THE REPRESENTATION OF REVOLVING DOORS LOBBYISM IN
GERMAN NEWSPAPER ARTICLES:
FRAMING PATTERNS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS

A critical discourse analysis of the reporting on two cases of revolving doors lobbyism

Master’s Thesis

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Abstract

News reports are commonly assumed to influence how the German public and political decision-makers think about and act upon lobbyism, yet little work has been done to explore how these inclinations are created. In order to describe how news reports represented two cases of revolving doors lobbyism – the phenomenon that former members of government become lobbyists –, to propose possible explanations for and reflect upon the effects of those representations, a critical discourse analysis was applied to eight news reports published in selected opinion leading quality newspapers. The representations of the two cases were shown to be consistently different and to implicitly define revolving doors lobbyism as illegitimate: while one case was scandalized as corrupt lobbying and thereby echoed the public’s negative attitudes towards lobbyism and politicians, the other case was trivialized and not labeled as lobbyism. These findings indicate that such selective scandalization might have created a simplistic definition of revolving doors lobbyism which possibly undermined a differentiated deliberation on the subject-matter. This is particularly relevant in light of a pending political debate on its regulation. Future work can address the actual effects of the detected pattern and follow up the questions this exploratory paper has raised.
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1. Introduction

The regulation of lobbyism has become an ever more challenging task for German policy-makers. Due to major socio-political trends, new actors have emerged and lobbying activities have changed. These developments have generated considerable research interest which has focused on documenting the impact of lobbyism on individual policy issues and on evaluating existing and proposing new regulations, which typically implied that the legitimacy of lobbying in general and of specific activities in particular have been discussed theoretically. *Lobbyism* or *lobbying* are comprehensively defined as ‘all direct, usually systematic and informal attempts by representatives of economic, societal, social or cultural interests to influence central actors in the process of political decision-making so as to change policy outcomes in favor of specific interests’ (cf. Kleinfeld *et al*., 2007; von Alemann & Eckert, 2006).

It is a widespread assumption that lobbyism has a negative public image in Germany and there is a vivid academic debate on the accuracy and on potential consequences of such image (cf. Kleinfeld *et al*., 2004; Leif, 2009). Whereas researchers frequently assert that mass media play a central role in influencing the public’s definitions of and inclinations towards lobbyism in Germany (Kleinfeld *et al*., 2004; von Aleman & Eckert, 2006; Wehrmann, 2007; Speth & TI, 2014) little work has been done to explore how media create these definitions and inclinations. This unconcern is astonishing in the light of well-documented evidence proving that news coverage of lobbyism prompted regulatory reforms in the United States (cf. Apollonio *et al*., 2008). Furthermore, the impact of news media coverage on public opinion formation and policy processes in Germany is widely acknowledged (Eilders, 2000), and has been confirmed by numerous studies (eg. Marcinkowski & Pfetsch, 2005).

However, the influence of news coverage of lobbyism in general is under-researched, and this holds particularly for revolving doors lobbyism, i.e. the phenomenon that former members of government, parliament or employees of the legislative branch become lobbyists with corporations, trade associations, unions or citizen groups like e.g. non-governmental organizations (NGOs) soon after exiting public office (Apollonio *et al*.,
This relatively new lobbying activity concerns current political debate and is likely to trigger regulatory reform soon (CDU et al., 2013), yet political scientists have not devoted much attention to it recently (Leif, 2009). In light of this pending debate, it is reasonable to assume that especially the news reports on particular cases of revolving doors lobbyism published in opinion leading quality newspapers might influence how the general public and political decision-makers think about and act upon revolving doors lobbyism (cf. Chouliaraki, 2008). There is thus an urgent need to scrutinize news reporting on particular cases of revolving doors lobbyism.

The overall purpose of this study is to describe how news reports represented two specific cases of revolving doors lobbyism and to explore possible reasons for and effects of those representations. This research interest is based on the constructionist assumption that language as a social practice, or ‘discourse’, is shaped by social structures, yet at the same time constructs social reality (Fairclough, 1995). Accordingly, newspaper articles –language written down for the purpose of mass communication– reflect, but also construct and disseminate specific versions of social reality (ibid.). Critical Discourse Analysis is a suitable method to pursue the overall purpose of this thesis as it aims at deconstructing texts to uncover how social context influences their production and how the texts, in turn, shape social reality.

The systematic deconstruction undertaken in this study is guided by the following sub-questions: How did news reports define the two cases, i.e. what (implicit) meanings did they communicate? How were theses meanings communicated, i.e. how were they framed to make sure that readers interpret them correctly? Were the two cases represented differently, and if so, what possible implications could this circumstance have? Moreover, the critical approach implies that these questions are also guided by a general

\[1\] For the remainder of this thesis, the term ‘revolving doors lobbyism’ shall refer to the “[...] transition from [federal] government to lobbying” (Apollonio et al., 2008: 27), which is a useful delimitation given that the cases analyzed later involve two former federal ministers. As the metaphor ‘revolving doors’ suggests, this transition is not unidirectional. Indeed, lobbyists have become top-level public employees in federal ministries and agencies in Germany (Leif, 2009). These so-called ‘reverse revolving doors situations’ (Apollonio et al., 2008: 18) represent an interesting research topic in their own right (Leif, 2009), which is not covered in this thesis.
concern about whether the articles disseminate a version of social reality which might subtly serve relations of domination in society, i.e. work ideologically (Fairclough, 1995).

In order to answer these questions, eight newspaper articles published in the online editions of four opinion leading quality newspapers were analyzed by applying an analytical framework developed by Norman Fairclough (1995) which relates linguistic features of texts to broader social context. In doing so, this thesis explores and describes texts, suggests explanations how social context in Germany shaped the representation of revolving doors lobbyism in these texts, and discusses potentially ideological effects.

Hence, this thesis attempts to help develop a thorough understanding of these processes and the resulting effects. Yet, due to its exploratory approach and the necessarily narrow focus on few texts which report on only two cases, this study shall not be expected to make contributions to existing theory. This also implies that generalizable explanations should not be induced from the empirical results. Whereas this thesis is neither interested in evaluating the legitimacy of revolving doors lobbyism in general and of the two cases in particular nor in judging the objective truth of the news coverage of those cases, it explores and discusses potential effects of that particular news coverage. Thereby, this thesis can generate insights of both scientific and practical relevance.

This paper is organized as follows. Chapter 2 puts revolving doors lobbyism in Germany into theoretical perspective by deriving the role of lobbyism and of mass media from deliberative democratic theory. Moreover, it sketches Hall’s (1993) concept of mass media communication and Entman’s (2004, 2007) concept of framing. Chapter 3 introduces the methodology, the underlying theoretical and epistemological assumptions and the analytical framework developed by Fairclough (1995). Moreover, it outlines and justifies the chosen research design. Chapter 4 starts with providing background information on the cases, on the current political debate, and on the generic structure of hard news reports before turning to the text and intertextual analysis of the research sample. The analysis of socio-cultural practices completes the empirical analysis. Chapter 5 discusses potential implications of the findings and considers questions which have arisen during analysis. Chapter 6 revisits the research contributions in light of the
analytical limitations of this study and suggests how they can be overcome by future research.
2. Theoretical background

This chapter puts the revolving doors phenomenon in Germany into theoretical perspective. To this end, both the roles of lobbyism and of mass media are derived from deliberative democratic theory. Moreover, the process of mass media communication and the concept of framing are introduced.

As will be demonstrated in the remainder of this chapter, the relationship between lobbyism and deliberative democratic theory is interesting to this thesis in two ways. First, theory considers lobbying activities as essential in pluralistic, democratic societies like Germany, but argues that they are only legitimate to the extent they comply with certain standards and socially constructed norms. Second, theory recognizes mass media as important actors in public opinion formation as they help citizens identify and distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate lobbying activities. It can thus be assumed that media can shape the public’s definition of and inclinations towards revolving doors lobbyism. Yet, this influence of mass media is ambivalent because it does not necessarily contribute to, but potentially undermines deliberation. This ambivalence constitutes a creative tension which makes the news coverage of revolving doors lobbyism a concern of critical analysis.

2.1. Lobbying in deliberative democratic theory

In her literature review on deliberative democratic theory, Chambers identifies the following key components of the theory: “deliberate democracy focuses on the communicative processes of opinion and will-formation that precede voting” (2003: 308). Consequently, it demarcates itself from “liberal individualist or economic understandings of democracy” (ibid.) which assume voting-centric views. Deliberation in political theory thus means “debate and discussion aimed at producing reasonable, well-informed opinions in which participants are willing to revise preferences in light of discussion, new
Moreover, deliberate democratic theory is normative as it advocates standards which shall ensure that the process of opinion-formation is legitimate and criticizes institutions which do not live up to such standards (ibid.).

Whereas Dryzek acknowledges that deliberation can only yield legitimate policy outcomes if it is the “[...]deliberation by all those subject to the decision in question” (2001: 651; Cohen, 1989), he concludes that this does not necessarily mean that all members of a demos shall reason together (cf. Manin, 1987; Benhabib, 1996). To his mind, such understanding of legitimacy is utopian with regard to contemporary nation-states because temporal and economic constraints make it practically impossible that all members of a demos can reason together (Dryzek, 2001). Consequently, Dryzek argues that the concepts of deliberative democracy and legitimacy should not be reduced to “a head count of (real or imaginary) reflectively consenting individuals” (2001: 657).

Alternatively, he suggests to substitute the contestation of all individuals with the contestation of discourses in the public sphere. This idea is rooted in Habermas’ account of deliberation (1996) according to which “legitimacy is secured by public acceptance of the procedures through which lawmaking achieves responsiveness to public opinion as formed in a broader public sphere” (Dryzek, 2001: 656). Dryzek’s point is that such public opinion formation is not a result of deliberating individuals, but discourses. He broadly defines discourses as “shared way[s] of comprehending the world embedded in language” (ibid.: 657) which feature particular judgments, dispositions and assumptions. Moreover, any given discourse “[...] has at its center a story line, which may involve opinions about both facts and values” (ibid.) which are recognized and shared by adherents of such discourse. Furthermore, public sphere is defined as “[...] home to constellations of [different] discourses” (ibid.). The relative weight of different discourses within such

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2 After reviewing different definitions by political theorists, Chambers (2003) concludes that this definition is the most general.

3 Because of this substitution, Chambers (2003) argues that deliberative democracy is usually not regarded as an alternative to representative democracy, but rather an expansion thereof.
constellation forms public opinion and thereby discourses ultimately influence public policy-making (Dryzek, 2001). Discourses can thus affect collective policy outcomes and hence employ the most important aspect of agency crucial to legitimacy (ibid.: 662).

This said, lobbying as defined earlier (see p. 4) can be conceptualized as discourses which promote specific interests and make claims on collective decisions, and analogously, public sphere as competition between the discourses of different lobbying actors (cf. Dryzek, 2001). Moreover, unlike “[... ] aggregative or realist models of democracy [and understandings of legitimacy]” (Chambers, 2003: 308) these concepts of discourse, public sphere and opinion can successfully deal with pluralism and complexity as they do not require any restrictions in terms of participants: “[... ] the contestation of discourses can be engaged by the many or the few, or indeed by none” (Dryzek, 2001: 663). This implies that discourses are inherently open and democratic, they can be made and remade by anybody (ibid.).

Moreover, from such pluralist perspective can be derived that lobbyism is an essential and legitimate element of democracy. This perspective builds on the fundamentally liberal assumption that only the competition between different interests, i.e. the contestation between the corresponding discourses, can ensure public welfare (von Aleman & Eckert, 2006). This idea of welfare as an outcome of competition implies that the state cannot (and therefore must not) *a priori* determine which interests are desirable for ensuring or increasing public welfare (Kleinfeld *et al*., 2007:7; von Aemann & Eckert, 2006:3). However, since “the contestation of discourses can be manipulated by strategy and power” (Dryzek, 2001: 663), the state shall define minimal criteria to prevent interest groups from pursuing their interests in illegitimate ways (Kleinfeld *et al*., 2007). These

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4 In this perspective, *public opinion* is conceptualized as “[... ] the provisional outcome of the contestation of discourses in the public sphere as transmitted to the state” (Dryzek, 2001: 660).

5 However, Leif and Speth (2003) argue that the liberal concept of pluralism is based in part on faulty assumptions: First, it assumes that every interest can participate in and win the competition with other interests (cf. Apollonio *et al*., 2008). Second, it naively trusts in the state’s role as neutral arbitrator who guarantees fair competition. They hence doubt the states capability to prevent lobbyism from escaping democratic control and circumventing the rules supposed to ensure fair competition.
understandings of lobbyism and the contestation of interests can be recognized in political practice in Germany.

2.2. Lobbying in Germany

In Germany, the idea of pluralism is manifested in constitutional law which assigns interest groups the right to contribute in the policy-making process (von Alemann & Eckert, 2006). Consequently, lobbyism seems to be a reality in politics and is generally accepted by German members of parliament (Wehrmann, 2007). They expect to be approached by lobbyists who they regard as necessary providers of information and expertise (Warneke, 2003). The main addressees of lobbying, implicitly or explicitly, confirm the importance of lobbyism in representative democracies (Wehrmann, 2007).

Similarly, German political research widely acknowledges the idea that lobbyism supports political decision-makers (Kleinfeld et al., 2007). At the same time, however, researchers also agree that not all forms of lobbying are equally legitimate, and that German law only partly accounts for these differences (von Alemann & Eckert, 2006). Indeed, law distinguishes between legal and illegal activities. E.g., it explicitly grants interest groups the rights to hold meetings and to freely articulate their opinion, but also defines and prohibits particular forms of political party funding as corruption because they obviously aim at manipulating or circumventing the pluralistic and egalitarian competition of interests for the best arguments.\(^6\) However, there are also activities which are not formally outlawed, but which the public considers as illegitimate because they seem to manipulate the competition of interests. Such activities fall into a category which von Alemann and Eckert call a ‘grey area’ (2006: 7) which is constituted by broader, unwritten social norms and not by law. These norms are socially constructed and situated and hence vary across time and space; consequently, this grey area is also subject to change (ibid.): what had been widely accepted as legitimate lobbying activity in the past might be socially condemned as illegitimate in the future.

\(^6\) More detailed accounts and evaluations of such legislation are provided by e.g. Bannenberg (2002) and Hetzer (2009).
Researchers also agree that German mass media play a central role in constructing such social norms: they recognize that mass media have been contributing to the creation and dissemination of a negative image of lobbyism (Kleinfeld et al., 2004; von Aleman & Eckert, 2006; Wehrmann, 2007; Speth & TI, 2014). Accordingly, mass media generally provide audiences with information about (international) politics and society, and with regard to lobbyism, also serve as ‘early warning system’ (Kleinfeld et al., 2007: 15) which directs audiences’ attention to potentially illegitimate lobbying activities (Gammelin, 2007). The judgment whether a specific activity is illegitimate or not thus depends *inter alia* “[...] on the kind of publicity generated by the media” (Thompson, 2000: 29).

However, it is surprising that while assigning mass media an important part in influencing the public’s definitions of and inclinations towards lobbyism in Germany, researchers seem to have ignored how media create these definitions and inclinations. That media create and spread a negative image of lobbyism has not been presented as an empirical finding resulting from detailed analysis;⁷ it rather seems to have been considered and presented as a matter of fact. This unconcern is astonishing in the light of a vivid debate on the accuracy and potential consequences of the negative image of lobbyism (cf. Kleinfeld et al., 2004; Leif, 2009). For instance, von Alemann and Eckert (2006) assert that such polarizing image of lobbyism is misleading, and Kleinfeld et al. are concerned that such image puts all forms of interest representation under ‘general suspicion’⁸ (2007: 11) which ultimately undermines their important function for deliberate democracy (*ibid.*; cf. Dryzek, 2001).

Whereas the influence of media discourse about lobbyism in general is under-researched, this holds particularly, though unsurprisingly, for revolving doors lobbyism. Although critical analyses have recently been increasingly scrutinizing media coverage –also in

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⁷ At best, it is illustrated by listing allegedly exemplary titles of books or editorials (cf. Kleinfeld et al., 2004: 11; Wehrmann, 2004: 47).

⁸ Because of that suspicion, lobbyists in Germany prefer to label themselves as political consultants, and researchers have avoided the term *lobbyism* to dissociate themselves from the unscientific, negative judgment dominating political journalism and public opinion (Kleinfeld et al., 2007).
Germany\textsuperscript{9} as potentially influential discourse (Wodak, 2001; Gastil, 1992), it has not yet been applied to German news media coverage of revolving doors lobbying. This is not surprising in the light of an overall moderate research record of this form of lobbying in Germany.\textsuperscript{10} The phenomenon has at best been mentioned in recent interest group literature as one potentially problematic form of corporate lobbying (Leif, 2010; von Alemann & Eckert 2009; Leif & Speth, 2003)\textsuperscript{11}, yet neither the general public nor researchers seem to care particularly about it (Leif, 2009). However, this observation is not necessarily a proof of unconcern (cf. Leif & Speth, 2003)\textsuperscript{12}, but can be attributed to the fact that revolving doors lobbyism has for long been of little if any practical relevance.\textsuperscript{13} Only recently has it become an attractive instrument to corporate lobbying and has raised public scrutiny, especially spelled out in the mass media.

Nevertheless, the ongoing public debate on this relatively new form of lobbying is a good opportunity to scrutinize the corresponding media coverage. This is even more advisable as the debate has already been set on the political agenda (cf. CDU \textit{et al.}, 2013) which means it can possibly translate into legislative proposals soon. This pending debate thus makes it particularly valuable to understand how revolving doors lobbyism is represented in German media discourse, because the latter exposes audiences, be it political decision-makers\textsuperscript{14} or the general public, to specific dispositions to think and feel about, and ultimately to act upon it.

\textsuperscript{9} An empirical analysis by Marcinkowski and Pfetsch (2005) with regard to corruption in Germany has resulted in the conclusion that German media have created and widely spread a definition of corruption which has rather undermined than enabled an effective and public deliberation about the issue and possible political responses thereto.

\textsuperscript{10} Research on revolving doors lobbyism primarily focuses on the U.S. where lobbyism is generally a more established part of the policy process (Sebaldt, 2007).

\textsuperscript{11} NGOs, by contrast, have already picked up the issue and published various descriptive, yet normatively critical essays and studies, e.g. LobbyControl (2011) or TI (2008).

\textsuperscript{12} By contrast, Leif and Speth (2003) assert that this observation is symptomatic of a general mismatch between lobbyism in practice and the scientific reflection thereof. To their minds, superficial analyses of lobbyism result from an uncritical stance which takes the pursuit of private interests as essential to policy processes and therefore as \textit{per se} legitimate.

\textsuperscript{13} The German NGO LobbyControl (2014) (see footnote 52, p. 41) identifies eleven cases which occurred before 2005, compared to roughly 90 cases between 2005 and July 2014.

\textsuperscript{14} Indeed, various politicians explicitly referred to media coverage or directly quoted from media articles in their speeches on revolving doors lobbyism (cf. Deutscher Bundestag, 2014a).
This thesis thus attempts to close this gap by closely investigating a sample of newspaper articles in an explorative way which seeks to uncover how revolving doors lobbyism is represented and whether these representations constitute a potentially significant pattern worthy of further discussion and research. To check for such pattern, two specific cases of revolving doors lobbyism were juxtaposed to detect differences in the first place. In preparation of that analysis, the following subsections introduce the functions of mass media in relation to deliberative democracies and outline a concept of mass media communication and of framing which underlie the methodology which was finally applied.

