

UNIVERSITY OF TWENTE.

Female Politicians in the News Media

A content analysis of German newspapers reporting on
Annalena Baerbock's chancellor candidacy

Master Thesis

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Abstract

Research Objective: Women are still underrepresented in the political world. One reason for this is the influence of the media. Prior research has shown that female political candidates are often reported on differently in newspapers. By using different frames, strategies and valence, news media narrate the female candidates in certain ways, which might bias the public opinion. This study investigates how German newspapers reported on Annalena Baerbock as chancellor candidate from her announcement in April 2021 until the election in September 2021.

Method: A mixture of quantitative and qualitative content analysis was conducted for 362 articles from Die Süddeutsche Zeitung and Die Welt, for which a combined inductive and deductive coding scheme with seven main categories was used.

Results: The outcome of this study shows that the majority of analysed articles report on Baerbock in a neutral and factual way. However, some gender stereotypes such as combining motherhood with being a successful career woman and females' physical looks still make an appearance. The most relevant personality traits linked to Baerbock are her being collaborative and working a lot with others, as well as her being strong, which is very much in line with what is expected from successful politicians. Other topics discussed within the articles are her experience or the lack thereof, as well as her gender, which seems to be the most salient aspect of Baerbock. Looking at the difference between the two newspapers, Die Welt appears to portray Baerbock slightly more negative and makes use of a more ironic form of reporting.

Conclusion: Although most articles stick with an objective form of reporting, it should be mentioned that some of the traditional and outdated stereotypes females have been facing for decades are still addressed in today's news. Baerbock's gender is discussed very thoroughly, confirming that her being female and the stereotypes related to it are still relevant in society's thought processes. The distribution of these views manifests within our society and makes it much more difficult to escape from them and build one's own opinions. This study did not analyse the effects the reporting has on the readers, but one should not underestimate how much influence the media has on opinion building.

Keywords: newspapers; gender; female politicians; Germany; content analysis, Baerbock

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1. Introduction

Over the years, we have seen an increase in women participating in politics. However, globally females are still underrepresented in high political positions. In early 2021, only 6% of the elected Heads of State were female. Similarly, the percentage of Female Heads of Government amounts to a mere 7% (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2021). The European Parliament consists of 37% women (European's Women Lobby, 2007), which is certainly more balanced but still does not represent the 50% females that makeup half of our world's population. These numbers clearly show that the political systems across the world still lack proper representation of the female gender.

The media seem to play an important role in the world of politics. Political journalism, the media's coverage of political matters, is for many the most frequent way to gather information and knowledge about political developments. Especially newspapers are an influential medium in relation to politics (Pew Research Center, 2011). However, they are not always an objective source to gather information, as they are often influenced by their background and the political views they are representing. Besides political topics, individual politicians are being written about as well. The way politicians are portrayed affects the perception citizens or readers have of them. Naturally, the personal interpretation of the reader has a certain influence as well, however, it is mostly dependent on the reporting (Strömbäck, & Shehata, 2020).

The media influence much of citizens' thoughts on politics and therefore may be a key element in the lack of representation of females in politics. Sazali and Basit (2020) explain that the media can be used as a "tool(s) serving as a benchmark to assess whether equal treatment of male and female politicians has occurred" (p.331), by analysing the ways in which politicians are portrayed by the media, specifically in relation to their gender. Research on different reporting regarding male and female politicians has been done quite thoroughly. However, the research that has been priorly conducted indicates varying results. Multiple studies show that male politicians are described differently in regard to the topics and frames used to portray them. Multiple studies show that male politicians are described differently in regard to the topics and frames used to portray them. They are often based on longstanding stereotypes and include males being strong, intelligent and good leaders, portraying them as competence candidate for political positions (Kittilson & Fridkin, 2008). Additionally, male politicians often are covered more regularly than their female counterparts (Miller, Peake & Boulton, 2010). However, most prior studies have focused on American politics and there seems to be a gap in research focussing on European female politicians, as studies are only conducted occasionally.

Germany offers a unique political landscape quite oppositely to the US, as the country has been led by a female Head of Government for the past 16 years. Former chancellor Angela Merkel (2005-2021) announced in 2018 not to seek another term as a chancellor during the elections in 2021. Merkel was the first female chancellor of Germany and was the longest-serving head of government in the EU. She has been described as the most powerful woman in the world, who has shaped Germany greatly during her 16 years as the head of the German government (Vick; Kornelius, 2013). Nevertheless, change has been a big topic in German politics for a while; that is, change with regards to the chancellor position, but also a general change in the political climate in Germany. For instance, CSU Politician Dobrindt pointed out that Germany is changing economically, as organizations are digitalizing their processes. Furthermore, due to the Covid pandemic and climate crisis, priorities are changing. The social changes taking place in Germany have placed focus on topics such as diversity and inclusion. These new influences shape and modernize German society and specifically, how German institutions such as political systems are operating (RedaktionsNetzwerk Deutschland, 2020). This offers an unique opportunity for female politicians to make use of this upheaval and contribute to a change for their benefit. Therefore, the elections in 2021 were a highly anticipated event as another female chancellor candidate was up for election.

Annalena Baerbock is part of the German “Die Grünen” (the greens) party, which has seen a big growth in the last couple of years. This, most likely, is due to the fact that climate change has become a high-pressure crisis. In the 2017 elections, the Greens collected 9% of the votes and therefore were the smallest party in the parliament. Since 2018, the party is led by two co-leaders, being Annalena Baerbock and Robert Habeck. National opinion polls right after the European elections in 2019 show that the Greens reached first place with 27% of the votes. In 2019, they maintained their percentage in the lower 20ies and stayed the second most popular party in Germany (Thomson Reuters, 2019). Consequently, they decided to select a chancellor candidate. Annalena Baerbock announced in April 2021 her intention to become the country's first Green Chancellor (Deutsche Welle, 2021).

A difference in social media coverage between Baerbock and her male counterparts was already proven. According to the Institute for Strategic Dialogue (2021), Baerbock was especially targeted on social media sites like Facebook and Telegram. It was shown that Baerbock was significantly more frequently affiliated with conspiracy myths, as well as dis- and misinformation. Her gender was regularly thematised and in comparison, to the male candidates, her competence was more frequently questioned. However, social media allows information to travel much faster and without the monitoring functions included in more traditional media channels, such as publishers (Wood, 2013).

A couple of nonpartisan political (news) organizations (Klingert, 2021; Kovalčíková & Weiser, 2021) stated that Baerbock's campaign seemed to be disproportionately targeted by the traditional media as well and she appeared to receive more negative media coverage than her male counterparts. Her portrayal in traditional news media suffered due to multiple missteps from her account (Klingert, 2021). The media picked up on her failure to report supplementary income as well as inconsistencies on her CV and evidence of plagiarism in her book (Schultheis, 2021). Although these conclusions were merely based on anecdotal observations by the authors, they indicate that research on Baerbock's coverage in the traditional media yields interesting results. Therefore, the research question of this study is as follows:

How did two German newspapers (Die Süddeutsche Zeitung and Die Welt) report on Annalena Baerbock as chancellor candidate from her announcement in April 2021 until the election in September 2021?

So far, no comprehensive studies have been conducted to understand how female political candidates are presented in German newspapers. This research aims to close this gap and use Annalena Baerbock and the 2021 elections as an example of German news reporting. A general basis of how female political figures are depicted in the German newspaper is needed in order to better understand the positions of women in the current political climate. Theoretical concepts like agenda setting, framing, cultivation theory, and tonality bias are taken into consideration.

With regards to the social relevance, this study offers insights into the challenges female politicians face when deciding to enter the political world. The procedure of targeting female politicians and writing in a sexist narrative, as well as making use of gendered disinformation is a common tactic "to intimidate female candidates and consolidate power" (Kovalčíková & Weiser, 2021), resulting in female politicians being misrepresented and distorted. Ultimately, it can also lead to the silencing of women and other minority groups, meaning that this misogynistic portrayal has a negative effect not only on the person portrayed but on the overall democracy of the country and the public discourse. Inequality for marginalized groups is unfortunately still very common. Considering the fact that women make up 50% of the world's population, it is regrettable that they are still a marginalized group and are inadequately represented in the political world. As argued by Abdelaad et al. (2013), "Democracy cannot truly deliver for all of its citizens if half the population remains excluded from the political arena. Women's equal representation is a matter of justice and democracy" (p.16). When German women in 1918 were granted the right to vote, a massive milestone was achieved. However, now, a hundred years later, it is more than time for

women to be elected and well represented. If not, democracy merely empowers the deep-rooted gender roles and misconceptions that shape our society, whereas an inclusive representation of society would benefit the democracy and the citizens living in it.

2. Literature Review

To study the media coverage of Chancellor candidate Annalena Baerbock during her candidacy up until the elections in 2021, existing literature on relevant topics and theoretical backgrounds will be explored. Firstly, this literature review will elaborate on the news media, specifically in politics. Secondly, a closer look is taken at the effect news media can have; more specifically, the concepts of gatekeepers, agenda-setting, priming, framing, as well as cultivation theory and tonality bias will be elaborated on. Thirdly, gender stereotypes in politics are addressed, with a focus on the nature, prevalence and effects. Fourthly, the prior research on coverage of female politicians is reviewed. Lastly, concluding thoughts from the literature that are relevant for this study are formulated.

2.1. News Media in Politics

News media are playing a key role in shaping perceptions of the general public. Depending on the perspective that is taken or what is emphasized as being important or relevant, society adapts and directs attention towards these topics. The media can influence the perceived importance of societal challenges and their prevalence in media, as well as frame the opinions of involved actors. News media produce and share a lot of information very fast-paced, which provides consumers with the input to form a decision on many different topics (Van Aelst & Walgrave, 2016). Especially looking at political decisions and processes, news media have a great effect on the outcomes and even can affect the results of elections (Bachl & Brettschneider, 2011).

News outlets reflect a political arena with their reporting, in which the multiple actors interact with each other and define challenges and actions occurring in society. As typical in an arena, the different actors are competing against each other, strategizing and taking action. Politicians make use of these arenas to interact with the public. Van Aelst and Walgrave (2016) explain that the main function of a political arena is for the politician to promote themselves, in order to get recognized for their person and doings. Two core political functions of the news media can be distinguished. Firstly, the information function, where media provide 'pure information', and secondly the arena function, in which media is used to draw attention to either the politician themselves or to advocate the points they are working on. Reliant on the politician involved and the issue they are representing, the media relation differs greatly and some politicians gain more from the information sharing or political arena than others (Van Aelst & Walgrave, 2016). Certainly, a difference between genders

can be detected in the way media reports on politicians (Luhiste & Banducci, 2016); this shows to be persistent over the last century. When comparing female and male candidates in similar positions, the coverage of them tends to be biased and gender stereotypes are still made use of. This can have long-lasting effects on, for instance, election results, as readers still get the impression females “are not a ‘normal’ part of the political world” (Luhiste & Banducci, 2016, p.249).

2.2. News Media Effects

The media has an influence on their audience through different frames, strategies and biases that are present in their articles. In the following section, gatekeeping, agenda-setting, priming, framing, cultivation theory and tonality bias will be discussed.

2.2.1. Journalists as Gatekeepers

The concept of gatekeeping has been one of the oldest theories in communication science and was first formulated in the 1950ies. Ultimately, gatekeepers decide whether certain information will ‘move’ forward, and which information will not.

Journalists are some of the most obvious gatekeepers in our society, as they “control the flow of news” (Snider, 1967, p.419). Their gatekeeping responsibilities have a great impact on our society. Their decisions on what news to publish influences a large part of our society, as the consumption of news media is one of our biggest sources of information. Journalists can steer political discussions and other types of movements with the news stories they share. Nowadays, information travels through many channels and the selection process requires a lot of time investment and investigations. Therefore, the impact of gatekeeping in journalism should not be underestimated.

The introduction of the internet certainly influences the gatekeeper role of journalists. The distribution and availability of news have changed how society consumes its knowledge. As the gatekeeping function of a journalist is limited with the world wide web, the spread of misinformation is endorsed (Benham, 2020). However, these developments also come with an addition. A lack of diverse gatekeepers leads to a certain imbalance, whether that is related to the topics represented in the news or the fact-checking. It induces a bias and allows for more one-dimensional information streams. These unbalanced narratives are then exhibited in our news media and with that consumed by society. The ‘invasion’ of the internet allows for broader perspectives and easier opinion building, as the news can be consumed more individually (Benham, 2020). However, this also raises concerns as radical opinion-forming finds a susceptible audience.

