic consequence frame, accusation frame, conflict frame

**Intertextual references and provision of background knowledge**
- Egon Geerkens, his life and relationship to Wulff
- how the private loan was realized

**Emphasis**
- use of bold; italic and capital letters
- italic: emphasis within the text, mostly quotes
- bold: subheadings and emphasis 'important' information
- capital letters: WELCHE ROLLE SPIELT FRAU GEERKENS?

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies

**Sources**
- Wulff's apology to Geerkens according to Focus information (B)
- Geerkens (four quotes) about the loan and his wife (M)
- Edith Geerkens (M)
- Wulff's statement (E)
- opposition politician (E)

**Presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict**
- Edith Geerkens was just used to hide the secret
- Egon Geerkens gave the loan as an act of friendship
- Wulff entangles himself with lies and contradictions → he's hiding something

**Relationships of the different parties of the conflict**
- the three protagonists don't offend, but contradict each other
- the opposition politician is critical towards Wulff

**Speech and communicative acts**
- Wulff assured
- Geerkens chatted

**Sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists**
- author clearly draws a distance between the protagonists and their peculiar relationship, especially toward Wulff

**Expression of the journalist's own opinion**
- the asking of rhetoric questions, the structure of argumentation and use of certain words (especially adverbs) show the reader that Wulff is hiding something without directly saying it

d. Other remarks
- the structure of argumentation raises doubts against Wulff and indirectly convicts him as guilty
- in previous texts Geerkens was presented ironically and suspicious; in this text he is presented in a positive light, friend that doesn't have to hide anything
- a part of the text is presented as a list of evidence against Wulff to prove his guilt, but Wulff doesn't give in and is thus presented as stubborn
- text presents a triangular relation between Wulff, Edith Geerkens and Egon Geerkens that all have different viewpoints and contradict each other
media seem to have great insider knowledge as Focus knows the content of a SMS from Wulff to Geerkens and BZ talked to Edith Geerkens

Wulff at the Christmas market 17.12.2011

a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
− peaceful, idyllic atmosphere at a Christmas market
− at the market: Christian Wulff
− many media people accompany Wulff, but he doesn't give interviews
− Wulff on his way to a sports event
− he didn't mention his affair
− in Berlin, the atmosphere isn't that peaceful
− more and more doubts arise about his private loan
− opposition politicians want him to speak the truth and/or resign

sentence structures
− no exclamations, only one rhetoric questions → mostly affirmative clauses
− short and longer sentences, but simple in structure (maximum one subordinate clause)
− nominal style
− several elliptic sentences
− mostly active sentences

lexicalization
− conjunctions: and, but, then → few
− contrast between the first part of the text, where the peaceful atmosphere is described with a lot of adjectives and adverbs, and the second part, where it's all about Wulff's troubles in Berlin
− verbs/adjectives/adverbs describing Wulff's actions: smile away, chatting, walking slowly, calmly, unmoved, friendly, joking
− plaudern (chatting): used twice for Wulff and once for Geerkens → Wulff's chatting here seems artificial, while Geerkens has a relaxed talk
− Rhetoric devices: metaphor (im Gepäck(bringing along), smiling away the crisis, a veneer of normality overlies the scene, fuss about his own person, von einer Traube Journalisten umringt (surrounded by a crowd of journalists), die Wellen schlagen hoch (cause ripples)), colloquial language (plaudern (chat)), alliteration (festlich-friedlich (festive peaceful)) → the rhetoric devices underline the calmness of the Christmas market and on the other hand the trouble around the affair
− adverbs as indicators of opinion: especially, probably, actually, interestingly
− punctuation: no exclamation, one rhetoric question, double points to show causality, points of suspension in the first sentence to 'flow out' the sentence and build up tension

b. Content-related structuring
frames
− responsibility frame, conflict frame

intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
− many media organizations are interested in Wulff → important topic on the media agenda

presuppositions
− little information is given on the affair itself → focus on the fuss that it creates → reader must have closely followed

emphasis
− use of bold; italic and capital letters; capital and bold at the same time → emphasizing a lot of aspects

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies
sources
− Wulff's chats (B)
− politician of the same party (B)
− citizen (M)
− Geerkens (M)
− opposition politicians (E)

presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
− opposition politicians criticize Wulff
− Wulff pretends as if nothing happened → in line with his previous behaviour of not commenting on the affair → Wulff isn't presented as truthfully
relationships of the different parties of the conflict
- opposition politicians criticize Wulff
- Wulff ignores

speech and communicative acts
- Wulff chats, wishes all the best, is joking
- opposition politician demands

sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
- authors are part of the journalistic crowd that is curious how Wulff behaves

expression of the journalist’s own opinion
- the authors create a distance between Wulff and the peaceful idyll of the Christmas market → he doesn’t belong there

d. other remarks
- the text creates a peaceful atmosphere at the Christmas market; although Wulff tries to adapt to the setting he doesn’t fit there BZ concludes
- very detailed description of the scenery, harmless and meaningless quotes from Wulff

On the track of the money 18.12.2011

a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
- background article on questions that are connected to the loan affair
- how did the couple receive the money? Edith Geerkens and the Wulffs signed a private mortgage and received a cheque from her bank account, the Wulffs then paid back a monthly amount to her account
- what is the problem with the private loan? Wulff told the federal government that he didn’t have a business relationship to Egon Geerkens, but he didn’t mention the private loan to Geerkens wife and it’s unclear whether the name of the wife was just used for the deal
- Egon Geerkens said he set the conditions of the deal and had authorization for his wife’s account
- with the low interest rate, Wulff saved approximately 20.000 Euros per year
- is the private loan is still running? No, as it was changed ot a bank mortgage
- did Wullf misled the public intentionally? Expert answers the question with yes

sentence structures
- four questions as subheadings and one rhetoric question, one exclamation
- several very short, hitched sentences → emphasizing what Wulff did and what he didn't do
- short and longer sentences, but simple in structure (maximum one subordinate clause)
- nominal style
- several elliptic sentences
- mostly active sentences

lexicalization
- title: allusion to movie → draws the association to some criminal act
- conjunctions: and, but, then → few
- Rhetoric devices: metaphor (als Strohfrau beteiligt sein (using her as a straw woman)); anaphora/parallelism (repetition of similar sentence openers → emphasis on these parts), hitched sentences with ellipsis → create tensions and emphasize, rhetoric question (Isn't this a business relation? → provocation)
- adverbs/adjectives as indicators of opinion: actually, extraordinary, renowned, knowingly
- punctuation: one exclamation and question to provoke and highlight some aspects
- active verbs indicating Wulff's 'guilt': withhold, mislead, save money

b. Content-related structuring
frames
- responsibility frame, conflict frame, accusation frame, economic consequence frame

intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
- financial expert is presented as renowned and his opinion is taken unquestioned and for granted

emphasis
- use of bold: Geerkens version on how Wulff received the money, Wulff's version is mentioned first but without bold → emphasis

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies
sources
  - Wulf's statement (B)
  - Wulf's statement (M)
  - Geerkens (M)
  - financial expert (M)
  - financial expert (E)
  - Wulf's statement (E)
  - financial expert (E)

presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
  - Wulf behaved incorrectly, but keeps defending himself for not knowing
  - his friend Geerkens and a financial expert burden him with their statements/criticism

relationships of the different parties of the conflict
  - financial expert criticizes Wulf and contradicts him
  - Wulf knowingly did the things and is therefore 'guilty'

speech and communicative acts
  - financial expert is sure, sees it quite different

sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
  - authors are of the same opinion as the financial expert, as he is presented in a positive way and his
  opinion is accepted without question

equation of the journalist's own opinion
  - some adverbs and the expert's opinion present the authors opinion

d. other remarks
  - BZ uses half a million and 500.000 Euros synonymously, but half a million is used more often in
    headlines/sub-headings → stronger, emphasis
  - a financial expert speaks a lot and strongly criticizes Wulf's actions, he also answers the question
    whether Wulf misled the public → BZ indirectly expresses its opinion through him

The head of state in a truth-crisis- Wulf is tottering 18.12.2011

a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
  - very long article with background information on Wulf's political career
  - text starts with different quotes from Wulf from different occasions about his affair and a description
    of a scenery at a Christmas party in Bellevue, then it drifts to Wulf's past
  - Christmas party at Schloss Bellevue, Wulf leaves the celebration very early → he disappoints his
    employees
  - disappointments and surprises in his life: an expensive Rolex watch that he bought aged 19 although
    he said he didn't have money; his descriptions about his mother changed during time; few weeks
    after the publication of a book in which he talked about his marriage he announced their break-up
  - Wulfs seeks power but pretends being the good, modest guy from next door
  - after his divorce and new marriage he needed money → he addresses his old friend Geerkens
  - he commits a fault when accepting a free flight upgrade → shows his taste for luxury
  - when Köhler resigned, he took the opportunity
  - his next fault was spending too many holidays in friend's residences
  - Wulf can't convince as head of state
  - even after the outcome of the affair, he pretends as nothing ever happened
  → text has an open end, finishes in the middle of an action → story continues

sentence structures
  - short and longer sentences, but simple in structure (maximum one subordinate clause)
  - rich in metaphors, adverbs and adjectives
  - several elliptic sentences → short, hitched
  - repetition of sentence structures ("Was dazu nicht passt:"")
  - no exclamations or questions
  - mostly active sentences

lexicalization
  - conjunctions:
    - Rhetoric devices: metaphor (storm of criticism, stone-faced, runs like a red thread through his bio,
      jump to the top, his taste for luxury); ellipsis and short sentences (Friday evening in the castle
      Bellevue), contrast (half the truth vs the whole truth), anaphora (folgenschwerer Fehler, gut
      gebrauchen), sayings (create an ideal world, image of the nice guy, his buddys are), parenthesis (On
June 30 he is – although just in the third ballot- the new head of state), superlative (his network is in best order, the whole truth)
- synonyms for Wulff: head of state, Prime Minister, Bestandteil der legendären Hannoveraner Seilschaften, power seeker, political professional
- adverbs/adjectives describing Wulff or his actions: stony faced, knowingly, determined, iron
- modality/adverbs: not really, not yet, hourly, he should have already known, extensively, increasingly, highly, simply, shortly, not even, once more,
- punctuation: many full stops after short sentences to create a pause; hyphens to emphasize an aspect or insert additional information, many double points to express causality
- semantic field picture: choosing such words, it doesn't fit into the picture, he paints a picture of..., he depicts a perfect world, he tells a little different story, his stories can change fast → all these expressions present Wulff as a calculating person, using his close surrounding for his own political benefit and popularity

b. Content-related structuring
frames
- human interest, glamour frame, conflict frame, economic consequences frame, intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
presuppositions
- lots of information, particularly details, about Wulff's past and his private life
emphasis
- use of bold (in some cases only a sentences in bold, in the second half of the article three paragraphs in bold) and italic (beginning of the text → all Wulff's quote in a row) → emphasis of certain aspects

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies
sources
- quotes from Wulff about his affair (collection from different occasions)
- many details of Wulff's life without attribution
presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
- no real conflicting parties in this text, but Wulff is presented as the calculating evil, doing everything for his own benefit
speech and communicative acts
- Wulff complains, thanks, smiles, chooses his words, coquets
sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
- authors are of the same opinion as the financial expert, as he is presented in a positive way and his opinion is accepted without question
expression of the journalist's own opinion
- adverbs and the figurative language present the authors opinion
d. other remarks
- Wulff's Christmas party is for his employees only → why does BZ have such detailed insights?
- Text is different to previous ones as it uses relatively few means to emphasize (no rhetoric questions, exclamation, no capital letters etc.), but it is a very opinionated text, full of metaphors, adjectives, modality that express the author's opinion
- BZ detects differences in Wulff's statements and his behaviour → BZ concludes that he is powerhungry/seeking and stages stories for his own benefit (and if doesn't fit anymore he changes again)
- the texts starts with a peaceful Christmas scenery (such as the Christmas market story) and Wulff doesn't fit → negative picture of him, supported by structure of argumentation and the figurative language

BILD inquired: the couple spent a week free of charge in Italy 19.12.2011

a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
- Wulff admitted more holidays at friends houses
- during his time as Minister of Lower Saxony he used his friends residences six times
- his advocates presented a list with all his holidays
- Wulff is under pressure because of his private loan, because of this all his relations to entrepreneurs
sentence structures

- sentence length is comparable to other news organizations (neither short nor long, simple structure with few subordinate clauses)
- no short or elliptic sentences
- no exclamations or questions
- mostly active sentences
- nominal style

lexicalization

- very few conjunctions or connective words
- no stylistic devices identifiable
- very few adjectives → neutral or not referring to Wulff (private holidays, critical questions etc.)
- punctuation: no exclamation or question marks, no double points → only full stops and commas
- numerous use of the words “entrepreneur” and “premises” → topic of the text
- compared to other BZ texts, this text doesn't show any stylistic devices that create a certain impression or (over)emphasize aspects → rather neutral language and an enumeration of facts

b. Content-related structuring

frames

- economic consequences frame, accusation frame

intertextual references and provision of background knowledge

- information on Wulff's friends, their businesses and where they have their residences

presuppositions

- only in the headline it is said that Wulff didn't pay for his trip to Italy → for none of the other holidays there is any information whether he contributed something or not → despite this, Wulff is presented as doing something wrong for spending holidays at friends residences

emphasis

- use of bold and capital letters (as a subheading)

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies

sources

- indirect quotes from Wulff's advocates
- a lot of unattributed information from BZ's own research

presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict

- it is mentioned several times that Wulff is under pressure and there are questions regarding his relations to entrepreneurs → but it is said at any point who demands those questions and who has an interest in having all those details → who is the power in behind, who has the greatest interest?

relationship of the different parties of the conflict

- there is clearly a conflict, but an unknown power criticizes Wulff

speech and communicative acts

- Wulff admitted → guilty

sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists

- BZ presents itself as pushing the investigation and revealing important information

expression of the journalist's own opinion

- Wulff shouldn't have spent his holidays at friends houses, but it's not said why not

d. other remarks

- it is said only in one case that Wulff didn't pay for his holidays, but there is no information whether he paid for the other holidays or not → creates the impression that Wulff took as much for free as possible
- Wulff is presented as wrong-doing, but only the last sentence mentions why information about his holidays is relevant to the investigation
- it is unknown who pushes the investigations about Wulff → critical questions are asked but by whom?
- sophisticated and legal language

Wulff under pressure: six times holidays with business friends 19.12.2011

a. Formal structuring

structure of argumentation

- Wulff remains under pressure as he spent his holidays at friends residences
- Wulff refused to resign and said he can take responsibility for what he did
- criticism of him started because he covered up a private loan
- he travelled to an owner of an insurance company in Italy and spent his holidays for free
- he said it was consistent with the Minister Act as he didn’t use his position
- but he later advocated for the interests of the insurance company
- other politicians demand clarification or his stepping down
- a coalition politician said Wulff had answered all questions

**sentence structures**
- sentence length is comparable to other news organizations (neither short nor long, simple structure with few subordinate clauses)
- three short and elliptic sentences, introducing other sentences → putting emphasis
- no exclamations or questions
- mostly active sentences
- nominal style

**lexicalization**
- very few conjunctions or connective words
- no stylistic devices identifiable
- very few adjectives → neutral or not referring to Wulff
- verbs that show an interpretation of Wulff's action: he refused, he disguised, he urged → active verbs
- punctuation: no exclamation or question marks, double points to introduce quotes and to show causality, one hyphen to create a pause and emphasize
- elaborated language

b. Content-related structuring

**frames**
- economic consequences frame, conflict frame, responsibility frame, accusation frame

**intertextual references and provision of background knowledge**
- details on Wulff's 'deal' with the insurance company owner Baumgartl

**presuppositions**
- it is not mentioned what Wulff did in return for his other friends, where he also spend his holidays, but it is implied that there was some kind of taking and giving

**emphasis**
- use of bold
- capital letters and bold ABER: → indicating the strongest argument of the text

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies

**sources**
- Wulff answering someone on the street (B)
- Wulff to the media about his affair (B)
- opposition party (E)
- coalition party (E)
→ Wulff gets a voice in the beginning of the text (perceived as important) and critical quotes only come in at the end

**presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict**
- citizens and opposition politicians demand his resignation
- Wulff refuses

**relationship of the different parties of the conflict**
- critics criticize openly and strongly, Wulff insists on staying in office

**speech and communicative acts**
- Wulff refused, urged

**expression of the journalist's own opinion**
- Wulff is presented as acting (at the moment of the affair and also in the past) → he was aware of what he was doing and can be accused

d. other remarks
- through the structure, the text builds up a certain tension which reaches its climax in the lower middle of the text (introduced by the word 'but' in capital and bold letters)

**Scheel demands more respect for Wulff- and his office 19.12.2011**
a. Formal structuring

structure of argumentation
- there has been a lot of negative media coverage of Wulff in the past week
- Wulff now gets support from the former President Scheel, demanding respect and fair coverage
- chancellor Merkel also supports Wulff from abroad
- journalists can check the documents of the contract and see a list of Wulff's holidays
- Wulff acts relaxed and clam in public
- the contract showed that Edith Geerkens was the creditor of the loan, as Wulff had negated a business relationship to her husband
- BZ had revealed the affair

sentence structures
- some short sentences, but no ellipsis
- no exclamations or questions
- mostly active sentences
- nominal style

lexicalization
- very few conjunctions or connective words
- rhetoric devices: metaphor (sein Fett wegbekommen (to deserve one's just desert), ihm den Rücken stärken (backed him up), stützen (support), in Erklärungsnot sein (at a loss to explain), Schützenhilfe bekommen (get support from))
- adverbs/adjectives showing interpretation: rather, devastating, as expected
- semantic field support: Rückendeckung bekommen (receive backing), Schützenhilfe (get support from), stützen (support), den Rücken stärken (backed him up)
- punctuation: no exclamation or question marks, no double points → only full stops and commas

b. Content-related structuring

frames
- accusation frame, responsibility frame

intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
- emphasis that BZ revealed the affair and caused all that trouble

presuppositions
- a lot of space is dedicated to Scheel, and he speaks first → he is a well-respected member of society and his opinion counts

emphasis
- use of bold (emphasis of certain aspects, max two sentences in a row), italic (for previous incidents) and capital letters (for short subheadings)

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies

sources
- Former President Scheel (5 quotes → B+M)
- Merkel (2 quotes M)

presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
- there is a conflict between Wulff and the media, but this text rather aims to show the supporters of Wulff

relationship of the different parties of the conflict
- although Wulff's supporters don't support his activities of the past, they support him and the office of the President

speech and communicative acts
- Wulff demonstrated calmness, designated, allowed insight

sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
- BZ distances itself from the press coverage, that is criticized in the text

expression of the journalist's own opinion
- Wulff got what he deserved
- “Wulff seemed rather relaxed and clam” → rather indicates that BZ had expected something different in these circumstances

d. other remarks
- in the lede, this text almost maliciously: the press coverage was devastating and Wulff got what he deserved → then the tone changes and BZ reports quite neutral and impartial about politicians backing Wulff and criticizing the media for their negative coverage → BZ knows of its role as revealer of the affair, but presents itself as outstanding observer
- figurative language of support is vast
**How long does his office tolerate such catch lines? 19.12.2011**

**a. Formal structuring**

**structure of argumentation**
- outside scenery at Schloss Bellevue
- no Christmas mood inside as everyone knows about Wulff's reputation
- Wulff behaves as if nothing happened: his clothes and performance don't offer any points to attack
- usually, nobody would come to such an event, but that day, his voice can't be heard because of all the cameras
- Wulff speaks relaxed and makes great gestures (what he usually doesn't do)
- only 2 km further at Wulff's advocates, journalists look at Wulff's contracts
- Merkel and other politicians back Wulff
- BZ is looking forward to Wulff's Christmas address, asking rhetoric questions what he will talk about
- the council of elders of Lower Saxony will address the question whether Wulff misled the federal government

