

Art Related Cultural Conflicts and How the Media Presents Them The Böhmermann Case

Master Thesis

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the complex and understudied relationship between the arts, (geo)politics and the media in an era of global cultural exchange by investigating how the media represents cultural conflicts over (satirical) art. Research in the past mostly concentrated on satire and politics itself, with its majority in the US; and relating to controversies over art, literature focused mostly on cases that touched upon religion. However, the interplay of culture, satire and international media coverage has received little attention as of today. This study argues that media writers actively influence the representation of cultural and political conflicts through selecting certain frames but not others.

By investigating the media coverage of the Böhmermann/Erdogan case by German newspapers, the following aspects and questions were addressed. First, how are art related cultural conflicts represented by the media, which aspects of the controversy are selectively included and which are excluded by the media writers. Second, which speakers were given a voice and which voices are worthy being heard. Third, which frames were selected by media writers to represent the controversy. Finally, this research also compared how ideological differences and target groups can influence the paper's media presentation.

The quantitative and qualitative content analysis of the online media coverage of three German newspapers (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Kölner Express and Deutsch-Türkische Nachrichten) revealed the following insights. First, regarding the general development of the controversy, it was revealed that controversy raises attention especially when political leaders are involved and react to public criticism. Second, it confirmed how powerful cultural objects can be and how the impact of online media report and cross-cultural communication can increase conflicts as well as making them more difficult to solve. Third, through the distinct majority of mentioned speakers being politicians, lawyers and journalists, an existing hierarchy was proven, deciding on who is given a voice and whose voice is worthy being heard. Although the three observed newspapers had in common to include mostly politicians as speakers in the discourse, the presentation was shaped in different ways by means of including certain utterances to emphasize and support different stands in the discourse. Finally, newspaper's ideologies and target groups considerably influence the way of reporting about them leading to the conclusion that media actively shapes the way cultural conflicts are perceived.

KEYWORDS: *Cultural conflict, Satire, Media Coverage, Discourse, Erdogan/Böhmermann*

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1 Introduction

By investigating how the media represents cultural conflicts over (satirical) art, this study explores the complex and understudied relationship between the arts, (geo)politics and the media in an era of global cultural exchange. Research in the past mostly concentrated on satire and politics itself, with its majority in the US for example J. E. Thompson's work (2009). In the past controversies over art were mostly researched when they touched upon religion (King, 2000; Tepper, 2011). However, the interplay of culture, satire and transnational media coverage has received little attention as of today. The literature on social and cultural conflicts, the media, and the sociology of culture has addressed how ideological frames are imposed on social events and cultural texts. By examining and analysing the development of German media coverage, the selection of speakers, utterances and frames made by media writers to present art related cultural conflicts, the research on media shaping, which previously focused only on discourses within the borders of one country, was expanded (Binder, 2016; Ferree, 2002).

The reaction about and the legal case following the controversial satiric poem "Schmähkritik" (engl.: Vituperative Criticism), by Jan Böhmermann, about the (then) Turkish prime minister Erdogan, was covered by the mass media in great detail, provoking debate in the national press about freedom of speech and expression in the Western world. Although satire is famous for ridiculing political leaders, it is – yet - an understudied topic in the sociological literature. Thus, this research contributes to the research on media representation of cultural conflicts in Europe related to satire art and politics. The online media coverage about a recent case of three German newspapers were investigated over a time range of three weeks after the broadcast. The conducted qualitative content analysis entailed three steps: first, the general development of the media coverage of the three papers was observed, then the analysis focussed on the speakers and utterances included in the discourse and finally on the used frames selected by the media writers to generally represent the controversy. Thereby, the following aspects were investigated: How is the media coverage evolving? Who is given a voice and for what reason? Which aspects of the controversy are included and which are neglected? Which frames were selected to frame this representation?

1.2 The Böhmermann Case

In 2016, Jan Böhmermann, a German satirist, wrote a critical poem about the Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. The poem was presented in his satire show "Neo Magazine Royale" on the public service television broadcaster ZDF ("Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen") on the 31st of March. Before presenting the poem, the comedian discussed the legal framework of freedom of speech and expression in Germany. While the German legislation supports the right to express opinions publicly, the so called "Schmähkritik" (engl.: Vituperative Criticism) including offensive insults that are not related to any kind of constructive critique, can lead to legal

consequences. This discussion was connected to the publication of a critical song about Erdogan by the Comedy Group Extra 3 and Erdogan's failed attempt of suing the guarantors, three weeks before. While the song showed how one can criticize politicians in a legal way in Germany, Böhmermann explained that his poem was initiated to explain what the term of "Vituperative Criticism" means and one is not allowed to do.