Journalists writing for traditional newspapers are competing with non-journalistic writers online who share non-checked content as well as journalists writing for online news outlets. Journalists decide what is worthy to share and by that steer society’s attention

towards a topic that then receives even more attention and requires to be covered more extensively. Ultimately, this creates a circle of media and society's attention.

2.2.2. Agenda-setting, priming and framing

Agenda-setting, priming and framing have become popular topics within communication science. The media directly influence the public agenda and more media attention equals more political attention (Sevenans, Walgrave & Joanna Epping, 2016), which in return explains the importance of the three approaches. The definitions of these concepts differ between scholars. Scheufele (2000) sees agenda-setting, priming and framing as three separate concepts that are in some regard related but differ "with respect to their assumptions and premises" (p.298). A more detailed overview of each of the concepts will be explained in the following sections.

2.2.2.1. Agenda-setting and priming. Agenda-setting and priming share the notion that mass media can affect the salience of certain issues. Salience is defined by the "ease with which these issues can be retrieved from memory" (Scheufele, 2000, p.300). Agenda-setting specifies that there is a certain correlation between how much attention mass media direct towards certain topics and the importance society relates to it (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Priming is an extension of agenda-setting and "occurs when news content suggests to news audiences that they ought to use specific issues as benchmarks for evaluating the performance of leaders and governments" (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p.11). Briefly summarized media influence the standards by which audience members evaluate political figures. Agenda-setting and priming share the understanding that the mass media have an effect on the salience of issues and are based on attitude accessibility.

2.2.2.2. Framing. Framing is based on prospect theory; that is, "on the assumption that subtle changes in the wording of the descriptions of a situation might affect how audience members interpret this situation" (Scheufele, 2000, p.309). The salience of an issue is not relevant to framing, and it should be clearly differentiated from agenda-setting and priming as it is based upon different cognitive processes (Cacciatore, Scheufele, & Iyengar, 2016). Different frames might change the readers' opinions on an issue, "by invoking interpretive schemas that influence the interpretation of incoming information" (Scheufele, 2000, p.309). Framing assumes that an issue's characterization in the news can affect how it is understood by the audience (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). In a political context, journalists make use of frames to simplify complex issues, like policy-making and other

political agendas; as a result, the information is accessible to a broader audience (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007).

2.2.3. Cultivation Theory

As one of the most prominent theories in the realm of mass communication, cultivation theory has shed light on the effects of mass media consumption. Originally authored by Gerbner (1969), cultivation theory points out that the regular consumption of television affects the audiences' attitudes, behaviours (Nabi & Riddle, 2008) and goes as far as to shape people's moral values (Mosharafa, 2015). Morgan, Shanahan and Signorielli (2009) summarize that the real world is perceived in ways that mirror the most frequent and prevalent news shown on TV, especially by viewers that watch more TV.

Although Gerbner originally focused on entertainment television, multiple studies (Arendt, 2009; 2010, Bauer, 2005) have shown that the cultivation approach could be successfully applied to research the long-term impact of daily newspapers as well.

When one takes these findings into account, research on women on television also becomes relevant. Prior research has shown that regardless of the substantial social changes in society in recent decades, especially in regard to female gender roles, television still reinforces traditional stereotypes (Morgan & Shanahan, 2010). Besides the contribution to gender stereotypes also the ratio of females to males is unbalanced and shows men disproportionately often (Roskos-Ewoldsen, Davies & Roskos-Ewoldsen, 2004; Sink & Mastro, 2016). This leads television consumers to adapt to these views and believe these attitudes towards women are normal.

Considering that women and specifically female politicians also encounter biased coverage in other mass media outlets, like newspapers (Dabbous & Ladley, 2010; Meeks, 2012; Snipes & Mudde, 2020), readers are most likely to also adopt those views as well (Arendt, 2009; 2010).

2.2.4. Tonality Bias

The tonality bias in news articles relates to the valence of the text. Evaluating the valence indicates whether issues or people are covered more favourable as compared to others (Becker & McCombs, 1978). Media affect the salience of evaluations readers make based on their media consumption, by focussing on positive or negative aspects (Druckman & Parkin, 2005). Eberl, Boomgarden and Wagner (2017) explain that "the media can frame actors as being either good or bad politicians (or parties), and thereby provide evaluations of them and their performance" (p.1128). In other words, the study indicates that the media framing of politicians as either good or bad influences the public's affective judgement towards these politicians and therefore the perception they have of them as being a

favourable candidate. Their study supports the understanding that tonality has a direct effect on voters' decision-making and therefore election outcomes.

2.3. Gender Stereotyping in Politics

As described earlier, female politicians are portrayed differently in the media than their male counterparts. Certain wording can be attributed to a certain bias of journalists and cognitive media effects, like agenda-setting, priming and framing. However, some newspapers or journalists go beyond that and make use of gender stereotypes in their articles. Gender stereotyping describes how an individual has beliefs in regard to a certain gender; for instance, considering them less competent or inferior. Prior research has confirmed that female politicians often are looked at from a "gendered perspective" and assigned them "stereotyped issue position competencies and personality characteristics" (Dolan & Lynch, 2014, p.658). This confirms that gender stereotyping is common in politics and is linked to traditional gender stereotypes connected to females.

2.3.1. Nature of Gender Stereotyping

Gender stereotypes can be understood as cognitive schemata that are stored mentally and are activated and applied automatically. The human brain categorises information into different forms of so-called units, and through these units' stereotypes are formed about certain groups (Martin & Halverson, 1981). Within social cognition research, stereotypes are considered "normal everyday cognitive processes" (Six & Eckes, 1991, p.58).

Different gender roles and stereotypes can be traced back to biological and social forces. Notably, females and males differ in certain biological subjects like genetics, physiology, evolution and hormones, making them naturally distinguishable from each other. Additionally, societal input affects the differences as well. Typically mentioned are societal roles, norms, ideals and expectations that have formed in the past. Both of these forces interact and influence each other (Ellemers, 2018). Certainly, society is developing and changing; therefore, the social forces are evolving somewhat rapidly as well (Henriques, 2019). Inequality and stereotyping have had and continue to have a severe influence on the ways in which power is distributed; marginalized groups often lack power and are subject to oppression from the dominant group - whether that is the male gender, white people, etc. - and this is enforced by stereotypes and framing.

The contents of gender stereotypes are presented in a very prominent model, the Stereotype Content Model (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002). It describes how gender stereotypes are divided into two dimensions, being the competence dimension and the warmth dimension. The competence dimension includes traits like leadership skills and intelligence on one side and irresponsibility and weak leadership on the other. The warmth

dimension is defined by characteristics like emotionality and helpfulness as one side of the spectrum and selfishness and insensitivity on the opposite side. "Often, the values on these dimensions are inversely related within one stereotype; in other words, a positive evaluation on one dimension is connected with a negative evaluation on the other" (Fiske et al., 2002, p. 879). Due to this conflicting dynamic, two main forms of group stereotypes can be distinguished: paternalistic and envious stereotypes. Women are often targeted by paternalistic stereotypes, meaning they are related to positive traits from the warmth dimension but are seen with low levels of competency. Men, however, most often are aimed at by envious stereotypes, because they are perceived as high in competency but low in warmth (Fiske et al., 2002; Eckes, 2002). Subgroups of women (e.g. housewives) that are generally defined according to the traditional view of women, are characterized congruently with paternalistic stereotypes and therefore faced with benevolent sexism. More non-traditional female subgroups like career women tend to be perceived according to the envious stereotypes, and therefore often encounter hostile sexism (Eckes, 2002). Kanter (1977, as cited in Carlin & Winfrey, 2009) defined the main four gender stereotypes for women in a professional setting as seductress or sex object, iron maiden, mother and pet. These can also be connected to the stereotype content model and the different types of stereotypes. Mother and Pet can be linked to the paternalistic stereotypes as they are high on the warmth dimension and therefore most likely encounter benevolent sexism. The iron maiden stereotype is an envious stereotype as it scores high on the competence dimension but low in regard to warmth. Seductress also most likely fits with envious stereotypes, whereas the categorization as a sex object is not possible to place, as it scores more likely quite low on all dimensions.

2.3.2. Prevalence of gender stereotyping

Although the idea of female politicians in higher positions has become more normalized, women in politics still face gender-related stereotyping. One of the most common prejudices about women in politics is that they are very emotional and convey more positive emotions than their male counterparts (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993; Renner & Masch, 2019). Other examples are a focus on their private life and physical appearance (Sreberny-Mohammadi & Ross, 1996 as cited in Gidengil, & Everitt, 2003). Studies (Devitt, 2002; Kahn & Goldenberg, 1991) have shown that the media makes use of women fulfilling these stereotypes and report on them more regularly. Meeks (2012) summarizes that media coverage about female politicians mostly focuses on more feminine traits such as compassion, emotionality and honesty, and not on their abilities in politics or leadership qualities.

As mentioned beforehand and also investigated by many of the previously credited authors, stereotypes towards females are still very much rooted in societal structures. These

are based on rather unconscious assumptions made by the public from which nearly no one can be excluded. Framing is also often applied unconsciously. Additionally, the beforementioned definition of framing explains that “interpretive schemas that influence the interpretation of incoming information” (Scheufele, 2000, p.309) are invoked. Stereotypes are a cognitive schema that influences the interpretation of, for instance, gender. Both are ultimately trying to break down somewhat complex topics into more understandable pieces and by that generalizing information and clearly influencing the ‘receivers’ opinion of the matter. Therefore, it can be argued that gender stereotypes are a form of gendered frames (Norris, 1997 in Fountaine & McGregor, 2002). Snipes and Mudde (2020) summarise that the gender frame “for female political leaders in the news media (1) is less negative; (2) focuses disproportionately on expressive personality traits (warm, collaborative, etc.); (3) rarely mentions prior professional accomplishments and experience; (4) links them mainly to “softer” issues (women’s rights, gay rights, welfare); and (5) gives much attention to nonpolicy and/or gender-specific issues, such as physical appearance or family life” (pp.445). These frames often used in media stem from institutionalized, misogynistic views still apparent in our current society. Meng (2016) explains that the continuous usage of gender frames counteracts the female advancement in many typically male-connected domains, such as politics. It can be concluded that there are clear differences in reporting of female and male politicians and that the female candidates are often disadvantaged due to the media questioning their viability and quality (Dabbous & Ladley, 2010).

2.3.3. Effects of gender stereotyping

Politics and elections are important, traditional aspects of German society and as frequently thematised in this paper, clearly male dominant. That might be why voters expect sex-role alignment for political candidates and often punish females for not staying in their ‘traditional’ gender roles (Herrnson & Lucas, 2006, p. 71), which is enforced by negative framing in the media (Carlin & Winfrey, 2009). This phenomenon is also called a stereotyping cycle, where the news media emphasizes masculine aspects of politics. This lack of balance between feminine and masculine content, combined with current typical gender stereotypes creates this cycle, in which society is getting fed gender misconceptions by the media. This can also happen unconsciously to journalists as they are also (unconsciously) affected by institutionalized misogyny and gender stereotyping. However, it reinforces barriers for females, especially in politics (Meeks, 2013). That is why female politicians, especially in higher positions, are exposed to stereotypes and prejudice against their gender. The dilemma continues as females who make use of more stereotypically male characteristics are seen as inauthentic and not female enough (Meeks, 2012). Women who generally are described more with male-dominant qualities such as agentic and assertive are often

questioned because of the incongruity of the gender role (Meeks, 2012). Negative traits linked to female politicians include dictatorial and aggressive behaviour, which is normally considered untypical for women. Whereas male politicians' stereotypes are congruent with what is stereotypically linked to male non-politicians as well (Schneider & Bos, 2014). Depending on the framing, a woman standing her ground would be considered 'angry' or 'hysterical', while a man performing the same behaviour would be characterized as being 'ambitious' or 'resolute'. This example also makes use of the stereotype content model and substantiates the issue female politicians have to face in the media.

2.4. Coverage of female political candidates

More attention is directed toward the gender of a politician when it concerns a female rather than a male (Snipes & Mudde, 2020). Furthermore, the media still describes female politicians as norm breakers and novelties (Meeks, 2012), which is concerning as female politicians have become more apparent and offer essential contributions to many parliaments. Although "the results of coverage studies may differ slightly, a trend remains: there are still measurable differences – in quantity and quality – between the way female and male candidates are covered in an electoral context" (Dabbous & Ladley, 2010, p.183).