### 2.3. The function of mass media in deliberative democratic theory

Public sphere theorists widely recognize that mass media are indispensable for effective public deliberation (cf. Ferree et al., 2002). They provide citizens with information the latter need to deliberate, yet cannot collect themselves under modern social circumstances of pluralism and complexity (Bohman, 2000). Deliberation thus requires a “communicative division of labor” (ibid.: 55) according to which only expert communicators such as the press can constitute a public sphere (ibid.). This role is associated with normative functions mass media ideally fulfill for public deliberation to be effective and discursively vital (Dryzek, 2001). These undisputed democratic functions are threefold: media are expected to neutrally disseminate full and accurate information; to support the process of opinion formation by reflecting, critically discussing and judging arguments and thereby give citizens orientation; and to critically scrutinize the political processes to ensure accountability of political actors (Eilders, 2002). Emphasizing these functions, mass media are ideally conceptualized as Fourth Estate, i.e. independent quasi-political institution which acts on behalf of the people (Schultz, 1998).

These normative functions are translated into professional ethics and structural preconditions. They have to be operationalized so that “mediated communication permits the highly diverse and widely dispersed audience needed for modern democracy” (Bohman, 2000: 55). Consequently, it is argued that journalists must be subjected to professional commitments to truth (Jacquette, 2010), objectivity and impartiality.
These standards are particularly important with regard to the information and watchdog function of the mass media. Moreover, a well-functioning democratic media system has to be based on a pluralistic media structure which is open to and invites diversity and pluralism in order to provide a wide range of opinions and facts needed for opinion formation (Eilders, 2002).

However, there is a significant strand of critical literature which doubts that journalistic practice can live up to the ideals derived from deliberative democratic theory. Researchers have frequently suggested that this failure results from the fact that media organization have become part of free market systems, and as such might rather be bound by profit targets than by democratic duty (e.g. Habermas, 1991; Fairclough, 1995; Schudson, 2001). In addition, more recent avenues of inquiry have scrutinized how the emergence of new media, especially the Internet, have changed the ethics of journalism (Deuze, 2005) and affected the democratic functions of the mass media (e.g. Fenton, 2010).

With regard to journalism in Germany, Averesch concludes that it faces an ‘identity crisis’ (2013: 146) because journalists have been neglecting especially their watchdog function by voluntarily abandoning their role as neutral and independent observers. Moreover, Eilders (2002) indicates that the German media system has partly lost its pluralistic structure as newspapers have been converging in terms of content and opinion they articulate.\(^{15}\)

As a result, the role of the mass media as democratic institution is also contested among theorists (Schultz, 1998). Indeed, Bohman’s (2000) concept of ‘communicative division of labor’ (see p. 14) is inherently ambivalent. Whereas it can be argued that it is a necessary prerequisite for effective public deliberation, it also threatens to “[…] short-circuit the deliberative process” (ibid.: 48) as it invites distortions and manipulations which undermine the quality of communication (Bohman, 2000). Moreover, the division constitutes communicative asymmetries which endow mass media with power over citizens, because the latter depend on the information provided by the former (Bohman, 2000). This power materializes “[…] in subtle or not-so-subtle forms of coercion,\(^{15}\)

\(^{15}\) This sketch will be followed up in detail in the sub-section 4.6.2.
deception, and exclusion” (ibid.: 57). As a result, Eilders (2002) argues that it is inaccurate to restrict the role of mass media to the ideal functions of passively observing, informing and providing a forum for deliberation.

By contrast, mass media can also be considered to be a source of significant influence and power (Schultz, 1998) because they play an active role in the process of opinion formation which has long been ignored (Eilders, 2000). Accordingly, media provide interpretations of events, express opinions and thereby contribute their own view rather than merely reflecting others’ (ibid.). Media are thus conceptualized as political actors who constitute a public sphere needed for effective public deliberation (i.e. provide a platform for the contestation of discourses) and at the same time also participate in this deliberation by advancing their own discourses “[...] to exercise and pursue self-interested commercial, political and cultural agendas” (Schultz, 1998: 1). Similarly, Bohman (2000) thinks of media as filters for the selection of topics, which “[...] permits strategic manipulation of public attention to relevant problems” (ibid.) and hence endows them with “[...] tremendous political power, particularly in defining problems and setting agendas”16 (ibid.).

It is thus reasonable for the purpose of this analysis to assume that media influences audience. This assumption seems simplistic,17 yet is commonly acknowledged among social scientists (McCombs, 2013: ix). Moreover, it has been empirically validated as several studies which demonstrated that “[p]ress coverage influences how readers perceive ownership of public problems, the nature of issues, and how to interpret public words and deeds” (Hart, 2000: 92).18 This observation justifies the assumption that media content is performative as it can evoke concrete reactions of the audience.19 Moreover, it

16 According to Bohman, “such media power is enhanced even more if the basis for media presentations of issues is itself the prepackaging of information prepared by other media professionals of parties, lobbyists, and interest groups” (2000: 58). However, while this thesis is aware of this tendency, it focuses on how the media report on lobbyism, which implies that –initially– the use or manipulation of the media by lobbyists is neglected.
17 Indeed, this assumption might be criticized for its simplicity. Whereas this critique is acknowledged, it will not be discussed at this point, but in chapter 5.
18 Exemplary studies are introduced by Iyengar (2000: 109ff).
19 This assumption is rooted in a social constructionist approach to social reality. It is developed in sub-section 3.2.3.
is important to stress that media influence does not only result from what information media disseminate (content), but also how such information is articulated (form) (Hart, 2000). He concludes that “carefully chosen language can give energy to an event that otherwise had none” (ibid.: 92). Similarly, Chouliaraki asserts that media expose audiences to “[…] specific dispositions to feel, think and act” (2008: 372, her emphasis) towards the disseminated information through “systematic choices of word and image” (ibid.).

However, it is worth wondering about potential consequences of this changed role of mass media. As indicated earlier, Bohman is concerned that the quality of communication and ultimately public deliberation might suffer from these systematic choices, “[…] especially since the goals of the mass media are typically not to promote democracy” (2000: 48) but their own objectives (Eilders, 2000). More drastically, Gastil argues that mediated political communication has an undemocratic potential as it “[…] exaggerate[s] the simplicity of political situations and obscure[s] real and important differences in citizens’ perspectives and interests” (1992: 490). Moreover, media might use rhetorical strategies which “[…] are more often foe than friend to the democratic process” (ibid.). In addition, these strategies are particularly “[…] damaging because they are omnipresent, hard to discern, and pernicious” (Hart, 2000: 100).

The assumption that media can influence and manipulate audiences is not only of theoretical interest, but also practically relevant because media influence on public opinion can indirectly trigger political action. The underlying assumption—which has been empirically confirmed by e.g. Page and Shapiro (1983) – is that lawmaking responds to public opinion (Dryzek, 2001). Not only does media content (e.g. in form of a newspaper article or television broadcast) provide a context which is essential to understand the formation of public opinion about e.g. a policy issue like lobbyism (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989), it also influences how the audience responds to the issue (Hauser, 2000). Recalling Bohman’s (2000) concept of the ‘communicative division of labor’ (see p. 14) this conclusion becomes even more relevant in the current age of mass media-
communication in which politics are mediated to a greater extent than ever before (McNair, 2000: ix).

Furthermore, this observation seems to be particularly accurate with regard to Germany, as it is considered to be a ‘media society’ (Speth, 2010: 13), i.e. societal and political communication takes first and foremost place in the mass media. This already indicates that the latter are influential. Moreover, media influence on politics is effective in two ways. First, media discourse enables public deliberation in Germany by “[...] informing the people’s representatives in making wise decisions rather than informing the public” (2002: 292). This is because “most citizens are not well-informed enough to contribute” (ibid.) to public discourse which is consequently primarily borne by political elites. As a result, the influence of media on political processes operates directly and is independent of public opinion as intermediate. Indeed, it is widely acknowledged that some media outlets are perceived and consulted as ‘opinion leaders’ (Jarren & Vogel, 2010: 20) or ‘Leitmedien’, by political decision-makers. These media have a particularly strong impact on opinion formation with regard to political and societal issues (Blum, 2010) because they are considered to adhere to the traditional democratic functions of mass-media (see section 2.3) and thus recognized as providers of a primarily public service (Blum, 2010).

Second, it is equally acknowledged that these ‘Leitmedien’ also contribute to the opinion formation of citizens, i.e. they influence public opinion. Indirectly, public opinion also affects political decision-making: citizens’ voting power forces the elected representatives to respond to what the public is concerned about because “[i]f citizens are dissatisfied with what they are getting, they can ‘vote the rascals out’” (Ferree et al., 2002: 291).

For the moment, it is a reasonable working assumption that media are a forum for public discourse on political issues, though not necessarily the most important one

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20 Blum (2010) acknowledges that the terms ‘Leitmedien’ is frequently used, yet seldom properly defined in contemporary research. The description of ‘Leitmedien’ as opinion leaders –although focusing on their effect on opinion formation– represents the lowest common denominator among researchers (cf. Jarren & Vogel, 2010). For a detailed discussion of different definitions and theoretical concepts readers are referred to Blum et al. (2010, chapter 1).

21 A more detailed discussion of arguments challenging the actual effect of media discourse is provided in chapter 5.
Indeed, the actual nature and strength of media influence on public opinion, political decision-makers and thus potentially also political outcomes is vividly debated (cf. Newton, 2006; Molina, 2009). Although the corresponding literature is too extensive to be reviewed here, it indicates that researchers agree that media are influential (cf. Avery, 2009). As indicated earlier (see p. 14), the ‘communicative division of labor’ enables media to influence audiences, yet such influence is inherently ambivalent: it is a prerequisite for effective and efficient public deliberation, but as such necessarily creates asymmetries between the informing and those being informed; and these asymmetries can be exploited in ideologically manipulating ways. It is thus valuable to get a more detailed understanding of how such asymmetries emerge and can be exploited during the process of mass media communication.

2.4. The process of mass media communication

According to Hall’s (1993) theoretical account of mass communication, messages are created and communicated in a circular process which consists of four stages: production, circulation, consumption, and reproduction. Although these stages mark distinct moments within the communication process, they are not completely autonomous from each other: while each stage has its own determining possibilities and limits, it limits/ is limited by the possibilities available in the next/ preceding stage: e.g. and most importantly for this thesis, the consumption of a message, i.e. its translation into social practice, can partly be controlled by the way the message had been produced. As a result, “messages are not open to any interpretation or use whatsoever” (Duran, 1993: 507). However, this control operates transparently and can thus be exploited ideologically (Hall, 1993). Hence, it is useful to understand why such control is possible in theory and how it can be exercised in practice, especially with regard to news stories.

For a message of a newspaper article to be meaningful, it must pass under the formal rules of language which can be thought of as a code which links a meaning to a sign or

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22 According to this constructivist model of media effects, audiences construct their version of reality by combining personal experiences, interactions with peers, and mass media discourse (Scheufele, 1999).
word: the author of a newspaper article (producer) thus has to encode the message so that it can be communicated in the first place because reality—although existing outside language—cannot be communicated without being mediated through language. Moreover, for the meaning to be realized, the reader (the receiver) must decode it: the signs constituting the message must be recognized and interpreted, i.e. associated with particular meanings. Only then can the reader make sense of the message and it can become performative, i.e. affect, influence, instruct or persuade him or her (Hall, 1993).

However, the codes of encoding and decoding may not be perfectly symmetrical because the author and the reader of a message are typically different persons whose codes result from socially constructed and situated structures of understanding (Hall, 1993). Consequently, whether a message is effectively communicated, interrupted or systematically distorted depends on the degree of identity between the codes. Certain codes are so widely distributed in a specific culture or language community that they appear rather naturally given than socially constructed. However, Hall argues that they have been “naturalized” (ibid.: 511) as they result from the habituation of codes in use. Moreover, such naturalized codes produce conventionalized recognitions. Naturalized codes can thus lead to a perfect alignment between the encoding and decoding sides of a communicative exchange: if the author writes ‘cow’ to refer to the animal, the reader probably decodes and understands it accordingly.

However, signs usually employ a literal, relatively fixed or naturalized meaning, and a connotative, i.e. associative meaning which is not fixed in natural perception but fluid as it can be associated with different meanings (Hall, 1993). This has important implications for the effectiveness of communication because the connotative aspect of words implies that the latter can be associated with different meanings and therefore make a non-identity of the codes and, consequently, misunderstandings more likely: The message ‘The influence of revolving doors lobbyists is alarming’ can thus be decoded and understood as ‘The influence of lobbyists who advocate the interest of manufacturers of special –namely revolving– doors is alarming’, although the author intended to refer to
the influence of a particular type of lobbyists, namely those who change between private and public employers.

It needs to be stressed that the connotative aspect of a word is not just a source of misunderstandings, but also a vehicle of potentially ideological influence. According to Hall (1993), words are particularly open to be loaded with ideological meanings at the level of their associative meanings because these meanings are not (yet) fixed and hence can be ideologically transformed and exploited. However, for this exploitation to be effective, the author has to make sure that the reader interprets the message ‘correctly’, i.e. unconsciously ‘prefer’ the ideological interpretation –though without recognizing it as such– over alternative interpretations. Again, the correct understanding is a prerequisite for the message to be ideologically effective, i.e. expose the receivers to “[...] specific dispositions to feel, think and act” (Choulis, 2008: 372, her emphasis).

However, the possible interpretations of connotative aspects of a word are neither endless in number nor equal in hierarchy. By contrast, they are subjected to “degrees of closures” (Hall, 1993: 513), i.e. classifications and orders of the social and political world. As a result, some meanings are dominant, i.e. preferred over others, because they allude to “[...] common-sense constructs’ [...] [and] ‘taken-for granted’ knowledge of social structures” (ibid.). Such constructs are frameworks which guide the reader’s interpretations and thus constitute preferred ways of decoding. To Hall, they are also ideological: they carry a particular social order which is taken for granted; moreover, they reproduce preferred meanings which “have the whole social order embedded in them as sets of meanings, practices and beliefs” (ibid.) (in the example above e.g. the practice that lobbyist switch between private and public sector, and the belief that this might imply a danger).

Hence, to ensure that readers make the correct, i.e. intended interpretation, the author must refer to such sets in ways “[...] which actively seek to enforce or pre-fer one semantic domain over another and rule items into and out of their appropriate meaning-sets” (ibid.: 514, his emphasis). Moreover, the author has to “[...] enforce, win plausibility for and command as legitimate a decoding of the [communicated] event within the limit
of dominant definitions in which it has been connotatively signified” (ibid., his emphasis). Hence, in order to prompt the reader to decode the message as was intended by the author, the latter makes deliberate choices while encoding it. These choices can have the effect of prompting readers to recognize particular “logics-in-use” (ibid.: 514) which then provide the latter with heuristics which help them interpret the word, sentence or text in the way intended by the authors. Building upon this general concept of mass media communication as a process of encoding and decoding, the more specific concept of framing introduces one practical technique the author of a newspaper article can use to promote the intended interpretation.

2.5. Framing

The concept of framing in political communication research is based on the constructionist assumption that language not only reflects, but also creates social reality (Scheufele, 1999). However, Entman (2004) asserts that although frequently applied, the concept has long been imprecisely defined. Nevertheless, he concludes from a literature review that a standard definition can be formulated. Accordingly,

“[w]e can define framing as the process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation. [...] Framing works to shape and alter audience members’ interpretations and preferences through priming. That is, frames introduce or raise the salience or apparent importance of certain ideas, activating schemas that encourage target audiences to think, feel, and decide in a particular way” (Entman, 2007: 164, his emphasis).

Hence, priming is the effect resulting from successful framing activities. Or, in Hall’s terms: the reader’s recognition of “logics-in-use” (1993: 514) or “framework[s] of reference” (ibid.: 517) which affect his or her decoding can be achieved by encoding in a way which actively seeks to enforce such recognition.

Moreover, frames can be a means of political influence because they can result in agenda setting (Entman, 2007). Frames typically perform four basic functions: problem definition, causal analysis, moral judgment, and remedy promotion (ibid.). Problem definition is
recognized as most important function because it potentially results in agenda setting by spotlighting societal conditions or issues as problems which deserve public and government attention (ibid.). It is thus a prerequisite for the other three functions which represent specific claims with regard to a problem. Consequently, framing can be considered as an instrument of power. Accordingly, political actors can shape texts as to tell the public “what to think about” (ibid.: 165) and how, i.e. influence the public’s concerns and agendas: “How we hear and respond to them [the claims made by such texts] is influenced by how the press frames them as particular cases.” (Hauser, 2000:153).

To uncover how specific cases of revolving doors lobbyism are framed in newspaper coverage and to reflect upon potentially ideological effects requires a critical and close analysis of texts which form part of such coverage. This is because frames in news stories are typically composed of words and images; and frames which employ striking and highly loaded or emotionally charged words and/or images have the greatest potential for influence (Entman, 2004). Framing thus means making choices with regard to inter alia the use of particular words, their combination in sentences, the linkage of sentences, the design of the text structure, and the use of photographs (Fairclough, 1992). The next chapter introduces the analytical framework developed by Fairclough (1992; 1995) which can be argued to be a particularly suitable tool as it operationalizes the theoretical concepts outlined above as analytical categories.

23 Consequently, Entman (2007) distinguishes between a first-level agenda setting which defines problems and a second-level agenda setting which promotes the evaluation and suggests solutions of these problems.

24 Here, power means the ability to get others to do what one wants (Entman, 2007).

25 This conclusion is contested by Molina (2009) who asserts that the power of media texts is generally overstated (see also Newton, 2006). Consequently, Philo (2007) challenges the need for critical analyses focusing on media text. These concerns are discussed in chapter 5.
3. Methodology

This chapter consists of four sections. First, Critical Discourse Analysis is introduced before tracing the theoretical and epistemological background of Fairclough’s (1992, 1995) approach thereto. Next, the analytical framework is described and its application is justified, taking challenges and critiques into account. Finally, the research design is outlined.

3.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is an extended form of discourse analysis. As such it is based on the assumption that language constitutes and not only reflects social reality (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Consequently, most forms discourse analysis claim to “[...] provide a better understanding of socio-cultural aspects of texts [as part of social reality], via socially situated accounts of texts” (Kress, 1990: 84). Yet, they also vary considerably with regard to their definitions of discourse and discourse analysis, their analytical foci and preferred research techniques (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002; Hammersley, 1997).

However, given the research objective and compared to alternative approaches, CDA was the most promising option as it emphasizes both the importance of context and power relations for the understanding of the discursive practices which shape actual texts. Accordingly, it is primarily concerned with investigating “opaque [...] structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language” (Wodak, 2001: 2) and “[...] expressed, signalled, constituted, legitimized [...] by language use (or in discourse)” (ibid.). Moreover, CDA is promising thanks to “[...] its attempt to locate discourse within a particular conception of society, and its adoption [...] of a ‘critical’ attitude towards that society” (Hammersley, 1997: 237).

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26 This thesis cannot provide a more detailed account of the numerous approaches and their differences, but points interested readers to Schiffrin et al. (2008), Phillips & Hardy (2002) and Fairclough (1992).