Amongst others, Böhmermann called Erdogan in his ironically titled "Schmähkritik" "a man who beats girls", who loves to "fuck goats and suppress minorities, kick Kurds, hit Christians, and watch child pornography" (Rondinella, 2016; see complete lyrics of Böhmermann's poem in Appendices, A1). The ZDF distanced itself from the poem and deleted it from the program archives, which can be watched after airing on the official webpage (DIE WELT, 2016). Angela Merkel criticized the poem as "intentionally hurtful" (derwesten.de, 2016) and the Turkish government released a verbal note in which the criminal prosecution of Jan Böhmermann was demanded.

In the following it will be discussed how the media contributed to the development of an isolated event on national television into an international political crisis. The discourse exceeded from the incident of ridiculing a politician publicly into a transnational conflict and a general debate about freedom of speech, which is amongst others to explain through the clashing notions of this law. The charges against Böhmermann were recently dropped (February 2017), but the satirist still was temporarily restricted in his everyday life through the prosecution. Although media scholars such as Shirley Biagi (2012) argue that television in general has an increased influence on the everyday life of Western society since the 1950s, social and newspaper online media is even speeding up this process. Through international media exchange, public appearance weighs more than it did in the past (Khairil Jazmin Mokthar, 2008).

The research is relevant in several ways. First, with the increased relevance of media report, it is important to investigate the frames media writers use to present political and cultural conflicts caused by critical artforms like satire, which has not been done before. Second, the freedom of speech and expression has been a highly debated and politicized topic in Western news media for decades, but particularly following the recent developments such as the Charlie Hebdo terrorist attacks (2015), the interest in this topic even increased. Especially for the role of the arts, the freedom of expression is very important. As Hans Haacke already stated in 1995, referring to a statement by Senator Jesse Helms, art productions represent symbolic power (Waterston & Sulston, 1995). Böhmermann's poem can be seen as a symbolic expression for freedom of speech, which is ultimately not secured by the Bill of Rights but by the vigilance of people (Waterston & Sulston, 1995). However, in the age of cross cultural media it is that vigilance which is differently viewed in the world and leads to cross cultural conflicts. Finally, the present case of Jan Böhmermann could be an example representative for others to happen in the future because of increasing multiculturalism within countries around the world as well as

cross cultural communication. This case has been selected because culture is present on two levels: the cause of the conflict itself – the satiric poem as a cultural symbol and its consequence the clash of two different cultures (Germany and Turkey).

Jan Böhmermann is famous for not baulking at critical cases and always stating his opinion, for instance regarding to the Varoufakis case in 2015.¹ Although he has been subject of public criticisms before, the media attention connected to the Erdogan poem was extensive. This development was amongst others connected to Erdogan portraying himself as the victim by demanding the prosecution because of the offensive and racist content of the poem. Some participants in the debate argued he used the opportunity as attempt to increase his power to regulate the press beyond the borders of his country. As many scholars state, once a politician reacts to public criticism, the media attention highly increases (Mcleod & Mackenzie, 1998; Paletz, David L. & Entman, 1981). After the publication of the controversial poem, several politicians participated in the debate about it, which led to the increased interest and variety of media reports and which transformed a public debate into a political agenda in both countries. Investigating and analysing this case in terms of used and neglected frames in the construction process of journalistic articles in presenting the controversial poem and the subsequent debate about it, is extending the existing literature and complementing the knowledge on how ideological frames are imposed on social events and cultural conflicts.

¹ In March 2015, Böhmermann claimed to have manipulated a video of the Greek politician speaking at a press conference about the debt crisis in his country and states that Germany will not offer support. He continues in saying that Greek therefore should “stick the finger to Germany”. During that statement, he raised his middle finger – a gesture he denied afterwards. The public widely believed Böhmermann and Varoufakis used Böhmermann’s claim to support his denies. In the end experts found that the alleged manipulation was a bluff (Lange, 2015).

2 Theory and Previous Research

The controversy following the critical Erdogan-poem by Jan Böhmermann, was tangent to different fields, which are discussed in this chapter to build up a basis for my study. Not only did the clashing concepts of satire, freedom of speech and expression lead to a transnational debate, but also to the increase of already existing political tensions between Germany and Turkey, causing a cultural conflict. Furthermore, the role of mass media and fast travelling international media exchange was taken into consideration. Finally, this chapter is looking at existing theories investigating used methods by media writers to shape the presentation of these (cultural) conflicts such as the agenda setting theory (McCombs, Maxwell E & Shaw, 1972; M. E. McCombs, Shaw, & Weaver, 1997), theories about media framing (Binder, 2016; Ferree, 2002) as well as sensationalization (Thussu, 2003).