2.4.1. Coverage of American female political candidates

Prior research on news coverage of female politicians mostly took place in the US. Miller, Peake and Boulton (2010) analysed 6,000 newspaper articles from 25 different newspapers that were covering Hillary Clinton during the democratic primaries for the presidential elections in 2008. Important to note is her ability to break the "coverage barrier" that many other American female politicians were struggling with beforehand. The amount of coverage she gathered exceeded her fellow candidates and there was a balance between typical female coverage like her appearance and more serious topics related to her candidacy. Nevertheless, Clinton's past still played a vital role in her coverage in the media and there was a ready-made negative frame which was based on harmful gender stereotypes.

Nee and De Maio (2019) analysed 780 memes and doctored images about Clinton during the presidential election in 2016. They summarized that most images depicted Clinton negatively by using physical traits like weakness and unattractiveness, anti-feminine traits like dishonesty and untrustworthiness and traits like dictatorialness and incapacity that are often linked to female politicians. Therefore, the portrayal of Clinton was based on negative female stereotypes that diminished her chances in the election.

Dabbous and Ladley (2010) analysed 115 articles from multiple US newspapers focussing on the frames used to describe Nancy Pelosi during her first 100 hours as the speaker of the house. The coverage of her in the news is characterized by two perspectives.

On the one hand, she is depicted as very strong and compared to Margaret Thatcher, as a “masculine woman in politics” (p.189). On the other hand, her “heart of gold” is frequently addressed. There seems to be a need for a balance between these two personality traits for a female politician to be successful. When politicians gain new authority and more ‘power’, new expectations are formed along the way. The traditional expectations one had of successful politicians’ conflict directly with well-known gender stereotypes for women. Dabbous and Ladley (2010) show that females in American politics are still judged for their gender and this often still has an influence on their role in politics. They emphasise that this occurrence is not only due to journalists focussing on the gender but it is deeply engrained in our society's social and political psyche. That is, oftentimes we do not even realise what is wrong with these views and that women still have so many obstacles in the way.

Miller and Peake (2013) evaluated 2,500 newspaper articles reporting on Sarah Palin's Vice-President candidacy in 2008. They summarize that their findings are in line with prior results related to press coverage of female politicians. Press coverage on Palin frequently referred to her gender, physical appearance and clothing as well as her family situation. In general, the tone of the articles covering her was framed more negatively, and it showed to have an effect on the reader's opinion of her.

2.4.2. Coverage of female political candidates outside the US

Besides studies in the US, there is also research focusing on the media’s depiction of female politicians across the world. Shpeer and Meeks (2021) took a look at the Russian presidential elections in 2019 where Ksenia Sobchack was the only female candidate. The results show that her candidacy is also overshadowed by the novelty of her being a woman instead of certain expertise and knowledge she can make use of. She was most often described seriously with the term like candidate, but it was followed by the description TV host and starlet, based on her background in Russian TV. Besides, a focus was put on her emotionality; also, a stereotype often linked to females.

Johnsons-Myers (2021) research on Jamaican first female prime minister Portia Simpson Miller, also confirms the prior findings of gendered stereotypes related to females, in this case in relation to her leadership skills.

In 2020, Snipes and Mudde studied French and US newspapers reporting on the French radical-wing politician Marine Le Pen. Besides looking at the gender frame they also analysed the interplay with the radical right frame often used when discussing her. This interplay seems to diminish the often-seen gendered media bias. They conclude that female politicians make their own selection in their campaigns and with that, decision-making power can also form metaphors and stereotypes that are built around their person, and therefore also influence the media’s reporting (Snipes & Mudde, 2020).

Looking at prior research on the news coverage of female politicians, in nearly all studies the results show that for women, gender is the most salient aspect when being reported on in the news (Ross, Evans, Harrison, Shears & Wadia, 2013) and experience or knowledge for the political position plays a secondary role.

2.4.3. Coverage of Angela Merkel in Germany

In Germany, similar occurrences could be observed. In 2007, Semetko and Boomgarden analysed the reporting of German news outlets on the candidates of the elections two years prior, Angela Merkel and Gerhard Schröder. Whereas a difference between the amount of reporting and visibility was not clearly identified, it did show that Schröder was depicted with more favourable traits, and more often characterized as a winner. Also, in terms of gender framing, Merkel's gender was written about much more frequently. On the opposite, in articles about Schröder alone, his gender was never part of the content and only ever played a role when both candidates or Merkel alone were the topics of the news. Besides Merkel, Semetko and Boomgarden could not identify a clear marginalization of female politicians in German news, but they did clarify that female politicians are generally less visible in news coverage, which is in line with what has also been found in previous studies in other countries. Back then, the authors speculated whether "gender-related differences in reporting on future German election campaigns in which a woman is running against a man" (Semetko & Boomgarden, 2007, p.167) can be seen in the future as well. They summarized that either the novelty of female politicians in a high office will wear off and gender is less relevant, or the first time a female was running for office asked for a balanced approach to the media coverage and future female candidates would be more clearly scrutinised based on their gender.

Lunenburg and Maier (2015) analysed German news articles from 2008 in which Merkel or Frank-Walter Steinmeier, the Chancellor Candidate for the SPD, were discussed. Merkel often was described as powerful; however, even when being described as powerful, she still adheres to a patriarchal mentality in politics that prioritizes men above women. However, Merkel, who made it a point in her first two chancelleries to minimize "female" topics, tends to be perceived as more masculine (Mushaben, 2018) and has been described to act "like a man" (Lunenburg & Maier, 2015, p.193). Lunenburg and Maier summarize that "the political arena remains a male terrain in much of German journalism" (p.193) and females are still seen as outsiders.

Merkel's campaigning only started to focus on female issues in the later years of her political career. Nevertheless, the first female chancellor achieved more equality in Germany's society than all-male office holders before her (Mushaben, 2018). Moreover, the German political history and the administration being led by a woman for 16 years, certainly gives a unique background to the study.

2.5. Conclusions from the literature

The central themes that this literature review discussed were the role of news media in politics and its' effects, as well as gender stereotypes and prior studies on the coverage of female politicians. Examining the existing literature on news media's role in politics showed that it strongly affects the perceived importance of political topics. Besides, it also influences the politicians themselves, for instance, based on the way they are portrayed in media. A clear difference between the coverage of male and female politicians has been proven, which can lead to female candidates being excluded from the political world. The influence of the media is so strong that it leads the public agenda, as topics that are frequently reported on by the media often become more significant. Closely associated is the role of journalists as gatekeepers. Not only the media but specifically the journalists decide where the public attention is directed towards. Thus, a diverse group of gatekeepers or journalists is necessary, to ensure that the media represents society and various topics. The function of gatekeepers also sheds light on what could be called an 'attention circle'; journalists decide what will be read in the news, and society grows interested in these topics and demands more information, which results in journalists covering these topics more extensively.

Agenda-setting and priming also operate on the belief that there is a correlation between the significance society directs to a topic and the attention media gives to it. Framing, contrarily, relates to the fact that the way in which the media portrays a topic affects the understanding of the audience and also steers them towards a certain understanding. Similarly, cultivation theory supports that mass media directly influence the audiences' beliefs and attitudes, which also goes for the tonality within the articles. Research supports that tonality has a direct effect on voters' decision-making, by framing politicians either negatively or positively.

Therefore, it can be concluded that there are two main takeaways or influences from the news media. On the one hand, it influences the significance of a topic by directing more attention towards it, as described by the gatekeeper, agenda-setting and priming theory. On the other hand, it also influences the opinion of the audience and even goes as far as manipulating them. Framing and cultivation theory as well as tonality bias can directly affect the readers' attitude towards a person or topic depending on how it is presented.

Another main theme explored in this literature review relates to gender stereotypes. These are based on the differences of gender and are actually a normal process to 'simplify' thinking. Generally, stereotypes that are more traditionally related to either the female or male gender can be classified on the warmth and competence dimension, as described in the stereotype content model. Stereotypically, females and also female politicians are more often linked to traits ranked high on the warmth dimension, like compassion and honesty. Their competence and leadership qualities are rarely thematised. It can be argued that

stereotyping is a way of framing, in which females are portrayed based on traditional gender views. However, female politicians that cannot be identified with these traditional views and lean more toward traditional male stereotypes also have to face criticism, as they are not matched with the traditional sex-role alignment. So, no matter whether the female politician behaves typically female and with that is not competent enough for the job or behaves more male and then is labelled as hysteric and aggressive, female politicians almost always face criticism.

Lastly, prior studies on the media coverage of female politicians were reviewed. The cited sources have shown that also in practice, gender stereotypes are regularly applied and female politicians are framed accordingly. Gender seems to be one of the most salient factors when covering female politicians. In Germany, females are still portrayed as outsiders in politics and Merkel seems to have taken an exceptional position by consciously overlooking more traditional female topics and being depicted as more masculine and staying in that role nearly her whole chancellorship.

In conclusion, the reviewed literature gives an indication of what role the news media plays in the political world and how much it affects society. This again highlights the relevance of this study, questioning how much the use of tools like framing and cultivation as well as gender stereotypes are being used and in return manipulate our thinking.

3. Method

3.1. Research Design

The present study has a primarily qualitative research design. To elaborate, a comparative content analysis was conducted to investigate how different German newspapers portrayed Annalena Baerbock as a chancellor candidate.

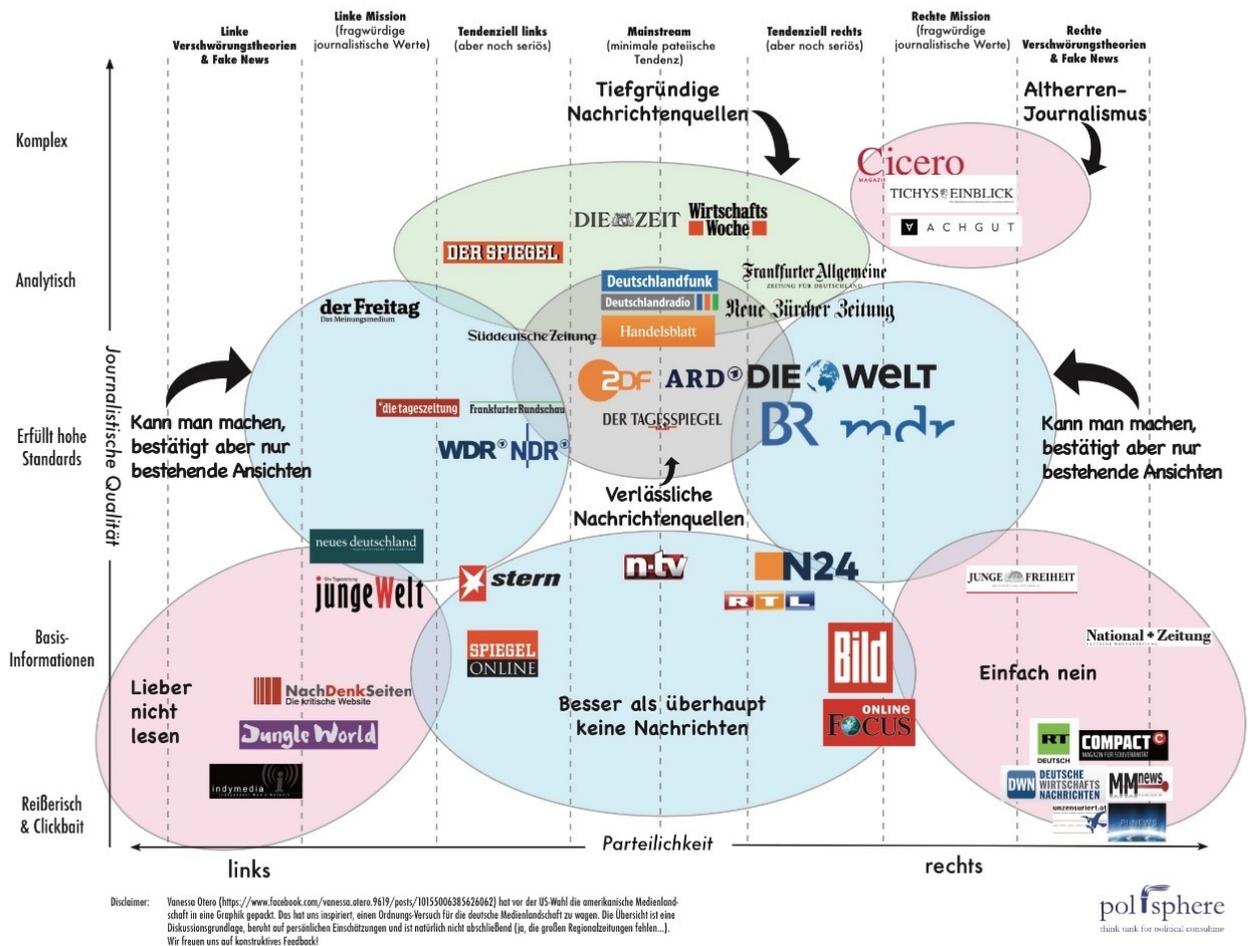
By use of a combined deductive and inductive coding approach the coding scheme (see Table 1) was established. While also considering quantitative elements such as the frequencies of the codes, this research will focus mostly on the qualitative components of the content. The value of applying a qualitative content analysis lies mainly in the possibility to uncover underlying frames in how Baerbock is portrayed in an in-depth manner.