**sentence structures**
- many short sentences, few long sentences
- a number of elliptic and hitched sentences that appear to be cut off the main sentences in some cases
- headline and three other rhetoric questions that aren't answered in the text
- mostly active sentences
- nominal style

**lexicalization**
- very detailed description of the scenery
- several sentence connectors such as but, on the contrary, as
- rhetoric devices: metaphor (dark clouds are hanging over Schloss Bellevue, Blitzlichtgewitter niedergehen (set off a flurry of flashbulbs) zur Seite springen (come to his defence) eine offizielle Hürde vor sich haben (have an official hurdle ahead of him), keine Angriffsläche bieten (don't offer any reasons for attack)), saying (appearances are deceiving), personification (how long does his office tolerate such catch lines?), rhetoric question (how long does his office tolerate such catch lines?, How will he address his citizens? Should he mention the loan affair or not?), alliteration (no words on crisis, on scandals; warm words), ellipsis (no words on crisis, on scandals), generalization (everyone knows, dozens of journalists), onomatopoeia (klickern und surren der Kameras), irony (he doesn't hold on to the speaker's desk, on the contrary: he makes great hand movements and gestures...)
- verbs/adjectives/adverbs describing Wulff: iron smile, chatting with demonstrative relaxation, steadfastly
- semantic field weather: dark clouds are hanging, Blitzlichtgewitter niedergehen (set off a flurry of flashbulbs), fine drizzly rain
- adverbs/adjectives showing interpretation: hardly, already, just, not really, almost amused, unlike otherwise
- punctuation: no exclamations, four rhetoric questions, extensive use of double points to emphasize and highlight causality, use of points of suspension twice → open end

**b. Content-related structuring**

frames
- accusation frame, conflict frame, moral frame

intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
- very detailed description of the scenery at Schloss Bellevue and how Wulff is dressed and behaves

presuppositions
- BZ doesn't seem to need to present sources or attribution → talking at large seems to be accepted

emphasis
- use of bold (emphasis of certain aspects, max two sentences in a row) and capital letters (for short subheadings)

**c. Structuring of identities and ideologies**

sources
- catch lines from other media organizations (B)
- Merkel (M)
- coalition politicians (M)
Wulff holds a speech in this text, but none of his words are quoted → the way he speaks is interpreted

**presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict**
- in this text, the conflict takes part between Wulff and the media
- the media attack Wulff, but he doesn't respond in the expected way → he doesn't defend himself, but keeps doing as if nothing happened
- politicians back him

**relationship of the different parties of the conflict**
- the media attack and try to force Wulff to react
- Wulff doesn't defend himself, but keeps doing as if nothing happened

**sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists**
- the journalists here interpret the mood and way of talking of Wulff → what he really wants to say with his gestures and facial expression → no evidence or attribution

**d. other remarks**
- extensive use of figurative language and a huge variety of stylistic devices
- there is a lack of quotes and a lot of interpretation → BZ seems to have insight into Wulff's thoughts
- Wulff's speech isn't quoted at any time, but the way he speaks is interpreted → as he behaves differently than usual (more relaxed and open), BZ concludes he is acting/pretending
- the rhetoric question and personification in the headline brings in the moral dimension of the Presidency
- using weather vocabulary is applicable to Wulff's current situation, where the mood changed quickly

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**42.000 Euros- Maschmeyer paid the advertisements for Wulff's book 19.12.2011**

**a. Formal structuring**

**structure of argumentation**
- advertisements for Wulff's book had been paid by Maschmeyer with his own private means
- the book was an important mean of the electoral campaign 2008
- the advertisements in local newspaper had first been paid by the publisher, then Maschmeyer was asked to pay the amount
- Maschmeyer paid after Wulff had won the elections
- Maschmeyer told BZ that he didn't tell Wulff about him paying the advertisements
- Wulff's advocate and the author of the book said they both weren't aware of Maschmeyer's payment
- Maschmeyer had already paid anonymously for an advertisement campaign for Schröder → Wulff criticized such electoral advertisement
- his opponent now criticize Wulff

**sentence structures**
- relatively long sentences, second sentence of the text contains two subordinate clauses
- mostly active sentences
- nominal style
- several subordinate clauses inserted with hyphens

**lexicalization**
- very detailed about the amounts of money and who was involved in the deal
- few conjunctions and sentence connectors
- rhetoric devices: alliteration (And once again it's about Christian Wulff anf the money of his friends, private and political life), contrast (not as usual,, but in reality
- verbs/adjectives/adverbs showing interpretation: exceptional, einfädeln (arranged), not as usual, and once again
- punctuation: one exclamation (to show that Maschmeyer also paid for Schröder anonymously), several double points to introduce quotes, numerous use of hyphens to stress a certain aspect and separate it from the main sentence

**b. Content-related structuring**

**frames**
- financial consequences frame, conflict frame, moral frame

**intertextual references and provision of background knowledge**
- detailed and accurate about the relationships between people and the amounts of money that flew

**presuppositions**
it seems unrealistic that Wulff didn't know about Maschmeyer's payment

it isn't said how BZ got all that information especially private emails

emphasis

use of bold (emphasis of certain aspects and quotes)

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies

sources

publisher (B)
publisher (M)
Maschmeyer (M)
Wulff (M)
Author of the book (E)
opposition politician (E)

presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict

the text presents a complex structure between Wulff, Maschmeyer and other people, but it still seems unbelievable that Wulff didn't know about the payment of advertisements

relationship of the different parties of the conflict

complex structure between the different actors → not everyone seems to know everything, but the text creates some suspicion

expression of the journalist's own opinion

the authors express their opinion about this unusual advertisement campaign

d. other remarks

quite a lot of information is attributed to sources in this text, but there is also “according to BZ information” and it isn't said where and how it received that information

sort of an investigative article with lots of details and specific information

Council of Elders declares itself as not competent- Superior Court is to clarify the affair 20.12.2011

a. Formal structuring

structure of argumentation

the text deals with several topics at the same time (meeting of the Council of Elders in Hanover, an opinion poll amongst Germans, a statement from a cardinal and statements about Maschmeyer's advertisement campaign)

the Council of Elders discussed Wulff's affair, but didn't declare themselves competent to decide on that matter

CDU politician said that only an accusation at the superior court would be possible

the left party demanded an investigative committee

politicians and the media were concerned with BZ's report about Maschmeyer's campaign

Wulff's publishers and other publishers contradict each other

a political expert and a opposition politician criticized Maschmeyer's campaign

the majority of the Germans rejected Wulff's resignation, but said he had lost credibility

Wulff's advocate explained that Egon Geerkens was involved in the negotiation about the loan contract

cardinal Meisner suggested Wulff's resignation

Wulff does his day-to-day business

sentence structures

neither short nor long sentences
few subordinate clauses (consecutive and conditional clauses)
mostly active sentences
nominal style

lexicalization

conjunctions and sentence connectors: despite, additionally, also, and, whereas
rhetoric devices: rhetoric question (Does the affair surrounding Wulff and his private sponsors even end up in court?), exclamation (Superior court is to clarify the affair! Wulff's affair would become a case for the constitutional judges!), contrast (Wulff's publisher declared the deal as normal, whereas another publisher called it exceptional)
verbs/adjectives/adverbs showing interpretation: einfädeln (arranged), even, possible, renowned, criticized
modality: Wulff's affair would become a case for the constitutional judges!
- punctuation: two exclamations (one of them in the headline → see remarks), few double points to introduce quotes, one rhetoric questions in the lede

b. Content-related structuring
frames
- accusation frame, conflict frame, moral frame

intertextual references and provision of background knowledge

presuppositions

emphasis
- a lot of emphasis through typography
- several sentences and quotes in bold
- two subheadings in bold and capital letters
- italic to show Wulff's contribution to the revealing of the affair and how relevant it is

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies
sources
- almost only negative voices towards Wulff (little balance)
- politician of own party (B)
- opposition party (M)
- Wulff's publisher (M)
- another publisher (M)
- political expert (two quotes) (M)
- opposition party (M)
- opinion poll (E)
- Wulff's advocate (E)
- cardinal (E)
- Wulff's office (E)

presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
- there are many different parties somehow opposed to Wulff, but they aren't connected (political opposition, political expert, another publisher, member of the church)
- Wulff only acts via official statement and not directly connected to these events

relationship of the different parties of the conflict
- Wulff doesn't really react to the attacks/criticism

speech and communicative acts
- opposition politicians demand
- expert criticized
- the majority of the Germans reject
- Wulff's advocate confirmed
- cardinal suggested

sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
- the author is proud of its media organization and what it has revealed lately

e. Other remarks
expression of the journalist's own opinion
- negative attitude towards Wulff as the majority of sources criticizes him (and SZ texts show that there are positive voices as well)

d. other remarks
- the text creates a fake-reality: in the headline it says as the Council of Elders isn't competent to clarify the affair, the superior court should take the case, the lede in form of a question shows however that it's not yet decided whether it will be taken by the superior court or not → in comparison with SZ and other media, the quote which is the basis of this assumption says that the either the superior court or an investigative committee shall clarify the affair → quoted out of context → leads to misleading conclusions
- BZ seems to be proud for its work in disclosing the affair and how relevant it becomes (it concerns the media and politicians, it will possibly become a case at the superior court)

2nd period: February 10 to 17, 2011

Which accusations apply, which ones are foolish? 10.02.2012
a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
- this text gives an overview over the whole affair and the accusations that were made, BZ divided these accusations in three categories: serious, problematic and absurd
- serious accusations according to the text: Wulff's private loan for his house and his lying to the federal government about his relationship to Geerkens, Wulff's later loan contract with the bank with a low interest rate, Wulff's call to the editor in chief of BZ and his separation from his spokesman
- problematic accusations: Maschmeyer's financial support for Wulf's book, Wulff's involvement in the events of the Nord-Süd-Dialog, Wulff's frequent holidays at friends residences, Wulff's flight upgrades, his relationship to David Groenewold
- absurd accusations: a bobby car for Wulf's son, speculations about Bettina Wulf's new car, Bettina Wulff's designer dresses, the Wulffs invited friends to official events, a food company invited Wulff to a ball

sentence structures
- headline and lede are questions, followed by the promise that BZ will provide clarity about the affair
- mostly written in nominal style
- both very short and longer sentences, but simple structure (no interlacing of subordinate clauses, maximum one subordinate clause)
- subordinate clauses: concessive, temporal, object, relative clauses
- a few short and incomplete sentences → ellipsis
- mostly active sentences, few passive constructions

lexicalization
- conjunctions: and, meanwhile, then, afterwards, also
- rhetoric devices: metaphor (an den Haaren herbeigezogen (far fetched) zu Stillschweigen verpflichten (oblige them to maintain silent), haarspalterisch (hair-splitting) blown-up allegations), generalization (kaum einer blickt noch durch (hardly anyone understands)), personification (his reputation is suffering), anaphora (central questions are still open.. diverse questions are still open), superlatives (the most grave of all cases, extremely cheap conditions, final, extremely close, closest,
- adjectives/adverbs showing interpretation: really serious, extremely, misleading, important, the most grave, final, closest, unreliable, hard to believe, wrong, close, actively, personally, better, not significantly → the authors judge all the aspects of the affair and make usage of many adverbs and adjectives
- punctuation: two question marks, double point to introduce quotes, one hyphen to stress an aspect

b. Content-related structuring
frames
- economic consequence frame, accusation frame, conflict frame, moral frame, responsibility frame

inter textual references and provision of background knowledge
- reference to other media organizations and what they reported about the affair

presuppositions
- reference to many different aspects of the affairs surrounding Wulff → expectation that the reader has followed the discussion

emphasis
- use of bold and capital letters
- bold: BZ’s opinions and the different facets of the affair
- capital and bold letters: subheading for the three categories

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies
sources
- Wulff (B)
- Wulff (M)
- prosecution of Hanover (M)
- Wulff (M)
- 5 media organizations (E)

→ few sources and quotes → BZ trusts ist own research although some ‘facts’ are reported in a contradictory way in SZ
→ some quotes date back from years ago

presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
- Wulff has already been fund guilty → the text deals with judging the gravity of the wrong-doings of Wulff
- there is no real opposition in this text (no other politicians etc. attacking)
relationships of the different parties of the conflict
- BZ as representative of the public condemns Wulff's actions, but without attacking him

speech and communicative acts
- Wulff denied, apologized, admitted later, called, threatened, explained

sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
- the authors here draw a clear distinction between them and other media organizations (that reported wrongly about some aspects of the affair)

expression of the journalist's own opinion
- Wulff lied and misled the public
- many of Wulff's explanations are implausible to BZ

d. other remarks
- there is a lot of opinion in this text as BZ judges the gravity of Wulff's wrong-doings
- the text in itself is written relatively neutral and without the typical exclamation marks and scandalous language
- SZ presents some of the facts that BZ presents as reliable/credible still as controversial/unproven → the whole text is an entity and doesn't raise any questions/doubts about the conclusions BZ drew
- BZ attributes itself an important role in the affair as it revealed it and it now provides clarity on what is true and serious or not
- it's interesting to see what BZ judges as most grave wrong-doing → Wulff's threatening call at BZ's editor in chief ranks only third

Devastating survey results for the President 10.02.2012

a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
- new survey amongst citizens with bad results for Wulff
- the majority wants Wulff to step down, whereas Merkel benefited from Wulff's bad results
- Merkel still backs Wulff, whereas politicians from other parties want him to resign

sentence structures
- one exclamation
- mostly written in nominal style
- both very short and longer sentences, but simple structure (no interlacing of subordinate clauses, maximum one subordinate clause)
- subordinate clauses: concessive, temporal, object, relative clauses
- a few short and incomplete sentences → ellipsis
- mostly active sentences, few passive constructions

lexicalization
- conjunctions: and, meanwhile, despite, however, also
- rhetoric devices: metaphor (das Maß ist voll (enough is enough), seinen Hut nehmen (step down/resign), die Union zieht der SPD davon (the CDU outscores the SPD)), personification (her popularity ratings climb up to a record level; his affairs didn't only damage the lord of the castle, but even the castle; die Union zieht der SPD davon (the CDU outscores the SPD)), ellipsis (no day without bad news, in plain language), neologism (der Merkel-Effekt (the Merkel effect)), superlatives (devastating survey results, climb up to a record level)
- adjectives/adverbs showing interpretation: devastating, heavily damaged, permanently, indirectly, however, negative, inevitably
- semantic field damage: heavily damaged, the damage, permanently damaged, harm
- subjunctive/conditional: die Ergebnisse dürften ihn auch dort erreicht haben (the result will have reached him), Merkel seems to benefit from Wulff's survey disaster, it wouldn't be sufficient, there wouldn't be a majority for red-green
- punctuation: one exclamation mark, double point to introduce quotes or show casualty, three hyphens to separate certain aspects

b. Content-related structuring
frames
- accusation frame, conflict frame, moral frame, responsibility frame

intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
- reference to the public survey

presuppositions
- knowledge about the political system and different parties in Germany is required
knowledge about the moral, representative role of the President is required

**emphasis**
- use of bold, italic and capital letters
- italic: opinionated passages of the text and a flashback on the beginning on Wulff's affair are in italic
- bold: stressing "important" aspects
- capital letters: subheading

**c. Structuring of identities and ideologies**

**sources**
- public survey (6 percentages) (B+M)
- Merkel (2 indirect quotes)
- opposition politician (E)
- opposition politician (two quotes) (E)
- opposition politician (E)

**presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict**
- citizens and opposition politicians harshly criticize Wulff and want him to step down
- the extracts from the survey are mentioned high up in the text (higher than the opinion of opposition politicians) → important
- Wulff can't defend himself as he is travelling → Merkel steps in to defend him

**relationships of the different parties of the conflict**
- opposition politicians and citizens aren't connected, but they both agree in wanting Wulff to step down, but the tone is not aggressive

**speech and communicative acts**
- opposition politicians advise, believe
- Merkel is convinced, confirmed, appreciated

**sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists**
- the text is written from an outsider perspective (no clear group membership) → just confirming that Wulff has harmed his office and his own reputation

**expression of the journalist's own opinion**
- the extensive use of words such as damage and harm show the journalist's opinion towards Wulff and his behaviour

**d. other remarks**
- Wulff doesn't get a voice to defend himself in this text as he is travelling, but Merkel comes in in the middle of the text to balance the negative voices from citizens and opposition politicians → but the great majority of voices are negative towards Wulff

**BILD overflies the Rubicon with Wulff 14.02.2012**

**a. Formal structuring**

**structure of argumentation**
- the journalist that investigated Wulff's affairs met him for the first time after the revelation on a trip to Rome
- Wulff and his wife both welcome the journalists
- the journalists concludes that it's probably a good choice to go to Italy, the country of corruption
- after overflying the Rubicon, Wulff asks the journalists for a talk, pointing out the importance of his visit
- the journalists ask question about the affair but Wulff refuses to mix domestic and foreign politics → no comments
- the Italian President welcomes the Wulffs
- Bettina Wulff is dressed up modestly and she smiles as the BZ journalist
- a German journalist later asks what both countries could do against corruption
- Wulff replies that Germany had good laws that were applied
- in Hanover, the prosecution examines whether there will be a case against Wulff or not
- Wulff's office paid the flights for all journalists accompanying Wulff, but BZ will reimburse the costs after their return by transfer and not in cash