2.1 Culture and Conflict

Culture is a central concept in anthropology and its definition has widely varied, which variously emphasizes culture as social organization, core values and specific beliefs, social action or ways of living (Kroeber, A. L. and Kluckhohn, 1952; Ross, 2009). Defining culture is complicated, also because in the nineteenth century, the term was used very differently outside of the anthropological sector. This definition was closely related to “high art”, advanced education, superior knowledge, prominent social status, refinement or taste (Avruch, 2010). More recent analyses, however, begin with Geertz’s definition of culture as a historically developed pattern of meaning, a system of inherited concepts expressed in symbolic forms by means of which humans communicate, maintain, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life (Geertz, 1973; Ross, 2009). Consequently, studies from the late 20th and 21th century agree on defining culture as a worldview containing specific norms that shape why and how individuals and groups behave as they do, including both cognitive and affective beliefs about social reality and assumptions about when, where, and how people in one’s culture and those in other cultures are likely to act in particular ways (Chabal & Daloz, 2006; Lamont & Berger, 1996; Ross, 2009; Shweder & LeVine, 1984). Culture means the “socially inherited, shared and learned ways of living possessed by individuals in virtue of their membership in social groups” (Avruch, 2010:1). Nonetheless, it is important to note that even when different individuals understand each other and share a common identity, it does not signify that widely held meanings are necessarily acceptable to all or held equally intensely by all (Ross, 2009). Rather, that there are often intracultural differences and conflicts caused by these matters so that meaning and identity, control over symbols and rituals, and the ability to choose one interpretation over another one on a situation are frequently contested (Norton, 2003; Ross, 2007; 2009). Especially through an increase of multicultural structures within countries such as Germany with a large number of Turkish immigrants, these conceptual differences are more likely to clash.

How does one define a conflict and what does a cultural conflict look like? Not only culture, but conflict is also a central and highly important topic within sociology, because understanding its forms, incidences, and consequences is crucial for studying disruptive events like war, rebellion and civil unrest as well as explaining the creation and maintenance of stable institutions and routine aspects of social life such as political parties, law regulation, schools and cultural institutions (Tepper, 2011). Tepper states that social groups create these institutions not only to advance collective aims, but primarily to pursue their own interests and to receive power, wealth and status at the expense of competing with other groups. A famous example for this kind of cultural conflict is the, since decades ongoing, fight about the possession of Jerusalem. Two cultures, the Israeli and Palestinian, clashed because they both claimed to be the rightful owner of a particular ground because of historically important events. Like many other conflicts in the past, this one was connected to religion, because Jerusalem is resided on sacred grounds of both competing cultures.

In addition, Avruch (2010) argues that conflict is the competition by individuals or groups over incompatible goals, which are determined by an individual's perception of these goals such as culture. Thus, conflicts that occur beyond cultural boundaries are also occurring across cognitive and perceptual boundaries, and are especially prone to problems of intercultural miscommunication and misunderstanding. Furthermore, migration movements as well as consequences of globalization could be the reason for transforming intercultural conflicts into intracultural ones. An example of a recent intracultural conflict was the debate in Germany surrounding Muslim women wearing a headscarf when working in certain positions for instance as a school teacher or lawyer. The concept of freedom of religion is clashing with the duty of neutrality inside the civil service as well as different legal interpretations thereof between different countries. In eight states of Germany, including Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg and North Rhine Westphalia the headscarf was prohibited ("Bundesverfassungsgericht - Entscheidungen - Ein pauschales Kopftuchverbot für Lehrkräfte in öffentlichen Schulen ist mit der Verfassung nicht vereinbar," 2015). However, in North Rhine Westphalia teachers and social workers formed an initiative for self-determination regarding to belief and society („Initiative für Selbstbestimmung in Glaube und Gesellschaft“) to protest against the legal enactment. In January 2015, the initiative succeeded and the Federal Constitutional Court decided that a general ban of headscarves in public schools could not be compatible with the freedom of religion in a liberal state (Bundesverfassungsgericht, 2015).

In the past, the sociological research influenced by Marx, has been mostly concentrated on conflict and competition over economic resources, but the interest in symbolic and moral conflicts has increased as scientists such as Lewis Closer realized that both forms of conflicts have the same origin, because they both “struggle over values and claims to status, power and scarce resources, in which the aims of the conflicting groups are not only to gain the desired

values, but also to neutralize, injure or eliminate rivals” (Oberschall, 1978:29; Tepper, 2011:5). Another important sociologist who modified the classic Marxist distinction was Bourdieu, who argued that culture provides the basis for human communication and interaction, and furthermore it is a source of domination, meaning culture is always connected to power relations (Bourdieu, 1991; Swartz, 1997). Consequently, there is always a hierarchy present, because the exercise of power, he argues, requires legitimation to deal with the symbolic as well as material aspects of social life (Swartz, 1997). As well as fights about possession and working position, symbolic conflicts about poetry, satire and other art forms can have significant repercussions for power and social inequality (Tepper, 2011).