3.2. Corpus

Multiple criteria for news articles to be included in the study were pre-defined to establish a relevant corpus. First of all, a closer look was taken at the media landscape in Germany. Polisphere and Anhäuser (2017) depict the media landscape on the political spectrum as can be seen in Figure 1.

Accordingly, it was decided to focus on the “Süddeutsche Zeitung” as well as “Die Welt”. Both outlets get published daily and count as major national news outlets with a high-quality standard, as well as a similar number of readers. Therefore, they are suitable to be compared to each other. Contrarily, and therefore interesting for the analysis, the Süddeutsche Zeitung is classified as a left-liberal newspaper and Die Welt fits is classified as more conservative (Die Zeitungen im Medienland Deutschland, 2021). Important to take into consideration is that both newspapers lean towards certain political directions but are still closely situated to the centre. Although more extremely positioned news outlets can offer interesting results, it was deliberately decided to focus on centred newspapers, as they target the general public with their content and represent the most commonly consumed news.

Figure 1
Media Landscape Germany (Polisphere in Anhäuser, 2017)



Additionally, a selection in the articles themselves was made, as the study focuses on the 2021 German election only. Hence, only newspaper articles published in the time period between the 19th of April 2021, the day Baerbock was announced as chancellor candidate, and the 26th of September 2021, when the election took place were included.

The database Nexis Uni was used to collect the newspaper articles. For the corpus selection, a few requirements were established; each article had to contain the words “Annalena Baerbock” as well as “Kanzlerkandidatin” (chancellor candidate) to confirm the relevancy of this analysis. After filtering out all the duplicate articles, as well as letters from readers, 181 articles from the Süddeutsche Zeitung and 181 articles from Die Welt were analysed, which resulted in a total of 362 articles.

3.3. Codebook

The articles were analysed using a codebook (see Table 1, more detailed version in Appendix A). The codebook was created by combining both a deductive and inductive

bottom-up approach. The value of applying this combination lies mainly in the possibility to extend the analysis beyond the already established findings from prior research. The insights collected in the literature review were used as a basis of the codebook. In the first round of coding an open coding approach was taken, by taking notes and making categories (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008) while reading the text. These notes and categories were grouped and arranged under headings (Burnard, 1991). This was done with 10% of the total corpus. After this first round of coding, a preliminary codebook was established, containing some of the codes from prior literature that were applicable to the data as well as new codes derived from the content of the corpus.

Table 1
Codebook

Code	Sub-Code
1. Tone of voice	1.1. Positive
	1.2. Negative
	1.3. Neutral
2. Use of words	2.1. Non-factual
	2.2. Factual
	2.3. Ironic
3. Personality traits	3.1. Compassionate, Warm
	3.2. Honest
	3.3. Collaborative
	3.4. Strong
	3.5. Authentic
	3.6. Arrogant
	3.7. Weak
4. Skills	4.1. Experience
	4.2. Competence
	4.3. Motivation
5. Stereotypes	5.1. Emotional
	5.2. Private/ Family life
	5.3. Talking
	5.4. Physical Appearance
6. Behaviour/ Actions	6.1. CV mistakes
	6.2. Missing supplementary income
	6.3. Plagiarism in book
	6.4. Cussing
7. Reactions towards Baerbock	7.1. Trust
	7.2. Women frame
	7.3. Criticism
	7.4. Appreciation
	7.5. Seen as a burden
	7.6. Comparing Baerbock to Habeck
	7.7. Animosity

3.4. Reliability

Before the codebook can be applied to the entire corpus, the reliability of the codebook had to be assured. Thus, intercoder reliability was assessed to ensure validity of the codes. A sample of 10% of the corpus was coded by the main researcher and the independent second coder using the entire codebook. The Cohens' kappa's for all seven categories were calculated, as seen in Table 2 all values exceed 0.6 which ensures sufficient reliability of the codebook.

Table 1

Cohen's kappas of the seven main categories

	Category	Cohen's Kappa
1	Tone of voice	0.80
2	Use of words	0.85
3	Personality traits	0.76
4	Skills	0.78
5	Stereotypes	0.69
6	Behaviour/ Actions	0.72
7	Reactions towards Baerbock	0.68

4. Results

In the following chapter, the results of the research will be presented. First, the focus is on the more general analysis, concentrating on the text of the article by looking at the tone of voice and use of words. Secondly, a more qualitative approach is taken and the results related to the content and meaning of the articles are presented. Lastly, the differences between die Süddeutsche and Die Welt are summarized.

4.1. General Analysis

Looking at how both newspapers generally reported on Baerbock, the tone of voice and use of words are good indicators as they subjectively analyse the news coverage and give an overview of the general reporting style. The tone of voice is the only code applied once per article and therefore categorized the article as generally positive, negative or neutral, which makes the analysis of the frequency of the codes relevant. Table 3 shows that the majority of pieces (n=254) were coded as neutral which would be in line with the goal of objectivity in news reporting. Many of the articles only shortly mentioned Baerbock and quoted her, whenever she made a comment on the topic discussed in the article.

Nevertheless, a part of the analysed articles showed a non-objective tone of voice. 69 of the analysed pieces were coded to be written more negatively. Die Welt shows to make more use of the negative reporting (n=49) compared to its counterpart, Die Süddeutsche (n=20). As an example, Die Welt writes in one of their articles: “She can screw it up herself above all.” (Article Die Welt), depicting Baerbock negatively. The positive tone of voice was used least among all articles and was also nearly equally distributed among both newspapers (see Table 3).

Table 3

Frequency Code: “Tone of voice”

	Die Süddeutsche	Die Welt	Total
1.1. Positive	19	21	40
1.2. Negative	20	49	69
1.3. Neutral	142	111	253
In total	181	181	362

Table 4 shows that the use of words was mostly factual (n=224) and referred to facts or quotes made by Baerbock. The authors of the articles the objectively reflect and described the topic without the influence of their own opinion. To illustrate, Die Welt wrote in one of their articles: “*Most recently, statements by the Greens' chancellor candidate Annalena*

Baerbock on fuel price increases had sparked a debate. Her party wants a faster and somewhat higher CO2 price and to reach a value of 60 euros per ton as early as 2023” (Article Die Welt). Many of the articles referred to Annalena Baerbock only briefly as they reproduced what she had said or done at an earlier time. This again reflects the goal of objectivity and factualness news outlets have.

The non-factual code was applied 131 times in total and the code ironic was coded 43 times (see table 4), showing that the newspapers are still influenced by their authors' opinions and writing style and cannot always guarantee neutral reporting.

As an example of ironic wording: *“Perhaps Baerbock and her party will even manage to avoid all the possible content-related and personal fat traps that experience shows an election campaign to have in store, and in the end there will be a real duel for the chancellorship with Armin Laschet. That would be good for democracy. However, it is not very likely.”* (Article Die Welt)

To conclude, both newspapers overwhelmingly made use of a factual and neutral style of reporting, focusing on both facts and figures in relation to Baerbock. Only a small amount of the analysed corpus indicated a subjective form of reporting.

Table 4

Frequency Code: “Use of words”

	Die Süddeutsche	Die Welt	In total
2.1. Non-factual	70	61	131
2.2. Factual	111	112	224
2.3. Ironic	9	34	43
In total	190	207	

4.2. Detailed Analysis

Besides the quantitative analysis, the articles were also analysed from a qualitative point of view; that is, focusing on the actual content of the articles. This yielded interesting results with regards to stereotypes, personality traits, skills, reactions towards Baerbock as well as behaviour and actions.

4.2.1. Stereotypes

Looking at the category of stereotypes, the most interesting and an often-reoccurring stereotype is questioning the motherly abilities of a successful career woman. Family life is one of the codes within the stereotypes category and has shown to be applied when journalists discuss Baerbock's political career in combination with her being a mother. As an example, in the following quote, the journalist asks whether or not either the children or her responsibilities as a politician would have to suffer when she tries to combine both roles.

“Since Annalena Baerbock became a chancellor candidate, an age-old question has been raised again: can a woman be both a mother and a career woman, in this case, a chancellor – how can that be done without the children or the office suffering?” (Article Die Welt)

It is interesting to see that the journalist seems to be aware that this line of arguing is “age-old” and is based on stereotypes as well as very traditional and outdated female role views. Even though this journalist might not have been the one to directly ask her about her children and how she is planning to care for them as well as doing a good job as a chancellor, they still make use of this stereotype and share these outdated views. Thus, maybe even unconsciously enforcing this stereotype. Baerbock is not aligned with her stereotype gender-role match and this requires people to consider their long-held beliefs on traditional family structures.

Baerbock has decisively presented herself as mother and makes use of this frame for instance to show emotions and make herself relatable. This surely feeds this stereotype-based reporting, as both sides of herself, mother and career-woman, clash with each other. At least based on what the journalists share in the articles about her, a harmonic coexistence of both roles seems to be impossible. However, Baerbock does not hide either her ambition to become a good politician neither the fact she is a mother and gets annoyed by this outdated questioning.

“Two reporters want to talk politics with her, but the first thing they ask is about Baerbock's children. She likes to get annoyed sometimes by such questions, which are rarely asked of men.” (Article Die Süddeutsche)

In this example the journalist also comments that this line of questioning is mostly preserved for women. Men rarely have to answer how they plan to raise their children while being successful, as it is not part of their traditional gender role to be responsible for the children.

Besides the stereotype that the roles of mother and career women are contradicting, females are also often to be described as overly emotional. The analysed articles have not displayed Baerbock in an emotional manner, rather, her emotions have rarely been discussed. On a couple of occasions, Baerbock describes herself as being emotional: *“She has always described herself as an emotional person”* (Article Die Süddeutsche). However, this has not really been picked up by the newspapers.

Another code applied in the category of stereotypes is talking. Females are often linked to talking a lot and gossiping, another trend which can also be identified in the article’s reviews. When an author describes that Baerbock is talking, more negatively connotated words such as “talking nonsense”, *“plaudern”* (=chatting) or *“Gerede”* (=chatter) are used to describe her. An example to illustrate:

“Schmiese was preceded in the broadcast by an interview with the chancellor candidate (did you know that she used to jump on a trampoline?), which Claus Kleber conducted and in which Annalena Baerbock talked blooming nonsense [...]” (Article Die Süddeutsche)

It seems not only the journalists writing the articles base their statements on stereotypes but other politicians as well. Combining the stereotypes of females frequently talking and males being more capable and, in this case, actually acting, instead of just talking about it. One of her political opponents describes that Baerbock is talking whereas he is acting *“The most important difference between him and the Green chancellor candidate Annalena Baerbock is: ‘She talks, I act’.* (Article Die Süddeutsche).

Presumably, the most frequent stereotype related to females is the importance of physical appearance. Often women are reduced to their appearance and judged for the way they look. In relation to this, the reporting on Baerbock can be divided into two categories. On the one hand comments about her figure and whether she has lost weight or gained weight and on the other hand comments related to her outfits.

“She’s wearing black skinny jeans, a petrol-colored leather jacket (faux or real leather, that’s the question here) and black suede boots.”; “She’s got great stuff like this sheer pleated skirt with an eggshell-colored underskirt and corresponding oversize sweater on.” (Articles Die Welt)

Despite the fact that the outfit is described and evaluated in a neutral way, it has no relevant value as to why this is part of the article. Her choice of clothes has no relevance in

relation to her political activities and is most likely only discussed because she is a woman, as males outfit choices are rarely mentioned in the news. It seems newspapers still see the need to objectify female politicians by putting attention towards their appearance even though this has no influence on their political capabilities.