**sentence structures**
- no distinctive features in terms of sentences structure (no exclamations, questions etc.)
- rather short sentences with a simple structure (no interlacing of subordinate clauses, maximum one subordinate clause)
- subordinate clauses: concessive, temporal, object, relative clauses
several very short sentences, some even elliptic
mostly active sentences, few passive constructions

lexicalization
conjunctions: and, meanwhile, instead, but, when, despite, by the way
rhetoric devices: metaphor (to cross the Rubicon, andere Kaliber von Politiker-skandalen gewöhnt sein (to be used to other calibres of scandals of politicians), an Format verlieren (loosing his profile), morally and economically on the brink), ellipsis (despite everything...by the way...By transfer. And not in cash.), personification (the home country of Mafia, corruption and Bunga Bunga), irony (in the home country of the Mafia, corruption and Bunga Bunga, dubious loans, scrounged holidays and other frauds are hardly worth a notice; please no glamour here; Wulff's office paid for all the flights. Bild will reimburse the money after returning. By transfer. And not in cash.)
description of Bettina Wulff: completely relaxed, she sits in the first row, dressed up modestly, her gaze searches the Bild journalist, she smiles, cool woman → very positive description
description of Christian Wulff: with a firm handshake and a friendly smile; he has lost his profile, also physically; he seems slimmer, he wants to point out the importance of the visit, he recognizes the explosiveness of the question
focus on all kind of numbers: 65 days after the revelations, on board of the A340, 7.43 am, 20 minutes left till Rome, 10.45 am, 4 degrees, in Hanover 1564 kilometres away, price of the flights (470 Euro) very detailed
adjectives/adverbs: decisive, firmly, friendly, completely relaxed, dubious, scrounged, important, modest, cool, shortly
punctuation: double points to introduce quotes or a new aspect, one hyphen and in other cases full stops after short sentences to break the flow of the sentence and create a pause

b. Content-related structuring
frames
accusation frame, conflict frame, moral frame, responsibility frame
intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
the journalist presents himself and his role in the affair, where he meets Wulff this time ans how it usually work when journalists accompany politicians
presuppositions
good knowledge about the affair and everything what happened, especially between Wulff and BZ is required to understand some of the double sense
the reader needs to know the meaning of the metaphor "to cross the Rubicon", that it is actually a river in Italy and what this saying means in the context of the affair
emphasis
use of bold to stress a few sentences in the text flow
c. Structuring of identities and ideologies
sources
Wulff (M)
journalist (M)
Wulff (M)
journalist (M)
Wulff (M)
Wulff (E)
presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
the journalists/media confront Wulff with his wrongdoings
Wulff and his wife are under scrutiny of the media
relationships of the different parties of the conflict
the journalists try several times to get more information out of Wulff
Wulff remains friendly and polite, but doesn't give in to the wishes of the journalists (the author on the one hand values his friendly attitude, but he also wants to get good sound bites
speech and communicative acts
journalists ask
Wulff welcomes, asks the journalists for a talk, refers to his principle, shortly replies
sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
proud of what he did already in the affair
clear group membership with the other journalists → part of the media crowd
expression of the journalist's own opinion
“Bettina Wulff is a cool woman”
the journalist is proud of his job and his revelation of the affair (I am the reported that asked the
A kiss instead of flowers for the First Lady 14.02.2012

a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
- Valentine’s Day and the Wulffs are still on their state visit in Italy
- as Valentine’s Day doesn’t mean anything to Bettina, she only gets a kiss from her husband
- Wulf then held a speech at a renowned university about the Eurocrisis
- Bettina Wulf visited an old people’s home meanwhile
sentence structures
- one questions, one exclamation
- rather short sentences with a simple structure (no interlacing of subordinate clauses, maximum one subordinate clause)
- one conditional subordinate clause
- several short elliptic sentences
- active voice
lexicalization
- conjunctions: and, meanwhile, at the same time, but, instead
- rhetoric devices: irony (There she asked a 93 year old lady for the secret of her age. The answer: “A clear conscience.”), superlative (in den höchsten Tönen loben (highly praise)), colloquial language (Welch’ ein Valentinstag für die Wulffs! (What a Valentine’s Day for the Wulffs!), Geschenke oder Blumen gab's nicht (no flowers or presents), eine Standpauke halten (give a tongue-lashing))
- adjectives/adverbs: highly, romantic, renowned, clear
- punctuation: double points to introduce quotes or a new aspect, one exclamation after a colloquial saying, one question that is answered with a quote from Bettina Wulf

b. Content-related structuring
frames
- accusation frame, conflict frame, moral frame, responsibility frame, romantic frame
intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
presuppositions
- the Wulffs had been more affectionate in front of the media → it is presupposed here that the reader knows about it
emphasis
- use of bold to stress a few sentences in the text flow

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies
sources
- Bettina Wulf (B)
- Wulf (5 quotes)
- Bettina Wulf (E)
presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
   − the Wulffs are both criticized for doing wrong before and during the affair, but the criticism isn't open as in other texts (no outspoken criticism through quotes etc.) → outsider critic
relationships of the different parties of the conflict
   − the Wulffs aren't very active in this text
speech and communicative acts
   − Wulff highly praises, recommends, rejects
   − Bettina Wulff asks
sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
   − the author doesn't show any group membership, but doesn't appreciate the behaviour of the Wulffs
expression of the journalist's own opinion
   − the last quote indirectly says that Bettina Wulff won't have a long life unless she clears her conscience → open end, leaving room for interpretation
d. other remarks
   − the last quote indirectly says that Bettina Wulff won't have a long life unless she clears her conscience → open end, leaving room for interpretation

Bella Bettina enthuses Italia 15.02.2012

a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
   − Wulff is on a state visit in Italy, all eyes are set on him
   − how does his wife deal with the pressure?
   − She is truly his better half
   − the BZ journalist accompanies her during her individual visit to an old people's home and the monastery where da Vinci's work "The Last Supper" is located
   − she asks interesting questions and is modest → makes a good impression on the Italians
   − she embodies the young and modern Germany
   − although the majority of the Germans wants Christian Wulff to resign, it would be a pity because of the First Lady
   → the author gives his conclusion already in the very beginning and sums up in the end with a similar statement
   → in some parts the text is conversational and seems to reflect the situation as it took place
sentence structures
   − two questions (in the course of a conversation)
   − rather short sentences with a simple structure (no interlacing of subordinate clauses, maximum one subordinate clause)
   − a few subordinate clauses: relative, consecutive, temporal and object clauses
   − several short elliptic sentences
   − mostly active voice
lexicalization
   − conjunctions: and, but, then, meanwhile, however
   − rhetoric devices: metaphor (his better half, shook the foundations of her world, sie löcherte ihn mit interessanten Fragen (she peppered him with interesting questions), sie macht eine bella figure (she cuts a good figure), um den Finger wickeln (she wraps him around his finger)), anaphora (Bella Bettina), generalization (all eyes are set on Christian Wulff, his affair is omnipresent; those who thought she was more interested in Versace and Gucci than Verdi and da Vinci; were taught of a better)
   − description of Bettina Wulff: surprisingly open-minded, instinctively, friendly, modest, smiles hesitantly, polite, interested, eager to learn, it was her firm desire, charming, self-confident
   − adjectives/adverbs: probably, the hardest journey, truly, enormous, omnipresent, clear, surprisingly etc.
   − punctuation: three double points to introduce a quote or causality, mostly full stops to separate facts

b. Content-related structuring
frames
   − conflict frame, moral frame, romantic frame, nice family frame
inter textual references and provision of background knowledge
   − reference to previous (more negative and superficial descriptions of Bettina Wulff)
presuppositions
c. Structuring of identities and ideologies

sources
- Bettina Wulff (four quotes) (M)
- three Italians asking her questions (M)

presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
- the conflict surrounding Christian Wulff is only mentioned in passing (in the very beginning and very end), but before the Wulffs were always mentioned as a unity → in this text the author makes a clear distinction between him and her

relationships of the different parties of the conflict
- Bettina Wulff is the better half, Christian Wulff is the one who messes up

speech and communicative acts
- Bettina Wulff asks, chats, "such important people" escapes from her mouth, hesitates, says, decides

sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
- the author is a proud German citizen, happy that Bettina Wulff represents Germany in a good way

expression of the journalist’s own opinion
- “she is truly his better half”
- “the majority of the Germans demands Wulff's resignation. But after this journey one has to admit: It would be a pity about this First Lady.”

d. other remarks
- the author revises his opinion about Bettina Wulff in this text, she is different than he thought she is (although he uses general terms such as “those who thought she is” it's the opinion of the author → the picture he revises about her is the picture the media created) → extremely positive now
- compared to the previous text, the author takes an outsider perspective all the time → he is the Bild-journalist appearing in the course of the story
- slightly patriotic expressions (our First Lady, she embodies the young and modern Germany)

The prosecution wants the removal of Wulff’s immunity 16.02.2012

a. Formal structuring

structure of argumentation
- Wulff will give a statement about the investigations the next day, the chancellor will also comment on it
- according to BZ information, Wulff and his advisers had a meeting yesterday evening
- Merkel wanted to fly to Italy tomorrow, but cancelled her meeting with Monti
- the prosecution had demanded to remove Wulff's immunity
- this is a unique event and the Bundestag has to decide whether the immunity is removed or not
- in his party, politicians murmur that Wulff is thinking about stepping down
- according to BZ Information there will be the necessary majority in the Bundestag to agree to removing Wulff's immunity

sentence structures
- one question, one exclamation
- short sentences with a simple structure (no interlacing of subordinate clauses, maximum one subordinate clause)
- a few subordinate clauses: concessive and object clauses
- few elliptic sentences
- mostly active voice

lexicalization
- conjunctions (very few): and, because
- rhetoric devices: rhetoric question (Does the President have to resign?), idiomatic expression (dramatic finish, open end), superlatives (dramatic, closest, unique)
- adjectives/adverbs: dramatic, worsened dramatically, unique, dismayed, agreed, necessary, actually, originally, necessary, seriously, possible
- punctuation: two double points to show causality, mostly full stops to separate facts (some quite short sentences that could have been connected), one hyphen

b. Content-related structuring
frames
  – conflict frame, responsibility frame, accusation frame
inter textual references and provision of background knowledge
  – BZ has information about Wulff's meeting with his closest advisers and what had been discussed
presuppositions
  – the reader must take it for granted that BZ always seem to have additional information, especially
from private meetings, as they don't offer any explanation how they received that information
emphasis
  – use of bold to stress a few sentences in the text flow
c. Structuring of identities and ideologies
sources
  – prosecution (3 quotes) (E)
  – his party (E)
  – BZ mentions more facts that aren't attributed to any source (it was said, in the CDU...)
→ it's own information mentioned higher up in the text than information from other sources
presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
  – Wulff is the centre of the conflict and now also his own party starts criticizing him
relationships of the different parties of the conflict
  – his party doesn't criticize him openly, but still gives him the opportunity to decide what to do
speech and communicative acts
  – it was said
  – Merkel was worried
sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
  –
d. other remarks
  – the reader must take it for granted that BZ always seem to have additional information, especially
from private meetings, as they don't offer any explanation how they received that information
  – there are six cases where information isn't attributed at all or just very general (it was said, according
to BZ information)

House loan, mailbox affair, resignation of Glaeseker: the reasons for the President's stepping down 17.02.2012

a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
  – dramatic final of a long affair: Wulff resigned
  – Wulff and his wife talked to the press on Friday
  – Wulff said the accusation had caused so much damage that he lost confidence among the
population
  – he said he made mistake, but he never did anything illegal
  – the removal of Wulff's immunity isn't necessary anymore
  – Merkel showed her respect for Wulff
  – the prosecution investigates Wulff because of his relationship to his friend Groenewold (under
suspect of accepting benefits)
  – political leaders had reacted frantically when they heard about the prosecution's plan to remove
Wulff's immunity
  – more and more pressure was put on Wulff to resign
  – since BZ had covered Wulff's private loan affair for the first time in December, more and more details
came to light in the weeks following the first revelations (his call at BZ, the firing of his spokesman
Glaeseker, Wulff's role in the Nord-Süd-Dialog)
  – Wulff had apologized several times, but he didn't get out of the affair
  – every time new details came to light, he got less support from his own people
  – several people are proposed to be Wulff's successor
sentence structures
  – one exclamation in the lede (Wulff resigned)
  – short sentences with a simple structure (no interlacing of subordinate clauses, maximum two
subordinate clause)
- several subordinate clauses: concessive, consecutive, relative, temporal and object clauses
- mostly active voice, some passive constructions

**lexicalization**
- conjunctions: and, since, but, later, also
- rhetoric devices: metaphor (nach wochenlangem Sträuben (after weeks of being reluctant), hinter den Kulissen des politischen Berlins (behind the scenes of political Berlin), ins Unerträgliche wachsen (grew to an intolerable pressure), in den Sog der Affären geraten (get into the maelstrom of the affair), der politische Rückhalt bröckelte mehr und mehr (the political support crumbled more and more), Kopfschütteln bis Entsetzen auslösen (it invoked disbelief and shock)), superlative (in engstem Kontakt (closely in touch with), sein engster Vertrauter (his closest confident)), cataphora (House loan, mailbox affair, resignation of Glaeseker: the reasons for the President's stepping down), anaphora (immer neue Vorwürfe...immer heftiger unter Druck...immer tiefer in den Sog (always new accusations... more and more under pressure...get deeper and deeper into the maelstrom)), idiomatic expression (Respekt zollen (have respect))
- adjectives/adverbs: dramatic, unprecedented, tense, pale, pressed, only, convinced, unique, not necessary, explicitly, frantically, closest, worried, secretly, controversial, misleading, especially, final, criminal, increasingly, by no means, quickly, several
- punctuation: few double points to show causality, mostly full stops to separate facts (some quite short sentences that could have been connected), one exclamation mark in the lede (emphasis that Wulff finally resigned)

b. Content-related structuring

**frames**
- conflict frame, responsibility frame, accusation frame, political loser frame

**intertextual references and provision of background knowledge**
- reference to Wulff's resignation speech
- short overview over the affair

**presuppositions**
- it is presupposed that the reader agrees wit BZs opinion about Wulff → he has resisted long enough to resign, the stepping down was more than necessary

**emphasis**
- use of bold to stress a few sentences in the text flow
- capital letters in the subheadings
- italic (some emphasis in the text)

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies

**sources**
- Wulff (3 quotes) (B)
- Merkel (3 quotes) (M)
- prosecution (2 quotes) (M)
- Wulff (E)
- unattributed/generalized sources (coalition politicians believed, according to BZ information, politicians decreased their support, his behaviour caused shock in the black-yellow coalition)

**presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict**
- criticism from opposition politicians or the media isn’t mentioned in this text
- the prosecution is the one causing difficulties for Wulff
- few and fewer politicians from his coalition support him

**relationships of the different parties of the conflict**
- no harsh criticism in the quotes, but the prosecution (official authority) is the real danger for Wulff here

**speech and communicative acts**
- Wulff was convinced, explained
- Merkel was worried, showed her respect,

**sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists**
- BZ agrees with those who had long awaited Wulff's stepping down (some politicians of the coalition)

**expression of the journalist's own opinion**
- BZs satisfaction with Wulff`s resignation shows clearly

d. other remarks
- unattributed/generalized sources
- interestingly, BZ mentions that Wulff wasn't happy with the coverage about him, but doesn’t
Questions and answers about Wulff's resignation - Does Christian Wulff now get an immediate pension of 190.000 Euro? 17.02.2012

a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
- Wulff resigned, what will happen now?
- From Saturday on, the prosecution will investigate Wulff's case, as he isn't under immunity anymore
- political leaders will also meet to talk about a possible successor for Wulff
- BZ answers the most important questions on what will happen in the near future
- When does Wulff leave Schloss Bellevue? He has already
- Is Wulff allowed to take a normal job? Yes, he may
- Does Wulff get the gratuity? It's not yet clear
- Does he get any other pension? He will at his 60th birthday
- Will Wulff get a military tattoo? If he wants so
- Does Wulff get a certificate of discharge? No, as he fired himself
- Which rights does he have as former President? Does he get a driver and an office? Yes, he will
- What does he live on now? Until June 2012 he will receive governmental money and from 60 years on he will receive a pension
- What will Bettina Wulff do? She had a part-time job before and she worked as a volunteer for different charities
- Will his immunity still be removed? No, he lost his immunity with stepping down
- What kind of punishment does he face now? If the prosecution accuses him of accepting benefits, he can get up to three years in jail
- How much does he owe his advocate? Presumably up to 100.000 Euro
- Who takes care of the office of the President until a new one is elected? Seehofer
- Who are possible successors? Gauck, Lammert
- Who elects the President? The Federal Assembly
- When will the new President be elected? Latest 30 days after Wulff's resignation
- May the elections take place even earlier? Yes
- What about Wulff's trips to Africa? It's not clear yet
- Who will hold the speech for the victims of right-extremists? Merkel

sentence structures
- a short introduction before the Q&A starts
- two questions are answered with exclamations
- short sentences with a simple structure (no interlacing of subordinate clauses)
- few subordinate clauses: relative, object, temporal clauses
- mostly active voice, some passive constructions

lexicalization
- conjunctions: but, and, as, before, since, then, firstly, however
- rhetoric devices: metaphor (nichts im Wege stehen (nothing affects), in den Genuss kommen (enjoy), ins Spiel bringen (bring in a new aspect)), colloquial language (Wie geht's jetzt weiter? (What will happen next?), superlatives (Wulff wasn't only Germany's youngest President, but also with the shortest time in office; BZ answers the most important questions), ellipsis (Yes!, No!, The reason:, The condition:, And comes to the result:)
- speculative language: he would have (3 times), he could have, he would be, probably, presumably
- adjectives/adverbs: important, normal, only, independently, life-lasting, traditionally, probably, presumably, so to say
- punctuation: few double points to show causality (especially after elliptic sentences) or introduce quotes, mostly full stops to separate facts (some quite short sentences that could have been connected), two exclamation marks after yes/no to, points of suspension at the very end (open ending), three hyphens to stress certain aspects

b. Content-related structuring
frames
- conflict frame, responsibility frame, accusation frame, financial consequence frame

intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
- reference to some laws but less than in the SZ text

presuppositions
the text doesn't say that Wulff isn't yet accused of accepting benefits and as a punishment it only
mentions up to three years in jail (SZ in comparison mentions that the charges can also be dropped
and even if he will be convicted he can either has to go to jail or has to pay a fine) → in several
cases BZ only mentioned a half-truth and presuppose that the reader takes their presentation of
reality for granted

emphasis
- all questions are in bold → structuring the text
- italic (some emphasis in the beginning of the text)

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies

sources
- prosecution (B)
- legal expert (four quotes) (M)
- media source (E)
- extract from the German constitution (E)

presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
- no criticism against Wulff from the media or opposition politicians in this text

relationships of the different parties of the conflict
- the government and the prosecution are doing their jobs (preparing new elections and investigating
Wulff's affair), whereas Wulff isn't active in this text (he escaped Berlin)

speech and communicative acts
- experts estimate

sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
- expression of the journalist's own opinion

- the exclamations after yes and no are an outcry/emphasis of the author
d. other remarks
- compared to a similar SZ text, BZ focuses more on Wulff's 'destiny' (what will happen to him now,
what kind of remuneration he will receive etc.) than on political consequences of his resignation
- some of the questions aren't really answered, but filled with pseudo-answers (e.g. what will Bettina
Wulff do now? → BZ doesn't know and can only give information on what she did before and how
her predecessor Eva Köhler reacted when her husband resigned)

Family comes home - The Wulffs arrive in Großburgwedel 17.02.2012

a. Formal structuring

structure of argumentation
- the Wulffs haven't only left Schloss Bellevue, but also Berlin
- in the evening, they arrived in Großburgwedel
- Wulff seems relaxed
- in the morning, Wulff had announced his resignation
- his speech was short and he didn't apologize
- Seehofer will be interim President until a new one will be elected
- the Wulffs had said farewell to their personnel and then left secretly
- life goes on and there will be a new President in a month

sentence structures
- one exclamation in the lede (Wulff resigned)
- short sentences with a simple structure (no interlacing of subordinate clauses)
- one relative clause
- mostly active voice, some passive constructions

lexicalization
- conjunctions: when, but, and, despite, as
- rhetoric devices: metaphor (The Wulf family hadn't only left behind Schloss Bellevue, but also
Berlin; die Wulffs stellen sich den Journalisten (the Wulffs surrender to the journalists),
Blitzlichtgewitter (camera flashlights), ein politisches Erdbeben (a political earthquake), doch die
Welt dreht sich weiter (but the world keeps on moving), tears flew), enumeration (kurz, knapp und
frei von Entschuldigungen (brief, concise and free of apologies)), personification (Schloss Bellevue
will in einem Monat einen neuen Hausherren haben (Schloss Bellevue will have a new householder
in a month)), dramatization (es ist das Ende eines schicksalhaften Tages (it is the end of a fateful

LXXXIV
day))
- adjectives/adverbs: relaxed, fateful, brief, concise, calm, almost free of emotion, received with
  cheers, apparently
- punctuation: few double points to show causality or introduce quotes, mostly full stops to separate
  facts (some quite short sentences that could have been connected), one exclamation mark in the
  middle of the text, points of suspension at the very end (open ending), two hyphens to stress certain
  aspects

b. Content-related structuring
frames
- conflict frame, responsibility frame, accusation frame, moral frame, political looser frame
intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
- reference to Wulff's resignation speech
- background knowledge on how Berlin will deal with the situation
presuppositions
- BZs negative opinion towards Wulff is taken for granted and doesn't need any explanation
emphasis
- use of bold to stress a few sentences in the text flow
- capital letters for two short sentences within the text
- italic (some emphasis in the text)