27 Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) map four main perspectives within discourse analysis: interpretive structuralism, social linguistic analysis, critical linguistic, and CDA.
CDA as specific perspective within discourse analysis, in turn, also subsumes a variety of approaches (Fairclough et al., 2011) each of which with particular aims and methods based upon different theoretical and philosophical premises (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). The remainder of this section focuses on Fairclough’s approach to CDA because his analytical framework as introduced in Media Discourse (1995) was finally applied. As they are the building blocks of his analytical framework and shed light on implicit assumptions, Fairclough’s concept of discourse and his understanding of critical analysis are introduced below.

3.2. Conceptual background of CDA

3.2.1. The concept of discourse

Fairclough’s concept of discourse emphasizes both the importance of particular ways of using language and the importance of their structural, ideational consequences (Fairclough, 1995). He thus refers to discourse as “language in use” (ibid.: 54) to emphasize that language is a social and constitutive practice. As such, discourse is also context-dependent and thus cannot be understood unless its context is taken into account (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). First of all, context matters at the individuals’ level: discourse is a practice of “socially situated speakers and writers” (Kress, 1990:86), whose way of using language is determined by the social structures they are embedded in (Kress, 1990). Moreover, at the interpersonal level, communicative interaction is subject to procedural rules and to relations of power (ibid.). Finally, at the inter-temporal level, discourse is a part of socially situated speakers and writers, whose way of using language is determined by the social structures they are embedded in (Kress, 1990).

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28 Again, this thesis cannot provide a more detailed account of the numerous approaches and their differences, but advises interested readers to consult Fairclough et al. (2011), Meyer (2001), and van Dijk (2001).
29 Fairclough uses the term ‘CDA’ when referring to his own approach and when referring to the broader critical perspective within discourse analysis that his approach forms part of (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). Unless stated differently, ‘CDA’ will refer to Fairclough’s particular approach in the remainder of this thesis.
30 Fairclough’s framework contains a range of concepts which vary slightly across his work, continuously developing the framework further (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). Given the research subject of this analysis, media texts, it is reasonable to take the framework as introduced in Media Discourse (1995) as a starting point.
31 The term language refers to spoken and written expression, i.e. text (Fairclough, 1992).
discourse is always historical, i.e. connected to other past, synchronistic and future discourses (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

Some clarification of terminology is useful here, also to highlight that Fairclough’s concept of discourse is compatible with the concepts outlined earlier: If used as abstract noun in singular, the term ‘discourse’ shall be understood as the general view of language in social use. By contrast, if used as count noun (a discourse, several discourses) it shall refer to a category (or genre) of discourse: e.g. media discourse as a discourse articulated by media opposed to e.g. government discourse. Moreover, if used as count noun, the term can also refer to a particular way of understanding the world (cf. Dryzek’s definition, p. 9). Accordingly, discourses are story lines through which particular subject matters enter a text. These story lines involve opinions about both facts and values, e.g. about what constitutes (il)legitimate lobbying. Media discourse as ‘discourse’ (language in use) can provide a platform for competing discourses, i.e. serve as a meta-discourse, but in doing so articulates a specific way of comprehending the phenomenon, i.e. represent ‘a discourse’ in its own right.

At all levels, the relationship between discourse and social context is dialectical: “discourse constitutes society and culture, as well as being constituted by them” (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: 273). Every discursive activity can thus contribute, potentially transform and/or reproduce social realities through its representations of the world and constructions of people’s identities and social relations. Language is hence multifunctional as it simultaneously represents and constitutes these three domains (Fairclough, 1995). This makes language “a medium of domination and social force” (Wodak, 2001: 2). Consequently, discourse as language in use reproduces and legitimizes unequal relations of power and domination, yet this process is not articulated (ibid.).

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32 This said, it is useful to label such particular discourses with terms which designate the relevant area of knowledge and the perspective from which that knowledge is constituted (Fairclough, 1992). E.g. one might distinguish between a ‘pro-revolving doors lobbying discourse’ and an ‘anti-revolving doors lobbying discourse’, both having revolving doors lobbying as area of knowledge at their centres, yet constituted from opposing points of view.
Therefore Fairclough (1995) argues that this function is *ideological*. This conclusion is rooted in his understanding of ideologies as implicit assumptions and propositions in texts which contribute to (re)producing and thereby serve relations of domination. Moreover, such assumptions are “‘preconstructed’ elements” (*ibid.*: 14) which are taken for granted and thus used in naturalized ways. Consequently, they are products of ideology because they take particular assumptions about social reality and power relations for granted, and at the same time reproduce that ideology by subtly spreading such taken-for-granted meanings discursively in texts. Ideologies are thus present, yet not manifest, in the specific *representations* of reality and processes of constructions of identities (*ibid.*). As language is an opaque medium, linguistic features in any text are only seemingly arbitrary, but actually motivated conjunctions of forms and meanings serving an ideological function (Kress, 1990).

Whereas this generally endows texts—and particularly media texts as derived earlier (see p. 14; cf. Hall, 1993) which have thus frequently been subjected to critical discourse analyses (*Wodak*, 2001)—and the meanings represented therein with the potential for ideological manipulation and distortion, one cannot conclude that all texts actually work ideologically (Fairclough, 1995). Such conclusion overestimates the ideological function of media (texts) as it does not take into account that media are also “cultural artefacts in their own right” (*ibid.*: 47) designed to entertain and inform people. Hence, media texts do not *per se* work ideologically. Consequently, it is also inaccurate to generally assume some form of complicity between mass media and dominant social groups and conclude that mass media are subject to large-scale manipulation (Fairclough, 1995). This said, it is more accurate to think of discourse as an arena where power is both negotiated and potentially exercised or a process of permanent “hegemonic struggles” (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: 273) for ideological domination. Nevertheless, the potential for manipulation of media discourse clearly motivates critical analysis aimed at detecting potentially ideological functions of or in texts and seeking to prove that such functions

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33 To CDA practitioners, ideological domination is not limited to Marxist class relations; but comprises relations of domination based upon ethnicity and gender (*Wodak*, 2001).
indeed have the ideological effect of serving relations of power in particular cases (Fairclough, 1995).

3.2.2. The concept of critical analysis

The assumption that discourse is ideological and dynamic at the same time constitutes a potential for critical analysis. Fairclough (1995) considers his approach to be ‘critical’ because it recognizes that “our social practice in general and our use of language in particular are bound up with causes and effects which we may not be at all aware of under normal conditions” (ibid.: 54). Consequently, CDA tries to reveal the ideological functions of discourses by “[...] denaturalizing the discursive practices and the texts of a society” (Kress, 1990: 84-85) and thereby de-construct and describe “[...] structurings of power and domination, their reproduction in and through texts, and their effects on the possibilities of individual action” (ibid.: 87). The critical concern of CDA originates from critical theory, in particular from what Fairclough and Wodak (1997) label “‘Western Marxism’” (ibid.: 260), a conglomerate of Gramsci’s concept of hegemony, Althusser’s concept of ideology and the Frankfurt School’s philosophy of critical science, particularly as developed by Habermas. Accordingly, the concepts of hegemony as “consent or acquiescence of the majority [of civil society] to the status quo” (ibid.) and as necessity for the power of a dominant class, and ideology as “material practices embedded in social institution” (ibid.) which normalize unequal power relations, are central in CDA work (Wodak, 2001).

The idea that discourses can have ideological and hegemonic effects seems to clash with the ideal function of media discourse as defined by public sphere theorists, yet is in line with a more nuanced concept of the function of mass media function in contemporary societies (cf. section 2.3). Indeed, mass media –and especially ‘Leitmedien’ (see p. 18) – make up an interesting field for research; they are publicly perceived to fulfill ideal functions and can thus be assumed to be particularly influential opinion leaders; however

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34 However, the critical stance is not always explicitly traced back to ‘Western Marxism’, i.e. these concepts are rather implicit parts of the assumptions underlying CDA (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).
they are also alleged to only “[…] purport to be neutral in that they provide space for public discourse” (Wodak, 2001: 6) and actually be manipulative by using “apparently transparent” (ibid.) language. It is exactly this context which creates a tension which can be productively explored by CDA.

### 3.2.3. Research philosophy

Fairclough’s concept of discourse is rooted in a strong social constructionist epistemology (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). It thus shares four key premises with all social constructionist approaches (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). First, it rejects the idea that social reality can be treated as an objective truth, but asserts that it can only be accessed via particular knowledge systems and representations of the world which do not reflect an objective, pre-given social world, but construct it discursively. Second, understanding the social world is itself a social process, which, third, makes it historically and culturally contingent, because human beings are “fundamentally historical and cultural beings” (ibid.: 5). Fourth, such contingent worldviews affect social action as they define some as natural, i.e. coherent with the worldview, and others contradictory and therefore unrealistic.

Social constructionism can be criticized for its axiom that all social phenomena and the knowledge thereof are contingent and in permanent flux without regularities (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002, cf. p. 37). Although Fairclough builds upon this axiom and recognizes the resulting “epistemic relativism” (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999: 136), he also acknowledges that social constructions are inflexible in specific situations when social identities and representations of the world are placed under structural restrictions (ibid.). This idea is evident in his concept of discourse as a social practice being embedded in, but also affecting social structures. Moreover, he thereby “transcend[s] the unproductive divide between structure and action by developing an epistemology which is a ‘constructivist\(^{35}\) structuralism’” (ibid.: 32).

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\(^{35}\) The terms constructionism and constructivism and the respective adjectives are often used interchangeably (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002).
If knowledge is constrained by social structures, how can CDA produce critical, emancipatory knowledge that can challenge such structures then? CDA tackles this issue by trying to maintain a “[...] boundary between theoretical practice and the social practices it theorises” (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999: 31) However, this boundary is weak; CDA is ‘involved’ in the social practices it theorizes. Yet, it evaluates them and positions itself within them according to its emancipatory knowledge interest, always being aware of its own constraints. As a result and unlike objectivist research which keeps a clear boundary between theoretical practice and the social practices it theorizes, CDA denies “objective truth claims” (ibid.). Nevertheless, it insists to provide critical explanations (ibid.). It hence recognizes its hermeneutic basis, i.e. the interpretation of discursive practices, while at the same time incorporating being a “‘depth-science’ of the generative mechanisms that make these practices possible” (ibid.: 30).

In summary, CDA takes a clear position within the recognized debates about methodology and social ontology listed by Abbott (2004): It is interpretivist and not positivist in that it assumes that meaning result inter alia from (discursive) interaction and is not abstract and pre-given. Moreover, it is strongly constructionist and at the same time moderately realist: it acknowledges that social reality is (re)produced in interaction, but also constrained by more or less stable social structures. In addition, social phenomena (like discourse) are always contextual and cannot be understood without taking context into account. Finally, this results in situated knowledge, i.e. epistemic relativism and the denial universal, transcendent knowledge.

3.3. Analytical framework

Fairclough’s (1995) analytical framework is rooted in the understanding that the connection between textual features and social structures and processes are indirect and

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36 This means CDA rejects a “judgemental relativism” (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999: 136), according to which all discourses are legitimate, equally good (or bad) representations and/or constructions of social reality.

37 In this context, Chouliaraki and Fairclough speak of “critical realism” (1999: 125).
rely upon complex processes of mediation (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). He thus shares Kress’ (1990) conclusion:

“This means that analyses of texts also take into account all relevant features of the socio-cultural situation as a communicative situation; including the position, role, and subjectivity of the hearer/reader, and the medium/channel. An analysis of text is thus always a (partial) analysis and description of aspects of the socio-cultural situation” (Kress, 1990: 92, his emphasis).

Hence, CDA does not give purely linguistic or textual and isolated explanations which are only occasionally linked to socio-cultural context through “theoretically unconnected correlations” (ibid.). By contrast, it enters into “dialogue with other [...] social scientific research” (Fairclough et al., 2011: 362) and imports “non-discourse analytical theories into a discourse analytical framework” (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 155). This means CDA is naturally eclectic and multi-perspectival (Phillips & Hardy, 2002).

Accordingly, Fairclough (1995) argues that any analysis of media discourse has to involve an alternation between twin foci: communicative events, and “orders of discourse” (Fairclough, 1995: 56) which mediate between the textual and the social (Fairclough, 1995). Both foci are essential complements which means that the analysts’ concerns are also twofold. On the one hand, they are interested in the particular, in specific communicative events such as a newspaper article. On the other hand, they are also interested in the general, the overall structure of the order of discourse and the way it is evolving in the broader socio-cultural context (Fairclough, 1995).

### 3.3.1. Analysis of communicative events

Fairclough (1995) conceptualizes communicative events such as a particular newspaper article to consist of three interconnected dimensions: i) ‘text’, i.e. the object of analysis (in this case in form of an article); ii) ‘discourse practice’, i.e. the processes of text

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38 While CDA researchers agree that the analytical framework is always eclectic, they disagree whether the theoretical framework is also eclectic (Meyer, 2001, Chouliaraki & Fairclough, (1999) or not Kress (1990).

39 Other CDA researchers have different understandings of this mediation; e.g. van Dijk & Kintsch (1983) focus on the role of the individual and hence stresses the socio-cognitive dimension of mediation.
production and consumption by human subjects (in this case the writing, reading and interpreting of article); and iii) ‘socio-cultural practice’, i.e. “the social and cultural goings-ons” (Fairclough, 1995: 57) that govern these processes (in this case e.g. the politics and economics of the media, and the broader cultural context of mass media communication) (ibid.; Janks, 1997).

The dimensions are interrelated: properties of socio-cultural practice indirectly shape texts via shaping the discursive practices which are then realized in features of text (Fairclough, 1995). Whereas linguistic analysis of media text is descriptive, the analyses of text production and consumption, and of socio-cultural conditions are interpretive and explanatory, respectively. Nevertheless, the outcomes can be mutually explanatory if the analyst finds patterns or disjunctions to be described, interpreted and explained (Janks, 1997). While researchers in principle need to include all three dimensions and related analyses when applying the framework (Janks, 1997), it is hardly possible to analyze all dimensions thoroughly. Consequently and as outlined earlier (see chapter 1), this thesis has a selective approach which will be explained and justified in the subsequent subsections.

3.3.2. Text analysis

Text analysis comprises four dimensions which ascend in scale: vocabulary deals with individual words and wording; grammar deals with the combination of words in clauses, cohesion deals with the linkage of clauses, and text structure deals with large-scale organizational properties of texts” (Fairclough, 1992: 75). As to newspaper articles, a comprehensive analysis should in principle take all dimension into account, and should also be concerned of non-textual, semiotic aspects of a text, like photography images or

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40 Fairclough’s concept is rooted in “Wittgenstein’s (1967) notion of ‘language game’ and ‘forms of life’” (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: 276) and hence in a meta-theoretical level (ibid.). Accordingly, language is only meaningful if the specific situation of its use is taken into account. Hence, any attempt to understand language requires an understanding of the underlying rules and conventions, and the recognition of its ideological, cultural and historical context.

41 Indeed, Fairclough himself tends to focus on linguistic and intertextual analysis and touches socio-cultural practice only selectively.
layout (Fairclough, 1995: 58). However, Fairclough (1992: 225) acknowledges that only major research projects can operate such comprehensive analysis. More modest projects like this thesis necessarily have a more selective approach.

This analysis hence focuses on investigating how the two cases were framed by analyzing the wording used to represent them. The underlying assumption is that whenever events, actions, relationships, and the people and objects involved in them, are represented in texts, there are always choices available to the text producer. These are ultimately “choice[s] to project, and therefore make the attempt to construct one rather than another social relation” or reality (Kress, 1990: 88). Such choices are not matters of purely individual decisions or style, but entail ‘interpreting’ [...] from a particular theoretical, cultural and ideological perspective” (ibid.: 190-191) and thus depend on wider socio-cultural processes.

This said, the analysis of representational processes in texts means giving an account of what choices were made: what is included and what is excluded, what is foregrounded and what is backgrounded, what is made explicit or what is left implicit, what is thematized and what is unthematized, what categories are drawn upon to represent an event (Fairclough, 1995). These choices materialize inter alia in the wording of a text. As indicated above, it is thus fruitful to cast light on the wording of a text to uncover which choices were made among available alternative wordings, especially because different wordings not only reflect and result from ideological perspectives, but also trigger political and ideological effects (Fairclough, 1992): “How we hear and respond to them [the claims made by media texts] is influenced by how the press frames them as particular cases.” (Hauser, 2000:153).

Moreover and as derived earlier (see section 2.5), framing consists of choices with regard to vocabulary and wording (Fairclough, 1995). In this context, vocabulary is best thought

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42 The production of media texts is a collective process which involves journalists, producers as well as various categories of editorial and technical staff (Fairclough, 1995). CDA is primarily interested in the process of text production as a whole, not in individual staff and their particular contributions. For simplicity, the term ‘authors’ will thus be used to refer to the entirety of staff in the production of media texts in the remainder of this thesis, whereas ‘the authors’ will refer to those involved in the production of the particular texts analyzed here.
of as set of (socially) preconstructed categories which label meanings with particular terms (Fairclough, 1992), and wording “involves deciding how ‘to place’ what is being represented within these sets of categories” (Fairclough, 1995: 109). Fairclough (1992) argues that, “different wordings change meaning” (ibid.: 185) and hence can never create the same meaning. Consequently, authors have to choose among alternative, though not synonymous\(^{43}\) ways of wording.

As they enjoy both visual prominence and informational priority according to the generic structure of a hard news report which is introduced later, this concerns headlines and lead paragraphs in particular because they supply readers with a set of heuristics and help them make sense of the story before or even without reading it entirely (Andrew, 2007). Headlines and lead paragraphs are thus important locations for framing and thus invite authors to make significant ideological choices. Consequently, the analytical focus is further narrowed by analyzing primarily the wording used in the headlines and lead paragraphs, and more selectively in the remainders of the articles.\(^{44}\) This focus results from and is justified by an analysis of how the generic structure of newspaper articles is used to fore- and background information (see section 4.3).

### 3.3.3. Analysis of discourse practice

The discourse practice dimension mediates the relationship between text and socio-cultural practices. In general, it involves different aspects of the processes of text production and consumption. Consequently, intertextual analysis locates the linguistic features described by linguistic analysis in relation to “social repertoires of discourse practices, i.e. orders of discourse” (Fairclough, 1995: 61). It hence abstracts from text as it brings in social and cultural context, and thereby bridges the gap between the textual and socio-cultural dimensions of discourse (Fairclough, 1995). Most importantly to this thesis, intertextual analysis entails the investigation of configurations of discourses, i.e. scrutinizes which discourses available within the repertoires of orders of discourse are

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\(^{43}\) Rigidly applied, this view assumes that synonyms cannot exist at all.

\(^{44}\) Other linguistic features and photographic images are only analyzed occasionally to enrich the analysis.
drawn upon and combined in the production and consumption of texts (Fairclough, 1995: 75).

As discourses are most often realized in the vocabulary of texts (Fairclough, 1995), a particular configuration of discourse is thus reflected more or less implicitly in the wording chosen by authors. Consequently, wording can be seen as aspect of intertextuality (Fairclough, 1992). Ultimately, the analysis of wording is descriptive text analysis, yet at the same time entails interpretative intertextual analysis. As a result, both analyses can be exercised simultaneously (Fairclough, 1992).