Contrary to this way of reporting, Die Welt does call out sexism on one of their articles.

„There was a focus on Annalena Baerbock, on her as a woman, as a mother, as a young person – and not least in terms of outward appearances such as clothing and voice. That already went very strongly in the direction of sexism.“ (Article Die Welt)

Die Welt calls out the media for focussing on the stereotypes mentioned beforehand, such as her being a mother or her physical appearance. As Die Welt has also reported on exactly these topics as well, the recognition that this form of reporting might be a form of sexism, seems to be their way of excusing themselves and to raise some form of awareness. All in all, it gives the impression that sexism and stereotypes are accepted towards a certain level, but as soon as it becomes obviously hurtful also newspapers cannot accept such reporting and need to call it out, to distance themselves from comments that are too harsh.

4.2.2. Personality traits

For personality traits the analysis focussed on traits typically associated with women. Codes included, for instance, compassionate, warm and weak as typical traits for women. However, in the analysed articles, Baerbock was not really depicted as being weak or compassionate/ warm. The reporting focussed more on different personality traits Baerbock seems to have, such as being collaborative,

The code collaborative was applied within four main contexts. Firstly, Baerbock is often described as collaborative when working together with her colleague Habeck as the second party leader. Words such as “*Teamgeist*” (=team spirit) are used to describe their collaboration; for instance, she also makes sure to say thanks for their time together as party leaders by saying in one of the articles: “*What a time together’ thank you.*” (Article Die Süddeutsche). The green party also has decided to focus on the collaboration between Baerbock and Habeck within their campaign and often lets them attend events together. This also directly ties in with the second context in which Baerbock is being described as collaborative: The strategy behind her campaign. She is rarely shown alone on the campaign posters of her party and hardly titled as chancellor candidate. Instead, both Die Welt and Die Süddeutsche have picked up that the party is focussing on the “we”. (“*We are fighting,*” *Kellner said, after all, “to lead a government.” And: “We challenge the Union.”*” Article Die Welt).

The third point in regard to Baerbock being collaborative, relates to Baerbocks opinion towards the European union. As a politician, Baerbock is clearly in favour of the European Union and Germany's close collaboration with it. Die Welt writes that in international politics she is counting on solutions with the EU (*"Fundamentally, the politician is known for seeking solutions with the EU in international politics."*; Article Die Welt). Baerbock is very EU pro - in line with her party's efforts - and likes to bring attention to the notion that many of the challenges Germany faces are ones that all of the European Union has to tackle.

Lastly, Baerbock was reported to be collaborative when facing crises. Take for example the refugee crisis:

"The Green chancellor candidate Annalena Baerbock had already pleaded on Saturday for the admission of Afghan protection seekers in Europe. (...) Instead, she said, it was necessary to join forces with those European countries that wanted to do so and to agree on clear quota rules with the USA and Canada." (Article Die Welt)

A similar response was given during the floodings in the west and south of Germany that destroyed thousands of homes and claimed many lives (*"It is a national task and together we will do it"*; Article Die Süddeutsche).

This focus on a collaborative approach does give an indication that Baerbock might not be able to perform as a chancellor candidate by herself; it may seem like they are admitting a weakness. Nevertheless, the collaborative frame that is being described, has not been made up by the media. It is clearly a form of campaigning from the green party, which questions whether the doubt that Baerbock is a fitting chancellor candidate is being spouted only by opposing politicians and the media or maybe also from her own party. Being collaborative, however, can also be perceived as a strength, as individuals seldom work by themselves in a political context. Therefore, this can also show, that Baerbock and her party are aware that they are stronger together and actively fight the doubt many have about Baerbock as a chancellor.

This would also explain to a certain degree the newspapers description of Baerbock as strong, as she has a team behind her that strengthens her and she is not on her own with all the responsibilities. However, it should be mentioned that Baerbock is rarely directly described as strong. It is more in the words to describe her, such as *"klar machen"* (=make clear) and *"attackieren"* (=attack). They also use words such as *"Strahlkraft"*, *"Zielstrebig"*, *"kampfbereitschaft"* and *"durchsetzungsstark"* (= Radiance, determined, combat readiness, assertive) to describe her as strong, which are more focused on her traits than on her physical or mental strength. Once again, the reporting seems to be conflicting. Baerbock is on the one hand depicted as being somewhat weak and having to rely on her party for

support, while on the other hand, the media emphasizes her strength, such as her charisma and willpower to win.

4.2.3. Skills

The skill most frequently discussed by both newspapers is Baerbock's experience. Citizens show different opinions. In some cases, the lack of experience is not perceived to be a problem ("*The fact that Baerbock is young at 40 and has no government experience is not considered a problem by most. On the contrary.*", Article Die Süddeutsche), but on the other hand, there are also opposing statements saying she is too young and too green, which is a German saying of someone being not experienced enough ("*Too young. Too green.' He doesn't mean party affiliation.*"; Article Die Süddeutsche). One journalist of Die Süddeutsche summarizes:

"Some say young versus old, new start versus used up, others call it cluelessness versus experience, naivety versus routine."

In contrast to that, another politician from the SPD party says the chancellor position needs more experience, leadership, competence and strength than Baerbock has to offer (Article Die Welt). One of the authors of Die Süddeutsche agrees and explains that Baerbock has distinguished herself by her lack of knowledge and information (Article Die Süddeutsche). In another article by Die Süddeutsche, Baerbock is being protected by the author:

"Fischer, a school dropout with no vocational training, has made it to the position of respected foreign minister. Baerbock has a master's degree from the London School of Economics but is still considered by many to be insufficiently qualified for the highest government offices." (Article Die Süddeutsche)

Baerbock has not held any prior minister position in her political career, which has been perceived as a lack of experience. However, whether that is a disadvantage has been questioned, as some also see it as a benefit to bring a newer perspective and way of working that is not influenced as much by political traditions.

4.2.4. Reactions towards Baerbock

Looking at the coverage towards Baerbock, the reporting focusing on her gender seems to be the most salient aspect in the coverage of Baerbock, as can be seen by the frequency presented in Table 5.

Table 5

Frequency Code: "Reactions towards Baerbock"

	Die Süddeutsche	Die Welt	In total
8.1. Trust	15	3	18
8.2. Woman frame	47	33	80
8.3. criticism	11	35	46
8.4. appreciation	18	3	21
8.5. seen as a burden	1	7	8
8.6. comparing her to Habeck	9	9	18
8.7. Animosity	10	7	17
In total	111	97	

The woman frame can be split up into five categories when looking at the content of the analysed articles.

Firstly, one way of framing Baerbock is by focussing on her being a young woman. *"For the first time in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany, a comparatively very young woman is running to become chancellor, and that she has a chance of winning this office is probably not even disputed by her political opponents."*(Article Die Süddeutsche)

Die Süddeutsche summarizes that some say: *"Annalena Baerbock is so uncritically acclaimed by the media only because she is a young woman, while she wants to force us into the green yoke through bans and popular education. The others say: Annalena Baerbock is so unfairly criticized by the media only because she is a young woman, while she would be the hope for a socio-ecologically just restructuring of the republic."* (Article Die Süddeutsche).

She often times is classified as young, as she is 40 years old at the time of the campaigning. Whether 40 years old should be declared as young or not is open to interpretation but it is worth noting that politicians traditionally are somewhat older, as their political career might be their second career path. However, once again the reporting on Baerbock is contradicting, as part of the media praises her because she is young and female, while others are simultaneously doing exactly the opposite and criticize her for being young and female.

Secondly, her gender also comes into play when talking about how the green party prefers female politicians over males. Another green politician explains that for them as a feminist party: *"It is logical to have chosen Annalena Baerbock as chancellor candidate. If there is a choice between two great and very competent people, then the obvious thing to do*

is to choose the woman. And Annalena Baerbock is a great chancellor candidate, as she has shown" (Article Die Welt). Others also criticise exactly this decision-making process as well though:

"It was not her skills, not her experience, not her CV that provided her with the decisive argument, but her gender. With all due respect, with all the need to reform the patriarchal structures of our society, that might be a bit too little for a candidacy for the most important political office in a major industrialized nation." (Article Die Welt)

To a certain extent, it evokes the feeling that Baerbock has only become chancellor candidate because of her gender. The green party does not see a problem with that argumentation though, because Baerbock would have been a good candidate regardless of her gender. However, when looking at her male party co-lead that has many similarities to Baerbock and differs in his gender and having prior minister experience. According to the analysed articles, making the argument of gender the deciding factor between the two candidates might have been a mistake.

Nevertheless, as the third category when the reporting focuses on Baerbock gender, it is discussed as a reason why citizens vote for her.

"I vote green," he says. "I would like to see women in power. Women do factual politics, unlike a lot of men." (Article Die Welt)

The newspaper picks up on her gender being very relevant and a deciding factor in the elections. It seems from this analysis and prior studies that females more often have disadvantages through their gender than advantages. However, one development that can be observed is that media reports on people voting for a candidate because of their gender. It appears one does not have to justify much why they vote for a woman, because most know it is struggle for females to rise higher in political positions and the political world currently is not balanced between genders.

Fourthly, the mother frame is regularly mentioned when reporting on Baerbock, as already discussed in the paragraph on family/private life above. But being a mother is, in this case, also a direct link to her being a woman:

"But of course, a woman can be both chancellor and mother, say idealists, every woman must always be able to do everything just as well, and besides, there's a father of the children, certainly babysitters and all-day care. No, quite impossible, say realists, a job like that of the chancellor leaves no time for family, and what will become of the children. Both answers, however, lead to discursive nowhere and keep a woman who has both children and a career stuck in a V-question dichotomy - either a bad mother or a superhero. Wait, haven't we moved on already?" (Article Die Welt)

Lastly, besides only projecting the women frame on Baerbock herself the articles also link her to what they call feminized politics, where more and more females are voted into high political positions:

“Many small European countries are already politically “feminized” today - above all the Scandinavian countries - and globally they continue to move to the top: Christine Lagarde, the first president of the European Central Bank, Ursula von der Leyen, the first president of the European Commission, and Kamala Harris, the first vice president of the USA. The new chancellor candidate Annalena Baerbock confirms the trend in this country as well.” (Article Die Welt)

Die Welt chooses to describe this development as feminized politics. However, it can be argued that the political world is not being feminized, but rather becomes more balanced and represents the world population more accurately. As can be concluded, Baerbock’s gender still plays a very important role when newspapers report on her.

4.2.5. Behaviour and actions

The codes for Baerbock’s behaviour and actions were the most frequently applied category besides the tone of voice and use of words. Especially CV mistakes, missing supplementary income and plagiarism in her book were repeatedly discussed in the articles (see Table 5). Both newspapers often used either or multiple of the three topics as a hook to start the article on Baerbock, such as here:

“Unreported special income, ambiguities in the curriculum vitae, a lack of knowledge of German history and, last but not least, an idiosyncratic failure to quote: It has often been said, and rightly so, that none of these are major misdeeds. But the accumulation of them does make one think.” (Article Die Welt)

Table 6

Frequency Code: “Behaviour/ Actions”

	Die Süddeutsche	Die Welt	In total
6.1. CV Mistakes	36	46	82
6.2. missing supplementary income	26	18	44
6.3. Plagiarism in book	35	35	70
6.4. cussing	4	4	8
In total	101	103	

Journalists tend to describe these actions and behaviours from Baerbock as mistakes.

“First there were the undeclared Christmas bonuses to the Bundestag, then oddities in the curriculum vitae and currently also a heated debate, including accusations of plagiarism in her own book – for the chancellor candidate of the Greens, Annalena Baerbock, the time since her nomination has become a time of discontent. The candidate’s omissions, mistakes and mishaps have dominated the debates, not her efforts to talk about the country’s future.” (Article Die Süddeutsche)

These mistakes have been a big part of the reporting on Baerbock, leading towards the questioning of her abilities.

4.2.6. Differences between Newspapers

The analysed articles were published by either Die Welt or Die Süddeutsche and therefore the focus is also put on the differences between the two newspapers. The clearest difference can be identified when looking at the general atmosphere of the reporting. Die Welt does seem to link more distinctively to negative notions such as negative and ironic reporting and criticising Baerbock. Die Welt often makes use of irony and sarcasm when writing about Baerbock.