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies
sources
- Wulff (4 quotes) (M)
- policeman (E)
presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
- criticism from opposition politicians isn't mentioned in this text
- the journalists await his leave and his arrival at his private home → they are the opposing party in
  this text
relationships of the different parties of the conflict
- Wulff was first emotionless, than he seemed relaxed → in the view of the BZ journalist, he should
  have apologized and have been regretful/sad
speech and communicative acts
- Wulff said, explained
- a policeman communicated
sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
- BZ is part of the journalistic group that closely follows Wulff's steps → the journalists don't care about
  Wulff's feelings or privacy...
expression of the journalist's own opinion
- BZs satisfaction with Wulff’s resignation shows clearly → the world keeps on moving and in a month
  only there will be a new President (points of suspension also show that nobody will 'cry' about him)
- he didn't only leave Berlin, he left the political landscape
- Wulff should have apologized

d. other remarks
- a lot of opinion in the text and BZs negative opinion towards Wulff becomes very clear
- BZ doesn't care about him anymore → a new President will come into office in a month
- Wulffs resignation caused a "political earthquake" → BZ started the trouble

Chronic- BZ revealed Wulff's affair like this 17.02.2012

a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
- BZ's revelation overthrew Christian Wulff
- three years ago, BZ heard about an entrepreneur that might have helped Wulff financially
- BZ demands to have insight into the documents of the land registry, but isn't allowed to
- BZ asked Wulff in an email about his grantor
- the BGH finally decided that journalists have access to the documents of the land registry
- with the name of the vendor of the house, BZ tries to find out more → unsuccessfully
- Wulff complains about this research and allows the BZ journalist insight into his private documents
- BZ read Edith Geerkens name and concluded that Wulff misled the parliament in 2010
BZ asked Wulff again for more details, Wulff reacted with a threat call
unimpressed, BZ published their story anyways
BZ revealed more and more in the weeks after the first story until Wulff finally resigned
→ goal achieved
sentence structures
→ one exclamation at the very end → the climax of the story
short sentences with a simple structure (no interlacing of subordinate clauses)
→ few subordinate clauses: relative, consecutive and object clauses
→ mostly active voice, some passive constructions
lexicalization
→ few conjunctions: however, and, at that time, meanwhile, so, later
→ rhetoric devices: metaphor (enthüllen (reveal), der Beginn einer Spurensuche (the beginning of a search for traces), es waren die Recherchen von BILD, über die Christian Wulff am Ende stürzte (It's been BZ's research, that made Wulff fall), erschüttern die Glaubwürdigkeit (shatter the credibility)), ellipsis (The documentation of a BILD research. No information to the press. Namely in cash), epiper (more and more revelations shatter the credibility of the President, more and more often his resignation is demanded), colloquial language (ziemlich knapp bei Kasse sein (be rather short of money))
→ adjectives/adverbs: rather, explicitly, namely, at a very low interest rate, unperturbed
→ punctuation: some double points to show causality or introduce quotes, mostly full stops to separate facts (some quite short sentences that could have been connected), one exclamation mark at the very end (the result of all BZ's effort: Wulff resigned!), several hyphens that insert information about the chronology of the events → emphasis on how long BZ had already been researching the case

b. Content-related structuring
frames
→ conflict frame, responsibility frame, accusation frame, moral frame
intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
→ reference to some emails that BZ wrote to Wulff
presuppositions
→ BZ's pioneer role during the investigation is implied → no other media organization did as much as they did
emphasish
→ some sentences in bold as emphasis within the text
c. Structuring of identities and ideologies
sources
→ Bettina Wulff (B)
→ land registry (B)
→ BZ email to Wulff (M)
→ Wulff (M)
→ BGH (M)
→ Wulff's spokesman (2 quotes) (M)
→ BZ journalist (M)
→ BZ email to Wulff (M)
→ Wulff's call at BZ (E)
→ Groenewold (E)
→ memo at a hotel (E)
→ prosecution (E)
→ some unattributed information
presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
→ BZ against Wulff
relationships of the different parties of the conflict
→ the BZ journalists perform their job properly (they are persistent in their investigations, they don't fear the threats of Wulff, they don't do anything illegal or overstep any borders)
→ Wulff only reacts in the beginning (usually late) and later tries to hinder the investigations (keeps some details in secret, threatens the BZ journalists)
speech and communicative acts
→ BZ asks, finds, faced Wulff with, rejects, figures out, publishes, revealed, reports
→ Wulff answers, complains, asks, demands, denies, keeps secret, threatens
sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
→ the BZ journalist here present themselves as a closed unity → they all worked together to reveal all
secrets surrounding Wulff → they are proud of what they did and for being so persistent (about three years of research) → they are responsible for Wulff's downfall

- BZ is presented as the pioneer in investigating the affair, two other media are just mentioned in a sideline (other media organizations present the situation in a different way) → to which extent were other media also involved in the investigations?

expression of the journalist's own opinion
- they are proud of what they did

d. other remarks
- a very self-praising text: a lot of emphasis on what BILD did/revealed (four times BILD in the headline and lede, 12 more times in the remaining text)
- BZ shows some of their methods and how they acquire information, but just in some cases → there are still some dubious expressions (BZ heard, BZ later found out (how??), it was said)

Christian Wulff announces his resignation- A protocol of the dramatic hours
17.02.2012

a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
- Germany needs a new President, as Wulff resigned and has already left the capital
- a protocol of Wulff's last hours in office
- on Thursday afternoon, Wulff had a meeting with journalists: he was self-confident and made plans for the next year
- his staff members worked on a speeches for the next days
- the prosecution in Hanover decides in the afternoon to demand the removal Wulff's immunity
- in the early evening Wulff and Merkel hear the news, later a news agency releases the news to the public
- Wulff and his closest staff members meet, Merkel joins them by phone until far into the night
- the opposition also joins via telephone
- on Friday, Merkel cancels her trip to Italy
- a news agency announces that Wulff will make a statement at 11 am
- Wulff resigns
- the decoration of several carnival wagons have to be changed
- Merkel makes a statement shortly after Wulff
- Wulff thanks his staff and leaves
- the captain of a plane announces that Wulff resigned, the passenger applaud
- the leaders of the the parties meet to talk about possible successors of Wulff
- the prosecution will start their investigation at midnight
- the Wulffs drive home to their home close to Hanover

sentence structures
- two exclamations in the beginning of the text, one at the end
- mostly short sentences with a simple structure (no interlacing of subordinate clauses), just a few longer sentences
- subordinate clauses: relative, object, consecutive, comparative clause
- mostly active voice, some passive constructions

lexicalization
- conjunctions: when, meanwhile, and, but, now, also
- rhetoric devices: personification (Germany needs a new President!, happy carnival decoration), ellipsis (an unprecedented event in German history! Blitzlichtgewitter (camera flashings)), epiphrasis (he has withdrawn into his own world, his own logic of justification), rhetoric question (resignation or keep on fighting?), metaphor (Er gibt den Kurs vor (he set the course), keinen eigenen Nachfolger ins Spiel bringen (to not provide their own successor), Blitzlichtgewitter (camera flashings), Bettina Wulff's smile seems frozen, bis tief in die Nacht (until far into the night!)), allusion (quite unsentimentally, he broke up with the old Wulff: he simply beheaded the old figure), colloquial language (Ab nach Hause! (Heading home), irony (Willkommen im normalen Leben (Welcome to a normal life), on a flight from Frankfurt to Berlin the captain announces that Wulff resigned. The passengers applaud)
- adjectives/adverbs: unprecedented, dramatic, as fast as possible, apparently, clueless, self-confident, fierce, jokingly, depressed, frozen, nervous, unsentimentally
- inaccurate sources: to the participants he seemed, they agree, one person says, one, an employee said
b. Content-related structuring frames

- conflict frame, responsibility frame, human interest frame

intertextual references and provision of background knowledge

- reference to many different situations/meetings/conversations → in many cases it's not clear where BZ got the information from (the two heads of the prosecution have a meeting (BZ knows what they were talking about), funny carnival decoration is in the cantine of Schloss Bellevue (does BZ have access to it?), Wulff has a meeting with his closest advisers and Merkel joins them via phone (how does BZ know what Merkel said? Do they hack phones?), the opposition party SPD has a telephone conference as well with Steinmeier joining them from Abu Dhabi (BZ also has quotes from this conversation), Wulff gets text messages from his friends (BZ knows that his friends wish him strength for his statement), Bettina Wulff wears a suit from Rena Lange (BZ knows that it's one of her favourite suits), Wulff and his wife thank their staff members before they leave Schloss Bellevue (BZ knows that one lady started to cry and that Wulff consoled her) → BZ doesn't explain or justify their knowledge

presuppositions

- BZ doesn't explain how it acquired its information → it's taken for granted that the reader has some confidence in the credibility of BZ

emphasis

- a few sentences in bold → emphasis within the text
- capital letters: THE PROTOCOL OF THE DRAMATIC HOURS (sort of a subheading)

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies sources

- a lot of unattributed information or imprecise sources (one/ a member etc.)
- Wulff (B)
- a member of Wulff's staff (two quotes) (B)
- the heads of the prosecution in Hanover (M)
- news agency (M)
- Merkel in a phone call (M)
- opposition politicians in a telephone conference (two quotes) (M)
- a staff member of Wulff (M)
- Wulff (M)
- Merkel (E)
- Wulff (two quotes) (E)
- police man (E)
- captain of a plane (E)

presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict

- the prosecution is the only threat to Wulff in this text (everyone else is rather supportive (his staff, his friends, other politicians)

relationships of the different parties of the conflict

- the prosecution only does their jobs, Wulff doesn't personally react to the prosecution

speech and communicative acts

- Wulff calls for, thanks, promises, announces
- the prosecution consults, agrees
- Merkel cancels, indicates

sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists

- the author doesn't show any strong connections to any of the different groups, but there is some malicious delight for Wulff (the carnivalists beheaded the old Wulff; all passengers applauded the information of Wulff's resignation, welcome to a normal life)

expression of the journalist's own opinion

- in some parts, the journalists even seems to have pity with Wulff, in other parts the sensationalism and malicious delight predominate

d. other remarks

- the text is very detailed and precise when it comes to times, places and other little details (18.13: the Wulffs arrive/ Hanover, building of the prosecution, on the 6th floor/ Bettina Wulff is wearing one of
her favourite suits from Rena Lange) → this leads to the creation of credibility → BZ was there and they know what they are talking about
– on the other hand, there is a huge lack of information and attribution when it comes quotes and general pieces of information → where does BZ get its information from, are its methods legal (as it has even access to private meetings and content of phone calls and text messages) → no justification/explanation how BZ received all that information
– Wulff's and Merkel's attitude are interpreted in opposite ways by SZ and BZ (SZ: Wulff blames the journalists and he takes a last glance at them before he leaves; Merkel susses Wulff's attitude and that he’s not that innocent → she makes some hidden criticism/ BZ: Wulff is really nervous and depressed, he leaves without looking back; Merkel is really sorry for Wulff's resignation, she is affected personally and speaks with a husky voice) → depending on what the average citizen reads, he will get completely different impressions on what happened

How is the President's wife doing after the loss of power? 17.02.2012

a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
– seven questions are asked within the text → none of them is properly answered because the author didn't speak to Bettina Wulff to get her opinion
– how is she doing now after his resignation, after loosing power?
– One thing is for certain: Germany lost the most extraordinary First Lady in the history of Germany
– she is blond, beautiful, has an illegitimate child and she pimped up Christian Wulff's image
– but she loved the luxury even more than he
– how does she react after loosing such a life, does she blame her partner?
– She now has to explain to her children that they have to move again, she has to organize the move etc.
– and apart from that? She used to work as a PR assistant and she cared for her children
– Will she manage to get back to such a life?
– Those who know her closely know that she is self-confident and she will find the right way for herself

sentence structures
– seven questions and one exclamation
– short sentences with a simple structure (no interlacing of subordinate clauses)
– few subordinate clauses: relative, object clauses
– active voice
– verbal style

lexicalization
– conjunctions: when, and then, later, now
– rhetoric devices: rhetoric question (How is the President's wife doing after the loss of power? How does she cope with the loss of power? What if such a life is over all of the sudden? Will one be mad, will one blame the partner for screwing up? And apart from that? Will she manage to get back to such a life?), colloquial language (vermasseln (screwing up), entstaubte sein braves image (she pimped up his image), jobben (working)), metaphor (bildschön (beautiful), at his side at the top of Germany; for sure, she will also find a way this time, that is the right one for her), ellipsis (Luxury trips, social events, famous friends. To a state’s visit with blue lights and police escort, large robes, red carpets and bodyguards), superlative (most extraordinary, youngest), personification (Germany looses)
– description of Bettina Wulff : blond, a model measurements, tattooed, an illegitimate child, beautiful, self-confident, radiant, disciplined, self-contained, probably tougher than her husband, most extraordinary wife of a President
– adjectives/adverbs: certainly, probably, suddenly
– the author seems to know that she can't answer her own questions as she didn't talk to Bettina Wulff → the questions are asked in a general matter or she is replaced by 'one'
– punctuation: the question run through the whole text, one exclamation (Germany looses the most extraordinary wife of a President so far), mostly comma and full stops to separate elements from each other

b. Content-related structuring
frames
– human interest frame, glamour frame, responsibility frame

intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
– reference to an old interview with her (but no information where and when she said it)
presuppositions
- it is presupposed that she loved that life in public with power and luxury and that she will miss it
- at no point the negative sides of a public life are mentioned, that she might have suffered from the constant supervision of the media or that she even wanted to return to her old life

emphasis
- all questions and the final sentence (she will find the right way for herself) are in bold

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies

sources
- Bettina Wulff (E) one quote from an old interview

presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
- no real conflict can be found in this text, just that her taste for luxury finally became her downfall
- but the main responsibility for the fall of the President is Christian Wulff → she fell with him

relationships of the different parties of the conflict
- the question is raised whether she will be mad at her husband as he screwed up

speech and communicative acts
- Bettina Wulff is described in very positive words and many of the attributions derive from observations of the journalist
- "She is probably tougher than her husband"
- "For sure, she will also find a way this time, that is the right one for her."

sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
- the journalist is on Bettina Wulff's side and writes as if she was a good and old friend of hers

expression of the journalist's own opinion
- Bettina Wulff is described in very positive words and many of the attributions derive from observations of the journalist
- "She is probably tougher than her husband"
- "For sure, she will also find a way this time, that is the right one for her."


expressions

d. other remarks
- the text contains just one quote from Bettina Wulff, although the whole text is about her (and the quote is from some years ago!)
- the author asks questions that aren't answered and that just create rumours/speculations → they make people think about her and her feelings
- one gets the impression that the author is a very good and old friend of Bettina Wulff, as she knows how she reacts in times of crisis and pressure
- the presentation of Bettina Wulff seems to be based on 'facts', but none of these facts are confirmed or attributed to sources
- the author seems to know that she can't answer her own questions as she didn't talk to Bettina Wulff → the questions are asked in a general matter or she is replaced by 'one'

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**After his resignation- What is left of Christian Wulff? 17.02.2012**

a. Formal structuring

structure of argumentation
- On Thursday afternoon, Wulff was still making plans; a few hours later he is left with nothing
- during his resignation speech, the journalist recognizes how much he is under pressure
- what is left from Wulff after being the youngest President with the shortest time in office? A double Wulff
- in Lower Saxony he successfully led the state after having lost the elections twice to Schröder
- when he gets his big opportunity, the Presidential elections, he takes it
- with his young wife and a patchwork family, he represents a new Germany
- but there is another side of Christian Wulff
- for years, he carelessly accepted invitations from his rich friends
- he kept justifying himself that he never did anything illegal
- he invents a logic for his own to justify his actions
- the double Wulff - they failed because of each other

sentence structures
- repetition of the same question (in the headline and within the text)
- mostly short sentences with a simple structure (no interlacing of subordinate clauses)
- many cases of ellipsis to separate elements from each other
- very few subordinate clauses: relative, object, conditional clause
- mostly active voice, some passive constructions
- nominal style

lexicalization
few conjunctions/sentence connectors: mostly and (also to begin sentences)
rhetoric devices: metaphor (große Pläne schmieden (make big plans), Freitag früh steht Christian Wulff vor dem Nichts (On Friday morning, Christian Wulff is left with nothing), das Stehaufmännchen mit dem Schwiegersohn-Charme (like a tumbler toy with the charm of the perfect son-in-law), Mit Angela Merkel wird Wulff nie richtig warm (he is never completely comfortable with Angela Merkel), die Chance zum großen Sprung (the opportunity to make a big step forward), frischen Wind und Farbe mit ins Amt bringen (bring a fresh breeze and some colour to the office), the double Wulff - they failed because of each other), contrast (Speeches. Journeys. Everything...Resignation. Over. Without a chance to come back/Das provoziert Kritik, aber bringt Profil (This provokes criticism, but improves his profile)), ellipsis (Speeches. Journeys. Everything...Resignation. Over. Without a chance to come back./10 years, 2 terms as first man of the state), superlative (youngest President, shortest time in office), rhetoric question (what is left of Christian Wulff?), neologism (Polit-Kraftpaket (the political power house), Glitzer-Freunde (his sparkling friends), “knödelnd”), allusion (der doppelte Wulff (the double Wulff))
adjectives/adverbs: depressed, marked by his crisis, carelessly, good, popular, close to the citizens, subtly
description of the 'good Wulff': like a tumbler toy with the charm of the perfect son-in-law, he led his state well, popular, close to the citizens, he builds up his successor, he brings a fresh breeze and colour into his office, he sets new political trends
description of the 'bad Wulff': he carelessly accepts invitation from his rich and sparkling friends over years, he thinks in all seriousness that everything is all right what the law doesn't prohibit, he subtly disguised his relationship to the entrepreneur Egon Geerkens, he makes up a logic on his own, he makes himself vulnerable to blackmail, he hides since December
punctuation: few double points to introduce quotes, mostly full stops to separate different elements from each other (even several one word sentences), one hyphen to create a pause, two questions after rhetoric questions, quotation marks for “knödelnd”

b. Content-related structuring
frames
conflict frame, moral frame, accusation frame, human interest frame, political looser frame, political winner frame

intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
a short overview over Wulff's political career (but just short extracts)
reference to his resignation speech

presuppositions
it's not clear whether 'the double Wulff' refers to a psychological disorder or the movie 'Das doppelte Lottchen' (the double Lottchen) → as the author doesn't explain this expression he must presuppose that the reader knows
the meaning of the neologism 'knödelnd' isn't clear either → as the author doesn't explain this expression he must presuppose that the reader knows
other metaphors/idiomatic expressions are typically German and therefore require a good knowledge of the German language and the underlying meaning of expressions

emphasis
several phrases are in bold → emphasis within the text
capital letters. A DOUBLE WULFF