3.3.4. Analysis of socio-cultural practice

Analysis of the socio-cultural practice means abstracting even further from the text. The level of abstraction varies according to the research question; it may involve only the immediate situational context of a communicative event, but also the wider institutional, cultural and societal contexts (Fairclough, 1995). In general, CDA is most often concerned with three socio-cultural dimensions: economic and political aspects (both concerned with issues of ideology and power) as well as cultural aspects (concerned with issues of values and identity). Research projects usually focus upon one or more of these aspects according to the underlying research questions. However, Fairclough (1995) argues that such focus is too narrow, particularly when analyzing media texts. Consequently, this thesis analyzes contemporary micro-economic trends in the German market for daily newspapers and socio-political trends in German society to contextualize and thereby explain the findings of text analysis.

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45 As indicated earlier (see chapter 1), this thesis by necessity focuses upon text production processes. However, this limitation will be acknowledged in the conclusion.
46 This implies that socio-cultural analyses also draw upon different theories. As argued earlier, the CDA framework welcomes such diversity as it does not require such theories to be adapted to be compatible with the other parts of the framework.
3.3.5. Challenges and critique

This subsection does not challenge that CDA is a promising method to analyze the research problem at hand, but will focus on critiques regarding the application of the framework. While the framework is theoretically sound and suitable for inter- and trans-disciplinary research (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002), Molina (2009) criticizes that it is seldom appropriately applied. In his view, the most problematic issue of CDA is its “strongly consolidated primacy of the text” (ibid.: 193). This follows from overestimation of the multi-functionality of language and automatically means that equally important information on the situational or wider context is underestimated or even disregarded.

Although Fairclough (1995) stresses the need for multi-perspectival analysis, he acknowledges that CDA analysts tend to “short circuit the connection between linguistic features of text and socio-historical processes” (Molina, 2009: 188-89; Fairclough, 2008). This risks resulting in faulty hypotheses and inferences, and generalizations at the grammatical level of a text risk being linearly inferred to generalizations of a discourse at a socio-cultural level (Molina, 2009).

This touches upon Widdowson’s (1995) critique of the concept of discourse. To his mind, it imprecisely defined and demarcated from the concept of text, and consequently, the connection between the two is per definitionem vague and cannot be analyzed scientifically, but only be interpreted ideologically. Moreover, he considers CDA to be biased: first, “it is not impartial in that it is ideologically committed, and so prejudiced; and [second,] it is partial in that it selects those features of the text which support its preferred interpretation (1995: 169). Consequently, CDA cannot be critical, as it does not examine different interpretations, but only provides a single interpretation which is bound to prior, normative judgments. CDA is thus a contradiction in terms (Wodak, 2001).

Molina’s (2009) critique seems justified at first sight. Indeed, Fairclough’s analyses touch socio-cultural practice only selectively, because he sees himself as “not writing as a sociologist or cultural analyst, but as a discourse analyst with an interest in other types of analysis” (Fairclough, 1995: 62). This said, it puts into question to what extent CDA can

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47 This will be discussed later (see chapter 5).
meet up its claim to be interdisciplinary and multi-perspectival. However, it is of minor concern in this analysis. According to his critique, having no linguistic background is not a handicap, but potentially an advantage: indeed, the author of this thesis was sufficiently familiar with linguistic analysis to take text as a starting point of analysis without being too deeply rooted in linguistics to assert primacy to textual analysis. Moreover, Molina’s (2009) critique of non-scientific generalizations can also be eased by simply not claiming that the results and conclusions of this analysis can be generalized. This is not an evasive maneuver, but perfectly in line with the epistemological assumptions that discourse and the knowledge thereof are situated and bound to local and social context (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002).

Widdowson’s (1995) critique can be eased similarly as it does not doubt the coherence of the framework itself, but points to a more general question in social research: Is it possible to undertake research “free of a priori value judgments” (Meyer, 2001: 17) and “without using any preframed categories of experience” (ibid.)? Again, this question of research objectivity can be sidelined here. First, Fairclough (1996) stresses that CDA analysis is in principle open-ended and avoids conclusive value judgments (cf. Meyer, 2001). Second, CDA denies that pure cognition, and hence pure analysis are possible (Meyer, 2001). Research is thus naturally biased, yet CDA researchers make their positions and commitments explicit (Meyer, 2001), and hence their analyses are transparent and accountable.

Despite its openly interpretive and situated stance, CDA has to be subjected to questions of internal validity. Wodak (2001) suggests that validity can be ensured through triangulation processes of analysis. Applied to Fairclough’s framework, this means that a permanent switching between the different analytical levels and permanent “evaluation of the findings from these different perspectives should minimize the risk of being biased” (Meyer, 2001: 29).

Applying the framework correctly is challenging, and critique is justified whenever these challenges are ignored or neglected. It was also demonstrated above that critique can be countered by pointing to the theoretical and epistemological assumptions underlying this
framework. As long as these assumptions are articulated and the framework is applied coherently, research is accountable and therefore potentially meaningful.

3.4. Research design

This thesis seeks to uncover how two cases revolving doors lobbyism are framed in German newspaper articles. These frames are assessed by casting light on the wording selected to represent the two cases. According to CDA, wording and the resulting representations are choices among alternatives. Therefore, the analysis is applied to articles about two distinct cases to discover possible differences with regard to such choices. However, the cases were not compared to test and explain an a priori developed hypothesis derived from theory. Consequently, this ‘comparison’ is not meant to explain why the cases might have been represented differently.

By contrast, the cases are juxtaposed to discern whether the wording chosen in the articles constitutes any pattern in the first place. Consequently, this juxtaposition is primarily exploratory and illustrative. This analysis is thus a qualitative case study aimed at exploring and describing the representations of revolving doors lobbyism and the underlying discursive practices of text production. However, the concluding socio-political analysis also suggests possible explanations for the use of specific frames and raises questions about possible ideological effects.

As indicated earlier (see chapters 1 and 0), articles published in opinion leading German newspapers are particularly interesting research objects. With regard to the German news press, the following media outlets are typically recognized as opinion leaders: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung [FAZ], Süddeutsche Zeitung [SZ], Die Welt [Welt], and Focus. Moreover, it was practically useful and also reasonable to focus on the respective

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48 Researchers implicitly agree that Süddeutsche Zeitung, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, and Die Welt are opinion leading quality newspapers with significant influence on political leaders (cf. e.g. Eilders, 2000; Koch, 2008; Trenz, 2004; Johnson & Suhr, 2003). According to Meyen and Jandura (2010), Focus also belongs to this category.

49 Whereas Focus is a weekly news magazine, the corresponding web page is rather an online newspaper. Hence, for the sake of simplicity, the term (online) newspaper shall also refer to Focus.
online versions of these newspapers: articles published online were easier to access and store than those published in press; moreover, online newspapers are an established channel of the news media in Germany\textsuperscript{50} worthy to be analyzed in its own right.

Furthermore, it was advisable to focus on articles which report rather than comment on the cases. This acknowledges the distinction between ideological and persuasive aspects of media texts (Fairclough, 1995). Persuasion is typically an explicit function, i.e. authors of e.g. editorials explicitly adopt a particular and often partial point of view on topics and try to persuade audiences to share it with the help of rhetorical devices (ibid.). By contrast, ideologies are not adopted, but taken for granted as common ground between authors and readers of newspaper articles without recourse to rhetorical strategies (ibid.). Unlike news reports, editorials openly dissociate themselves from the “information function of neutral reporting” (Eilders, 2002:33) and were therefore excluded from analysis.

The newspaper articles reporting on the two cases of interest were retrieved from the archives of the web pages\textsuperscript{51} of the newspapers listed above. The retrieved articles were sampled at random. However, this is only a minor deficiency given the explorative approach of this thesis which does not claim to make general conclusions induced from the analysis of a representative sample. Moreover, the corpus was enriched by adding the press releases published online by the involved employers, because these releases can be assumed to contain information which was then re-reported in the newspaper articles. The finally analyzed corpus (see Appendix) thus contained eight newspaper articles (two of which reporting on the Rösler case, and six on the Niebel case) and two press releases.

\begin{itemize}
  \item According to a representative survey on news consumption habits in Germany in 2014, 48\% of the respondents said they consumed online newspapers. Only slightly more respondents said they consumed print newspapers (62\%). The majority (75\%) said they consumed both (Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 2014).
  \item These are www.faz.net [FAZ]; www.sueddeutsche.de [SZ]; www.welt.de [Welt]; www.focus.de [Focus].
\end{itemize}
4. Analysis

This chapter starts with providing background information on the cases, on the current political debate, and on the generic structure of hard news reports before turning to the text and intertextual analysis of the sampled newspaper articles. The analysis of socio-cultural practices completes the empirical analysis.

4.1. The cases

The newspaper articles to be analyzed reported on two press releases which announced the employment of two former members of German federal government. Dirk Niebel used to be Federal Minister for Economic Cooperation and Development and as such formed part of the federal government of the 17th legislative period lasting from 28 October 2009 until 17 December 2013. Philipp Rösler formed part of the same government, first as Federal Minister for Health (2009-2011) and later as Federal Minister for Economic Affairs (2011-2013). Moreover, he was Vice-Chancellor from 2011 until 2013. Both ministers are members of the Free Democratic Party (FDP). General elections in 2013 resulted in a historic defeat of the FDP, which implied that Niebel and Rösler could neither continue their political careers as members of parliament nor as federal ministers.

23 December 2013, the World Economic Forum (WEF) issued a news release announcing that Rösler was going to join the Forum as Managing Director and Member of the Managing Board to contribute to further develop the WEF as platform for public-private cooperation *inter alia* by motivating decision-makers to solve pressing global challenges. The WEF considers itself as an international institution committed to improving the state of the world by engaging business, political, academic and other leaders of society to shape global, regional and industry agendas (cf. Appendix, Fig. 10). It was incorporated as a not-for-profit foundation in 1971 and is headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland. It claims to be tied to no political, partisan or national interest (*ibid.*).

1 July 2014, Rheinmetall AG, a German-based multinational corporation which produces automotive components and defence equipment (cf. Appendix, Fig. 7) issued a news
release announcing that Niebel was going to join the company in January 2015 and is going to in charge of international tasks from then on, which include the furthering of government relations.

Recalling the comprehensive definitions of lobbying and revolving doors lobbyism in academics (see p. 4), both cases clearly qualify as revolving doors lobbyism: the future responsibilities as outlined in the press releases per definitionem include lobbying activities, and Rösler and Niebel are former members of government who are employed by an international and a corporation, respectively, to engage in such activities.

4.2. The current political debate

The current debate on revolving doors lobbyism in Germany centers around the questions to what extend this form of lobbying is legitimate, whether it needs to be regulated, and if so, how.

4.2.1. Revolving doors lobbyism as corruption

One line of argumentation considers revolving doors lobbyism to possibly be corruption (Apollonio et al., 2008). This line of argumentation is promoted by ‘civil society watchdog groups’ (Leif & TI, 2014: 17), primarily by LobbyControl52 (2007, 2011, 2013b) and Transparency International Deutschland53 (TI, 2008). If political decision-makers know that they will be employed by a private sector firm after holding office, they can make or influence decisions which favor that firm’s interests while in office (Parker et al., 2013). Consequently, their employment by a private sector firm does not primarily mean that the firm expects the politician to be a valuable lobbyist in the future, but, conversely

52 LobbyControl is a German NGO committed to promoting the transparency and democratic control of lobbying. Consequently, it calls for a comprehensive regulation of lobbying in Germany and the EU. More detailed background information can be retrieved from https://www.lobbycontrol.de/initiative/.
53 TI is a German-based international NGO committed to increasing public awareness of corruption and of its negative consequences. Moreover, it seeks to strengthen national and systems of integrity. More detailed background information can be retrieved from http://www.transparency.de/UEber-uns.44.0.html.
Revolving doors lobbying is thus a vehicle for public servants to use their office for private or personal gain (Apollonio et al., 2008), which corresponds to corrupt behavior. However, because it seems to be problematic to prove such behavior in court, German criminal law cannot effectively prevent such behavior. Yet, it is argued that it needs to be prevented because if revolving doors lobbying means that the pursuit of personal instead of public interests drives or appears to drive political decision-making (Leif, 2009), it casts serious doubts on the integrity of official actions, legislation and exacerbates public distrust in government (Apollonio et al., 2008). Consequently, adherents to this argumentation call for prophylactic regulatory measures which prevent situations which enable quid pro quo exchanges like ex-post payments for ex-ante legislative assistance (ibid.). In the ongoing debate, politicians explicitly referred to LobbyControl and TI when calling for the introduction of so-called cooling-off periods (cf. Deutscher Bundestag, 2014a, 2014b). They argue that such periods would prohibit ministers to become lobbyist soon after exiting public office and thereby minimize the risk that political decisions are made with respect to short-term employment opportunities in the private sector and ultimately protecting public trust in government.56

4.2.2. Revolving doors lobbying as privileged access

This claim is supported by a second line of argumentation according to which revolving doors lobbying provides some interest groups with privileged access to the policy process. It is repeatedly articulated by LobbyControl (2007, 2011, 2013b) and TI (2008). To their mind, former ministers seek to “cash out on their experience and connections” (Apollonio et al., 2008: 29), as well as on their insider knowledge about informal policy processes

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54 In line with international legal instruments, corruption can be broadly defined as any abuse of power for private gain (European Commission, 2014).

55 Dominant corruption frameworks treat the non-speech aspects of lobbying like e.g. reimbursements or gifts as “items of potential personal value that might be given with the intent or appearance of influencing the performance of official duties” (Apollonio et al., 2008: 19).

56 This corruption paradigm bases on the assumption that ministers are employed as lobbyists by firms which they ‘regulated’ before (cf. Parker et al., 2013). Here, ‘regulating’ implies having insights into or influence on policy processes which somehow affected the specific firm.
(Leif, 2009). As this so called political capital is an important prerequisite for gaining access, it makes former ministers valuable to any interest group in the first place (Apollonio et al., 2008). However, ex-ministers are likely to accept the most lucrative job offer, which gives financially strong interests groups—often corporations which increasingly invest in direct lobbying rather than rely on intermediaries like associations (Wehrmann, 2007)—a competitive edge. As a result, these ‘interest groups’ gain privileged access to the policy process. Ultimately, adherents to this rationale are concerned that revolving doors lobbyism reinforces an already existing structural bias which favors private interests at the expense of public or social interest groups (Leif & TI, 2014; Apollonio et al., 2008).

4.2.3. Revolving doors lobbyism as socially beneficial knowledge transfer

By contrast, a third line of argumentation is concerned about negative consequences of such cooling-off periods as it considers revolving doors lobbyism as legitimate and beneficial post-elective employment practice. In the ongoing debate, it is promoted by several members of parliament (cf. Deutscher Bundestag, 2014a). Accordingly, revolving doors lobbyism is a good opportunity to strengthen the effectiveness of organizations which promote social or societal interests (like e.g. charity organizations). Moreover, revolving doors lobbyist can influence private sector firms in a way which promotes business interests and broader social interests by increasing the social, environmental, and societal knowledge of corporations. Hiring ex-ministers who are both skilled and feel committed to the pursuit of public interests would help corporations fulfill their corporate social responsibilities and more effectively contribute to overall social welfare (ibid.). Cooling-off periods would undermine such important knowledge transfer.

This argumentation builds upon the assumption that ex-ministers become lobbyists because they have the right skills to lobby effectively (Parker et al., 2013). These skills, are developed during public duty and exceed mere political capital (cf. p. 43): they comprise general knowledge of formal and informal legislative procedures, and experience in leadership, but also more specialized skills like profound expertise with regard to specific
industries or policy (*ibid.*). This ‘human capital’ is easy to transfer which makes lobbying
the first-best employment opportunities for ex-ministers (*ibid.*). However, as human
capital also decreases over time, cooling off periods would significantly decrease ex-
ministers’ employment opportunities. This argumentation thus concludes that cooling off
periods should not be introduced because they devaluate the human capital ex-ministers
depend on when seeking employment after public duty.

4.3. Generic structure of hard news reports

Hard news stories usually have a generic structure which gives them their textual
distinctiveness. According to White (2005), hard news reports are typically grounded in a
material event such as a natural disaster or terrorist attack, or based upon a
communicative event like a speech, an interview or a press release. As the analyzed
articles base upon press releases (see section 4.1), they can be considered as typical hard
news reports. Their informational and rhetoric objectives are achieved through an
“‘orbital’ structure in which dependent ‘satellites’ elaborate, explain, contextualize and
appraise a textually dominant ‘nucleus’” (White, 2005: 101). This textual dominance of
the nucleus, which consists of the headline(s) and the lead paragraph, is reflected in a
more eye-catching layout (e.g. in terms of font and font size) than the rest of the text.
Moreover, this visual foregrounding decreases in scale within the nucleus; from major to
minor headlines and then to the lead paragraph. The nucleus is also informationally
dominant as it gives the gist of the story, i.e. provides all information central to the story
(Fairclough, 1995: 72). Consequently, it is fruitful to also treat it as one unit of analysis.

A visually most prominent part of a news report, headlines perform a dual function: they
attract readers’ attention, and at the same time communicate the main idea of the article
by providing a synopsis of the story that follows (Andrew, 2007). In order to summarize,
headlines are necessarily simplifying mechanisms or “information shortcuts” (*ibid.*: 28),
which supply readers with a set of heuristics and help them make sense of the story
before or even without reading it entirely (*ibid.*). The underlying assumption is that news
comprehension is a top-down activity in which headlines dominate all other information
(van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983). Headlines thus frame the way news articles are processed (see section 2.5; Entman, 2004), and are consequently ascribed a key role in the process of news comprehension (Andrew, 2007): different wording provides readers with different heuristic cues to comprehend the article, which in turn have a powerful effect on the attitudes readers adopt (ibid.; Hauser, 2000).

This is particularly salient as the choice of how to word a headline is ideological. White argues that the decision which angle is presented in the headline represents a deliberate “evaluative intensification” (2005: 128) and can thus not be explained in terms of communicative efficiency or brevity. The “act of extracting a particular element from its temporal or verbal context and giving it such textual prominence and informational priority” (ibid.: 129) is a thoroughly ideological process of selection (ibid.): the generic structure invites choices about what issue is newsworthy and which parts are given informational priority, but at the same time the operation of underlying ideological positions is obscured and naturalized (White, 2005). However, detailed text analysis can uncover these choices by casting light on whether information is backgrounded or foregrounded<sup>57</sup> and how it is worded.

### 4.4. Text and intertextual analysis

The text analysis below identifies the wordings and associates them with framing effects to explore how revolving doors lobbyism is represented and framed in the sample articles. Consequently, it is investigated which wording was chosen to represent how the ministers changed jobs and why. Moreover, the wording used to introduce the two ministers and their new employers is analyzed. Simultaneously, an intertextual analysis is undertaken to detect in how far particular wordings implicitly draw upon specific discourses.

<sup>57</sup> Both backgrounded and foregrounded information are explicitly present in the text, yet differ in terms of their prominence. This is because the distinction between presences and absences is a matter of degree (Fairclough, 1995). On a “scale of presence” (ibid.: 106), information can be absent, presupposed (i.e. visually absent, yet part of the implicit meaning of the text), backgrounded or foregrounded (ibid.).
4.4.1. *How is the change of jobs represented?*

In the case of Rösler, the selected wording gives the impression that his change of jobs was a matter of coincidence, not of planning and calculated decision-making. This impression is suggested by using the verbs ‘to find’\(^{58}\) (*FR*\(^{59}\)*), ‘to get/ to receive’\(^{61}\) (*FR*), and ‘to switch/ to change’\(^{62}\) (*FAZR*)\(^{63}\) in the headlines. In the context of employment, these terms are commonly used and not loaded. Yet the fact that they were chosen implies a certain understanding of Rösler’s change of jobs; they foreground the way the new career opportunity emerged, not how Rösler seized it. Although being subject of the respective clauses, Rösler’s role is thus passive; he witnesses his own change of jobs rather than actively participates.