“But now they have descended to our level, suddenly becoming human and thus finding access to our hearts. Other saints have also made mistakes. Jesus raised the dead even though he didn’t have a doctorate, Mother Teresa is said to have committed a caloric sin or two, John Paul II drove a popemobile with an internal combustion engine, and Bob Dylan, well, so far he hasn’t made a mistake, but he’s not a saint either. Unlike Karl and Annalena, who, out of love for the people, have been guilty of side income concealment and thus electable.” (Article Die Welt)

Die Welt clearly makes fun of Baerbock by ironically comparing her to “saints” who also have made mistakes. Throughout the articles, this ironically making fun of Baerbock is a common occurrence and way of reporting used by Die Welt.

The authors clearly criticise Baerbock for much of her behaviour in a very negative tone, her perfectionism is identified as a weakness and it is said that she acts very arrogant.

“The way in which the Greens’ chancellor candidate makes it clear with every appearance that she thinks very highly of herself obviously arouses antipathy. However, the fact that her image has become clouded in the meantime is - contrary to what her party announces - not primarily the work of misogynist enviers. Annalena Baerbock herself is responsible for it. And it looks as if she refuses to take note of it. [...] It is said that the Green candidate for chancellor is a perfectionist. That is probably true. But part of that perfectionism seems to be that she perceives herself as more perfect than she is.” (Article Die Welt)

Such comments make the reporting of Die Welt on Baerbock appear much more negative as to what Die Süddeutsche is sharing. Although they also criticise Baerbock and not only report on her neutrally, Die Welt's use of irony leads to a more negative portrayal of Baerbock. Looking at Figure 1, Die Welt is sorted on the political spectrum as "tends to be right" whereas Baerbock and her party can be categorized more clearly on the left side. The differing political views might explain why the news outlet is more negatively toned towards Baerbock.

5. Discussion

After displaying the results of the research, the following section will discuss and reflect on these results as well as the research in general. First, answers to the research question and sub-questions will be given by elaborating on the main findings. This is followed by highlighting some theoretical and practical implications of the research. Subsequently, the limitations of the research will be declared and some future research recommendations will be given. Lastly, a brief conclusion will be provided.

5.1. Main findings

This research aims to find out how different German newspapers reported on Annalena Baerbock as chancellor candidate from her announcement in April 2021 until the election and how this reporting differed in *Die Süddeutsche Zeitung* and *Die Welt*. The following section will summarize the main findings of this analysis and with that answer the research question.

The findings highlight that both newspapers are mostly reporting on Baerbock in a neutral and factual way and thereby confirm the expected objectivity within news reporting of established and trusted newspapers in Germany. Relevant for this observation are Germany's privacy laws, that also guard public figures such as politicians (Esser, 1999). Additionally, Esser (1999) has concluded that in comparison to the United Kingdom "professional norms and ethical values" (p.318) play a much more important role in German news coverage as compared to tabloid papers. The German news coverage seems to have high quality standards and values informing their readers over entertaining them. Nevertheless, parts of the analysed articles also show more contrasting findings, as articles were also written in a non-factual manner, either more positively or negatively toned with the use of irony. This form of reporting was, however, very limited although it shows that a certain bias is nearly inevitable and German journalists also give some attention to more unserious news.

Looking at stereotypes, both newspapers made use of typical stereotypes females get confronted with regularly. The most highlighted and intensively discussed themes were Baerbock being a mother and how one can combine being a good mother as well as being successful in their career. Another topic covered is that women typically talk a lot and like to gossip which is also picked up by the newspapers in Baerbock case. Lastly, her physical appearance was spoken of quite regularly and in much detail. As mentioned in the literature review, stereotypes are a cognitive process that can be traced back to biological and social forces (Six & Eckes, 1991; Ellemers, 2018). Many of the stereotypes about females are based on traditional role expectations, from which females have started to detach themselves. Lammers, Gordijn and Otten (2009) explain that in political candidacies these

stereotypes often work against female politicians and they should be aware of this internalized bias. One should “rethink the importance that we attach to competitive (male) and communal (female) leadership” (p.193) and give both the option to also perform well outside their gender expectations.

The analysed newspapers also make note of the fact that this use of stereotypes is outdated and prejudiced. Nevertheless, they still make use of them and put focus towards topics that seemingly have no influence on Baerbock as a politician. This can be described as performative allyship or activism: “it refers to someone from a nonmarginalized group professing support and solidarity with a marginalized group, but in a way that is not helpful” (Kalina, 2020, p.478). The activism both newspapers show in recognizing sexist forms of reporting does not support the cause against exactly this problem, as they still continue to make use of stereotypes and question Baerbock when she goes against the typical gender role alignment. However, by acknowledging the sexism they portray themselves as being an ally to the discussion but do not follow through with this behaviour making it a performative allyship. Or as Kalina (2020) explains it: it is just a show.

Baerbock is described as collaborative and strong by both newspapers, focussing on the teamwork with her party co-lead as well as other collaboration with other bodies. Her strength is mostly presented through her public speaking and confidence. Being confident, and with that determined and assertive, are traits linked to successful female politicians (Costantini & Craik, 1972). It should be mentioned that, to a certain degree, this line of reporting is also made out to be negative, as Baerbock is also being described as arrogant and seeing herself above all.

The frequent mention of Baerbock being collaborative was somewhat unexpected, as not much research has focused on it as a personality trait and it also only became a focus of this analysis after deductively coding the corpus of this study.

Another contradictory point recognized by the media is her experience. Baerbock as well as many others see her limited prior experience as an advantage but just as many, if not more, also understandably acknowledge it as a disadvantage. The newspapers also do not seem to be able to decide on whether the whole experience argument is in favour of Baerbock or exactly the opposite. Anderson (2017) concludes that female politicians that run for a political position for the first time are seen “as pioneers with symbolic appeal rather than political strength. To be taken seriously as presidential candidates, women politicians must amass significant political experience, party support, and campaign funds. Once they do that, their political strength is portrayed as anti-democratic entitlement and their presidential aspirations as a manic desire for power” (p.133). This research focused on the US where female politicians are even less common than in Germany and they have a different political system. Nevertheless, it shows that females must have more experience than their male

counterparts to be seen as relevant. Usually, their wish to become chancellor is framed negatively; therefore, it is rather surprising that also many see Baerbock's missing experience as an advantage.

Considering all the analysed newspaper articles, Baerbock's gender seems to be the most salient. Even though most of the articles are neutral and factual, they still report on Baerbock being a woman. Thomas, Harell, Rijkhoff and Gosselin (2021) have also established that gendered mediation is taking place and "gender norms and roles are (re)created and (re)enforced through the media's presentation of politics and politicians to the public" (p.14), therefore it is not surprising that Baerbock is framed in multiple ways related to her gender, like in relation to her party or other female politicians that are rising to power. Therefore, this gender frame cannot really be connoted as negative or positive. It can however be noted that her gender is important for the newspapers and therefore also ultimately for the readers. Whether that is because female politicians in high positions are still somewhat rare or because of Baerbock herself is difficult to establish.

Looking at how Die Süddeutsche Zeitung and Die Welt differ in their reporting on Baerbock it can be noted that Die Welt in general seemed to be linked to more negatively connotated codes. Most of the ironic use of words was within the articles of Die Welt, seemingly making fun of Baerbock. Additionally, Die Welt described Baerbock frequently as being arrogant and weak. Furthermore, Baerbock was depicted as a burden in Die Welt reports, showing the disadvantage for the green party to have chosen Baerbock as chancellor candidate. Most likely this is based on the political background of the newspaper. As mentioned in the literature review, the media's background has an effect on their reporting and Die Welt's environment is based further away from Baerbock's party's view than it is the case for Die Süddeutsche.

5.2. Theoretical implications

The results of this study have provided some interesting insights, which add to the existing body of literature. Looking at the literature concentrating on female stereotypes, this research has found similar topics to be still relevant. For instance, such as Sreberny-Mohammadi and Ross (1996), as cited in Gidengil and Everitt (2003) who found stereotypes about private life and physical appearance of females, as well as Miller and Peake (2013) who concluded the most frequent topics related to Sarah Palin were her gender, physical appearance and clothing as well as her family situation. However, both studies had a quantitative methodology whereas the present study follows a mostly qualitative approach. Therefore, a comparison of both studies presents itself difficult.

Contrary to the results from Huddy and Terkildsen (1993) and Renner and Masch (2019) that women in politics are more emotional, this cannot be confirmed by this research. In the current study, few emotions were linked to Baerbock and if being emotional was

mentioned, it came from Baerbock herself. However, Angela Merkel was also not described with much emotion during her chancellorship and she also made it a point herself not to show emotions (Glaremin, 2020), which became one of her key characteristics. As Germany has been marked by this feature of hers and it brought her much success, it is not surprising that Baerbock also limits her emotional displays. This also means that Baerbock is not, as is usually the case for female politicians high on the warmth dimension in the stereotype content model from Fiske et al. (2002), which goes against typical gender stereotypes and goes against her gender-role expectations.

Multiple studies have reported on how females are often looked at from a “gendered perspective” (Dolan & Lynch, 2014, p.658) and that their gender is often the most salient character being communicated (Ross, Evans, Harrison, Shears & Wadia, 2013; Shpeer & Meeks, 2021, Semetko & Boomgarden, 2007). This study supports these results by also showing that Baerbock being a woman is the topic reported on the most by the media.

5.3. Practical implications

Some practical implications can be produced from this study. First of all, the analysis has shown that newspapers are not always reporting in a neutral and factual way. Therefore, it would be relevant for readers to be aware of these biases. Consequently, citizens should not only consume news from one newspaper or media outlet but have a diverse consumption of media to ensure that the information is being confirmed by the different sources.

This study also gives an indication of the role that gender still plays in our society, especially in a political context. Women’s gender still plays an important part when looking at what the newspapers wrote about Baerbock, as her gender regularly gained much attention. Consequently, female politicians’ abilities are much more questioned. Specifically, the mother role for females is still very prominent in the German news and much of the questioning is related to the nearly *primaevae* question of how a mother can be a good mother and also take time for their career. It seems these anchored beliefs related to females are still very much relevant in today’s society and raising awareness seems to be one of the most successful methods to limit its spreading. Therefore, journalists and editors of newspapers should also consider that this partly subconscious way of reporting affects their readers. They might want to implement a less gendered approach to reporting on politicians so that gender does not seem to be the most salient attribute of the candidate.

For female politicians there might be the question as to what they should do differently to succeed as political candidates. Anderson (2017) goes as far as saying that in the US “there is literally nothing that women have not tried in their one-hundred-plus-year quest for the Oval Office. The problem lies with the culture rather than with the candidates” (p. 135). As implication for the female politicians, they should be conscious that our society is

often times not ready to leave misogynist stereotypes behind and let female political leaders rise to power.

5.4. Limitations

This study is subject to multiple limitations that should be considered. First of all, the sample size, or to be more specific, the analysed corpus consisted of only articles from two German newspapers. The newspaper landscape in Germany, however, is much bigger than what these analysed newspapers represent. Additionally, the number of articles analysed also represents a small fraction of all the written articles. Therefore, the corpus could be extended by also considering other newspapers.

Secondly, the coding process was done manually; the reliability of the codebook was tested with the help of a second coder and the Cohens kappa. Nevertheless, a certain subjectivity through the manual coding process is not avoidable and should therefore be listed as a limitation of this study.

Thirdly, the articles analysed as they were published in German newspapers were also written in German, and the codebook used to analyse the article was in English. The language differences should not be underestimated. The examples and definitions included in the codebook help with the application of the code, but once again, certain differences are difficult to overcome, therefore it is important to note.

Lastly, the search for the articles, and with that, the content within, could have been more thorough so more relevant articles would have been part of the analysis. Whilst all of the articles mention Baerbock, not all of them are solely focused on her. Some only briefly mention her, often in the context of a different matter discussed. For a richer analysis and more relevant results, these articles did not give much input. Therefore, the search terms used in the LexisNexis tool should be reviewed and one might consider that the name Baerbock should for instance be mentioned at least three times.

5.5. Future research directions

The results of this study give insights into what possible future research direction can be taken that would generate interesting additional results. As mentioned within the limitations, the sample size is a point of criticism. Besides just broadening the number of analysed articles, future research can also focus on different newspapers, for instance, more politically driven news and outlets that are not as frequently consumed by the mainstream citizen.