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies
sources
Wulff (six quotes) (B,M,E)
some quotes are quoted out of context
presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
the Wulffs, the good and the evil, fight against each other
relationships of the different parties of the conflict
sometimes the good part is stronger, sometimes the evil → the finally both fail because of each other

speech and communicative acts

sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
the journalist is an outside observer with a lot of insights into Wulff's personality

expression of the journalist's own opinion
"with all seriousness he thinks...
the journalist judges over Wulff, presents the two sides in him and describes his inner fights
d. other remarks
- the text resembles a psychological analysis of Wulff: he has a split personality and the good and evil both failed because of each other
- the journalist has a lot of insights into Wulff's personality
- many rhetoric devices and expressions with a double meaning
- the journalist judges over Wulff, presents the two sides in him and describes his inner fights
- the text is logic in itself, easy to read, but many of the 'facts' are based on observations and quotes that are quoted out of context → does it really reflect Wulff's personality
Wulff rejects the reproach of deception 13.12.2011

a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
- Wulff confirms that he borrowed money, but denies that he misled the parliament
- Wulff is far away from Lower Saxony, but he has to take a stand about his past in Lower Saxony
- he is accused of not telling the truth
- he withheld the information that he received a private mortgage from Edith Geerkens
- his spokesman confirmed the mortgage, but said there was no business relation between Egon Geerkens and Wulff
- Wulff spent his holidays at Geerkens residence in Florida and accepted a free flight upgrade ? Air-Berlin-Affair
- this caused two politicians to ask whether there was a business relation between the two ? Wulff denied
- BZ found out about the loan contract and the low interest rate, that was confirmed by Wulff's spokesman

sentence structures
- two short sentences in the beginning (Yes, he.. No, he didn't..)
- nominal style
- only active sentences
- average sentence length, some subordinate clauses, simple sentence structure
- many quotes and indirect speech (attributed to source)

lexicalization
- several conjunctions such as because, or, however, and
- rhetoric devices: contrast (Yes, he.. No, he didn't..), alliteration (weit weg (far away), umstrittener Urlaub (controversial holidays))
- verbs/adjectives/adverbs describing Wulff: iron smile, chatting with demonstrative relaxation, steadfastly
- very few adjectives and adverbs
- punctuation: no exclamations, no questions, double points to introduce quotes, apart from that only full stops

b. Content-related structuring
frames
- conflict frame
intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
- background information on Wulff's Air-Berlin-Affair
presuppositions
- it is not yet clear how important this new information ? author doesn't seem to know what to think about BZs investigation
emphasis
- only headline and sub-heading in bold

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies
sources
- Wulff (B)
- Wulff's spokesman (B)
- media organization BZ (M)
- Wulff's spokesman (M)
- Wulff (M)
- BZ (E)
- Wulff's spokesman (E)
- ? attribution of all information to a source, but strong focus on Wulff and his spokesman

presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
- Wulff seemed to haven't said the whole truth, but the circumstances aren't clear yet
expression of the journalist's own opinion
- a little bit of irony can be seen in the beginning of the text ? the author doesn't know yet what to think about the new information and how important it is
d. other remarks

President Wulff and the loan-ties in Hanover 13.12.2011

a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
-Wulff’s private loan throws a light on networking in Hanover
-If Berlin one day needs a substitute, Hanover would be the one place where the greatest careers start
-Is that a coincidence, that so many people come from that area?
-Good network of successful people that support each other
-This has raised questions especially among politicians (e.g. Gabriel)
-People originating from Lower Saxony/Hanover all seem to be connected to each other
-Wulff’s private loan and his other connections proof this
sentence structures
-some elliptic sentences (or sentence parts) as a stylistic device to emphasize an aspect
-short and simple sentences such as longer and complex structures
-subordinate clauses: mostly relative clauses, but also temporal, concessive and conditional clauses
-mostly active voice
lexicalization
-conjunctions: if, and, whether
-semantic field network: engmaschiges Geflecht (close-meshed network), Vernetzung (networking), Bande (ties), connection, Sumpf aus Politik, Wirtschaft, Unternehmen und Porminenz (swamps of politics, economy, business and celebrity)
-numbers: focus on the amount of money and the low interest rate? emphasis on the relevance of the event
-rhetoric devices: alliteration (One knows one another, one helps one another; die Kleine an der Leine, everyone with everybody, he belongs on the one hand to the frogs of… on the other hand to the fans of…), metaphor (Sumpf aus Politik, Wirtschaft, Unternehmen und Porminenz (swamps of politics, economy, business and celebrity), den letzten Schliff bekommen (to be polished up), Türen öffnen (open up doors), sich nicht aus den Augen verlieren (don’t lose sight of), Schlaglicht werfen auf (highlight)), personification (Karrieren blühen (careers prosper)), Berlin may call itself), idiomatic expression (in den Mittelpunkt rücken (to gain centre stage)), superlative (wildeste Gerüchte (wildest rumours), steilste politische Laufbahnen (steepest political careers), the most eye-catching, haushoch gewinnen (smashing victory), closest friend, ), minimisation (500.000-Seelen-Kapitälchen), rhetoric question (coincidence? Probably not), old language use (obsiegen (win), überliefern (passed on)), colloquial language (Schröder obsiegte haushoch (Schröder won a smashing victory))
-adverbs showing interpretation: only, probably, at all, secretly, actually, traditionally, somehow, apparently
-irony in the beginning (the small town Hanover is centre of many political careers)
-repetitions in the beginning and end? like a red thread/story line
-punctuation: one rhetoric question, double points to show causality, numerous use of hyphens to separate an aspect and highlight it

b. Content-related structuring
frames
-conflict frame, human interest frame, political winner frame
intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
-background knowledge on the ‘mysterious’ Hanover-ties
presuppositions
-author presupposes that his readers now that the Maschsee is in Hanover and consequently understand the expression ‘Maschsee-Connection’
emphasis
-There is no emphasis in terms of typography, but the extensive use of rhetoric devices and the use of hyphens and full stops in strategic places also highlight

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies
sources
-expert (M)
-very few sources, most information is unattributed
presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
-Wulff is not yet in conflict in this text? rather politicians in general that use their network of rich friends too much for their own purpose
relationships of the different parties of the conflict
sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
--author is an outside observer who understands the network of Hanover
expression of the journalist's own opinion
--irony and sarcasm displayed in the usage of adverbs and rhetoric devices

d. other remarks
--numerous use of many different stylistic devices
--the text doesn't resemble a news text (editorial, cleverly written)
--author has a lot of in-depth insights into Lower Saxony's networks, but doesn't attribute his information to sources
--ironic and sometimes even sarcastic undertone

President comments on controversial private loan – Wulff acknowledges mistakes
15.12.2011

a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
-- Wulff breaks his silence and admits wrong behaviour
-- because of the interest of the media, Wulff wants to disclose all documents
-- Wulff came under criticism because he didn't mention a private loan to Edith Geerkens when he asked for business relationships to her husband
-- the opposition wants to check all his holidays for private accommodation, as he spent holidays with Geerkens and Maschmeyer
-- the green party wants to know whether he violated the Minister Act
-- other politicians appreciate Wulff's reaction and demand an end of the debate about his loan contract
? the first half of the text is an almost literal transcription of Wulff's statement
sentence structures
-- nominal style
-- average sentence length, no elliptic sentence
-- active voice
-- subordinate clauses (few): relative and concessive clauses
lexicalization
--conjunctions/sentence connectors (few): Moreover, further, and
--no metaphors, few rhetoric devices: cataphora: first quote, then who said it (Wulff in the lede)
--punctuation: only double points to introduce quotes and full stops

b. Content-related structuring
frames
-- conflict frame, responsibility frame
intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
-- background knowledge about what was known about his holidays
presuppositions
-- Wulff statement is taken as an apology ? accepted
emphasis
-- no emphasis through typography
-- Wulff's statement is in the foreground and other politicians only appreciate his statement ? positive

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies
sources
-- Wulff's statement (5 sentences)
-- opposition politician (E)
-- politician of his party (E)
presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
-- this text is presented as the resolution of the conflict: Wulff sees his mistake and others accept his apology
relationships of the different parties of the conflict
-- Wulff admits and other politicians accept his explanation
speech and communicative acts
-- Wulff admits, regrets, explains
-- other politicians appreciate, demand
expression of the journalist’s own opinion
– Wulff’s explanation started the resolution of his affair and the debate surrounding it

d. other remarks
– rather neutral text in terms of language, little interpretation
– positive towards Wulff? almost half of the text is dedicated to what he literally said
– only positive opinions towards Wulff are mentioned
– BZ and the trouble they create is not mentioned? affair is treated as rather unimportant and stirred up

President under criticism- How Wulff’s affair became known 16.12.2011

a. Formal structuring

structure of argumentation
– the outcome of Wulff’s affair has been preceded by struggles to disclose documents of the land registry
– the magazine Spiegel had demanded access to the documents when it heard rumours about a possible private loan from an entrepreneur
– the magazine won the legal dispute, because of the public interest of the matter
– affair wasn’t started with the insight into the land registry, because it only mentioned the bank as creditor
– BZ had found out about the previous creditor before Wulff changed to the bank
– Wulff’s office claimed to not have known about the legal dispute with the media organization, although the owner should have been asked during the dispute
– Wulff’s office said they gave out information, media organizations said Wulff had hidden information? he only mentioned the bank as creditor

sentence structures
– some very short and longer sentences with subordinate clauses (temporal, relative, consecutive clauses)
– nominal style
– some elliptic clauses
– mostly active sentences, few passive constructions

lexicalization
– official and legal vocabulary
– semantic field dispute: struggle, legal dispute (3 times), lawsuit, conflict, allow, disallow
– conjunctions (few): and, also
– rhetoric devices: metaphors (Versteckspiel betreiben (play a game of hide-and-seek), Nebengleis (sidetrack) Eindruck erwecken (give the impression)), contrast (little spectacular), personification (Zweifel wecken (raise doubts), the opposition had asked), saying (to the best of his conscience and belief, Gerüchte kursieren (rumours circulate))
– adverbs/adjectives showing interpretation: little spectacular, long, monatelang (for months), far back, namely, however, clearly, apparently, striking
– punctuation: double points to show connections and causality, hyphens to separate parts of the sentence, full stops after short sentences to create a pause

b. Content-related structuring

frames
– conflict frame, responsibility frame

intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
– the whole text gives background knowledge on how the affair was revealed- and that it was rather a coincidence/by-product

presuppositions
–

emphasis
– no emphasis through typography
– hyphens create pauses and therefore emphasize aspects

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies

sources
– two quotes from the legal sentence of the Federal Supreme Court
– Wulff’s office
– rather general statements as both sources are institutions, not persons

presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
– the inconsistencies and contradictions between Wulff, the land registry and several media organizations are
displayed in this text? it remains unclear who influenced whom and said the truth
relationships of the different parties of the conflict
—contradictory statements from the different parties
speech and communicative acts
—
sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
—authors focuses on the importance of the legal sentence for the freedom of the press to serve the public?
he counts himself as a member of that group
expression of the journalist's own opinion
—the author doesn't make any suggestions about who is right or wrong, but points out the contradictions and thus raises doubts
d. other remarks
—few quotes and only from two sources? a lot of rather vague information
—highlighting the importance of the press in a democracy and the freedoms it needs to access information, although it may reveal contradictions

Private loan of the President- doubts about Wulff's statements 16.12.2011

a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
—Wulff comes more and more under pressure because of contradictory information about the creditor of his loan
—Geerkens told Spiegel the money had come from him, Wulff had explained the money came from his wife
—Geerkens also disagreed such reports
—origin of the money is of importance, because Wulff hadn't mentioned it when he was asked for a business relationship to Geerkens
—Spiegel reported that Geerkens formally used his wife to transfer the money, but he negotiated with Wulff
—Wulff said he never doubted the money didn't come from Edith
—the new information shocks the opposition
—the Council of Elders will consult whether Wulff violated the Minister Act
sentence structures
—average sentences length, but many subordinate clauses? mostly consecutive clauses (showing results/sequences of actions/events), but also relative and concessive clauses
—nominal style
—active voice
lexicalization
—official and legal vocabulary
—semantic field contradiction: in contrast to, on the other hand, whereas, contradicts,
—conjunctions (few): and, also, because
—adverbs/adjectives showing interpretation: increasingly, formally, great, important
—punctuation: double points to show connections and causality, hyphens to separate parts of the sentence, full stops after short sentences to create a pause

b. Content-related structuring
frames
—conflict frame, moral frame, responsibility frame
intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
—the whole text gives background knowledge on how the affair was revealed- and that it was rather a coincidence/by-product
presuppositions
—
emphais
—no emphasis through typography
—one hyphen in the lede creates a pause and emphasizes Wulff's contradiction

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies
sources
—media reports (B)
—Wulff (B)
presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict

-the inconsistencies and contradictions between Wulff and Geerkens are displayed, emphasized by performative verbs

relationships of the different parties of the conflict

-contradictory statements from the different parties

speech and communicative acts

-Wulff claimed, assured, communicated, emphasized, sticks with his explanation

-Geerkens contradicts, communicated, explained

-the green party suspects

sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists

-the author doesn't take sides neither with the other media organization, nor with Geerkens (what BZ did at this stage)

expression of the journalist's own opinion

-the author of the text doesn't take sides about who might be right/wrong or lying/speaking the truth (BZ in comparison took side for Geerkens, he was presented more positively than Wulff)

-there is a negative undertone that Wulff doesn't speak the truth or only says half the truth

d. other remarks

-the vocabulary and structure of the text both underline the contradictions that are the topic of the text ? the sources Wulff and Geerkens take turn in speaking and each time they contradict to what had been said before ? resembles a dispute/conversation that never took place in such a way (emphasized by the choice of performative verbs)

-some of Geerkens quotes are taken from Spiegel and contradict later statements ? it's unclear whether he lied/Spiegel lied etc..

Zu Gast bei Freunden (A time to make friends) 18.12.2011

a. Formal structuring

structure of argumentation

-Wulff admitted more private holidays at friends residences which caused the opposition to increase their criticism

-Wulff tries to perform relaxed, but his behaviour shows his worries ? at a Christmas party at his residence he left the party after a few minutes without telling any reasons

-many say Wulff remained silent too long and reacted too slow

-the opposition increases their criticism as some demand he should tell the whole truth

-the green party wants to discuss whether he violated the Minister Act, but Wulff's advocates deny this

-financial and legal experts contradict Wulff's statements, claiming to not having violated the Minister Act and having received an average interest rate

-the question remains open whether Geerkens received any kind of advantage from the deal

-he spent six holidays with his friends at their residences

-at a media event, Wulff said it should be differentiated between real and artificial events

sentence structures

-average sentences length

-several subordinate clauses ? mostly temporal clauses (emphasizing Wulff's slow reactions), but also relative, causal, modal and concessive clauses

-nominal style

-active voice

lexicalization

-semantic field contradiction: in contrast to, whereas, denies

-conjunctions (few): and, also, because

-rhetoric devices: generalization (many say, over and over he was criticized), contrast (it is recognizable less in his words, but more in his behaviour), personification (the opposition), alliteration (three sentences in a
row begin with “when ... happened, Wulff did ...” ? repetitive behaviour patterns), metaphor (den ersten Skandal bescheren (bring in the first scandal), neues Ungemach steht bevor (new adversity is ahead), intensify the attacks)
–adverbs/adjectives showing interpretation: almost defiantly, calm, surprisingly, too long, insistently, cautiously, angeschlagen (fragile), delicate
–punctuation: double points to show connections and causality, hyphens to separate parts of the sentence, full stops after short sentences to create a pause

b. Content-related structuring
frames
–conflict frame, responsibility frame, economic consequence frame
intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
–some detailed descriptions of Wulf's behaviour ? provide background of the scenery
presuppositions
–
emphas
us
–no emphasis through typography
–two hyphens to separate parts of the sentence

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies
sources
–Wulff (B)
–Wulff (B)
–Wulff (B)
–Wulff (B)
–opposition politicians (4 quotes) (M)
–Wulff's advocates (M)
–expert (M)
–Wulff (M)
–expert (wto quotes) (E)
–Wulff (two quotes) (E)
–two unattributed sources: many say, over and over he was criticized ? generalizations
presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
–opposition parties and experts harshly criticize Wulff ? attacking and the clay/criticism has intensified
–Wulff either pretends as nothing happened, doesn't comment or justifies his actions ? belated reactions
relationships of the different parties of the conflict
–the opposition and experts criticize and attack Wulff ? criticism is increasing
–Wulff admits parts, but keeps defending himself or remains silent ? this increases the criticism on him
speech and communicative acts
–Wulff/his advocates communicates, dictates, remained silent, referred to, deny, explain, agreed upon, admits, distribute, confirms
–the opposition intensifies their criticism, demand, increase the pressure, ask additional questions
sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
–the author takes side with the opposing parties of the conflict ? against Wulff
expression of the journalist's own opinion
– no politician from Wulff's party (no one who takes his side) is mentioned ? negative/critical light on Wulff
d. other remarks
–BZ describes the same scenery at a Christmas party in Schloss Bellevue ? SZ clearly admits that it wasn't there and took descriptions from others
–although there are few adverbs and adjectives showing opinion (compared to the length of the text), the choice of performative verbs and the quotes show the opinion of the journalist and also their relations to each other

Gefährlicher Glamour (Dangerous Glamour) 19.12.2011

a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
–The Wulffs live a glamorous life as no other president before, but it raises concerns whether it threatens the office of the presidency
–the Wulffs just came back from a romantic night in the Arabian desert on one of their visits ? the tabloids all
reported about it
− it was expected from the Wulffs to present a distinguished couple than their predecessors
− a week after their return, no glamour is left? revelation of the private loan
− the opposition was at first patient with Wulff, now there is more criticism
− his own party stands behind him, as there is a lot of dispute in the government? power political calculations
− but they also see raising concerns with Wulff
− the Wulffs achieved a status what other countries have with their royal families
− the shady side of this glamour is the danger that the necessary distance to celebrities and rich people gets lost
− although not openly accused, Wulff's wife is being made responsible for his attachment to the rich
− Wulff says he knows what he does and he can handle it

sentence structures
− both very short, even elliptic sentences, and long, complex structures with several subordinate clauses
− several subordinate clauses? mostly temporal clauses (showing how the attitude towards Wulff has changed), but also relative, causal, modal and concessive clauses
− nominal style
− mostly active voice

lexicalization
− semantic field danger: growing concerns, endanger, growing doubts, the shady sides of it, accusations
− semantic field glamour/romance: almost as a tale from a thousand and one nights; beautiful pictures; very happy; perfect; a young, dynamic, beautiful couple; a sort of royal couple; with the Wulffs, Germany finally has what other countries inherit with their royalty; that presented itself from a bright side, a triumphal success
− several conjunctions/sentence connectors (compared to other SZ texts): and, also, but, meanwhile, nevertheless, although, not yet, when, as? 6 times “and” as sentence opener
− rhetoric devices: parallelism (half mockingly, half favourably; this sounds... this doesn't sound...), superlative (as no one before, completely in order, perfect), antithesis (not a king, but a sort of royal couple), personification (the opposition), alliteration (Gefährlicher Glamour (dangerous glamour), bestes Beispiel (best example)), metaphor (garniert mit (embellished with), Respekt zollen (offer respect), immerse in a world of glamour, Bauchschmerzen auslösen (cause worries), betuchte Freunde (wellheeled friends), einen kritischeren Kurs einschlagen (set a more critical course)), anaphora (A week ago, the world was still in order for Christian and Bettina Wulff. It was completely in order. This world was almost...; And.... And...; She had talked...And it was also her...; After Wulff's statement...After Geerkens contradictory statement...), ellipsis (And namely literal)
− modality (speculative): usage of modal verbs and subjunctive? speculation about how
− adverbs showing interpretation: however, completely, very, finally, really, considerably, even, namely, everlastingly, at least
− punctuation: double points to show connections and causality, hyphens to separate parts of the sentence, full stops after short sentences to create a pause, expression of opinion in brackets

b. Content-related structuring

frames
− conflict frame, responsibility frame, moral frame, glamour frame, accusation frame
− intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
− the text provides background knowledge on the political structure and what influences the attitude of politicians towards Wulff? power political calculations
− presupposition
− the text presupposes knowledge about German media outlets and whether these are quality papers or tabloids
− the text attributes certain characteristics to royal families of other countries that are implied to the Wulffs in this text? some of these characteristics are displayed, other not

emphasis
− no emphasis through typography, but some short sentences and hyphens highlight certain aspects
− the building up of tension (climax) at some points emphasizes aspects