In the case of Niebel, the wording is strikingly different: his change of jobs is framed as a criminal action for which Niebel himself is responsible. This effect results from choosing the verb ‘to sign on/ hire oneself out’\(^{64}\) (*FN*\(^{65}\)). This wording is not commonly, but at best colloquially used to term the action of changing jobs. According to *Duden Dictionary*\(^{66, 67}\), the verb is *inter alia* used in colloquial criminal discourse to term the act of winning someone over with money to commit a crime. By subtly drawing upon that discourse, Niebel’s change of job is framed as criminal behavior. In political context, receiving money

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\(^{58}\) “Rösler [...] hat einen neuen Job *gefunden*” (*FR*).

\(^{59}\) In the remainder of this sub-section, references will be used to refer to the analyzed texts which can be retrieved in the appendix, not to the respective newspaper as such. Capital letters help distinguish between articles published in the same newspapers, yet dealing with different former ministers (*Rösler* and *Niebel*). Moreover, numbers help distinguish between various articles about Niebel in the same newspaper.

\(^{60}\) See Appendix, Fig. 9.

\(^{61}\) “Rösler *bekommt* neuen Job” (*FAZR*).

\(^{62}\) “Rösler *wechselt* zum Weltwirtschaftsforum” (*FAZR*).

\(^{63}\) See Appendix, Fig. 8.

\(^{64}\) “Ex-Minister *heuert* bei Rüstungskonzern an” (*FN*).

\(^{65}\) See Appendix, Fig. 2.

\(^{66}\) http://www.duden.de/suchen/dudenonline/anheuern.

\(^{67}\) A dictionary-based view of vocabulary assumes that vocabulary can be standardized and codified in dictionaries. To Fairclough (1992), however, such standardization presents the attempt to enforce a unitary vocabulary to the language community by presenting it as universal and comprehensive. To his mind, dictionaries do not account for the “great many overlapping and competing vocabularies corresponding to different domains, institutions, practices, values, and perspectives” (*ibid*.: 76) and are thus only of limited value. However, some dictionaries do account for at least some competing vocabularies and can thus be a useful heuristic to explore wordings which are outside an analyst’s own vocabulary.
in exchange for illegal behavior can indeed be associated with a crime, namely corruption. These associations correspond to the corruption paradigm which forms part of ‘anti-revolving doors lobbyism discourse’ as frequently articulated by NGOs (see section 4.2.1). However, it needs to be mentioned that associating the verb with criminal discourse is imprecise in a strictly grammatical sense in this case. In the headline of *FN*, the verb is used in the active form (‘Niebel signs on with Rheinmetall’\(^{68}\)) and Niebel is the subject of the clause. Yet, in order to explicitly have the meaning as described above, Rheinmetall would have to be the object, i.e. the headline would have to state ‘Rheinmetall heuer Niebel an’ (cf. footnote 68 below). Despite this slight grammatical inaccuracy, such association is possible as the verb can generally be related with criminal discourse, especially if readers are not familiar with the grammatical details which are decisive for whether locating the verb in criminal discourse or not.

Moreover, the wording also clearly assigns Niebel an active role in his change of jobs. The verb and its position in the clause represent the change of jobs as an action for which Niebel himself is responsible. While Niebel actively ‘ hires himself out’, Rösler ‘gets’ or ‘finds’ a new job (cf. above). The effect of choosing the verb ‘to hire oneself out’ is thus twofold: First and most importantly, it suggests associations with criminal behavior in general and political corruption in particular. Framing the article this way thus prompts readers to understand Niebel’s change of jobs as criminal, because corrupt behavior. This frame corresponds to ‘anti-revolving doors lobbyism discourse’ which is built around the understanding that revolving doors lobbyism invites corrupt behavior (cf. section 4.2.1). This frame is reinforced by the wording chosen to represent why Niebel was employed by Rheinmetall.

\(^{68}\) “Niebel heuer bei Rheinmetall an” (*FN*).
4.4.2. How is it represented why the two former ministers were hired?

Represented as a matter of fact, it is explained that Niebel was hired because of his relationships with political decision-makers abroad. These connections are presented as valuable (political) capital which Niebel developed while being Federal Minister for Economic Cooperation and Development and which is supposed to be helpful to sell weapons and military vehicles (cf. section 4.2.2). However, anything in the text indicates that such judgment represents a personal and thus partial opinion, be it the authors’ or a third party’s opinion. By contrast, it is presented as a matter of fact, although it is not mentioned anywhere in the press release which the articles are based upon (cf. RM\textsuperscript{69}). In \textit{FN}, it is stated that ‘the corporation bets on the numerous relationships of the former federal minister abroad’\textsuperscript{70}, and in \textit{SZ}\textsuperscript{71} it is added that this is because ‘the corporation wants to sell more weapons and [military] vehicles’. These universalized interpretations\textsuperscript{73} correspond to the central assumptions underlying the critique of revolving doors lobbyism articulated in the ‘anti-revolving doors lobbyism discourse’: politicians sell their knowledge of policy processes and their relationships with key actors and thereby provide their future employers with privileged access (cf. section 4.2.2). Moreover, the emphasis on political capital suggests that Niebel might already have used this capital in favor of Rheinmetall while being in office. Accordingly, his employment by Rheinmetall might also involve a corrupt quid pro quo exchange to remunerate him ex-post for ex-ante legislative assistance (cf. section 4.2.1).

\textsuperscript{69} See Appendix, Fig. 7.
\textsuperscript{70} “[…] setzt das Unternehmen […] auf die vielen Auslandskontakte des früheren Bundesministers im Ausland” (\textit{FN}).
\textsuperscript{71} See Appendix, Fig. 6.
\textsuperscript{72} “Das Unternehmen will weltweit mehr Waffen verkaufen und setzt deshalb auf die vielen Auslandskontakte [Niebels]” (\textit{SZ}).
\textsuperscript{73} According to Fairclough, media “systematically transform into ‘facts’ what can often be no more than interpretations of complex and confusing sets of events” (1992: 160-61). Instead of making explicit that a proposition is subjective by modalizing it with e.g. modal verbs or adverbs (e.g. ‘Niebel might have been hired because …’ or ‘Maybe Niebel was hired because …’), authors word their propositions as if they represented a universal perspective (e.g. ‘He was hired because …’). Omitting modalizing elements thus masks subjective –i.e. partial– perspectives as universally true (Fairclough, 1992: 159ff.).
By contrast, such universalized interpretations are absent in the articles about the Rösler case. In order to explain why Rösler was employed, the personal and partial assertion by Klaus Schwab, founder and head of the WEF who hired Rösler, is quoted directly:

“"To me [Schwab], it was less important that he [Rösler] was head of the FDP or minister for economic affairs, but important was the question: Does he bring along the human and professional capabilities to perform this important task [...]”, Schwab explained\(^74\) ([FR]).

Moreover, this quotation is paraphrased—and also transformed into a fact as the source is omitted—and visually foregrounded as sub-headline: ‘(Rösler) brings along the human and professional capabilities’\(^75\) ([FR]).

As a result, it is suggested that Rösler was factually (and not allegedly) hired because of his ‘human and professional capabilities’ and, explicitly not because of the political capital he developed while being leader of the FDP, vice-chancellor and Federal Minister for both health and economic affairs. This emphasis explicitly foregrounds the value of Rösler’s human capital and explicitly backgrounds the value of his political capital. Implicitly, it is thus suggested that his employment is legitimate (cf. section 4.2.3)

This key message is strikingly foregrounded in [FR], and as a result, the headline and sub-headline combined create a frame which reads: ‘Rösler gets new job in Switzerland’ ‘[he] brings along the human and professional capabilities’ ([ibid.]). Consistently, Schwab’s statement that ‘now was a good opportunity to win him over’\(^76\) ([FR]) was only mentioned, but backgrounded as it is incoherent with the frame. The effect of this frame is to exclude an alternative interpretation according to which Rösler’s change of jobs is a case of illegitimate revolving doors lobbying.

Returning to the Niebel case, the same discursive strategy was pursued in [W2]\(^77\), but with the opposite objective. As in the Rösler case (cf. above), a direct quotation was

\(^74\) “Für mich [Schwab] war es weniger wichtig, dass er [Rösler] FDP-Chef oder Wirtschaftsminister war, sondern wichtiger war mir die Frage: Bringt er die menschlichen und beruflichen Fähigkeiten mit, diese wichtige Funktion [...] auszuüben”, erklärte Schwab ([FR]).

\(^75\) “[Rösler] Bringt die menschlichen und beruflichen Fähigkeiten mit” ([FR]).

\(^76\) “[...] jetzt war eine gute Gelegenheit, ihn für das Forum zu gewinnen” ([FR]).

\(^77\) See Appendix, Fig. 4.
informationally foregrounded to reinforce a particular frame: the sub-headline ‘We [Rheinmetall’s executives] know Mr. Niebel for quite some time’\textsuperscript{78} (W2) suggests that personal connections between Rheinmetall’s executives and Niebel already existed while he was still in public office. The emphasis on these connections and their long history frames Niebel’s change of jobs as a deal based on personal ties and Niebel’s political capital, which might involve ex-post payments for ex-ante legislative assistance (cf. section 4.2.1). Moreover, like in the Rösler case, the rest of the original statement was omitted in the sub-headline. The quotation continues explaining that the hiring had not been negotiated while Niebel was still minister and that there had been any professional relationships beforehand. However, this information is incoherent with the frame established before as it gives reason to interpret Niebel’s change of jobs as being no illegitimate or illegal instance. Consequently, it is backgrounded. As a result, Niebel and his new employer, Rheinmetall, are introduced in a way which reinforces the frame according to which Niebel’s change of jobs factually is a deal based on personal ties.

4.4.3. How are the former ministers represented?

The way Dirk Niebel is introduced in the sample creates different frames which—more or less directly—prompt readers to interpret his change of jobs as a deal based on personal ties and as betrayal by a hypocrite politician. Niebel is not only introduced as former minister (see below) but also as ‘former soldier and paratrooper’\textsuperscript{79} (FAZN\textsuperscript{80}, W2) and ‘captain in stand-by’\textsuperscript{81} (FAZN) who ‘is openly passionate about everything that has to do with military’\textsuperscript{82} (W2). Recurring to his military career in the past, a connection between Niebel and his future employer Rheinmetall\textsuperscript{83} is subtly suggested, which reinforces the impression that Niebel not just happened to find a new job, but that his change of job was a calculated decision based on personal ties and possibly negotiated while he was

\textsuperscript{78} “Wir kennen Herrn Niebel seit längerer Zeit” (W2).
\textsuperscript{79} “ehemaliger Zeitsoldat und Fallschirmjäger” (FAZN; W2).
\textsuperscript{80} See Appendix, Fig. 1.
\textsuperscript{81} “Hauptmann der Reserve” (FAZN).
\textsuperscript{82} “Aus seiner Leidenschaft für alles Militärische hat er nie einen Hehl gemacht” (W2).
\textsuperscript{83} However, this frame depends on the corresponding representation of Rheinmetall as arms producing groups (see section 4.4.4)
still in public duty. This frame is also supported visually by the photographs displayed in
the articles: In FAZN, W1\textsuperscript{84} and W2, photographs show Niebel wearing a soldier cap and a
bulletproof vest which make him look like a soldier rather than a minister. Alternative,
more conventional pictures of a minister, e.g. showing Niebel wearing a suit and
delivering a speech (cf. the picture of Rösler in FR, see Appendix, Fig. 9) were omitted.

Moreover, Niebel is introduced as former minister in all but one headline. The
foregrounding effect of mentioning the title ‘ex-minister for development’\textsuperscript{85} (e.g. W2) in
the headlines is reinforced by positioning it in front of the name. As a result, Niebel is thus
neither introduced as a person, nor is he associated with past offices which evoke
relatively general responsibilities. Titles such as ‘Member of Parliament’ or ‘Secretary
General of the FDP’ are absent.\textsuperscript{86} As a result, the headlines highlight that a former
minister named Dirk Niebel actively changed his job which frame the instance as a
subject-matter of public concern and expose his change of jobs to the evaluation
standards commonly applied to politicians as the public’s representatives.

Furthermore, Niebel is introduced as ‘turncoat’\textsuperscript{87} (W3\textsuperscript{88}). This wording is particularly
striking because it is unconventional in this context, yet crucial to create a specific frame.
In German language, the term originates in sports discourse to term that teams change
sides on the playing field. Its use in the context of a politician who changes jobs is thus
first of all colloquial. Interestingly, the allusion to sports in general and to the changing of
sides in particular clearly evokes associations with the competition between two
opponent players or teams. In the context of the Niebel case, federal government and
Rheinmetall as representative of private business are thus introduced as two distinct,
opposing and competing ‘players’. These associations are even more present if the
underlying nominalization is analyzed. Accordingly, a ‘Seitenwechsler’ is literally a ‘person
who changes or switches sides’. The corresponding German verbal expression ‘die Seite

\textsuperscript{84} See Appendix, Fig. 3.
\textsuperscript{85} “Ex-Entwicklungsmünister” (e.g. W2).
\textsuperscript{86} In FAZN, they are mentioned, yet not in order to introduce Niebel, but to illustrate his metamorphosis.
\textsuperscript{87} “Seitenwechsler” (W3).
\textsuperscript{88} See Appendix, Fig. 5.
wechseln’ is synonymous to the verb ‘to desert’. Consequently, by labeling Niebel as ‘turncoat’, he is indirectly introduced as a person who deserts. This wording alludes to military discourse as it describes the act of abandoning the armed forces one has the duty to fight for in order to join the antagonistic forces in a way which is considered disloyal, treacherous and illegal. Ultimately, business and government are thus introduced as hostile combatants; and Niebel as turncoat who during the competition or ‘fight’ abandons government to join ‘the enemy’, i.e. Rheinmetall; and as betrayer who exposes public interest to danger by treacherously giving information to ‘the enemy’. Hence, the intended effect of this wording is that when reading ‘Seitenwechsler’, readers shall understand ‘turncoat’ and ‘betrayer’.

By contrast, Philipp Rösler is primarily introduced as a private person. The textually most prominent major headlines introduce Rösler as a private person: they mention only his name (‘Rösler gets...’ [FR], ‘Philipp Rösler switches...’ [FAZR]). This ‘personal touch’ in the headlines is reinforced as Rösler is introduced as husband and father in the remainders of FR (‘[...] together with his wife and children’\(^90\)). Minor headlines and lead paragraphs do mention political offices he held in the past, but only those which are associated with a political leader (chairman of the FDP; vice-chancellor) and not with an expert minister. However, Rösler had been Federal Minister of Health, and later Federal Minister for Economic Affairs and Technology which implied frequent contact with representatives of private industry firms and associations. Moreover, he was publicly criticized by NGOs for having obscured his relationships with industry lobbyist (LobbyControl, 2013a). Yet, any information which could be associated with this critique is omitted as it is incoherent with the overall frame. This frame thus presents the case of Rösler as a story about a private person who happened to find a new job.

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\(^89\) Recall that in the case of Rösler, by contrast, the neutral verb ‘to switch’ [wechseln] was chosen (see p. 46).

\(^90\) “[...]mit Frau und Kindern” (FR).
4.4.4. How are the employers represented?

Rheinmetall is introduced as ‘arms-producing group’\textsuperscript{91} in the lead paragraphs in \textit{FN}, \textit{W3}, and \textit{SZ}. The organization is thus represented as corporate group whose purpose is producing and selling munitions. However, all lead paragraphs omit specifications on other activities, although the group indeed consists of two corporate sectors: Rheinmetall Defence, and Rheinmetall Automotive (cf. \textit{RM}). Whereas the remainders of all articles do add the information that Rheinmetall is also a first-tier supplier to the automotive industry, it is not clarified that the automotive sector actually generates more than half of the group’s total sales.\textsuperscript{92} This means that if one wanted to define Rheinmetall by what it is mainly producing and selling, one could also name it ‘automotive company’. Again, the authors chose not to do so. By labeling Niebel’s future employer ‘arms-producing group’, its identity is created: it is constituted by describing what it does, namely producing and selling munitions. As demonstrated earlier, this terminology is inaccurate (in terms of the relative financial weight of the two corporate sectors) and misleading. Yet, it is coherent with the frame which prompts readers to think of Niebel’s change of jobs as some form of complicity: the former soldier joins the arms producer. Again, this frame corresponds to the corruption paradigm as articulated in the ‘anti-revolving doors lobbying discourse’.

By contrast, in the case of Rösler, the World Economic Forum is mentioned prominently as “Weltwirtschaftsforum” (\textit{FAZR}; \textit{FR}). In both articles, the headlines and lead paragraphs provide background information on the WEF, yet only about its location ‘in Geneva’\textsuperscript{93} ‘in Switzerland’\textsuperscript{94}. Specifications on the WEF’s organizational features, its mission or vision are absent, although the WEF’s press release explicitly offered the authors such information to draw upon (cf. \textit{WEF}).\textsuperscript{95} This unconcern about Rösler’s new employer is coherent with the overall pattern of framing: the articles shall be understood as stories

\textsuperscript{91} “Rüstungskonzern” (e.g. \textit{FN}).
\textsuperscript{92} Specific sales figures are only mentioned in \textit{W3}.
\textsuperscript{93} “in Genf” (\textit{FAZR}; \textit{FR}).
\textsuperscript{94} “in der Schweiz” (\textit{FAZR}; \textit{FR}).
\textsuperscript{95} See Appendix, Fig. 10: “The World Economic Forum is an independent international organization committed to improving the state of the world by engaging business, political, academic and other leaders of society to shape global, regional and industry agendas. Incorporated as a not-for-profit foundation in 1971 and headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland, the Forum is tied to no political, partisan or national interests.”
4.4.5. How are the new responsibilities represented?

In the Rösler case, all articles avoid associating Rösler’s new job with lobbying activities. Moreover, they downplay his new responsibilities as they restrict themselves to quoting the vague explanations provided by Schwab and Rösler himself. Interestingly, the headlines do not tell anything about Rösler’s position or responsibilities at the WEF. Only in the lead paragraph in FR it is specified that Rösler ‘will work for the WEF’⁹⁶ and ‘will be in charge of the relationships with governments all over the world’⁹⁷. This job description is rather vague; ‘being in charge’ is a very broad and neutral term which is typically used in job descriptions. Later, it is enriched by directly quoting Rösler: “This means I am going to be responsible for the regional activities of the WEF outside Switzerland”⁹⁸ (FR). However, this quote does not add much information but rather paraprases what had already been stated earlier. The expression ‘outside Switzerland’ adds little information to the expression ‘all over the world’ in the lead paragraphs; similarly, ‘regional activities’ is a very broad expression. The authors decided not to seize the opportunity to explain what the WEF’s regional activities are, but adopted the vagueness of the quote.