The analysis within this study focussed on Annalena Baerbock's campaign as a chancellor candidate. An interesting angle for future research might be to focus on how Baerbock is being depicted in her current role as minister of foreign affairs and whether there are changes to how she was described as a chancellor candidate.

Another interesting comparison could be to compare Baerbock more directly to the other male chancellor candidates that were in the race. That is, investigating where exactly the differences in reporting lay and being able to draw a more concrete conclusion on the gender differences in news reporting in Germany from a political perspective.

Additionally, a more concrete analysis of the effects of this reporting would show to what extent the public is being influenced by the media. So, for instance, by considering how election results might have been affected by means of quantitative research about the voting behaviour of citizens.

5.6. Conclusion

This study aimed to answer the research question “How did two German newspapers (Die Süddeutsche Zeitung and Die Welt) report on Annalena Baerbock as chancellor candidate from her announcement in April 2021 until the election in September 2021?” Based on the qualitative content analysis conducted, it can be concluded that the majority of articles were neutral and factual, and therefore most likely unbiased in their reporting. It seems the focus of the analysed German newspapers laid on informing their readers about Baerbock as a chancellor candidate and not on firing up any rumours with their reporting.

Nevertheless, some of the articles also exhibit more partial reporting and touched upon very traditional stereotypes that females, and in this case female politicians, have to work against. Whereas one can be happy that this seems to be the minority of the analysed articles, the analysed newspapers have not yet been able to completely detach themselves from these trains of thought. Baerbock is still linked to misogynistic stereotypes and an outdated view of women. This type of coverage makes the balancing of politics between all genders more difficult and female politicians have to work harder than their male counterparts to reach the same things. The distribution of these views manifests within our society and makes it much more difficult to escape from them and build one’s own opinions. This study did not analyse the effects the reporting has on the readers, but the influence of the media on opinion building should not be underestimated.

As a concluding thought, one should question the content of news reporting and demand for female politicians to not be reduced to their gender.

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Appendix

Appendix A:

Table 7
Detailed Codebook

Code	Sub-Code	Description	Examples
1. Tone of voice	1.1. Positive	Positive/optimistic regarding Baerbock	Will be applied to the entire article
	1.2. Negative	Negative/pessimistic regarding Baerbock	Will be applied to the entire article
	1.3. Neutral	Neutral regarding Baerbock (factual information without evaluating objectives)	Will be applied to the entire article
2. Use of words	2.1. Non-factual	The coverage on Baerbock is not factual and opinions are influencing the writing.	"Annalena Baerbock becomes 'Schummel-Baerbock': a little pimped the resume, disguised the own additional income and now a book copied together in parts."
	2.2. Factual	Baerbock is described factually.	"Stockbrokers linked this to statements by Green Party chancellor candidate Annalena Baerbock, who had spoken out in favor of abolishing short-haul flights and against cheap ticket prices."
	2.3. Ironic	The author makes use of irony and sarcasm in their article to describe Baerbock.	"Personal attacks, self-doubt, hair pulling? No kidding. The candidate, at least, seems determined to show the world as unimpressed a face as possible."
3. Personality traits	3.1. Compassionate, Warm	Baerbock is described as being warm and linked to topics that show her compassion.	"Her demand from the previous week to bring needy refugee families from Lesbos to Germany was of a different character there, but was ignored by her fellow candidates - of course."
	3.2. Honest	Baerbock is described as being honest.	"There had been 'irritations,' the 'mistakes have annoyed all of us,' above all Baerbock herself."
	3.3. Collaborative	Baerbock is described as being collaborative and linked to topics that show her collaboration or willingness to collaborate.	"Our future is renewable, and we are proud of it,' says Baerbock. 'We're tackling it.' Or: 'We'll do it better in the future.'"

	3.4.	Strong	Baerbock is described as being strong or powerful.	"In the end, only one can do it.' And that one is Annalena Baerbock."
	3.5.	Authentic	Baerbock is described as being authentic or likable.	Baerbock is "authentic and dynamic," she can "take people with her and motivate them" and has "cool ideas."
	3.6.	Arrogant	Baerbock is being described as arrogant or self-absorbed.	"Left-wing parliamentary group leader Amira Mohamed Ali even accused Baerbock via Twitter of "intolerable arrogance" toward people with low incomes."
	3.7.	Weak	Baerbock is depicted as being weak or in need of more protection.	"When it's over, the chancellor candidate is driven away in an armored car instead of a bus. There have been more pleasant appearances."
4. Skills	4.1.	Experience	Baerbock's experience in Politics is referred to.	„ She comes across as defensive when she concedes others have more government experience"
	4.2.	Competence	Baerbock's competence as a politician, or the lack thereof, is described.	"Baerbock is the winner of the triell, but only in the sympathy factor, not in competence. Nice woman, but not the right one for power, that is."
	4.3.	Motivation	Baerbock's motivation is described.	"It sounds like someone decided to give themselves new courage, too."
5. Stereotypes	5.1.	Emotional	Baerbock is depicted as being emotional.	"Is a chancellor candidate allowed to cry in public? There are tricks to prevent that, Baerbock knows them by now: "I would have had to think convulsively of something else at the moment when the Yazidi showed me the worst thing that can happen to a mother," she writes in her book."
	5.2.	Private/ Family life	Baerbock's private or family life is mentioned.	"I think it's great when families model where the woman is the main breadwinner. We're both young mothers, so that sticks."
	5.3.	Talking	Baerbock is described as talking a lot or words are used that are negatively connotated with talking.	"Baerbock then blabbed on..."
	5.4.	Physical Appearance	Baerbock's physical appearance is described, for instance her clothing.	"She's wearing great things like this sheer pleated skirt with eggshell underskirt and corresponding oversized

sweater."

6. Behaviour/ Actions	6.1.	CV mistakes	The false information on Baerbock's CV is addressed.	"This discussion about the flaws in her resume and about her plagiarism is likely to cost Baerbock some votes."
	6.2.	Missing supplementary income	Baerbock's shortcomings about reporting on supplementary income is addressed.	"Unlike Karl and Annalena, who, for the love of the people, have been guilty of side income concealment and thus electable."
	6.3.	Plagiarism in book	Allegations about plagiarism in Baerbock's book are addressed.	"Green Party chancellor candidate Annalena Baerbock allegedly plagiarized in her book."
	6.4.	Cussing	Baerbock cussed.	"As she's walking off the stage, she says, 'Shit,' and the microphone is still open."
7. Reactions towards Baerbock	7.1.	Trust	People's trust towards Baerbock is discussed.	"His confidence in chancellor candidate Annalena Baerbock may have received at least a fine crack"
	7.2.	Women frame	Baerbock being a woman is highlighted.	„A power women!"
	7.3.	Criticism	Criticism directed towards Baerbock is being shared.	"Calling justified criticism character assassination gives a deep insight. Anyone who is not capable of criticism is also not capable of governing."
	7.4.	Appreciation	Appreciation directed towards Baerbock is being shared.	"Annalena Baerbock is surrounded by goodwill. 'Super,' says one party colleague, 'very, very impressive,' another."
	7.5.	Seen as a burden	Baerbock is depicted as being a burden for the Green campaign.	"Whether Annalena Baerbock has become a burden for the Green election campaign, Habeck is asked again and again."
	7.6.	Comparing Baerbock to Habeck (other green politician)	Baerbock is being compared to Habeck.	"If Robert Habeck had become the candidate for chancellor, she might even have chosen the Greens."
	7.7.	Animosity	Animosity directed towards Baerbock is being depicted.	"There is no climate change," shouts one from the edge of the square. "Shut the fuck up," one yells back from the center."

Appendix B:

Table 8

Overview of quotes from analysed articles

#	Original	English translation	Newspaper (Article Number ATLAS)
1	<i>Zuletzt hatten Äußerungen der Grünen-Kanzlerkandidatin Annalena Baerbock zu Spritpreiserhöhungen eine Debatte losgetreten. Ihre Partei will eine schnellere und etwas höhere CO2-Bepreisung und bereits 2023 einen Wert von 60 Euro je Tonne erreichen.</i>	Most recently, statements by the Greens' chancellor candidate Annalena Baerbock on fuel price increases had sparked a debate. Her party wants a faster and somewhat higher CO2 price and to reach a value of 60 euros per ton as early as 2023.	Die Welt (Article 162)
2	<i>Vielleicht gelingt es Baerbock mit ihrer Partei sogar alle möglichen inhaltlichen und persönlichen Fett-Fallen zu umkurven, die ein Wahlkampf erfahrungsgemäß bereithält, und es kommt am Ende doch noch zu einem richtigen Duell um die Kanzlerschaft mit Armin Laschet. Das wäre ja gut für die Demokratie.</i>	Perhaps Baerbock and her party will even manage to avoid all the possible content-related and personal fat traps that experience shows an election campaign to have in store, and in the end there will be a real duel for the chancellorship with Armin Laschet. That would be good for democracy. However, it is not very likely.	Die Welt (Article 67)
3	<i>Seitdem Annalena Baerbock Kanzlerkandidatin ist, steht eine uralte Frage wieder im Raum, ob eine Frau denn beides könne: Mutter und Karrierefrau sein, in dem Fall Kanzlerin - wie soll das gehen, ohne dass die Kinder oder das Amt leiden?</i>	Since Annalena Baerbock became a chancellor candidate, an age-old question has been raised again: can a woman be both a mother and a career woman, in this case, a chancellor - how can that be done without the children or the office suffering?	Die Welt (Article 86)
4	<i>Zwei Reporter wollen mit ihr über Politik reden, aber als Erstes fragen sie nach Baerbocks Kindern. Sie ärgert sich gern mal über solche Fragen, die Männern nur selten gestellt werden.</i>	Two reporters want to talk politics with her, but the first thing they ask is about Baerbock's children. She likes to get annoyed sometimes by such questions, which are rarely asked of men.	Die Süddeutsche (Article 298)

- | | | | |
|----|---|---|-------------------------------|
| 5 | <i>Sie selbst hat sich immer als emotionalen Menschen beschrieben.</i> | She has always described herself as an emotional person. | Die Süddeutsche (Article 298) |
| 6 | <i>Schmiese vorausgegangen war in der Sendung ein Interview mit der Kandidatin (wussten Sie, dass sie früher Trampolin gesprungen ist?), das Claus Kleber führte und in dem Annalena Baerbock, was jedem mal zusteht nach einem langen Tag, blühenden Unsinn redete. (Allerdings hätte zum Beispiel Christian Lindner im Gespräch mit Marietta Slomka so ein Zeug reden sollen, da wäre aber was los gewesen im Heute-Journal.)</i> | Schmiese was preceded in the broadcast by an interview with the chancellor candidate (did you know that she used to jump on a trampoline?), which Claus Kleber conducted and in which Annalena Baerbock talked blooming nonsense [...]. | Die Süddeutsche (Article 380) |
| 7 | <i>Der wichtigste Unterschied zwischen ihm und der grünen Kanzlerkandidatin Annalena Baerbock sei: ‚Sie redet, ich handle‘.</i> | The most important difference between him and the Green chancellor candidate Annalena Baerbock is: ‘She talks, I act’. | Die Süddeutsche (Article 365) |
| 8 | <i>Sie trägt schwarze Röhrenjeans, eine petrolfarbene Lederjacke (Kunst- oder Echtleder, das ist hier die Frage) und schwarze Wildleder-Stiefel.</i> | She wears black skinny jeans, petrol colored leather jacket (faux or real leather, that's the question here) and black suede boots. | Die Welt (Article 159) |
| 9 | <i>Sie hat tolle Sachen wie diesen durchsichtigen Plisseerock mit eierschalenfarbenem Unterrock und korrespondierendem Oversize-Pullover an.</i> | She's wearing great things like this sheer pleated skirt with an eggshell colored underskirt and corresponding oversized sweater. | Die Welt (Article 123) |
| 10 | <i>Es gab eine Fokussierung auf Annalena Baerbock, auf sie als Frau, als Mutter, als junge Person - und nicht zuletzt bezogen auf Äußerlichkeiten wie Kleidung und Stimme. Das ging schon sehr stark in Richtung Sexismus.</i> | There was a focus on Annalena Baerbock, on her as a woman, as a mother, as a young person - and not least in terms of outward appearances such as clothing and voice. That already went very strongly in the direction of sexism. | Die Welt (Article 26) |
| 11 | <i>„Was für eine gemeinsame</i> | "What a time together" | Die Süddeutsche (Article 229) |