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies

sources
− “Prince Charles of German politics”? unattributed quote (B)
− opposition politicians (3 quotes) (M)
− media organizations (3 quotes) (E)
− Wulff (E)
− very few sources and a lot of unattributed information

presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
—the conflict takes place between many different parties (Wulff, his wife, the opposition, his own party and the media (particularly the tabloids))
relationships of the different parties of the conflict
—complex relationships between different parties, that depend on each other? the dependency explains the extent of criticism for each other
—Wulff's actions in this text almost seem as pulled out? he acts without thinking about the consequences of his speech and communicative acts
—Wulff explained
sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
—the author is a rather outside observer, that doesn't belong to any group (distinction to tabloid media), but he comments (in some cases with irony) on the different groups? provides background knowledge on their motivation
expression of the journalist's own opinion
—some politicians are jealous of the Wulffs lives
—Bettina Wulff is mainly responsible for the situation her husband finds himself in

d. other remarks
—long text and some complicated structures and sophisticated wording
—the text is a comparison of how the tone/attitudes towards Wulff changed during time, supported by temporal clauses and sentence connectors/conjunctions such as after, when etc.
—the text shows the tow sides of the glamorous life of the Wulffs? the extensive usage of words connected with either glamour or danger emphasize this
—the text builds up a klimax? the romantic trip of the Wulffs until the affair caught them
—Wulff's wife Bettina is openly accused of being responsible for Wulff's mishaps? he is also described as responsible for the difficulties he finds himself in, but she is presented as the origin of it (opposite to BZ coverage, where Bettina used to be presented in a very positive light)
—very few sources and a lot of unattributed information

What the files of the President reveal 19.12.2011

a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
—the President presents a file with all the documents connected to his private loan, but the author claims that the unanswered
—there are just a few documents at Wulff's lawyers, but many journalists came to see them
—journalists can only make handwritten copies of the documents, no photos? irony
—most parts are already known, the still open questions won't be answered with the help of data
—the contract is only one sheet of paper (with a spelling mistake) and it is in line with Wulff's statements (Edith is the creditor, Egon isn't mentioned at all; Wulff received an anonymous cheque and the money was transferred to Edith's account)
—the question whether Edith or Egon granted the loan is decisive
—in the entry of the land registry Edith isn't mentioned at all
—Merkel backs Wulff
—but others now discuss his private holidays which cause even more criticism
—other aspects surrounding Wulff are also under investigation
sentence structures
—both short sentences, and long, complex structures with several subordinate clauses
—several subordinate clauses? temporal, relative, causal, modal and concessive clauses
—nominal style
—active and passive voice
lexicalization
—thematic vocabulary paper: files, dossier, a sheet of paper, documents, data, page 4291, handwritten, copy, list, chapters
—conjunctions/sentence connectors (few): also, but, and
—rhetoric devices: metaphor (can't resolve all doubts, looking for traces, alles auf den Prüfstand stellen (examine everything)), irony (these are the rules of the game; a lovely trainee sits in between the journalists and watches them carefully; journalists are searching for further great contradictions in this affair full of little contradictions; Darlehn (with a spelling mistake)), anaphora (searching for further great contradictions in this affair full of little contradictions; It's not a lot of paper), personification (Im Zentrum steht der Vertrag (the contract is in the centre))
—modality/speculation: it seems, there will be? use of future tense several times
--adverbs/adjectives showing interpretation: informative, almost, completely, lovely, carefully, indeed, actually, hardly, relaxed, easily, bizarre, hairsplitting, apparently, finally
--punctuation: double points to show connections and causality, hyphens to separate parts of the sentence, full stops after short sentences to create a pause

b. Content-related structuring
frames
--conflict frame, responsibility frame, moral frame
intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
--very detailed description of the situation at Wulff's lawyers and what is actually stated in the documents
presupposition
--unanswered questions and mysteries are mentioned (plural), but only one questions is asked ? the author seems to presume that the reader knows what he means
emphasis
--no emphasis through typography, but the usage of irony in this text brings out the main points

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies
sources
--extracts from Wulff's private contract with Edith Geerkens (M)
--Merkel (M)
--opposition politicians (2 quotes) (E)
presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
--the journalists try to scrutinize Wulff
--Wulff can't do anything against the scrutiny, but he can limit the media power (only offering a selection of documents and preventing them from taking photos or copies)
--opposition politicians are either angry or make fun of him
relationships of the different parties of the conflict
--Wulff hides away, but this causes him even more trouble
--the journalists don't give up and aim to explore the whole truth
--opposition politicians are either angry or make fun of him
speech and communicative acts
--Wulff had admitted
--Andrea Nahles (SPD) makes fun about him
--Johanne Modder (SPD) suspects
--few quotes, a lot of observation from the journalist
sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
--the author describes the situation at Wulff's lawyers very detailed, but only in passive voice or using “one” as the subject ? this creates a distance to the other journalists (although it's clear that he's a part of them) ? outside observer
expression of the journalist's own opinion
--especially the use of irony (see above) shows the opinion of the author
--the future predictions are also an indicator of the journalist's opinion

d. Other remarks
--the headline is an allusion to Wulff's affair and all the meaningless details that don't mean anything
--the headline is also in contrast to the rest of the text, in which the author concludes that the files don't reveal a lot
--the text starts with the conclusion (the documents can't answer the open questions)
--the author mentions open questions and mysteries, but only states one question (whether Edith or Egon granted the loan)
--the text is full of ironic elements: all journalists go to Wulff's lawyers without expecting to find something new; there is no excitement at the office, but a trainee has to sit in between the journalists and watch them that they don't photograph the documents; the few documents are all in a big folder, divided in different chapters ? would have fit in a small loose-leaf binder ? the overall question is whether the insight in all those documents make any sense as don't reveal anything
--the author makes several predictions about the future ? more than mere speculations

Wulffs Wahrheits-Wurstelei 20.12.2011

a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
− Wulff only discloses what he can't deny anymore
− he once said that honesty can be painful, but it's obviously too painful for him, although he could have anticipated that his affair would come to light one day
− his piecemeal tactics surprise as he could have solved the problem earlier and more easily, but he wanted to remain painless
− his affair only became an affair because of his disarraying of the truth
− if Wulff doesn't hide any more scandals, his office will survive it, but he has lost credibility
− honesty is very painful for him now
− he was also asked in the past about Schröder's moral behaviour and said “morality can only be directed in a limited way” ? Wulff is right on that point

sentence structures
− both very short and elliptic sentences and long, complex structures with several subordinate clauses
− subordinate clauses ? temporal, relative, causal, modal and concessive clauses
− nominal style
− active and passive voice

lexicalization
− thematic vocabulary pain: hurt, the degree of pain, painful, sensibility to pain, painless
− thematic vocabulary truth: he can no longer deny, violation of, honesty, untruth, cover-up, making a clean sweep, the whole truth
− conjunctions/sentence connectors: also, but, and, instead, soon afterwards, now, as, because ? a number of sentences begin with "and" ? the full stop before interrupt the flow of the sentence and thus create a pause
− rhetorical devices: metaphor (haarscharf an der Wahrheit vorbei (pass the truth by a hair's breadth), the degree of pain, reinen Tisch machen (making a clean sweep), durchsickern (leak), hinter ihm stehen (backs him), ein Wink an Wulff (gives a hint to Wulff), sich in Demut überrn (practices humility), öffentlich zur Seite springen (back him publicly), ramponiert überstehen (survive battered), behind closed doors, den Worst Case mit Schaudern durchspielen (run through the Worst Case with horror), uncoil his program, comment in evasive sentences (sich in gewundenen Sätzen äußern), the full stop before interrupt the flow of the sentence and thus create a pause
− rhetorick devices: metaphor (haarscharf an der Wahrheit vorbei (pass the truth by a hair's breadth), the degree of pain, reinen Tisch machen (making a clean sweep), durchsickern (leak), hinter ihm stehen (backs him), ein Wink an Wulff (gives a hint to Wulff), sich in Demut überrn (practices humility), öffentlich zur Seite springen (back him publicly), ramponiert überstehen (survive battered), behind closed doors, den Worst Case mit Schaudern durchspielen (run through the Worst Case with horror), uncoil his program, comment in evasive sentences (sich in gewundenen Sätzen äußern), the full stop before interrupt the flow of the sentence and thus create a pause
− conjonctions/sentence connectors: also, but, and, instead, soon afterwards, now, as, because ? a number of sentences begin with "and" ? the full stop before interrupt the flow of the sentence and thus create a pause
− adverbs/jectives showing interpretation: by a hair's breadth, in particular, entirely, instead, you can safely call it, possibly, eventually, clear, an explosive story, significantly question Wulff's statements, hurriedly, particularly few, even,
− modality: es dürfte ihm so weh tun (it probably hurts the most), he could have made a clean swept
− verbs describing Wulff's actions: admits, he can no longer deny, forced to speak the truth, admitting bit by bit, ignore, gloss over, sit out, assures, explains, confirms, contradicts, insists, uncoils his program, went on the offensive, hopes, keeps secret, practices humility
− punctuation: many double points to show connections and causality, hyphens to separate parts of the sentence, full stops after short sentences to create a pause

b. Content-related structuring frames
− conflict frame, responsibility frame, moral frame, accusation frame
− interpretative references and provision of background knowledge
− background information on journalists how they got wind of Wulff's wrong-doing and how it was uncovered ? reconstruction of what happened when presupposition
− moral views underlie this text ? how one should behave and how not ? this is expressed with words that either have a positive or negative connotation
− emphasis
− no emphasis through typography, but the usage of irony in this text brings out the main points
− several arguments and sentences are repeated literally or in similar words ? highlighting of those aspects

CIII
c. Structuring of identities and ideologies

**sources**
- few sources compared to the length of the text and several cases of unattributed information
- several times only a single word is quoted? out of context??
- Wulff (B)
- extract from a law suit (M)
- Wulff's spokesman (M)
- Egon Geerkens (M)
- Merkel's spokesman (M)
- Wulff (M)
- Egon Geerkens (2 quotes) (M)
- coalition politician (M)
- expert (M)
- Wulff (E)
- BZ (E)
- coalition politician (E)
- Wulff (E)
- own party politician (E)
- opposition politicians (2 quotes) (E)
- own party politician (E)
- Wulff (2 quotes) (E)

**presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict**
- Wulff only does what is expected from him when he's forced to? he acts defensively almost all the time and only reacts
- opposition politicians increase their criticism towards Wulff and express their doubts of Wulff being a credible representative of the country
- politicians of his own party had long time waited until they backed him
- as Wulff doesn't say the whole truth by himself, the journalists have to dig deep relationships of the different parties of the conflict
- his own party doesn't fully support Wulff? only after hints of Merkel
- the opposition raise their criticism
- the journalists fulfil their task of scrutinizing the government

**speech and communicative acts**
- Wulff: admits, admitting bit by bit, ignore, gloss over, sit out, assures, explains, confirms, contradicts, insists, uncoils his program, went on the offensive, hopes, keeps secret, practices humility
- opposition politicians: murmur, speak behind closed doors, doubts, accuses
- coalition/same party politicians: assure, repeat, show their solidarity with Wulff

**sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists**
- the journalists counts himself to the group of journalists, that disclose Wulff's affairs and force him to speak the truth

**expression of the journalist's own opinion**
- a lot of personal opinion in the text, e.g. "in a manner that you can safely call covering up"
- many adverbs, adjective and rhetoric devices show the journalist attitude towards Wulff? incomprehensible behaviour that led to a loss of credibility

**d. other remarks**
- the sometimes very short answers allude to Wulff's piecemeal tactic? not giving any more information than necessary
- the verbs used to describe Wulff's actions can be divided in verbs with either a negative or positive connotation. Strikingly, Wulff only acts in a 'positive way' (according to the journalist) when he is forced
- in some parts the author uses a very elaborate language, in other parts rather colloquial? contrast
- the whole text builds up on Wulff's quote “Honesty can be painful” ? the use of the word pain and other connected words show that Wulff didn't want pain/be honest earlier his career and how damaging the author perceives the affair for Wulff's reputation
- the text reconstructs what had happened so far in Wulff's affair in a chronological way? the concentration/enumeration of these facts underline his strange dealing with this personal crisis which results in, according to the journalist, a loss of credibility
- the use of adverbs, adjectives, rhetoric devices and elliptic sentences when describing Wulff's reactions are like comments
- the text points out which media organization revealed what (compared to BZ where everything seemed to be based on BZ's investigations)
- moral views underlie this text? how one should behave and how not? this is expressed with words that
either have a positive or negative connotation
– the beginning and end use quotes from Wulff he said several years ago ? Wulff is presented as disloyal to his own principles ? journalist defeats him with his own arguments

Maschmeyer financed the advertisement for Wulff’s book 20.12.2011

a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
– his relation to rich entrepreneurs gets Wulff even more in trouble, as a Maschmeyer paid advertisements for his book
– Wulff claims he didn't know about it
– Maschmeyer confirmed to have paid for it, but didn't inform Wulff
– shortly after the advertisement campaign, Wulff spent his holidays at Maschmeyer's residence
– the federal government of Lower Saxony will investigate whether Wulff violate the Minister Act and also check his relationships to his rich friends
– Wulff offered a list of where he spent his holidays
– a friend from Norderney said she never tried to benefit from his position
– a tax expert said the holidays were presents/donations on which he should have paid taxes
– opposition politicians increase their criticism
– Merkel, a coalition politician and a Muslim continue supporting him
– a poll amongst citizens has shown that most people don't want Wulff to resign, but he shouldn't have taken the private loan
sentence structures
– neither short nor very long sentences
– no ellipsis
– some sentences with subordinate clauses ? final, relative and concessive clauses
– nominal style
– mostly active, few sentences with passive voice
lexicalization
– few adjectives, adverbs etc ? rather neutral news language
– conjunctions/sentence connectors: also, later, however, and, at the same time, yet
– rhetoric devices: alliteration (private and political life, wichtiges Wahlwerbemittel (important mean of advertisement)), parallelism (klar und deutlich (explicitly), metaphor (seine Verbindung zu anderen Geschäftsleuten durchleuchten (investigate his relationship to other business men), in Schutz nehmen (came to his defence), sich bei ihm eingemietet hat (he took lodging with him), Rückendeckung bekommen (get backing))
– modality: will nichts davon gewusst haben (alleged to not have known anything)
– adverbs/adjctives showing interpretation: not at all, explicitly, merely
– punctuation: double points to show causality and to introduce quotes

b. Content-related structuring
frames
– conflict frame, responsibility frame, moral frame
intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
– background knowledge about some of his rich entrepreneur friends
– several references to other media texts, especially BZ
presupposition
– emphasis
– no emphasis through typography

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies
sources
– Maschmeyer (B)
– Maschmeyer in BZ (B)
– BZ reports
– Wulff's friend on Norderney (2 quotes) (M)
– tax expert (2 quotes) (M)
– opposition politician (3 quotes) (M)
– own party's politician (M)
– coalition politician (E)
– Muslim expert (E)
– opinion poll amongst citizens (E)
– the negative voices come first and the opinion of the citizens only come at the very end
presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
– Wulff doesn't get to speak in this text? reactive, passive
– the opposition criticizes Wulff more strongly
– his own party and coalition back him
– the population doesn't appreciate his behaviour, but doesn't want him to resign
relationships of the different parties of the conflict
– the criticizing parties speak first in the text? more important
speech and communicative acts
– Maschmeyer confirmed
– his friend from Norderney denied, described
– the green party accuses
– Wulff's supporters express their support, back him, demand, appeal to a careful handling
sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
– the author quotes three different media organizations? he thus perceives them as reliable? he as part of
the press
expression of the journalist's own opinion
– see sources in particular

d. other remarks
– ideologies are most strikingly recognizable with the use of sources? the author first mentions critical
official voices and experts, secondly positive/supporting official voices and experts and lastly the opinion of
citizens? citizens count the least


a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
– after an introduction into the topic, the text asks and answers four question connected to Maschmeyer's
payment, the text ends with a conclusion
– the publishing company of Wulff's book declared Maschmeyer's advertising campaign as normal, other
publishers called it crazy
– the book isn't a best-seller on amazon
– the book was written to raise Wulff's popularity, three years later it intensifies the criticism about him
– Maschmeyer confirmed the process, whereas an expert called it dubious
– it seems weird that Wulff didn't know about Maschmeyer's payment, as they are good friends
– last week it became known that Wulff had borrowed 500,000 Euros from a friend, although he had denied
a business relationship to him
– to create transparency, Wulff showed where he spent his holidays
– Maschmeyer is also on that list and he supports politicians from Lower Saxony (Schröder before he
supported Wulff)
– For Schröder it doesn't matter, but Wulff's office is equivalent to credibility
– Maschmeyer's support raises questions as other publishers deny such campaigns (they speak with their
authors first) but it can't be judged as an interference into the campaign
– the question why Maschmeyer only paid after the reelection remains unclear
– the author said he didn't know about the advertisement campaign, but there is no evidence that he speaks
the truth
– Wulff's crisis management follows the same rules as he only admits what is legally allowed and only bit by
bit ( e.g. that he didn't know about Egon Geerkens being involved in the loan contract), but the question is
whether such a strategy makes the situation for him any better
– Merkel had supported Wulff so far, but she won't like the new accusations
– Wulff said in his book he could be without politics, maybe this will put to the test soon

sentence structures
– both very short and elliptic sentences (Wulff's book is introduced in form of a profile? category, double
points, answer) and longer, complex structures with several subordinate clauses
– subordinate clauses? mostly concessive clauses, but also temporal, relative, causal clauses
– four questions that are answered within the text and two more rhetoric questions that remain unanswered)
– nominal style
– active and passive voice
lexicalization
− conjunctions/sentence connectors: anyway, and, also, however, lately, besides, meanwhile
− rhetoric devices: irony (einen gebrauchten Christian Wulff gibt es schon ab 2,49 € sein Buch (one can already get a used Christian Wulff for 2,49 € his book), Für Wulff wird der Buchtitel zum Bumerang (For Wulff, his book's title becomes a boomerang)), metaphor (ergeben ein anderes Bild (result in a different picture), ein Dauerbrenner ist das Werk nicht gerade (the book isn't really a hit), aus seiner Privatschatulle (from his private purse), Wulff hatte sich das Geld über Umwege geliehen (he had borrowed the money through retours), ein Faible haben für (have a penchant for), ein Amt bekleiden (hold an office), hinter vorgehaltener hand (behind closed doors), so dass kein Geschmäckle entsteht (so that there's no bad aftertaste), zur Last fallen (become a burden), ausblenden (eliminate), im Alteingang (all on his own), reinen Tisch machen (making a clean sweep), auf die Probe stellen (put to the test)), ellipsis (224 pages, hardcover, published in 2007 by Hoffmann und Campe...), rhetoric questions (Does it improve matters for Wulff? Shouldn't he have slowed down his friend?)
− modality: will nichts von dem Deal gewusst haben (alleged to not have known anything about the deal)
− adjectives/adverbs showing interpretation: not really, controversial, it is surprising, they have an excellent relations hip, intimate friendship, anyway, somewhat, painful questions, by no means, apparently, normally, consequently, it's unclear, just as little, it's problematic, only, even, besides, actually
− punctuation: several hyphens and full stops after short sentences interrupt the flow of the text ? emphasis, double points indicate causality, in some cases only a single word/few words are set in quotations marks ? highlighting with often an ironic undertone

b. Content-related structuring
frames
− responsibility frame, moral frame, economic consequences frame, moral frame, accusation frame
intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
− several other media organizations are quoted, such as publishing companies
presupposition
− Wulff's office is connected to credibility, so he shouldn't behave in such a way ? moral claim to honesty and credibility
− Wulff claims he didn't know about the campaign paid by Maschmeyer, but the whole text tells the opposite ? it's unlikely that he didn't know about it
− it is said the “book affair” isn’t relevant for Wulff's career, but still the whole text deals with it ? it's important and relevant according to the journalists
emphasis
− no emphasis through typography, but the usage of irony, hyphens and inserted information highlights a number of aspects