Most interestingly, the information that Rösler will be in charge of the relationships with governments all over the world is not related with lobbyism, neither implicitly by evoking associations nor explicitly: the terms ‘lobbyism’ or ‘lobbyist’ are not used throughout the entire texts. The articles were thus not framed as stories about lobbyism, although his responsibilities clearly involve lobbying (see section 4.1). The decision not to draw upon any discourse which is somehow related to lobbyism is remarkable. At the same time, it expresses a certain understanding of lobbyism and of the case at hand which made the authors conclude that using the terms ‘lobbyism’ or ‘lobbyist’ would be inappropriate. In

⁹⁶ “[…] wird […] für das Weltwirtschaftsforum arbeiten” (FR).
⁹⁷ “wird […] für die weltweiten Regierungskontakte zuständig sein” (FR).
⁹⁸ “Damit bin ich zukünftig verantwortlich für die regionalen Aktivitäten […] außerhalb der Schweiz” (FR).
doing so, the authors exclude the negative associations both terms usually evoke in public discourse and thereby exempt the entire story from general critiques of lobbyism in general and revolving doors lobbyism in particular.

In the case of Niebel, by contrast, the headlines clearly frame the subsequent articles as stories about a former politician who is going to work as lobbyist. Accordingly, these negatively loaded terms are not only used, but also informationally and visually foregrounded: the terms ‘arms lobbyist’\(^99\) (\(SZ; W1; FAZN\)) and ‘chief lobbyist’\(^100\) (\(W3; FAZN\)) appear prominently in the headlines or lead paragraphs. This is particularly interesting as Rheinmetall itself did not use these expressions in its press release (cf. \(RM\)^101) which was evidently the main source of all articles in the sub-sample. This is surprising because the information that the authors based that conclusion upon is almost identical to the description of Rösler’s job (see above): ‘Dirk Niebel assumes responsibility for international tasks at Rheinmetall from 2015 on […] [and] […] will assist Rheinmetall’s members of the board in terms of all questions and tasks of international strategy development and in furthering the global government relations’\(^102\) (\(RM\)).

Moreover, while Rösler’s responsibilities are left unexplained and thereby downplayed, Niebel’s tasks are exaggerated. When reporting the content of the press release, the authors of all but one article (\(W2\)) changed the term ‘enhancement’\(^103\) (\(RM\)) originally used in the press release (cf. \(RM\)) to ‘initiation’\(^104\) (e.g. \(FAZN\)). This suggests that Niebel is responsible for building relationships with governments from scratch rather than furthering already existing relationships. This effectively increases the task and ascribes Niebel a more important role as lobbyist.

The decisions to label Niebel as lobbyist and to distort the original content of the press release can be considered as framing. As such, it transformed partial interpretations into

\(^{99}\) “Rüstungslobbyist” (\(SZ\)).

\(^{100}\) “Cheflobbyist” (\(W3\)).

\(^{101}\) See Appendix, Fig. 7.

\(^{102}\) “Dirk Niebel übernimmt ab 2015 internationale Aufgaben bei Rheinmetall […] Er wird […] in allen Fragen und Aufgaben der internationalen Strategieentwicklung und beim Ausbau der globalen Regierungsbeziehungen unterstützen” (\(RM\)).

\(^{103}\) “Ausbau” (\(RM\)).

\(^{104}\) “Aufbau” (e.g. \(SZ\)).
facts in order to provide readers with a heuristic cue of how to make sense of the remainder of the article: it prompts readers to associate them with lobbying in a critical way which corresponds to the ‘anti-revolving doors lobbying discourse’ and to read them according to the corresponding storylines.

4.5. Preliminary conclusion

The articles about the Niebel case were demonstrated to be framed differently than those reporting on the Rösler case, although the press releases and interview statements which underlay the articles were very similar in terms of the wording selected to represent the change of jobs, the ministers and their new responsibilities, and thus provided the authors with very similar sets of representations to choose from—and consequently frames and discourses to draw upon.

Most importantly, only Niebel’s change of jobs was framed as a case of revolving doors lobbying in the first place. Interestingly, the authors also drew upon criminal discourse and chose wordings which correspond to ‘anti-revolving doors lobbying discourse’. The resulting frame criminalized Niebel’s change of jobs and prompted readers to conclude that it resulted from corrupt complicity. Consequently, the articles made readers judge his behavior as illegitimate ex-post payments for ex-ante legislative assistance and made them feel ‘betrayed’ by a corrupt turncoat. Niebel’s case is thus an issue of public concern. By contrast, Rösler’s change of job was framed as a trivial private matter and not at all as a case of revolving doors lobbying. Consistently, the authors strictly avoided drawing upon lobbying discourse: Family father Rösler happened to find a new job and moved to Switzerland. Moreover, he was factually hired because of his professional and personal skills, not because of political know-how and experience. This frame prompted readers to conclude that Rösler seized a legitimate career opportunity.

Moreover, these framing activities were detected in all articles of the respective sub-samples and thus constituted a consistent pattern. Although the articles varied in terms of how the frame was created (e.g. whether through a particular representation of the
minister or a particular representation of his new job), they corresponded in terms of the resulting priming effect (see above). This observation is remarkable, especially in the light of Eilders’ (2000) hypothesis that opinion leading quality newspapers are most likely to effectively influence political agendas if they jointly focus on a particular issue and do not neutralize each other by recurring to divergent frames.

4.6. Analysis of socio-cultural practice in Germany

This part of the analytical framework scrutinizes the socio-cultural context in which the communicative event is embedded in order to find out how this context shapes the way the articles in the sub-samples newspaper were produced and consumed which means abstracting from them as single texts. Accordingly, this thesis analyzes contemporary micro-economic trends in the German market for daily newspapers and socio-cultural trends in German society which in combination can explain the findings of the previous text analysis.

The following analysis thus starts with investigating the economic pressures affecting the German newspaper market. This first analytical step is crucial as it indicates that these pressures might have forced authors to change editorial practices. The second step then suggests that changed editorial practices *inter alia* imply scandalization which necessarily echoes broader socio-political trends. Finally, these trends are identified as particular attitudes towards politicians, private business and their respective relationship, in particular (revolving doors) lobbyism shared by the German public.
4.6.1. Trends in the market for quality press

The contemporary German press market is characterized by a significant commercialization of news production, decreasing press runs, and market concentration (Udris & Lucht, 2010). These market trends affect the entire German press (Vlašić, 2010), but particularly daily newspapers. As a result, tabloids, mid-market newspapers and so-called quality newspapers (see footnote 48, p. 38) are predicted to face rising economic pressure (Udris & Lucht, 2010).

Today, the German press is almost solely produced and published by private enterprises (Udris & Lucht, 2010). As to the corpus, all articles were extracted from online newspapers which are published by private businesses: Die Welt and Focus are published by Axel Springer SE and Hubert Burda Media Holding KG, respectively. Both companies are global market leaders and publish several newspapers and magazines worldwide. Süddeutsche Zeitung and Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung are published by Süddeutscher Verlag GmbH and Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung GmbH respectively. These publishers mainly market the eponymous newspapers in Germany.

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105 Udris & Lucht (2010) base their account on an empirical analysis of the German press market with data covering a period from 1960 until 2008. A more recent analysis (Averesch, 2013) indicates that the findings were still appropriate in 2013, although it does not provide a complete empirical update.

106 Subsequently, the specification daily will be omitted for the sake of convenience.

107 According to Udris & Lucht (2010), mid-market newspapers can be defined as being located in the middle of a spectrum delimited tabloids on the one, and quality newspapers on the other pole. Usually, newspapers in this category do not address a specific class of population and focus on local or regional coverage.


109 For a detailed account of the corporation, its history, structure and mission, readers are referred to http://www.hubert-burda-media.com/company/history/.

110 For a detailed account of the corporation, its history, structure and mission, readers are referred to http://www.sueddeutscher-verlag.de/info/facts/geschichte.

111 For a detailed account of the corporation, its history, structure and mission, readers are referred to http://verlag.faz.net/unternehmen/ueber-uns/portraet/wissen-fuer-kluge-kopfe-portraet-der-f-a-z-11090906.html.

112 Although Fairclough (1995: 43) argues that different types of ownership may influence discourse practices differently, empirical findings indicate that the degree of economic pressure affecting editorial practices does not depend on the legal structure of the news organization (Udris & Lucht (2010) Consequently, types of ownership do not need to be operationalized for analysis.
Such commercialization means that German media organizations like those listed above are first and foremost profit-oriented businesses and managed accordingly: “they make their profits by selling audiences to advertisers, and they do this by achieving the highest possible readerships [...] for the lowest possible financial outlay” (Fairclough, 1995: 42). This implies that operations are exposed to the commercial risks and opportunities posed by the market\footnote{Therefore, Fairclough uses the term ‘marketization’ (1995: 10), which is synonymous to ‘commercialization’
} (Vlašić, 2010) and therefore subjected to a managerial cost-benefit rationale to ensure they are profitable or at least not loss-making so that they can survive in a competitive environment. In the past, this pressure of competition has contributed to a steadily increasing market concentration (Udris & Lucht, 2010): newspaper publishers almost halved in quantity between 1954 and 2012 when 333 publishers were counted (BDZV, 2012: 4).

Commercialization and market concentration take place in the light of an overall decreasing willingness of the German population to read and hence buy newspapers, which leads to continuously decreasing press runs (Vlašić, 2010). The amount of German newspaper copies sold has dropped from 27.3 m in 1991 to 17.5 m in 2013 (BDZV, 2014). Statistics on the press runs of the newspapers of concern mirror this trend: sold copies of e.g. 	extit{Focus} dropped by 26\% between 1995 and 2013 (Statista, 2014); similarly, the other newspapers have suffered from decreasing press runs recently.\footnote{Statistics only cover the period between Q3/2012 and Q3/2013, during which the coverage of \textit{FAZ, SZ} and \textit{Welt} dropped by roughly 5.5\%, 2.4\% and 10.2\% respectively (IVW, 2013).} This is particularly salient as it can directly affect the publishers’ revenues and profits. The economic pressure resulting from these market developments is reinforced by another trend, the digitalization of communication, which is particularly serious as it is likely to weaken the already shrinking overall demand for newspapers in Germany even more.

The digitalization of communication has significantly changed the way news are consumed today: As ever more readers prefer online to print newspapers,\footnote{Newspapers coverage dropped from 77.3 \% of the German population in 2002 to 68.4 \% in 2011 and further decreased to 66.6 \% in 2012 (BDZV, 2012: 28). By contrast, online newspapers increased their coverage from 36.3 \% in 2011 to 43 \% in 2013 (AGOF & ZMG, 2014).} almost every German newspaper is also published online (Vlašić, 2010). However, readers’ willingness
to pay for online news is substantially lower than for print publications (\textit{ibid.}). This challenges the traditional business model of publishers, who typically generate revenues from selling content to readers and advertisement to advertisers (\textit{ibid.}). In Germany, publishers have adapted their strategy of how to market online newspapers: as of today, they predominantly rely on selling advertisement banners to advertisers and leave the use of online newspapers free of charge (\textit{ibid.}).\textsuperscript{116}

However, it is uncertain how successful that strategy can be in the mid and long run. Although growing steadily, sales of advertisement banners in German online newspapers have hitherto not been able to compensate for decreasing sales of advertisements in the respective print editions which result from decreasing press runs (see above) (Vlašić, 2010). As a result, publishers are likely to rely more and more on the advertising revenues generated by online newspapers, making the latter a target for managerial optimization efforts which seek to enhance the coverage of online newspapers. The underlying assumption is that increasing coverage means boosting advertisement revenues (cf. Blum, 2010). This suggests that attracting ever more readers is likely to become an increasingly constraining imperative for online newspapers (Leif, 2013).

\subsection*{4.6.2. Trends in editorial practices}

It is commonly assumed that this imperative to achieve the highest possible readership translates into a new ‘media logic’ (Udris & Lucht, 2010: 166) to which especially the online versions of quality newspapers have to adapt (\textit{ibid.}). Tabloids, by contrast, typically operate according to this logic: \textit{per definitionem}, their editorial practices seek to attract and bind readers (Landmeier & Daschmann, 2010).\textsuperscript{117} This said, quality newspapers are hypothesized to adopt such editorial practices, i.e. to change their patterns of selecting what is newsworthy and their ways of reporting and interpreting news to meet readers’

\textsuperscript{116} The publishers of \textit{SZ} and \textit{FAZ} are aware of this risk and have announced to revisit and change their strategy (Leif, 2013). However, the respective online newspapers are still free of charge.

\textsuperscript{117} However, this does not mean tabloids are immune from the economic pressure. Contrarily, Landmeier and Daschmann (2010) even assert that tabloids and mid-market newspapers (see footnote 107, p. 59) are particularly exposed to market pressures.
increasing preference for personal entertainment rather than sound information about public and political topics (Udris & Lucht, 2010). As a result of such ‘tabloidization’ (ibid.: 177), news coverage of political topics is crowded out by coverage of human interest topics; moreover, politics are more and more personalized and scandalized, and simplicity substitutes complexity (Averesch, 2013). The distinct editorial practices of tabloids thus comprise characteristic choices with regard to inter alia topic selection and linguistic practice (Landmeier & Daschmann, 2010). They aim at backgrounding factual information in favor of emotion (ibid.).

In terms of content, tabloidization implies that newspapers are likely to focus more and more on soft news (cf. section 4.3), i.e. stories about “sex, crime, and sports” (ibid.:179) which seek to entertain readers by affecting their emotions. Moreover, melodramatic stories about the private or family life of celebrities and politicians – so called ‘human-interest’ stories – become more frequent. Consequently, hard news are backgrounded or ‘softened’ (ibid.): e.g. reporting about a political issues (hard news) by focusing on a politician’s private life (soft news) and thereby again emphasizing the entertaining and not informative function of news (ibid.).

At the linguistic level, mainly three discursive strategies are pursued to stage-manage news: personalization, emotionalization, and scandalization (Landmeier & Daschmann, 2010: 179-80). Personalization creates proximity between the news story and the reader’s individual lifeworld. To this end, newspapers focus on human-interest topics (see above) in which complex social processes are reduced to personal stories about e.g. celebrities and individuals’ fates which readers can identify with. Colloquial wordings reinforce the emotional proximity between reader, story, and authors. As simplicity

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118 Choices are also made at the level of structure and form. E.g., sensational pictures are prominently displayed to address readers emotionally rather than cognitively which implies that articles are dominated by pictures or graphs rather by text (Landmeier & Daschmann, 2010).

119 The potential implications of this tabloidization for the role of mass media communication will be addressed in the next chapter.

120 Fairclough (1995) argues that colloquial wording can be traced to authors’ tendency to ‘conversationalize’. Accordingly, such wording suggests that authors have a close relationship to ordinary life and thereby aims at bridging the “contradiction between the public nature of media production and the private nature of media consumption” (ibid.: 11). Consequently, personalizing and emotionalizing can be regarded as means of conversationalization.
facilitates the creation of such proximity, authors construct simplistic world views and represent partial, normative positions. To the same end, short and simple clauses rich in pictorial terms are used (ibid.).

In addition, proximity is typically reinforced by emotionalizing the way stories are reported. Consequently, authors use particularly judgmental and affective wordings. Often, such wordings are chosen to attribute to the news a meaning which lies outside the core of the matter, which means framing them in a way which prompts readers to consider such attribution as logical conclusion. Sensations are thus constructed by catastrophizing, sexualizing or criminalizing factually trivial information or by staging them as deviations from societal standards (ibid.).

Similarly, newspapers construct scandals which denounce real or alleged social issues: Information is dramatized, i.e. exaggerated in a way which prioritizes the control of readers’ emotions, not the accuracy of the critique (ibid.). Consequently, a problem is only labeled and criticized as scandalous if it is likely to be perceived as such by readers. Moreover, such perception has to be associated with an infringement of morally binding rules or conventions (Thompson, 2000).

As demonstrated earlier, the tendencies associated with tabloidization outlined above were found in all articles of the sample (see section 4.5). Most importantly, in the Niebel case, colloquial, affective wordings such as ‘to hire oneself out’ and ‘turncoat’ were chosen which effectively criminalized and consequently scandalized his change of jobs as a deviation from particular social conventions. In this particular case such conventions concern what is publicly considered to be (il)legitimate lobbyism and exercise of public duties. Moreover, an event is only explicitly labeled or implicitly framed as scandalous and morally condemnable issue if authors regard it “as sufficiently serious and

121 Criminalizing means representing a deviation from a social norm as serious offences against criminal law or ethical standards (Kamps, 2007: 284)
122 Indeed, emotionalization, personalization and scandalization are frequently used simultaneously as they reinforce each other (Landmeier & Daschmann, 2010).
important [to the audience] to elicit a vigorous expression of disapproval” (Thompson, 2000: 29).

This means that in order to rise to a scandal, scandalizing editorial practices need to draw upon “[t]he public articulation of opprobrious discourse” (Thompson, 2000: 30). Consequently, such practices allude or explicitly refer to public discourses which express scorn or criticism. However, such opprobrious discourse is not an independent datum authors can draw upon. By contrast, such discourse depends *inter alia* “on the kind of publicity generated by the media” (*ibid.*: 29). This indicates that the relationship between media and public discourse is complex and bilateral.

This idea corresponds to Hall’s (1993) concept of mass-communication (see section 2.4) and to the assumptions which underlie the analytical framework (see section 3.2.) Accordingly, news production and consumption are circularly interrelated processes (Hall, 1993). Production practices are shaped by institutional structures like editorial practices which *reflect* *inter alia* professional ideologies, definitions, assumption and particular interests. At the same time, however, production practices draw agendas, assumptions and “[...]’definitions of the situation’ from other sources and other discursive formations within the wider socio-cultural and political structure [...]” (Hall, 1993: 509). Hence, “[...] the audience is both the ‘source’ and the ‘receiver’ of the [...] message” (*ibid.*); and news consumption is “[ [...] reincorporated, via a number of skewed and structured ‘feedbacks’, into the production process itself” (*ibid.*). News production and consumption are thus *interrelated*, and news producers and consumers form a reciprocal relationship: “[ [...] the media are shaped by the wider society, but they also play a vital role in the diffusion of [...] social and cultural changes” (Fairclough, 1995: 51). This said, it is useful to abstract further from the text and explore how ‘the wider society’ might have contributed to the scandalization of the Niebel case.

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124 Note the similarity with Fairclough’s (1995) concept of orders of discourse.
4.6.3. Socio-cultural trends

Indeed it is argued that the existence and nature of public discourses about lobbying in Germany depend on how media frame particular cases and on broad political and social circumstances, like e.g. the degree of social sensitivity about lobbying and corruption (Leif, 2009; Thompson, 2000). In Germany, the evaluation of lobbying as articulated in public discourse is indeed a matter of political culture (Speth & TI, 2014), i.e. the “totality of citizens’ values and beliefs and their attitudes towards political institutions, processes and government activity” (Hradil, 2010: 542).

Speth & TI (2014) assert that during the last 15 years, a particular interpretation has spread – propelled by the German mass media – according to which lobbying is considered as illegitimate form of business interference in political decision-making (ibid.: 11). This is because it is said to rely on suspicious if not corrupt practices, but in any case manipulative influence on political decision-makers (Wehrmann, 2007). Lobbying thus distorts the political process and thereby oppresses the participatory elements of democracy. Consequently, it is feared to be a threat to democracy (Speth & TI, 2014). All forms of lobbying are comprehensively regarded with suspicion (Kleinfeld et al., 2007). As a result, the term ‘lobbyism’ is almost generally and predominantly connotated with such negative meanings in the broad public and even among political decision-makers (Speth & TI, 2014). This assessment is widely shared among researchers (e.g. Kleinfeld et al., 2007; Wehrmann, 2007; von Alemann & Eckert, 2006). This universal critique of lobbying points to a particular, normative understanding of the relationship between business and the legislative branch, particularly federal government and parliament.