	<i>Zeit' bedankt."</i>	thank you."	
12	<i>Wir kämpfen dafür", sagte Kellner immerhin, "dass wir eine Regierung anführen können." Und: "Wir fordern die Union heraus."</i>	We are fighting," Kellner said, after all, "to lead a government." And: "We challenge the Union."	Die Welt (Article 41)
13	<i>Grundsätzlich ist die Politikerin dafür bekannt, dass sie in der internationalen Politik auf Lösungen mit der EU setzt.</i>	Fundamentally, the politician is known for seeking solutions with the EU in international politics.	Die Welt (Article 62)
14	<i>Die Grünen-Kanzlerkandidatin Annalena Baerbock hatte bereits am Samstag für die Aufnahme afghanischer Schutzsuchender in Europa plädiert. [...] Man müsse sich vielmehr mit jenen europäischen Ländern zusammenschließen, die das tun wollten, und mit den USA und Kanada klare Kontingentregeln vereinbaren.</i>	The Green chancellor candidate Annalena Baerbock had already pleaded on Saturday for the admission of Afghan protection seekers in Europe. (...) Instead, she said, it was necessary to join forces with those European countries that wanted to do so and to agree on clear quota rules with the USA and Canada.	Die Welt (Article 15)
15	<i>[Es ist] eine nationale Aufgabe und gemeinsam werden wir das schaffen.</i>	It is a national task and together we will do it.	Die Süddeutsche (Article 281)
16	<i>Dass Baerbock mit 40 Jahren jung und ohne Regierungserfahrung ist, halten die meisten nicht für ein Problem. Im Gegenteil.</i>	The fact that Baerbock is young at 40 and has no government experience is not considered a problem by most. On the contrary.	Die Süddeutsche (Article 210)
17	<i>'zu jung. Zu grün.' Er meint nicht die Parteizugehörigkeit.</i>	'Too young. Too green.' He does not mean party affiliation.	Die Süddeutsche (Article 298)
18	<i>Die einen sagen Jung gegen Alt, Aufbruch gegen Verbrauch, die anderen nennen es Ahnungslosigkeit gegen Erfahrung, Naivität gegen Routine.</i>	Some say young versus old, new start versus used up, others call it cluelessness versus experience, naivety versus routine.	Die Süddeutsche (Article 263)
19	<i>Es braucht Erfahrung, es braucht Leadership, es braucht Kompetenz, es braucht Kraft.</i>	It takes experience, it takes leadership, it takes competence, it takes power.	Die Welt (Article 120)
20	<i>Wenn ich trotzdem dagegen bin, dass Frau Baerbock Kanzlerin wird, dann liegt das</i>	If I am nevertheless against Ms. Baerbock becoming chancellor, it is	Die Süddeutsche (Article 285)

- schlicht daran, dass sie öfters durch Unwissenheit oder Uninformiertheit auffiel.*
- simply because she has often been conspicuous for her ignorance or lack of information.
- 21 *Fischer, Schulabbrecher ohne Berufsausbildung, hat es zum angesehenen Außenminister gebracht. Baerbock hat einen Master der London School of Economics, aber gilt vielen trotzdem noch als unzureichend qualifiziert für höchste Regierungsämter.*
- Fischer, a school dropout with no vocational training, has made it to the position of respected foreign minister. Baerbock has a master's degree from the London School of Economics but is still considered by many to be insufficiently qualified for the highest government offices.
- Die Süddeutsche (Article 298)
- 22 *Zum ersten Mal in der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik tritt eine vergleichsweise sehr junge Frau an, um Kanzlerin zu werden, und dass sie Chancen auf dieses Amt hat, bestreiten vermutlich nicht einmal die politischen Gegner.*
- For the first time in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany, a comparatively very young woman is running to become chancellor, and that she has a chance of winning this office is probably not even disputed by her political opponents.
- Die Süddeutsche (Article 220)
- 23 *Die einen sagen: Annalena Baerbock wird von den Medien nur deshalb so kritiklos bejubelt, weil sie eine junge Frau ist, dabei will sie uns durch Verbote und Volkserziehung ins grüne Joch zwingen. Die anderen sagen: Annalena Baerbock wird von den Medien nur deshalb so unfair kritisiert, weil sie eine junge Frau ist, dabei wäre sie die Hoffnung auf einen sozialökologisch gerechten Umbau der Republik.*
- Some say: Annalena Baerbock is so uncritically acclaimed by the media only because she is a young woman, while she wants to force us into the green yoke through bans and popular education. The others say: Annalena Baerbock is so unfairly criticized by the media only because she is a young woman, although she would be the hope for a socio-ecologically just restructuring of the republic.
- Die Süddeutsche (Article 251)
- 24 *Dass wir Annalena Baerbock zur Kanzlerkandidatin gekürt haben, ist für uns als feministische Partei folgerichtig. Wenn wir die Wahl zwischen zwei tollen und sehr kompetenten Menschen haben, dann liegt es nah, die*
- For us as a feminist party, it is logical that we have chosen Annalena Baerbock as our chancellor candidate. If we have a choice between two great and very competent people, then
- Die Welt (Article 26)

- Frau zu wählen. Und Annalena Baerbock ist eine großartige Kanzlerkandidatin, das hat sie gezeigt.*
- the obvious thing to do is to choose the woman. And Annalena Baerbock is a great chancellor candidate, as she has shown.
- 25 *Nicht ihr Können, nicht ihre Erfahrung, nicht ihr Lebenslauf lieferten ihr dabei das ausschlaggebende Argument, sondern ihr Geschlecht. Das könnte - bei allem Respekt, bei aller Notwendigkeit, die patriarchalische Strukturen unserer Gesellschaft zu reformieren - womöglich doch ein bisschen zu wenig sein für eine Bewerbung um das wichtigste politische Amt in einer großen Industrienation.*
- It was not her skills, not her experience, not her CV that provided her with the decisive argument, but her gender. With all due respect, with all the need to reform the patriarchal structures of our society, that might be a bit too little for a candidacy for the most important political office in a major industrialized nation.
- Die Welt (Article 67)
- 26 *„Ich wähle grün“, sagt er. „Ich wünsche mir Frauen an der Macht. Frauen machen Sachpolitik, im Gegensatz zu vielen Männern.“*
- “I vote green,” he says. “I would like to see women in power. Women do factual politics, unlike a lot of men”.
- Die Welt (Article 2)
- 27 *Aber natürlich kann eine Frau beides, Kanzlerin und Mutter sein, sagen Idealisten, jede Frau muss alles immer auch genauso können dürfen, außerdem gibt es ja auch einen Vater der Kinder, bestimmt Babysitter und Ganztagsbetreuung. Nein, ganz und gar unmöglich, meinen Realisten, so ein Job wie der der Bundeskanzlerin lässt keine Zeit für Familie, und was wird aus den Kindern. Beide Antworten führen allerdings ins diskursive Nirgendwo und halten eine Frau, die beides hat, Kinder und Karriere, in einer V-Frage-Dichotomie fest - entweder Rabenmutter oder Superheldin. Moment, waren wir nicht schon weiter?*
- But of course a woman can be both chancellor and mother, say idealists, every woman must always be able to do everything just as well, and besides, there's a father of the children, certainly babysitters and all-day care. No, quite impossible, say realists, a job like that of the chancellor leaves no time for family, and what will become of the children. Both answers, however, lead to discursive nowhere and keep a woman who has both children and a career stuck in a V-question dichotomy - either a bad mother or a superhero. Wait, haven't we moved on already?
- Die Welt (Article 86)
- 28 *Viele kleine europäische Länder sind heute bereits politisch "feminisiert" - allen*
- Many small European countries are already politically "feminized"
- Die Welt (Article 180)

- voran die skandinavischen Länder - und global rücken sie weiter an die Spitze: Christine Lagarde, die erste Präsidentin der Europäischen Zentralbank, Ursula von der Leyen, die erste Präsidentin der Europäischen Kommission, und Kamala Harris, die erste Vizepräsidentin der USA. Die neue Kanzlerkandidatin Annalena Baerbock bestätigt den Trend auch hierzulande.*
- today - above all the Scandinavian countries - and globally they continue to move to the top: Christine Lagarde, the first president of the European Central Bank, Ursula von der Leyen, the first president of the European Commission, and Kamala Harris, the first vice president of the USA. The new chancellor candidate Annalena Baerbock confirms the trend in this country as well.
- 29 *Nicht gemeldete Sondereinkünfte, Zweideutigkeiten in der Vita, mangelnde Kenntnis der bundesdeutschen Geschichte und zuletzt eine eigenwillige Nicht-Zitierweise: Es ist oft und zu Recht gesagt worden, dass das alles keine großen Verfehlungen sind. In der Häufung stimmen sie aber doch nachdenklich.*
- Unreported special income, ambiguities in the curriculum vitae, a lack of knowledge of German history and, last but not least, an idiosyncratic failure to quote: It has often been said, and rightly so, that none of these are major misdeeds. But the accumulation of them does make one think.
- Die Welt (Article 107)
- 30 *Erst waren da die beim Bundestag nicht angemeldeten Weihnachtsgelder, dann Merkwürdigkeiten beim Lebenslauf und aktuell auch noch eine heftige Debatte bis hin zu Plagiatsvorwürfen beim eigenen Buch - für die Kanzlerkandidatin der Grünen, Annalena Baerbock, ist die Zeit seit ihrer Nominierung zu einer Zeit des Missvergnügens geworden. Versäumnisse, Fehler und Pannen der Kandidatin haben die Debatten dominiert, nicht das Bestreben, über die Zukunft des Landes zu reden.*
- First there were the undeclared Christmas bonuses to the Bundestag, then oddities in the curriculum vitae and currently also a heated debate, including accusations of plagiarism in her own book - for the chancellor candidate of the Greens, Annalena Baerbock, the time since her nomination has become a time of discontent. The candidate's omissions, mistakes and mishaps have dominated the debates, not her efforts to talk about the country's future.
- Die Süddeutsche (Article 192)
- 31 *Doch jetzt sind die beiden auf unser Niveau herabgestiegen, sind plötzlich Mensch*
- But now they have descended to our level, suddenly becoming
- Die Welt (Article 186)

geworden und haben so Zugang zu unseren Herzen gefunden. Auch andere Heilige haben Fehler gemacht. Jesus hat Tote aufgeweckt, obwohl er keinen Dokortitel hatte, Mutter Teresa soll die eine oder andere Kaloriensünde begangen haben, Johannes Paul II. fuhr ein Papamobil mit Verbrennungsmotor, und Bob Dylan, nun ja, bis jetzt hat er keinen Fehler gemacht, aber er ist ja auch kein Heiliger. Im Gegensatz zu Karl und Annalena, die sich, aus Liebe zu den Menschen, der Nebeneinkünfteverschweigung schuldig und damit wählbar gemacht haben.

human and thus finding access to our hearts. Other saints have also made mistakes. Jesus raised the dead even though he didn't have a doctorate, Mother Teresa is said to have committed a caloric sin or two, John Paul II drove a popemobile with an internal combustion engine, and Bob Dylan, well, so far he hasn't made a mistake, but he's not a saint either. Unlike Karl and Annalena, who, out of love for the people, have been guilty of side income concealment and thus electable.

- 32 *Die Art, in der die Kanzlerkandidatin der Grünen mit jedem Auftritt zu erkennen gibt, dass sie sehr große Stücke auf sich selbst hält, weckt offensichtlich Antipathien. Dass sich ihr Bild inzwischen eingetrübt hat, ist aber - anders als ihre Partei verlauten lässt - nicht in erster Linie das Werk misogynen Neider. Annalena Baerbock ist selbst dafür verantwortlich. Und es sieht so aus, als weigere sie sich, das zur Kenntnis zu nehmen. [...] Es heißt, die grüne Kanzlerkandidatin sei eine Perfektionistin. Das ist wohl richtig. Aber zu diesem Perfektionismus scheint es zu gehören, dass sie sich selbst als perfekter wahrnimmt, als sie ist.*

The way in which the Greens' chancellor candidate makes it clear with every appearance that she thinks very highly of herself obviously arouses antipathy. However, the fact that her image has become clouded in the meantime is - contrary to what her party announces - not primarily the work of misogynist enviers. Annalena Baerbock herself is responsible for it. And it looks as if she refuses to take note of it. [...] It is said that the Green candidate for chancellor is a perfectionist. That is probably true. But part of that perfectionism seems to be that she perceives herself as more perfect than she is.

Die Welt (Article 107)