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies
sources
− choice of sources ? in terms of the publishers only contradictory voices
− Wulff's publisher (B)
− BZ report (B)
− political expert (B)
− Maschmeyer (B)
− other media report (M)
− Wulf's publisher (M)
− other media report (M)
− other publisher (3 quotes ) (M)
− political expert (2 quotes ) (M)
− BZ report (2 quotes ) (M)
− other publisher (M)
− other media report (E)
− quote from Wulf's book (E)
− “However, one could hear in Berlin...” ? unattributed information
presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
− there is no real opponent to Wulff in this text (no criticism from the opposition)
− experts and publishers contradict him, but they don't attack or address him
− the media have a great deal of interest in attacking Wulff
relationships of the different parties of the conflict
− as there are no real conflicting parties, they don't really have a relationship either; it's rather the media as attackers
speech and communicative acts
Maschmeyer emphasizes sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists—part of the media landscape that fight against corruption by scrutinizing those in power expression of the journalist's own opinion—see irony, adverbs, other comments

d. other remarks
– the authors of the text didn't get to speak to the persons they wanted to (Wulff, Maschmeyer and Wulff's publishers), so they had to get their information from somewhere else? only sources that doubt or contradict Wulff etc.
– the final two sentences are an indirect claim to Wulff to resign
– the media adviser Michael Spreng seems to be a favourite source of SZ? has been quoted in several texts already
– it is said the "book affair" isn't relevant for Wulff's career, but still the whole text deals with it? it's important and relevant according to the journalists

Council of Elders cancels the meeting 20.12.2011

a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
– the meeting of the Council of Elders in Hanover was cancelled after 15 minutes, because the government and opposition couldn't agree
– the opposition blamed the government that they didn't want clarification, the government blamed the opposition for abusing the authority of the Council for something it isn't authorized to do
– the two parties are now struggling to find the right method to bring light to the affair
– according to the Minister Act, Ministers aren't allowed to accept presents or benefits relating to their office (in Wulff's case holidays at friends residences and a private loan with a low interest rate)
– all parties want to show respect to the office of the President
– the opposition wants to avoid to found an investigation committee or going to the superior court, the government recommended either one
– at the same time, several charges were laid against Wulff, connected to the accusations against him
– a cardinal said if he was Wulff, he would resign, but he couldn't judged whether the accusations were right sentence structures
– neither short nor very long sentences
– no ellipsis
– some sentences with subordinate clauses? temporal, relative, conditional and concessive clauses
– nominal style
– active voice
lexicalization
– few adjectives, adverbs etc., rather neutral news language: possibly, already, indirectly
conjunctions/sentence connectors: meanwhile, in the meantime, similarly, now, whether, if, however
– punctuation: double points to show causality and to introduce quotes, four hyphens to insert additional information or to create a pause
– the text is structured as a discussion? exchange of arguments? the sentence connectors support the structure
–

b. Content-related structuring
frames
– conflict frame, accusation frame
intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
– background knowledge about the federal government in Lower Saxony
presupposition
– it is presupposed that the reader knows what the tasks of the Council of Elders are
emphasis
–no emphasis through typography

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies
sources
– SPD (opposition)
– CDU (government)
– SPD (opposition)
CDU (government)
Green party (opposition)
left party (opposition)
FDP (government coalition)
spokesman of the prosecution
cardinal Meisner

presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
- the text is about Wulff, but he isn't active at all? the conflict takes part between the governing and the opposition parties
- the two parties are of contrasting opinions and strongly criticize each other
relationships of the different parties of the conflict
- opposition and government both criticize each other, but the opposition speaks more often and earlier than its counterpart

speech and communicative acts
- opposition and government both accuse each other
- CDU politician contradicts, had recommended
- opposition politician emphasizes, stresses, didn't give in
- the cardinal suggested, added

sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
- the authors always mentions first the opinion of the opposition? most likely he agrees more with them
expression of the journalist's own opinion
- author sympathises with the opposition

d. other remarks
- "The opposition refers to a destructive attitude, the black-yellow government to an abuse of an authority"? this is the first sentence of the text and it refers to the Council of Elders? without further reading one could also understand it as referring to Wulff and his Presidency
- the text consists of very little own text of the writer? direct quotes or indirect speech

2nd period: February 10 to 18, 2011

The President in Italy “How could it get that far?” 15.02.2012

a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
- Christian Wulff and his wife are on a state visit to Italy
- but even abroad the affair follows them as a group of journalists accompanies them
- Wulff announced in the plane already he wouldn't answer to domestic political questions
- the Italian President welcomes Wulff and after a private talk they answer the questions of the journalists
- no one dares to ask about his affair, but one journalist asks a tricky question about corruption
- Wulff gives a short and general answer and his Italian counterpart comes to his defence
- the economically strong Germany here needs support from suffering Italy? a controversial situation
- controversial is also that the Germans spend so much time and energy on discussing Wulff's problems
- the next day he speaks in front of students about the Eurocrisis, but it reminds the author of Wulff's affairs
- at least the Wulffs don't shy away from meeting their enemies, the journalists

sentence structures
- average length and longer sentences (quite a number of sentences are an enumeration of object or attribute clauses, giving additional information)
- no ellipsis
- many sentences with subordinate clauses, mostly relative and object clauses
- nominal and verbal style
- mostly active voice

lexicalization
- rhetoric devices: metaphor (ein Lächeln umspielt ihre Lippen (a smile played around her lips), Zahnpasta-Lachen (smile as you see it in toothpaste advertisements), Lachen auf Knopfdruck an- oder ausschalten (a smile that they seem to turn on or off on demand), das Schauspiel trägt Züge einer Groteske (The spectacle has traits of a grotesque), nun ist es Napolitano der den Schutzschirm über Wulff aufspannt (now it's Napolitano who puts up a protective screen above Wulff), sich das Maul zerreifen (badmouth), unter die Arme greifen (help out), in den Hinterköpfen vieler Bürger (in the minds of many citizens)), anaphora (kleinkriegen (break them), Feigheit vor dem Feind (cowardice before the enemy), immer noch jungenhaft
wirkende Mann mit seiner noch ein bisschen jüngeren Frau, dem immer noch keine... (the still boyish seemingly man with his even younger wife that has not yet found...)), personification (die Affäre verfolgt ihn bis ins Ausland (the affair follows him even abroad)), idiomatic expressions (keine Erklärungsnöte im klassischen Sinne (Wulff's loss for words isn't a loss in a traditional way)), colloquial expressions (Grüßonkel (benevolent uncle), Depp vom Dienst (idiot on duty), Protagonisten vom Sabbel-Fernsehen (protagonist from the babble TV)), contrast (A state whose problems are so small that the small problems of its President appear really big in comparison, es ist eine verkehrte Welt (it's a topsy-turvy world)), repetition (put up a protective screen above Wulff, a screen of integrity, aura and a perfect reputation), generalizations (her smile says you're not going to break us, nobody dares to ask him, some readers think about Sylt) – sentence connectors/conjunctions: now, however, just in this moment, little time later, then, but, and –adjectives/adverbs showing interpretation: not really, combatively, infamous, never-ending, her rather knowingly somehow aggressive seeming smile, rather poor, driven by his physical needs, thoroughly decent, honourable, worthy, successfully mastered, perfect, chronically broken, interestingly, at least, expressionless – punctuation: one hyphen, quite a number of short quotes that are integrated into the sentence 

b. Content-related structuring

frames
– conflict frame, political loser, responsibility frame

intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
– information on some sights in Italy

presupposition
– emphasis
– “you are not going to break us” ? just a single word is emphasized ? you = the journalists?

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies

sources
– Wulff (M)
– Wulff (M)
– Italian President (M)
– journalist (M)
– Wulff and Italian President (M)
– Wulff (E)
– journalist (E)
– Wulff (E)

presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
– Wulff's enemy is named in this text: the journalists ? they attack the Wulffs with new information they found out about them
– the Wulffs are friendly and polite, but they show an aggressive smile (they don't want to be pushed out of office)

relationships of the different parties of the conflict
– the two Wulffs against a crowd of journalists backed by German citizens and politicians ? although they fight for not being broken, they even need to be defended by the Italian President
– the journalists try to get a reaction from him about his affairs whenever possible and to everything he says they draw a connection to his affair

speech and communicative acts
– Wulff says
– journalists ask

sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
– the author seems to have mixed views: on the one hand he is a part of the journalistic crowd and wants to ask questions about Wulff's affair, on the other hand he is annoyed that there are more important problems than the President's problems, but insufficient time is dedicated to these problems

expression of the journalist's own opinion
– the author expresses some anger/dissatisfaction that Wulff's 'little problems' are devoted such a lot of time and space although there are more important problems
– the author interprets Bettina Wulff's smile and even suggests what she is thinking

-d. other remarks
– BZ reports about the same event, but the interpretations are differently ? BZ presents Bettina Wulff in a very positive way (honest, sincere), SZ sees her smile as false
– a lot of opinion and interpretation in this text, especially about the attitude of the Wulffs and that too much time is dedicated to Wulff's affairs
rich in metaphors and other rhetoric devices
the journalist sees the Wulffs as good actors, as they are friendly, but they don't show any strong emotions or reactions

The prosecution wants to investigate Wulff 17.02.2012

a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
– it is an historical event that the public prosecution demanded to remove Wulff's immunity
– now the Bundestag has to decide whether there will be a criminal investigation
– his coalition didn't comment on it, whereas the opposition parties agrees to remove his immunity and demanded his stepping down
– Wulff had been in the media for weeks because of his private loan and his relationship to rich entrepreneurs
– the prosecution said the situation had changed because of new information
– the immunity of the President is determined in the German Constitution

sentence structures
– average length and longer sentences
– no ellipsis
– some sentences with subordinate clauses, (concessive, relative and object clauses)
– nominal style
– mostly active voice

lexicalization
– insecurity/speculation: apparently (3 times), probably
– semantic field uniqueness: historically unique event, for the first time, incomparably
– sentence connectors/conjunctions: now, and, firstly, nevertheless, however,
– adjectives/adverbs showing interpretation: apparently, probably, explicitly, considerably
– punctuation: double points to introduce quotes

b. Content-related structuring
frames
– conflict frame, responsibility frame

intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
– background knowledge on the immunity of the President and what it means (extract from the Constitution)

presupposition
– emphasis
– no emphasis through typography

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies

sources
– Wulff's coalition (2 quotes) (B)
– opposition politicians (4 quotes) (M)
– prosecution (3 quotes) (E)
– extract from the Constitution (E)

presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
– the journalist doesn’t take a side in this text
– the opposition urges Wulff to resign, his coalition doesn't want to comment to give Wulff the chance to react and the public prosecution tries to treat Wulff as any other citizen

relationships of the different parties of the conflict
– the opposition wants Wulff to step down as soon as possible, but they are not acting as aggressively as before
– his coalition is torn between respecting the head of state and seeing his wrong-doing

speech and communicative acts
– the opposition demanded, claimed, called for, made it clear
– the authority assured, explicitly pointed out
– it was said in the coalition? imprecise expression

sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
– the author doesn’t take a side here? impartial reporting

expression of the journalist's own opinion
- the journalist doesn’t show any strong opinions towards anyone? balanced and quite impartial
- some adverbs however show his perception of the events

d. other remarks
- classic news text with few rhetoric devices, but it includes some speculation/unconfirmed facts and the speech acts also show how the journalist perceived the statement
- pretty neutral and impartial reporting

Why Wulff has to worry about his gratuity 17.02.2012

a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
- the text is a Q&A, answering 'the most important' questions
- Does Wulff get the same remuneration as other Presidents when they resign? Presidents don’t have to worry about financial matters, but it’s not clear yet whether Wulff will get the same remuneration
- What will happen to Wulff? The prosecution will start the official investigation against him. If he will be accused, he can get up to three years in prison or a fine
- Who takes over the office of the President until a new one is elected? According to the constitution, the President of the Bundesrat takes over, Horst Seehofer in this case
- When does a new President have to be elected? Within 30 days. The Federal Assembly elects the President
- Who proposes the candidates? The parties can propose the candidates, but the candidates may be independent of the parties
- Which candidate has the best chances to win in the Federal Assembly? If the governing parties all agree on the same candidate, their candidate has a chance to win
- compared to a similar BZ text, SZ has fewer questions, but more elaborate answers

sentence structures
- some short and elliptic sentences in the beginning, the rest of the text contains average and longer sentences (maximum three subordinate clauses)
- several questions? especially in the beginning of the text several questions are lined up and not directly answered
- some information/subordinate clauses are inserted with hyphens
- numerous sentences with subordinate clauses (concessive, relative, final, temporal, local, conditional and object clauses)
- nominal style
- mostly active voice

lexicalization
- sentence connectors/conjunctions: and (several sentences begin with 'and'), after, whether, but, also, because, so, after all
- rhetoric devices: personification (Germany needs a new President), irony (whether Wulff is due to this "honour" remains under discussion with respect of the reasons for his resignation; whoever resigns because the prosecution wants to examine whether one had accepted all too often holidays free of charge and possibly granted benefits in return, resigns because of personal and not of political reasons), rhetorical question (What is going to happen now?)
- insecurity/speculation: probably, it’s still under discussion, could, presumably
- adjectives/adverbs showing interpretation: probably, normally, after all,
- punctuation: double points to introduce quotes or show casualty, hyphens to insert additional information

b. Content-related structuring
frames
- conflict frame, financial consequence frame

intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
- background information is given on legal procedures (what happens after the resignation of a President)? several quotes from the Constitution

presupposition
- SZ decided on the questions it asked and the order? the journalists make decisions on behalf of their readers what is important

emphasis
- the questions are all in bold (kind of subheadings)
c. Structuring of identities and ideologies

**sources**
- Constitution (2 quotes) (B)
- legal expert (2 quotes) (B)
- scientific service of the German Bundestag (2 quotes) (M)
- prosecution (M)
- Constitution (M)
- Constitution (3 quotes) (E)

**presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict**
- the journalist doesn't take a side in this text
- laws and regulations threaten Wulff's claims to remuneration

**relationships of the different parties of the conflict**
- Wulff isn't active in this text and the laws are as they are? Wulff in conflict with the law

**speech and communicative acts**
- sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
  - the journalist doesn't take a side and bases his information in numerous cases on laws and regulations
  - expression of the journalist's own opinion
  - in two cases, the journalist applies irony? disassociates from Wulff and his behaviour

**d. other remarks**
- the questions are properly answered
- rather impartial report, two cases of irony show the journalists opinion

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**Wulff's resignation- Reread the events of the day (part 1 before Wulff's resignation)**

**a. Formal structuring**

**structure of argumentation**
- a live blog of the day of Wulff's resignation, 13 entries before Wulff makes his statement at 11 am
- the opposition supports the removal of Wulff's immunity
- Wulff has three options of what he could do: resign, take leave or wait out the crisis
- nobody has openly said anything about Wulff's possible stepping down, but anonymous voices say so
- Wulff announced to make a statement at 11 am
- twitter users make fun of Wulff
- Merkel also announced a statement
- the opposition is already thinking about possible successors
- Wulff isn't only under investigation by the prosecution, but also by the tax authorities
- a news agency announced that Wulff would resign an hour before his official statement
- the coalition party welcomes Wulff's decision
- internet users make fun of Wulff
- other news agencies confirm what everyone assumes
- If Wulff resigns, a new President needs to be elected within 90 days

**sentence structures**
- some short and elliptic sentences, as well as average and longer sentences with subordinate clauses
- some information/subordinate clauses are inserted with hyphens (sometimes just a single word
- numerous sentences with subordinate clauses (consecutive, concessive, relative and object clauses)
- nominal style
- mostly active voice

**lexicalization**
- sentence connectors/conjunctions: however, and, after, also,
- rhetoric devices: neologism (Amigo-Kredit-Unterschriften-Bild-Bürgschafts-Affäre), metaphor (hinter vorgehaltener hand (behind closed doors), Gegenwind aus den eigenen Reihen (resistance from within his own ranks), Hängepartie (adjourned game), noch niemand hat sich aus der Deckung gewagt (nobody broke cover yet), die Kameras sind scharf gestellt (the cameras are focused)), anaphora (schnell und schmerzlos (short and sweet), Worte des Trotzes und der Reue (word of regret and defiance)), allusion (die Kohl Methode (the Kohl method ? former chancellor), rhetoric questions (Ist das der entscheidende Hinweis auf den baldigen Rücktritt? (Is this a key indication for Wulff's soon resignation?)), colloquial language (nach monatelangen Querelen (after month lasting quarrels), Retourkutsche (tit-for-tat response)), ellipsis (malice and ridicule for the President on twitter; The Kohl method; finally some words of regret and defiance)
- insecurity/speculation: behind closed doors, anonymous voices, a further hint, he could admit, the majority
would, unlikely, this seems almost impossible, his exercising of the office would be hardly possible, probably, possibly
– adjectives/adverbs showing interpretation: short and sweet, inevitably, not really that great, stressful, unlikely, impossible, hardly possible, probably, hopeful, as expected, focused, unsteady, unpleasant, essentially
– punctuation: double points to introduce quotes or show casualty, hyphens to insert additional information (in some cases just a single word (mostly an interpretative adverb) is set in hyphens), one question mark

b. Content-related structuring
frames
– conflict frame, moral frame, responsibility frame
intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
– reference to a variety of sources (twitter, news agencies, politicians and some unattributed/unconfirmed information)
premises
– some knowledge about the political system in Germany (e.g. who Kohl was and why it's called Kohl-Methode) and about the affair is required
emphasize
– every new entry in the liveblog has a headline in bold

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies
sources
– prosecution (B)
– opposition politicians (2 quotes) (B)
– Wulff (M)
– twitter users (2 quotes) (M)
– Merkel (M)
– opposition politicians (3 quotes) (M)
– news agency (M)
– opposition politicians (5 quotes) (E)
– twitter users (2 quotes) (E)
– news agencies (E)
– a huge variety of different quotes
presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
– Wulff is under attack from internet users and opposition politicians
– Wulff isn't yet active as he only announced to make a statement
relationships of the different parties of the conflict
– attacks but also curiosity what Wulff will do
– Wulff isn't active yet
speech and communicative acts
– Wulff invited, announced, declares
– twitter users tell corny jokes (kalauern)
– Merkel surrenders to the press
sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
– the majority of quotes are dislike Wulff ? the journalists agree that it's necessary that Wulff steps down
expression of the journalist's own opinion
– there are several ironic expressions within the liveblog and the choice of twitter messages are also ironic/sarcastic
– when the journalists run through different scenarios (what Wulff could still do), the most likely scenario gets most space and is mentioned first
–

–d. other remarks
– a lot of unconfirmed, unattributed information and even speculations, but it becomes always clear that the information is not yet confirmed or unattributed (not pretended to be facts as often found in BZ)
– apart from the three scenarios, the language of the journalists is pretty impartial