According to this critique, any attempt by business representatives to influence political decision-makers per se marks a deviation from a particular norm about the nature and

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125 For a detailed account of the concept, its history, empirical application and shortcomings, interested readers are referred to Sturm (2004).

126 This observation is by no means indicative of an improper circular argument according to which media would draw upon a public discourse which is not a source for but rather a product of media discourse. By contrast, this observation supports the assumption that media and public discourse are reciprocally related (cf. section 4.6.2).

127 The accuracy of this assessment is not contested, yet researchers disagree on whether the negative image as such is appropriate or not (cf. Papier, 2007; Simmert, 2002; Sebaldt, 1998).
functioning of the relationship between business and political decision-makers. Criticizing lobbyism as a failure to comply with such norm hence indirectly substantializes (cf. Kamps, 2007) that norm as follows: Business and government mark distinct and antagonistic spheres which shall be separated. This thinking bases upon the assumption that whenever the spheres converge, business dominates government and undermines democratic participation at the expense of public interests. Accordingly, close relationships between business and government are considered to be potentially illegitimate and therefore morally suspect.

The idea of business and government as two naturally antagonistic spheres is an omnipresent part of German political culture and hence at the core of almost any public debate (Nahessi, 2014). As demonstrated earlier (see section 4.4.3), this thinking was condensed into the wording ‘change of sides’. Nahessi (2014) argues that the individualistic perspective of businesses and the collectivistic perspective of government mark two opposing poles which thoroughly structure social reality and delimit an omnipresent area of conflict between business and government in Germany. This conflict is natural because the corresponding rationales are contrary and not reconcilable: while businesses seek to maximize their individual benefit, government seeks to restrict and regulate businesses to transform individual into social benefit. Hence, business and government are distinct functional systems with different modi operandi which ultimately makes coordination impossible. However, such coordination is required as both systems are interconnected (Horster & Martinsen, 2014). This dilemma is the reason why the relationship between business and government has become a central concern of

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128 In Germany, the most important addressees for lobbyists are the members of federal government, top-level employees of the federal ministries and members of parliament (Wehrmann, 2007). For the sake of simplicity, the term ‘government’ shall refer to these political decision-makers and ‘decision-preparers’ in the remainder of this thesis.

129 Naurin (2008) emphasizes that the ideal that politic are public in nature and independent from market forces is not just a theoretical standpoint, but rather a “real ideal, in a sense that it is actually recognized as morally right by a substantial part of the people in modern democratic societies” (ibid.: 16, emphasis added). standpoint

130 This conclusion is shared by Naurin (2008) who asserts that politics and the marketplace represent “different spheres of society [which] are legitimately governed by different standards of behaviour” (ibid.: 13): private interest is thus a legitimate principle of behavior for businesses, but not for politicians who, in turn, should be guided by impartial reason and be driven by public interest.
almost any public debate in Germany and a characteristic of the self-image of German society (Nahessi, 2014).

Indeed, government and business are interconnected in Germany, and government partly depends on markets and corporations (Horster & Martinsen, 2014). Horster and Martinsen (2014) wonder whether this relationship is not a ‘forbidden love affair’ (*ibid.*: 7), i.e. illegitimately intimate. Therefore, they argue that it should be monitored carefully by civil society, especially if it is dubiously close (*ibid.*). Similarly, Priddat (2014) asserts that there is no doubt that business dominates government. This conclusion corresponds to the relatively negative reputation of corporations and especially banks and their top-level executives in Germany: only half of the German population trusts in businessmen, and even fewer trust in bankers (GfK Verein, 2014). This distrust can be related to a growing social inequality *inter alia* in terms of income and assets (Hradil, 2010) which is commonly perceived and criticized frequently, especially in the light of ever rising managerial salaries which coincide with wage cuts and layoffs (Wehler, 2013). This critique blames corporations, in particular banks, and their top-level executives as representatives if not culprits of a growing social inequality, especially in light of the recent economic crisis (*ibid.*). Consequently, this critique challenges the state to re-establish the primacy of government and public welfare over private interests of businesses (cf. Priddat, 2014).

However, German politicians face an opprobrious discourse which doubts their ability to regulate markets and businesses in a way which fights social inequality and promotes equal opportunities (Wehler, 2013; Emunds, 2014). This skepticism is nourished by the public’s increasing distrust of politicians*¹³²* and political parties which is reflected *inter alia* in a continuously decreasing turnout at general elections (Schönherr-Mann, 2002). While this disenchantment and disengagement from politics is not a new phenomenon,*¹³³* polls

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131 Roth (2006) concludes more drastically that Germany experiences a decline of its democratic culture which is caused by a “network of unscrupulous politicians, [and] top-level executives” (*ibid.*: 10).

132 In 2014, politicians were broadly considered to represent the least trustworthy profession: only 15 % of the respondents said they generally trusted politicians (GfK Verein, 2014).

133 Statistics show that turnout has dropped from 91% in 1972 to 72% in 2013 (cf. Statistisches Bundesamt, 2014).
indicate that the public’s distrust of politicians results to a major and increasing extend from the sentiment that politicians are no longer moral exemplars,\textsuperscript{134} but hypocritical opportunists \textit{(ibid.)}. Several cases of proven professional misconduct which forced members of government to resign from their offices seem to have confirmed if not fuelled this public sentiment recently.\textsuperscript{135}

In conclusion, the German population has a negative attitude towards lobbyism in general because the latter is assumed to deviate from a norm which views business and government as naturally and necessarily distinct spheres. This sentiment results from the predominant impression that the competition between private and public interests is usually won by the former to the expense of the latter. Under these circumstances, politicians –although being increasingly distrusted– are considered to be in charge of re-establishing the primacy of government and public interests, e.g. by regulating lobbying to disentangle business and government.

This socio-political background contextualized the analyzed newspaper coverage of the two cases. As careful text analysis uncovered, however, this context underlay only the articles about the Niebel case: they echoed the opprobrious public discourse which articulates a generally accepted, yet simplistic worldview according to which Niebel’s change of jobs was scandalous. By contrast, this context could not be traced in the articles about the Rösler case which was found to be framed as a human interest story. Accordingly, text analysis detected traces of scandalization in the Niebel case and of personalization in the Rösler case. Moreover, the articles in the samples tended to be consonant in this matter. Recalling Eilders’ (2000) hypothesis that such consonance is likely to affect public opinion and political agendas (see p. 57), this observation is remarkable: The discursive strategies identified above thus created a pattern of consonance which might effectively shift both cases to a discursive level dominated by

\textsuperscript{134} In 2009, 61% of the respondents reported this sentiment to cause their disenchantment and disengagement from politics, compared 42% in 2002 (Stiftung für Zukunftsforschung, 2009).

\textsuperscript{135} In 2011, the then Federal Minister of Defence stepped down after his doctoral dissertation was found to be plagiarism. In 2013, the then Federal Minister of Education and Research withdrew from office. Also in 2013, the then Federal President resigned after criminal proceedings had been brought against him, accusing him for corruption.
feelings and strongly partial views while giving the impression to represent majority opinion (Eilders, 2002).

In this sense, the representations of the world and constructions of people’s identities and of social relations spread through the articles subtly reproduced certain versions of social reality. Especially in the Niebel case, scandalization reinforced the social norm described earlier (cf. Kamps, 2007). Accordingly, Niebel’s case of revolving doors lobbying was not alleged to be potentially illegitimate and was hence critically scrutinized, but simplistically defined and condemned as illegitimate by framing the corresponding articles as stories about the criminal behavior of a former member of government and explicitly labeling him ‘lobbyist’. The resulting heuristic or short-cut thus defined revolving doors lobbying as an illegitimate deviation of particular norms and laws, and consequently as corrupt and criminal behavior.
5. Discussion

The preceding analysis has raised questions about reasons for and potential implications of the detected patterns, especially with regard to the scandalization of the Niebel case. By contrasting the two cases, these patterns were demonstrated to result from selections among available wordings and discourses. As these selections are *likely* to be ideologically significant (Fairclough, 1995), it is worth wondering whether they *actually* worked ideologically in the specific cases. Moreover, it is advisable to consider potentially relevant implications worthy of discussion, regardless of whether they can ultimately be proven to be (ideologically) effective: E. g., how could the scandalization of the Niebel case affect the political debate on revolving doors lobbyism? How could it affect readers and the function of media discourse in particular? These and other implications will be addressed in the following discussion.

To understand whether framing patterns work ideologically, it is necessary to understand where the used frames originate and who benefits from their reproduction (Fairclough, 1995). It was demonstrated that the authors framed the Niebel case in a way which paralleled a public opprobrious discourse; and by associating the used frames with the terms ‘lobbyist’ and ‘turncoat’, they implicitly ‘defined’ revolving doors lobbyism. However, it remains questionable whether the authors creatively *produced* such definition by spreading their own interpretations of the two cases or whether they *reproduced* already existing definitions and frames. Interestingly, researchers have not argued or hypothesized where such opprobrious discourse and the underlying assumptions about lobbyism in Germany originated in the first place. However, the negative image and the underlying definitions of revolving doors lobbyism—whether created or just disseminated by media texts—resemble a rationale and critique frequently articulated by NGOs which advocate stricter regulation of lobbyism in Germany (cf. sections 4.2.1 & 4.2.2).

Moreover, in a text published by LobbyControl revolving doors lobbyists were labeled as ‘turncoats’ (2014), just like in *W3*. It is thus possible that the authors drew upon this NGO discourse by adopting specific rationales. Indeed, Hall (1993) argues that new social
phenomena—like revolving doors lobbyism in Germany—have to be assigned to “some domain or other of the existing ‘maps of problematic social reality’” (ibid.: 513) before readers can make sense of them, and that authors usually locate them in existing patterns of preferred decodings. The mapping of revolving doors lobbyism in the domain of crime could thus be understood as adoption of the already existing classification of lobbyism as corruption. Again, this raises the questions whether that classification originated in the ‘anti-revolving doors lobbyism discourse’ articulated by NGOs in the first place and whether texts actively drew upon these discourses or whether they just happened to resemble them.

Although these thoughts are worthy of further exploration, the question where such definitions of revolving doors lobbyism and the implied categorizations of legitimate and illegitimate behavior have their origin could not be answered here. A conclusive answer requires a comprehensive mapping of the relevant order of discourse and a disentanglement of the complex and opaque interrelatedness between news production and consumption; and both tasks were beyond the scope of this thesis. As a result, this analysis could not conclude whether the detected pattern of framing activities in the sample actually worked ideologically, because it remains debatable whose categorizations, implicit assumptions and propositions were drawn upon in the sample texts. Consequently, the question whether the framing activities served the establishment or reproduction of specific relations of domination also remains unanswerable here. Nevertheless, it is useful to consider possible explanations for the different framing patterns and think of their implications.

It is possible that the idiosyncrasies of the underlying events can best explain the different framing patterns (cf. Thompson, 2000). Maybe the authors had reasons to assume or believe that Niebel’s change of jobs was based upon close ties, but Rösler’s was not. However, it would then be surprising that such reasons were not mentioned in the

136 Interestingly, Wyss (2010) expects especially German quality journalism to fulfill the first of these tasks. Consequently, whereas reporting necessarily implies simplifications in order to make complex social issues communicable, such simplification shall not mean that authors simply reproduce and uncritically draw upon existing discourses. By contrast, they shall provide audiences with an overview of the relevant orders of discourse when reporting on complex issues (ibid.).
reports. Moreover, it is also possible that the immediate, situational contexts were different; after all, the Niebel case occurred more than six months after the Rösler case. Finally, the key to making sense of the framing patterns could also lie in the involved actors, e.g. the ministers’ new employers. Especially the misleading representation of Rheinmetall (see section 4.4.4) supports this idea. Consequently, one could wonder whether the Niebel case was scandalized because it involved a ‘multinational corporation whose major interest is selling weapons’ (cf. SZ), and whether the Rösler case enjoyed positive coverage because it involved a ‘not-for-profit institution committed to improving the state of the world’ (cf. WEF).

This idea resembles von Altenbockum’s (2014) claim that German news coverage tacitly distinguishes between ‘good’ interest groups like e.g. NGOs and ‘evil’ ones, like e.g. corporations: accordingly, the latter are associated with illegitimate (revolving doors) lobbying, and the former with legitimate interest representation (ibid.). The detected framing patterns in the sample would thus prompt readers to accept such distinction. Similarly, Apollonio et al. (2008) assert that public interest groups might actually enjoy more positive media coverage than those representing corporate interests. Moreover, Roose (2003) suggests that scandalizing news coverage might help public interest groups to gain the public support needed to leverage their agendas. Accordingly, different framing patterns would distort the competition of interest groups in a way which strengthens the influence of public and weakens that of private interest groups. This idea obviously challenges the concept of mass media as neutral platform for competing discourses and suggests that ‘good’ interest groups and mass media are allies (cf. ibid.).

Regardless of the reasons for the different framing patterns, it is useful to consider possible implications of the scandalization of the Niebel case, especially in light of the pending political debate on regulatory measures. E.g., it is worth wondering whether the selective scandalization detected in the analyzed sample potentially undermines a differentiated political discussion of the subject-matter. Indeed, several German politicians articulated their concern that media coverage of cases of revolving doors lobbying risks shifting parliamentary debate to an emotional level which endangers
reasonable debate (cf. Deutscher Bundestag, 2014a).\footnote{A study by Marcinkowski and Pfetsch (20005) justifies this concern. They monitored German news coverage and concluded that it created and widely spread a definition of corruption which has rather undermined than enabled an effective and public deliberation about the issue and possible political responses thereto.} If revolving doors lobbyism is consistently framed as illegitimate, it could be understood to be per se illegitimate and consequently needs to be prohibited. However, such simplification reduces the topic to one facet which means that other facets are disregarded and excluded from debate. Indeed, politicians suggested that revolving doors lobbyism might sometimes serve rather than undermine public interest and can thus be legitimate (Deutscher Bundestag, 2014a). Yet, this perspective was not mentioned in the sample. Moreover, politicians were concerned that the scandalizing news coverage of lobbyism in general might nourish the public’s normative, yet unrealistic understanding of business and government as distinct spheres. To their minds this social norm is damaging as it impedes the needed exchange between government and business. It is thus argued that a more realistic understanding of the triad business-government-society is necessary which recognizes that such exchange is real and should be enhanced, yet current news coverage risks yielding the very reverse (ibid.). This concern thus parallels the tension constituted by the ambivalent effects of mass which motivated this study.

Moreover, it is worth wondering how the detected scandalization could affect the broader socio-political context. As argued earlier, the opprobrious discourse which doubts politicians’ moral integrity and their capability of defending public interests contextualized the news coverage of the Niebel case. Yet, it was also suggested that this coverage, in turn, plays a role in the diffusion of socio-cultural changes (see p. 63). The actual impact of media coverage on public trust in government and politicians is indeed vividly discussed (Avery, 2009). It is often concluded that especially the overall observable trend towards scandalization of news media harmfully affects public trust in government and therefore can be an explanation for the lack of public interest and participation in politics (ibid.). By contrast, Avery (2009) proved that news press coverage increased political trust and could ultimately enhance democracy, yet only among those who were initially trusting. However, he also acknowledges that especially the influence of online
news possibly depends on the kind of news and of the coverage (*ibid.*). In the absence of further research exploring the relationship between online news coverage and political trust, it can only be speculated about the impact of the scandalization of the Niebel case on public trust in government and politicians in Germany.

Abstracting from particular cases, it is also interesting to revisit the role of mass media in Germany in light of the tabloidization of quality press. Recent studies indeed detected traces of tabloidization in *FAZ* (cf. e.g. Landmeier & Daschmann, 2010). However, Landmeier and Daschmann (2010) concluded that these traces were not sufficiently predominant to compromise on the newspaper’s function of neutrally reporting hard news. Similarly, Quandt (2008) found that tendencies towards tabloidization where only moderate in the online newspapers of *SZ* and *FAZ*, yet significantly greater than in the respective print editions. Whereas this observation is in line with the ‘new media logic’ (see p. 58), it also suggests that the supposed risk of this logic is contained in a particular segment of German quality press. Consequently, it would be hasty do conclude that tabloidization affects German quality press as a whole and that its tendency to prioritize entertainment over information undermines its democratic function of constituting a public sphere (cf. Leif, 2013). Moreover, the media business’s supposed dependency on audience is also ambiguous. Mass media need audience; not only to generate revenues, but also to be successful in communicating (Wyss, 2010). Communication cannot be effective without audiences as there is no message without receiver (cf. Hall, 1993). However, it is debatable which aspect predominates (cf. Vlašić, 2010).

Abstracting from German media discourse, however, Fairclough is concerned that the commercialization of media outlets in general risks diluting the claims of mass media communication to constitute a public sphere as space for rational debate and discussion of political issues if “[…] audiences become spectators rather than participants, and are addressed as consumers (of entertainment) rather than as citizens” (1995: 44). Moreover, diverting public attention from social and political issues “[…] helps to insulate existing relations of power and domination from serious challenge” (1995: 12), which ultimately undermines the mass media’s function to constitute a public sphere (*ibid.*). In assigning
them this democratic function, yet at the same time doubting that they actually fulfill it, Fairclough refers to the theoretical discussion of the role of mass media in deliberative democracy.

However, it is debatable whether mass media are as powerful actors as Fairclough’s concern suggests. E.g. Newton (2006) asserts that whereas media are powerful actors, their impact on society and government is significantly diluted and deflected by other, stronger social forces. Consequently, mass media are a forum for public discourse on political issues, but might not be the most important one (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Indeed, it can be argued that the growing disenchantment and disengagement from politics in Germany is not a result of ‘undemocratic’ media discourse, because the public’s disenchantment with mass media also increases (Leif, 2013). Accordingly, scandalizing media texts are potentially ineffective because readers ultimately might not be influenced as much by negative media report on political issues as assumed by Fairclough (cf. Averesch, 2013; Molina, 2009).

Indeed, Fairclough (1995) himself hypothesizes that tabloidization might have positive consequences for public deliberation. Especially the use of colloquial wording, one aspect of tabloidization which was also detected in the sample, could have ambiguous effects. Accordingly, it can potentially naturalize ideological meanings as taken-for-granted knowledge (cf. Hall, 1993) in order to “[...] recruit people as audiences and manipulate them socially and politically” (Fairclough, 1995: 13) on the one hand. On the other hand, it is equally possible to understand colloquial wording as form of cultural democratization (ibid.): colloquial wordings make complex social issues accessible to readers and thereby enable the latter to deliberate about such issues. It can indeed be argued that media texts necessarily translate discourses because they mediate between public discourse and private discourse (Fairclough, 1995). Consequently, the use of colloquial wording is to some extend a natural feature of media discourse and should not only be attributed to tabloidization as response to economic pressures.