Wulff's resignation- Reread the events of the day (part 2)

a. Formal structuring
structure of argumentation
a live blog of the day of Wulff's resignation
- Wulff and his wife step in
- Wulff says that he lost confidence among the citizens and therefore resigns
- Bettina Wulff keeps a distance and smiles all the time
- Wulff says he never did anything illegal and the press coverage hurt him and his wife
- after praising his wife for representing a modern Germany, he leaves which is the end of being a President
- an opposition politician praises Wulff for his short resignation speech
- Merkel will hold a speech shortly afterwards, all journalists have to rush there
- Merkel reads a short statement and expresses her respect for Wulff
- she leaves without allowing any questions
- the German association of journalists complains about Wulff's criticism
- SZ asks the citizens to stem for a candidate on facebook
- foreign media report about Wulff's resignation
- other politicians make statements
- German carnivalists have to change their decoration again
- opposition politicians want a non-party candidate and many citizens want Gauck
- US media don't really care about German politics
- The Junge Union wants Stoiber for President
- FDP leader thanks Wulff
- the prosecution will start the investigations on Saturday
- as Wulff isn't immune anymore, the investigations will begin at midnight
- Wulff arrived at his home close to Hanover

sentence structures
- some short and elliptic sentences (especially during and after Wulff's and Merkel's statements ?
telegraphic style), as well as average and longer sentences with subordinate clauses
- some sentences with subordinate clauses (comparative, temporal, final, relative and object clauses)
- nominal and verbal style
- mostly active voice

lexicalization
- some sentence connectors/conjunctions: up to now, and, after, at least,
- rhetoric devices: ellipsis (Bettina Wulff beside her husband), irony (It's a difficult but necessary moment in
the great hall of Schloss Bellevue. Köhler resigned 2010 in the much smaller Langhans hall. It was a small,
surprising resignation. Wulff chooses the big resignation/in the front, the rules are explained. Most important
point: questions aren't allowed/(Wer wird der neue schwarz-gelb-rot-grün Einheitspräsident? (Who will be the
new black- yellow-red-green uniformity-President?)/Finally, there will be new slips (referring to Stoiber for
President)) metaphor (ein Seitenhieb auf die Journalisten (a side - wipe on the journalists), klar in Führung
gehen (clearly take the lead), Anschubhilfe für Merkel (helping hands for Merkel), Wulff als Hase auf der
Schlachtbank (Wulff as a rabbit on the slaughtering block), Wulff als lädierter Boxer (Wulff as a bruised
boxer), einen Kandidaten durch boxen (force through a candidate)), alliteration (warme Worte (warm
words)), allusion (some journalists are still out of breath; die Pressekarawane zieht weiter (the press caravan
is moving on) this is the head of the state speaking), rhetoric question (Wer wird der neue schwarz-gelb-rot-
grün Einheitspräsident? (Who will be the new black- yellow-red-green uniformity-President?) An allusion to
the desire to travel of the Ex-President?), neologism ((Wer wird der neue schwarz-gelb-rot-grün
Einheitspräsident? (Who will be the new black- yellow-red-green uniformity-President?), Gauck-Hype),
superlative (the most difficult speech of his career)
- adjectives/adverbs showing interpretation: finally, at least, actually, theoretically, apparently, unlikely, fast,
explicitly, harsh, praising, continuously smiling, most difficult, serious, necessary, surprising
- punctuation: double points to introduce quotes or show casualty, two question marks

b. Content-related structuring
frames
- conflict frame, responsibility frame, moral frame
intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
- reference to a variety of sources (twitter, facebook, news agencies, politicians etc.)
presupposition
- some knowledge of the German culture is required to understand for instance the entry about carnival,
what happened at the last Presidential elections (Gauck versus Wulff) or which colours the different political
parties have (black-yellow-red-green)
- two allusions to a song (Die Karawane zieht weiter ? Die Pressekarawane zieht weiter) and an expression
(Hier spricht der Kapitän ? Hier spricht das deutsche Staatsoberhaupt) ? cultural skills required to
understand emphasis


c. Structuring of identities and ideologies

sources
- Wulff (10 quotes) (B)
- opposition politician (B)
- Merkel (8 quotes) (B)
- German association of journalists (4 quotes) (M)
- facebook survey (M)
- foreign media (2 quotes) (M)
- politicians (6 quotes) (M)
- carnivalists (2 quotes) (M)
- opposition politician (M)
- Gauck-fans and opponents (4 quotes) (E)
- US media (3 quotes) (E)
- Junge Union (2 quotes) (E)
- coalition politician (2 quotes) (E)
- prosecution (3 quotes) (E)

presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
- Wulff defends himself (he is serious and doesn't apologize), his wife keeps a distance and smiles continuously
- all politicians appreciate Wulff's decision (less aggressive tone towards Wulff than before his resignation)
- internet users and carnivalists make fun of Wulff

relationships of the different parties of the conflict
- none of the different parties is in touch with each other
- the other politicians are less aggressive towards Wulff than in the previous weeks

speech and communicative acts
- Wulff praises his wife
- Merkel praises

sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
- the authors are part of the journalists that run from one press conference to the next (the make a little fun of themselves? some journalists are still out of breath), but they aren't self-critical

expression of the journalist's own opinion
- "She explicitly says "his" conviction. This doesn't sound as if she would believe him"
- "The reality has overtaken the satire."
- "This was to be expected."

-d. other remarks
- the different entries of the liveblog are different in style: some entries are impartial and resemble a news item, other entries are very ironic, sarcastic and don't serve the purpose to inform the reader
- entries close during Wulff's and Merkel's statements and shortly afterwards resemble the telegraphic style: many very short sentences.
- Less hyphens than in the first part of the liveblog
- Wulff criticized the press and the German association of journalists criticized Wulff's criticism? the SZ journalists don't give their opinion or offer some self-criticism

Wulff explains his resignation- Confidence gambled away, office lost 17.02.2012

a. Formal structuring

structure of argumentation
- And then it's over: the door closes behind Wulff and the chapter Wulff is finished
- when the prosecution demanded to remove his immunity, it became clear that he can't stay in office
- with his resignation, Wulff wanted to prevent that the Bundestag decides over him
- a lot of journalist have come to his statement
- in the view of Wulff, it's the press that is responsible for fall
- in Wulff's view (according to the journalist) the press is to blame for his loss in confidence among the population without mentioning his part in it
- in his final sentence, Wulff speaks as if he does a service to his country by resigning
- was Wulff always sincere as he says? What when he lied to the parliament about his relation to Geerkens?
- Many things are different compared to Köhler's resignation in 2010
– if Köhler gave up too fast, Wulff waited too long until his resignation was inevitably
– Wulff will have lost Merkel's support
– her praise seems poisoned because of the words “his conviction” ? she always knows what she’s saying
– now Merkel has to find a successor and she has to prevent that something similar happens again
– Germany will have a new President in 30 days and it will a better one in any case
sentence structures
– some short and elliptic sentences, as well as average and longer sentences with subordinate clauses
– some sentences with subordinate clauses (mostly relative and object clauses)
– nominal and verbal style
– mostly active voice
lexicalization
– few sentence connectors/conjunctions: if, and, now, but ? several sentences begin with 'and'
– rhetoric devices: metaphor (einen ernsten Blick Richtung Journalisten werfen (take a serious glance in the
direction of the journalists), das Kapitel Bundespräsident, für Wulff ist es beendet (the chapter Presidency,
it's closed for Wulff), mühsam aus der Nase ziehen (tediously pulling teeth), er hat ihre Geduld bis aufs letzte
ausgereizt (he has exhausted her patience to its limits), es lässt ihr Lob vergiftet erscheinen (it makes
appear her praise poisoned)), ellipsis (The suspicion: accepting of benefits in office/ Camera teams,
journalists/ Always sincere?/ not a word about it/ Fast egal, wer es wird (It almost doesn't matter who),
rhetoric questions (Always sincere? Didn't he keep it secret that he had a business relationship to the
Geerkens? Wasn't it like tediously pulling teeth? How can he call that “sincere”?) allusion (How can he call
that “sincere”?), epiphery (He and his wife Eva Luise entered the hall hand in hand and they also left it hand in
hand. It was the modest resignation of a modest man), antithesis (if Köhler gave up his office too early, Wulff
definitely waited too long), irony (in the world view of Christian Wulff, it's this press that is to be blamed for
his fall/, Drei dürre Sätze widmet er den Ermittlungen gegen ihn (he dedicates three unconvincing sentences
to the investigations against him), alliteration (Worte wo
dlh wägen (carefully weigh up words))
– adjectives/adverbs showing interpretation: sober, short, substantial, actually, significant, tediously,
unconvincing, different, modest, surprising, definitely, well rehearsed, decisive, poisoned, explicitly
– punctuation: double points to introduce quotes or show casualty, question marks after rhetoric questions,
question marks in four cases ? allusions , one hyphen for emphasis, in most cases simple full stops to
separate short sentences from each other

b. Content-related structuring
frames
– conflict frame, responsibility frame, moral frame, accusation frame, political loser frame
intertextual references and provision of background knowledge
– reference to Wulff's speech
presupposition
– to understand the criticism of the journalist towards Wulff, one needs to have followed the affair and how
Wulff was covered in the past weeks
emphasis
– two subheadings in bold within the text

c. Structuring of identities and ideologies
sources
– Wulff (6 quotes) (M)
– Merkel (2 quotes ) (E)
presentation and evaluation of the different parties of the conflict
– the journalist is harshly criticizing Wulff's behaviour
– Wulff blames the press for loosing confidence within the population
– Merkel gives kind of an indifferent statement, but the journalist interprets it as hidden criticism
relationships of the different parties of the conflict
– Wulff blames the press and sees himself as a victim
– the press justifies its action with its democratic role
speech and communicative acts
– Wulff claims, adjudges, dedicates, kept secret
– Merkel emphasizes,
sense of group belonging/membership of the journalists
– the journalist is part of the German press that constantly reported about Wulff's wrong-doings in the past
months ? he sees their coverage as fulfilling the task of the press and not is if they are responsible for Wulff's
fall ? the press tediously tried to get information out of Wulff, piece by piece
expression of the journalist's own opinion
– “And, as if he was surprised about this fact, he adjudges..”
– “That he played a substantial role in it – not a word about it.”
– “Always sincere?”
– “Wulff speaks as someone who believes he renders his country a necessary service. But it's the only the exigency that now forces him to resign.”
– “It is clear what she wants to say. It's been a long time that she isn't that convinced of his innocence anymore.”
– “It will be a better President. It almost doesn't matter who it is.”

-d. other remarks
– the journalist expresses a lot of anger towards Wulff
– a lot of irony and openly displayed criticism can be found
– quite sophisticated language and many rhetoric devices
V. Expert interview

Interview mit Hans Mathias Kepplinger

Interviewer: In welche Richtung ist der Einfluss stärker, von Politikern auf die Medien oder der Medien auf die Politiker?


I: Und wie ist es zu dieser Veränderung gekommen?

K: Das hat viele Gründe, einer besteht darin. Dass seit den 60iger Jahren die Politik in den Deutschen Medien immer negativer dargestellt wird, da gibt es extrem negative, aber im Grunde ist der Trend bei allen von uns untersuchten Medien nachweisbar, die Berichterstattung wurde immer „kritischer“ im Sinne von negativer. Das ist ein Grund, zweitens ist die Politik immer abhängiger geworden von der Resonanz der Medien. Das hat etwas zutun mit dem Verfall der Parteieigenen Zeitungen, das heißt also bei der SPD Presse und bei der Union, aber vor allem bei der katholischen Presse. Die Parteien haben immer weniger Möglichkeiten sich direkt an die Bevölkerung zu wenden, mit Großversammlungen die es früher gab, mit 10-20 Tausend Zuhörern die gibt es praktisch gar nicht mehr. Das heißt wir sind auf die Medien angewiesen und natürlich ist kein Medium in der Lage so effektiv, so schnell Bevölkerung zu erreichen wie die Massenmedien. Also die Politik ist abhängiger geworden und das hat auch andere Gründe, z.B. die Tatsache, dass in Deutschland alle Institutionen durch den Nationalsozialismus in der öffentlichen Wahrnehmung diskreditiert sind. Unter anderem die Politik natürlich, die Wirtschaft, Kirchengewerkschaft, die Justiz, die Wissenschaft, die einzige Institution, die nicht nachhaltig diskreditiert ist, sind die Medien. Weil die Medien sich ihrer eigenen Vergangenheit nie umfassend thematisiert haben, auf einzelne Personen abgesehen und die umfassend thematisiert haben, was den Eindruck erweckt sie seien also nicht schuldig am Erfolg der NSDAP gewesen, was natürlich nicht stimmt, die NSDAP verdankt nach 1933 ihre Akzeptanz im wesentlichen der Bereitschaft von Tausenden von Journalisten, von vielen Verlegern. Es gibt also viele Gründe für diese Wendung.

I: Sie haben gerade schon die Abhängigkeit beschrieben, mir ist gerade die Nähe zwischen Christian Wulff und der Bildzeitung, oder auch anderen Medien, aufgefallen. Ist es gesund, dass es so eine Nähe zwischen Journalisten und Politikern gibt?


I: Meinen Sie mit solchen Normen zum Beispiel den Anruf Wulffs bei der Bild-Zeitung?

I: Wenn das so normal ist, was war dann das Besondere an Christian Wulff?


I: Haben Sie eine Erklärung dafür, was vorgefallen sein könnte, dass Herr Diekmann den Anruf nicht mit so viel Vertrauen behandelt hat, wie Wulff es erwartet hat?

K: Das ist für mich nach wie vor das Undurchsichtigste. Ich bin davon überzeugt, dass diese ganze Affäre einen Hintergrund hat, den in der Öffentlichkeit niemand kennt. Zumindest ich kenne ihn nicht. Denn die Dramatik, die das Geschehen entwickelt hat, lässt sich durch die bekannten Tatsachen nicht erklären. Hier muss es etwas gegeben haben, was eine Leidenschaft, eine Motivstärke hineingebracht hat, das sich nicht aus den erwähnten Dingen erklären lässt. In ein oder zwei Jahren werden wir wahrscheinlich den Kopf schütteln über die Diskrepanz zwischen der Schwere der Verfehlungen einerseits und der unglaublichen Aufblähung der Ereignisse.

I: Damit haben Sie meine nächste Frage schon zum Teil beantwortet. War die Menge der Texte, die in den Medien zu Wulff veröffentlicht wurden, gerechtfertigt im Verhältnis zu den Ereignissen?

K: Nein, die ist nicht gerechtfertigt, wenn man allein die Menge der Vorwürfe, die nur auf einem Verdachtsmoment beruhten, sieht und die sich dann im Verlauf der Affäre verliefen. Oder die Staatsanwaltschaft, die fast ein dreiviertel Jahr braucht um eine Anklageschrift zusammenzubringen, zeigt ja wie wenig Substanz an der ganzen Sache ist. Wenn das so offensichtlich wäre, hätte der Staatsanwalt ja längst Anklage erhoben. Es gibt hier eine gewaltige Menge von Beiträgen, die sich nur aus der Eigendynamik des Skandals erklären lässt und mit der Sache relativ wenig zu tun hat.

I: Meinen Sie mit Eigendynamik den Konkurrenzkampf zwischen den Medien, immer wieder neue Details des Skandals aufzudecken?

K: Ja, selbstverständlich gibt es einen Wettbewerb zwischen Journalisten. Wenn die von einander abschreiben, bläht es die Sache selbstverständlich auf. Es gibt aber auch einen Wettbewerb zwischen den Rechercheuren, die ihre mehr oder weniger kleinen Stücke möglichst spektakulär an die Öffentlichkeit bringen wollen, denn jeder einzelne kann sich ja dadurch auszeichnen. So kommen Dinge an die Öffentlichkeit und gewinnen einen Bedeutung, die sie bei nüchterner Betrachtung überhaupt nicht haben.

I: Der Begriff Hetzjagd kam ja immer wieder auf. War die Berichterstattung über Wulff während der Affäre ein gezielter Angriff auf seine Karriere?

I: Wer waren diese treibenden Kräfte?

K: Vor allem die FAZ, nicht die ganze Redaktion, aber einige Prominente Schreiber. Die Bild-Zeitung. Das sind die beiden, die meines Erachtens entscheidend waren.

I: Hat die deutsche Presse in der Wulff Affäre ihre Funktion als watchdog der Regierung verantwortlich wahrgenommen?


I: Ich habe den Begriff Skandal auch schon in den Mund genommen. Ist der Fall Wulff ein Politikerskandal oder ein Medienskandal.

K: Natürlich war Wulffs Verhalten ein Skandal und ich nehme den Begriff im Bezug auf die Medien zurück. Wie im Fall Barschel waren ja viele der Vorwürfe der Medien berechtigt, aber ein großer Teil war auch unberechtigt, ein anderer Teil war vollkommen falsch. Hier wurde praktisch Menschenjagd betrieben mit furchtbaren Konsequenzen. Bei Wulff wird sich das Verhältnis zwischen berechtigten und unberechtigten Vorwürfen als ähnlich herausstellen und das ist eine der gravierendsten Irreführungen der Öffentlichkeit, die wir in den letzten Jahren erlebt haben.

I: Konnten Sie durch Ihre Studien und Befragungen herausfinden, welches Fehlverhalten toleriert wird und welches nicht. Andere Politiker begehen ja auch Fehler, wo liegt also die Grenze zwischen dem, was skandalisiert und was toleriert wird?


I: Dies deckt sich mit den Ergebnissen meiner Analyse, dass ein finanzielles Fehlverhalten sehr stark mit moralischen Werten verknüpft wurde und sich darüber die Vorwürfe entwickelten.

K: Und die Brücke hat Schirmacher mit einem genialen Artikel in der FAZ gebaut. In dem er über das Wort Credo, Kredit-Credo, den Kredit zu einem Ausweis einer moralischen Fehlhaltung, ja einer Charakterschwäche gemacht hat und dieses ist ein Frame geworden. Dieser Frame wurde glaubig von allen Journalisten aufgenommen und über alle anderen Affären drübergelegt, so dass ein in sich stimmiges Bild entsteht, was ich in meinem Buch als serielle Skandalisierung bezeichnete. Das ist nicht der erste Fall, in dem so etwas passiert, manchmal werden die Dinge auch künstlich ähnlich gemacht. Das ist den Schreibern oft gar nicht so recht bewusst. Dann entsteht das Bild eines moralisch und charakterlich untragbaren Menschen, obwohl die Evidenz dafür, wenn man es genau betrachtet, schwach ist. Es wird übertragen auf die Anforderungen, die eine Bundespräsident haben muss und durch diesen Frame wird im Grunde der Eindruck erzeugt, er kann mit dieser moralischen Verkommenheit, die in seinem Verhalten deutlich wird,

I: Mir sind in der Berichterstattung der Bild-Zeitung immer wieder Unstimmigkeiten aufgefallen und dass sie scheinbar Zugriff zu internen Informationen hatte. Würden Sie die Recherche-Methoden im Fall Wulff als korrekt und fair bezeichnen?

K: Das weiß ich nicht, aber man muss natürlich auch diese Rechercheleistung sehen. Es war vielleicht nicht alles so bedeutsam, aber es zeigt, und das meine ich positiv, die große Schlagkraft dieser Zeitung, deren Rechercheleistung wirklich bedeutsam war. Das kann man vielleicht im einzelnen Vorgehen missbilligen, aber man muss anerkennen, mit welcher ungeheuren Intensität vorgegangen wurde.

I: Würden Sie sagen, dass die Medien für Christian Wulffs Rücktritt verantwortlich sind? Haben die Medien die Macht einen Politiker zu stürzen?


I: Im Fall Wulff war es aber letztendlich die Staatsanwaltschaft, die Wulffs Rücktritt herbeigegeführt hat.


I: Also gezielte Selektion.


I: War es ein Zusammenspiel der Medien, Wulff zu stürzen oder hätte auch ein einzelnes Medium die Macht gehabt, Wulff zu stürzen?

I: Was war denn dann der Unterschied bei Wulff, da ja von Anfang an so viele Medien mitgemacht haben und vor allem mit dem Anruf bei der Bild-Zeitung hat sich der Ton ja nochmals deutlich verschärft?