The previous analyses and this discussion indicate that the analyzed articles are characterized by complex processes of text production as well as bilateral relationships...
with the context they are embedded in (cf. Fairclough, 1995). Moreover, the role of
German quality newspapers and mass media in general are ambiguous, and so are the
functions of the texts they produce: texts might manipulate deliberating citizens, but they
might equally be designed to entertain and inform paying customers (cf. Fairclough, 1995).
As indicated earlier, these aspects overlapped in the analyzed sample. It is thus difficult to
conclude which of them were predominant: Did the articles primarily entertain or did
they subtly reproduce and disseminate a specific understanding of social reality? Or did
they do both? It is equally difficult to determine whether the scandalization of the Niebel
case indicates that newspapers fulfilled their democratic watchdog function or whether
they undermined public deliberation and reasonable political debate. In light of these
uncertainties, it is useful to conclude with Fairclough that media discourse can, but not
necessarily has to work ideologically: “[i]deology should not be seen as a constant and
6. Conclusive remarks

The previous discussion pointed to important questions which this thesis had to leave unanswered due to its narrow focus. Whereas this is coherent with the rather modest, exploratory approach of this thesis, it points to important methodological challenges CDA research faces.

6.1. Limitations

Like many CDA studies, this thesis was not able to describe and explain how the analyzed articles affected readers in practice (Molina, 2009; Fairclough, 1995). However, discourse participants’ understanding of a text is crucial and needs to be operationalized for analysis, not only at the social level of shared production and consumption practices, but also at the level of cognitive systems and personal mindsets. This is because it can be convincingly argued that even if discourse is a social practice and shaped by social context, this bilateral relationship ultimately depends on language users as link between discourse and social structures (van Dijk & Kintsch, 1983). Whereas this thesis could not analyze news consumption thoroughly, future research can take news consumption better into account, e.g. by analyzing the texts readers produced in reaction to reading a newspaper article. Online newspapers often comprise features which allow users to comment on texts, and user comments can indicate what meaning readers decoded and how it affected them.

Moreover, this analysis had problems to show the origins of competing discourses and their relation to different social interests and had difficulties to give a precise accounts of the impact of external factors on discourse as well as what an analyzed text actually means to different readers. These shortcomings are not idiosyncratic to this thesis, but can be argued to be symptomatic of CDA research of media texts in general (Molina, 2009). Critics acknowledge the potential of CDA, yet point to the challenge of its operationalization. Consequently, Molina (2009) argues that only a method which simultaneously analyses processes of text production and reception, content and the
circulation of social meaning can overcome the problems outlined above. However it is questionable that individual research projects can fulfill such requirements (cf. Fairclough, 1995; Janks, 1997).

Indeed, this thesis also had to pursue a selective approach to the analysis, e.g. with regard to which dimensions of the broader context were taken into account. Even though it was argued to be reasonable to consider economic and socio-political aspects, this focus can be challenged. Whereas it is impossible to capture the broader context in its entity, future research could adopt other, complementary perspectives to draw a more nuanced picture of context, e.g. by analyzing how the immediate, situational background affects news production. Hence, studies could investigate whether the detected framing patterns depended on the overall news situation of the day or the framing of other articles in the same newspaper edition.

Moreover, the focus on selected quality newspapers – although justifiable – necessarily implies that it is not representative of the German press, let alone German media discourse. This implies that the pattern detected in the analyzed texts is not necessarily the only one or predominant. By contrast, it could compete with different, possibly divergent patterns in other media outlets, be it other newspapers or other mass media (cf. Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Future avenues of research could thus reproduce this analysis, yet with alternative corpora which can take the diversity of the German press and media landscape into account.

Ultimately, the focus upon media discourse can be challenged. Whereas it was practically useful to assume that quality newspapers are a forum for public discourse on revolving doors lobbyism and thus a relevant research object, it cannot be convincingly argued that they are the only or most important one. Especially with regard to the outcomes of the ongoing political debate, it is questionable whether news coverage alone affects public opinion on the subject-matter, and whether public opinion alone finally determines the political outcomes (cf. Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Future research could hence attempt to create a more comprehensive map of the relevant orders of discourse, e.g. by...
analyzing parliament discourse about revolving doors lobbyism to better understand what discourses are actually drawn upon when political decision-makers deliberate.

Researcher bias is another limitation critics frequently mention as major shortcoming of CDA studies. There is no doubt that this analysis contains subjective choices by the author, which necessarily follows from the fundamental assumption in CDA research that knowledge is constructed and situated, particularly knowledge about discourse (see p. 30).\textsuperscript{138} It can thus be assumed that choices with regard to the selection of texts and their reading were made, which could imply that ambiguous wordings were interpreted in a way which supported \textit{a priori} developed assumptions and hypotheses. However, this risk of self-confirming analysis is of minor relevance in this thesis which was not designed to test hypotheses, but to explore the meaning of newspaper articles. Yet, this exploration also involved interpreting ambiguous wordings, and these interpretations are by no means objective and universal.

Whereas they were thus partial, the resulting interpretations and conclusions were \textit{argued} to be to some extend preferred by the text and context. To this end, the analyzed texts were \textit{systematically} deconstructed to demonstrate that their production was a matter of choices among alternatives; and that such choices delimited, though not determined the set of possible interpretations. Finally, the author’s interpretations were marked as choices among alternative understandings and hence provide a founded and traceable version of possible readings. Such critical reading coupled with scientific method can thus contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the inherent meanings of words and texts, and ultimately also the implications for social reality. This said, CDA is explanatory in intent and not just interpretive (cf. Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

\textsuperscript{138} This is even more the case given that this analysis involved translation from German to English, which as such can arguably be considered to be an inherently interpretative practice (cf. Schäffner, 2004; Molina, 2009).
6.2. Contributions

The overall purpose of this study was to describe how news reports represented two specific cases of revolving doors lobbyism and to explore possible reasons for and effects of those representations. Thereby this thesis attempted to help develop a thorough understanding of these processes and the resulting effects. The narrow focus, the exploratory approach and the constructionist research philosophy imply that the findings of this thesis cannot claim generalizability. Consequently, neither contributions to existing theory nor generally explanatory principles should be induced from the empirical results.

With regard to its critical approach to media texts, this thesis parallels existing research (e.g. Marcinkowski & Pfetsch, 2005) which assumes that mass media discourse in Germany not merely neutrally reflects, but affects social reality. It also relates to theoretical and empirical research on the reasons for and effects of tabloidization, especially of the German quality press (e.g. Blum, 2010; Landmeier & Daschmann, 2010; Udris & Lucht, 2010). However, to date, this study is the first attempt to investigate the representation of revolving doors lobbyism in German quality press.

Although a comprehensive answer was beyond the research purpose, this thesis suggested some explanations and implications that a complete answer would include and thereby marks a modest contribution to closing a research gap and a starting point for future avenues of inquiry. It raised pivotal questions which future research projects can pursue, and cast light on assumptions which past research has not questioned. Most importantly, it uncovered and contrasted alternative representations and frames of revolving doors lobbyism in Germany which future research could compare more comprehensively with regard to their completeness, partiality and interestedness. Such comparisons can then result in conclusions about the relative (un)truthfulness of representations (Fairclough, 1995), and –if coupled with complementary analyses– can yield well-founded hypotheses about their actual (ideological) effects.
By deconstructing the representation of revolving doors lobbyism in selected articles, this thesis certainly helped develop a better understanding of how news coverage can affect how it is thought about and acted upon revolving doors lobbyism through framing. Different frames are likely to promote different interpretations, evaluations and political proposals, i.e. transport political messages (Eilders, 2000). The potential of these frames to shape social reality implies that they can be employed strategically by political actors. This is practically relevant in general, and especially in light of the currently pending political debate: This thesis pointed to the general need for critical media literacy which implies both a reading guided by critical questions about choices and their potential ideological effects, as well as a conscious language use which endows speakers and authors with the power to construct social reality according to their own interests.
7. References


8. Appendix: Research sample

All figures are based upon screenshots taken from the website of the respective online newspapers to depict the articles as they originally appeared to readers. Some articles had to be cut and depicted on two pages for the sake of greater legibility. Advertisement banners were blanked. All reproductions comply with German copyright.
Früherer Entwicklungsmister wird Rüstungslobbyist

Die Metamorphose eines Politikers: Er war Generalsekretär der FDP, Abgeordneter des Bundestages, Bundesminister für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit - jetzt wechselt Dirk Niebel in die Wirtschaft und wird Cheflobbyist von Rheinmetall

01.07.2014


Figure 1(1/2): FAZN: FAZ article about Niebel's change of jobs, 01.07.2014 (available at: http://www.faz.net/aktuell/wirtschaft/dirk-niebel-geht-zu-rheinmetall-frueherer-entwicklungsmister-wird-ruestungslobbyist-13020837.html)
Rheinmetall beschäftigt weltweit 23.000 Menschen und erzielte zuletzt einen Umsatz von 4,6 Milliarden Euro in den Sparten Automobiltechnik und Rüstung. Fast drei Viertel der Erlöse entfallen auf das Ausland. Mit der Verpflichtung Niebels setzt das Unternehmen bei der geplanten weiteren Internationalisierung seiner Aktivitäten auf die vielen Kontakte des früheren Bundesministers im Ausland.


Quelle: FAZ.NET / dpa

Figure 1 (2/2): FAZ: FAZ article about Niebel's change of jobs, 01.07.2014 (available at: http://www.faz.net/aktuell/wirtschaft/dirk-niebel-geht-zu-rheinmetall-frueherer-entwicklungsminister-wird-ruestungslobbyist-13020837.html)


Der Vize-Chef der Linksfaktion, Klaus Ernst, kritisierte bei „Handelsblatt Online“: „So geht das nicht. Dem muss der Bund endlich einen Riegel vorschreiben. Drehbuchwechsel von Ministern in die Wirtschaft müssen gesetzlich verboten werden.“ SPD-Vize Ralf Stegner sagte, „der abgewählte Entwicklungshilfeverband“ sei als Lobbyist der Rüstungsindustrie „offenbar zuhause angekommen“.


Während seiner Amtszeit krempelte er mehrere Entwicklungsorganisationen um: Die staatliche GTZ, der DED und Invent wurden zur Deutschen Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) fusioniert. In der FDP stand Niebel zuletzt isoliert da, nachdem er die Parteispitze um den damaligen Vorsitzenden Philipp Rösler stark kritisiert hatte.
Ex-Minister Dirk Niebel wird Rüstungslobbyist

Die Metamorphose eines Politikers: Er war FDP-Generalsekretär, Abgeordneter, und Minister für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit – jetzt wechselt Dirk Niebel in die Rüstungswirtschaft und wird Lobbyist.


Rheinmetall beschäftigt weltweit 23.000 Menschen und erzielte zuletzt einen Umsatz von 4,6 Milliarden Euro in den Sparten Automobiltechnik und Rüstung. Fast drei Viertel der Erlöse entfallen auf das Ausland. Mit der Verpflichtung Niebels setzt das Unternehmen bei der geplanten weiteren Internationalisierung seiner Aktivitäten auf die vielen Kontakte des früheren Bundesministers im Ausland.


Während seiner Amtszeit krepelte er mehrere Entwicklungsorganisationen um: Die staatliche GTZ, der DED und Invest wurden zur Deutschen Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) fusioniert. In der FDP stand Niebel zuletzt isoliert da, nachdem er die Parteispitze um den damaligen Vorsitzenden Philipp Rösler stark kritisiert hatte.
Ex-Entwicklungsminister Dirk Niebel rüstet auf

Als Minister entschied er im Sicherheitsrat über Rüstungsexporte, bald unterstützt der FDP-Mann Dirk Niebel die Rheinmetall AG beim Verkauf von Rüstungsgütern. Das Unternehmen hat kein Problem damit.


Nach seinem unfreiwilligen Ausscheiden aus der Bundesregierung und Bundesrat durch die Wahrungserlebnis seiner FDP war lange Zeit unklar, wo er sich niederlassen würde. Nun sieht es so aus, als ob er sich für die Rheinmetall AG entschieden hat.

Die Aufgaben, die den früheren Minister dort erwarten, beschrieb Rücker so: „Herr Niebel wird uns beim Ausbau der globalen Regierungsbeziehungen helfen, das gilt sowohl für den Automobilbereich als auch für die Rüstungssparte.“ Er werde aber auch helfen, bereits erfolgte Internationalisierungsansätze zu überprüfen.


„Wir kennen Herrn Niebel seit längerer Zeit“


Auf die Frage, wie der Kontakt zu Niebel entstand, sagte der Leiter der Unternehmenskommunikation: „Wir kennen Herrn Niebel seit längerer Zeit. Erstmal haben wir mit ihm über seine künftige Tätigkeit gesprochen, als er bereits aus der Bundesregierung ausgeschieden war. Früher gab es keinerlei geschäftliche Verbindungen zu Herrn Niebel.“


Von den zahlreichen Anfragen aus dem Ausland wird nur ein Teil der genehmigten Rüstungsexporte bekannt. Wer in diesem Ausschluss sitzt, hat also einen genauen Überblick darüber, welche Rüstungsgüter von wem in Deutschland angefragt werden, welche Produkte deutsche Hersteller im Programm haben und verkaufen.
Figure 4 (2/2): W2: Welt article about Niebel's change of jobs, 01.07.2014 (available at: http://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article129680443/Ex-Entwicklungsminister-Dirk-Niebel-ruestet-auf.html)
Dirk Niebel wird Cheflobbyist bei Rheinmetall


Konzernchef Armin Papperger will das internationale Geschäft ausbauen, das bereits jetzt schon 72 Prozent des Konzernumsatzes ausmacht. Neben dem europäischen Ausland ist Rheinmetall vor allem in den USA, Kanada, China, Indien, Brasilien, Mexiko sowie in Japan, Australien und Südafrika mit größeren Standorten vertreten. Mit der Verpflichtung Niebels setzt der Konzern auf die vielen Kontakte des früheren Bundesministers im Ausland.


Ex-Entwicklungsminister Niebel wird Rüstungslobbyist

1. Juli 2014 15:26  FDP-Politiker zu Rheinmetall


- Dirk Niebel wird Cheflobbyist des Panzeraufbauers Rheinmetall
- Der FDP-Politiker soll sich um den Aufbau globaler Regierungsbeziehungen kümmern
- Als Entwicklungshilfeminister bewilligte er 2011 mit anderen Minister den Export von 200 deutschen Leopard-Kampfpanzern nach Riad

Neuer Job für Niebel


Der Rüstungskonzern Rheinmetall

Das Unternehmen will weltweit mehr Waffen und Fahrzeuge verkaufen und setzt dabei auf die vielen Auslandskontakte des früheren Bundesministers.

Rheinmetall beschäftigt 23 000 Menschen und setzte zuletzt 4,6 Milliarden Euro in den Sparten Automobiltechnik und Rüstung um. Fast drei Viertel davon macht der Konzern im Ausland.

Figure 6 (1/2): SZ:SZ article about Niebel’s change of jobs, 01.07.2014 (available at: http://www.sueddeutsche.de/wirtschaft/rheinmetall-induesseldorf-ex-entwicklungsminister-niebel-wird-ruestungslobbyist-1.2026158)
Umstrittener Panzer-Export nach Saudi-Arabien


Entwicklungshilfeminister von 2009 bis 2013


Wenn Politiker in die Wirtschaft wechseln


Figure 6 (2/2): SZ: SZ article about Niebel's change of jobs, 01.07.2014 (available at: http://www.sueddeutsche.de/wirtschaft/rheinmetall-induesseldorf-ex-entwicklungsminister-niebel-wird-ruestungslobbyist-1.2026158)
Figure 7: RM: Rheinmetall’s press release on Niebel’s change of jobs, 01.07.2014 (available at: http://www.rheinmetall.com/media/de/editor_media/rheinmetallag/press/pressarchiv_2014/2014_07_01_niebel_uebernimmt_internationale_aufgaben.pdf)
Figure 8: FAZ: FAZ article about Rösler’s change of jobs, 22.12.2013 (available at: http://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/frueherer-fdp-vorsitzender-philipp-rosler-wechselt-zum-weltwirtschaftsforum-12723897.html)
Ex-FDP-Chef verlässt Deutschland
Rösler bekommt neuen Job in der Schweiz

Sonntag, 22.12.2013, 08:39


"Bringt die menschlichen und beruflichen Fähigkeiten mit"


Der 40-jährige Rösler war als FDP-Vorsitzender zurückgetreten, nachdem seine Partei bei der Bundestagswahl in einem historischen Debakel den Wiedereinzug ins Parlament verpasst hatte.

Ehemaliger Vizekanzler Rösler übernimmt leitende Funktion im Weltwirtschaftsforum

- Dr. Philipp Rösler, ehemaliger deutscher Vizekanzler und Bundesminister für Wirtschaft und Technologie, stösst als Managing Director und Mitglied des Managing Board des World Economic Forum.
- Rösler bringt große Erfahrung aus den Bereichen Politik, Wirtschaft und Gesundheit.
- Weitere Informationen über das World Economic Forum sind abrufbar unter: www.weforum.org


„Wir sind sehr erfreut, Philipp Rösler in unserer Führungsteam aufnehmen zu dürfen. Sein Werdegang in den letzten Jahren ist bemerkenswert, als treibende Kraft der Regierung einer der großen Volkswirtschaften der Welt. Mit seiner Sachkenntnis und Erfahrung wird Dr. Rösler einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Weiterentwicklung des Weltwirtschaftsförums als bedeutendste Plattform für die Zusammenarbeit zwischen Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft leisten“, meint Professor Klaus Schwab, der Gründer und Executive Chairman des World Economic Forum.

„Ich freue mich sehr, auf meine Aufgabe beim Weltwirtschaftsforum“, sagte Philipp Rösler. „Das Forum hat eine bemerkenswerte Philosophie: verschiedene Interessengruppen zusammenzubringen, um Entscheidungsträger zu motivieren, die drängenden globalen Herausforderungen zu lösen.“


Dr. Rösler war in jüngster Zeit eine Schlüsselfigur in der Regierung der deutschen Bundeskanzlerin Angela Merkel. Er beschäftigte sich mit Zukunftsfragen des Gesundheitswesens in Deutschland und war eine treibende Kraft in der deutschen Wirtschaftspolitik. 2010 wurde er durch das World Economic Forum zum Young Global Leader ernannt. Am Jahrestreffen des World Economic Forum in Davos hat er bereits mehrfach teilgenommen.

Philipp Rösler ist verheiratet und hat zwei Töchter.

Hinweise für Redakteure

Fotos von Dr Rösler finden Sie hier: http://wef.ch/prosler1 oder http://wef.ch/prosler2
Die besten Bilder des Jahrestreffens auf Flickr unter http://wef.ch/davos14pix
Freier Medienzugang zum Pressefotostudio Swiss-Image des Forum unter http://wef.ch/nics
Sitzungen auf Abruf auf YouTube unter http://wef.ch/youtube oder http://wef.ch/youtubegoogle
Fan des Forum auf Facebook werden unter http://wef.ch/facebook
Sitzungszusammenfassungen lesen unter http://wef.ch/davos14sessions
Forum auf Twitter verfolgen unter http://wef.ch/twitter und http://wef.ch/livetweet (Hashtag #WEF)
Forum-Blog lesen unter http://wef.ch/blog
Forum auf Google + verfolgen unter http://wef.ch/googleplus
Jahrestreffen auf einem Smartphone verfolgen unter http://wef.ch/app

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Incorporated as a not-for-profit foundation in 1971 and headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland, the Forum is tied to no political, partisan or national interests (www.weforum.org).

Figure 10: WEF: WEF's press release on Rösler's change of jobs, 23.12.2013 (available at: http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_NR_MD_Roesler_2013_DE.pdf)