In addition to framing the contexts in which conflict is understood and pursued by individuals, culture also links individual identities to collective ones (Avruch, 2010). This fact is important in understanding the foundation of most ethnic or nationalist conflicts, in which selected cultural material is utilized to constitute special sorts of social groups, which are based upon alleged ties of shared kinship, history, language, or religion (Avruch, 2010). This means also that a cultural conflict can be caused through a disagreement of only two persons, each representing different cultural values and beliefs or being used to different juridical legislations such as in the present case in Germany. Starting with two main actors, the conflict increased into the participation of the leading politicians, journalists and others of the main actor’s countries of origin. Cultural conflicts are public disagreements over cultural objects - not only over values or religious beliefs, but also over cultural objects such as music, parades, visual art, book and other forms of expressive life, which function as powerful symbols through images, words and sounds and have the ability “to evoke approbation, bewilderment, indifference or antagonism” (Tepper, 2011:4). As Tepper argues, theories of conflict over art and culture have provided social scientists with a rich set of intellectual tools to explain a vast array of social arrangements, processes and outcomes. While previous research mostly focussed on cultural discourses within one country, mostly the US such as Tepper (2011), it is important to extend the investigations on multiculturalism around the world, whose increase was already mentioned two decades ago by Hans Haacke and Pierre Bourdieu (Waterston & Sulston, 1995). While they highlight the free exchange possible through multiple cultures living in America, I focussed on possible clashes through multiple cultures living within one country in Europe.

2.2 Cultural Conflicts and Increased Multiculturalism in Europe

Nicole Beisel (1993) states that moral politics represents an attempt by the upper classes to distinguish between good and bad culture. In cultural conflicts, citizens are in a competition with the “effort to control the symbols and cultural expression that communicate the value of their community” including decisions like who is allowed to speak out and be heard in the press, whose books are available in schools and libraries (Tepper, 2011:5). Thus, it is important to study cultural conflicts, not only because culture and its contestation shapes social life, but also because

clashes over values and symbols seem to become more and more prominent and strident (Hunter, 1991; Tepper, 2011). Hunter (1991) is only one of many academic scholars who describes the intensification of cultural conflicts due to the increase in diversity of actors and institutions in competition, as well as these disputes dominating public discourse. This increase in diverse actors can be observed in the following described migration movements – in the majority of European countries citizenship is becoming more and more multicultural, which means that different citizens' values, beliefs and opinions (strongly) differ and consequently are more likely to clash. Furthermore, these attempts are not only coming from the citizens but also from the different political leaders, who are more informed than ever before about recent developments in other countries including the countries' public opinions about themselves and other politicians through globalization and its technologies.

Throughout time numerous cultural conflicts have occurred, but since the early 1990s, a growing literature on the impact of cultural factors on world politics has emerged such as Reeves (2004), Huntington (1997), Henderson (1995) and Carment and James (1997) providing a theoretical rationale for explicating the putative processes at work in cultural clashes occurring across the globe (E. A. and Henderson & Tucker, 2001). An essential, but highly criticized work to include for exploring the history and background of cultural conflicts, is “The Clash of Civilization and the remaking of the world order” by Samuel Huntington (1997). His main thesis posits that conflict is more likely to occur between states of different civilizations than between those having the same entities in the post-Cold War world (p. 3f.). He describes culture as both a divisive and a unifying force in the post-Cold War world through people separated by identity but united by cultures coming together. Furthermore, Huntington states that international organizations based on states with a common culture, such as the European Union, are far more successful than those that attempt to transcend cultures. He describes how for the last forty-five years, the “Iron Curtain” was the central dividing line in Europe and how this line has moved several hundred miles, separating Christians on the one hand, from Muslims and Orthodox on the other (Huntington, 1997). Many researchers such as Henderson and Tucker (2001:335), argue that conflicts among states from different civilizations will likely occur in the future, as they have in the past, but this is only one possible reason for arising conflicts. But recent developments towards multiculturalism within countries who were understood as homogenous in the past, emphasize an increase in intracultural conflicts, which will be discussed in the following abstract.

Indeed, Huntington's thesis is rather simplified as well as outdated. With regards to the migration movements of the last decades for example, there is no “separating line” in existence anymore. The different countries within Europe such as Germany are developing more and more towards a multicultural civilization. This development is also described in Senghaas's work “The Clash within Civilizations” from 1998, where the author takes a strong stand against Huntington's “geo-cultural fiction” as the title of his work already indicates (E. A. and Henderson & Tucker,

2001; Senghaas, 1998). Through migration movements, the different European countries are becoming more multicultural, bringing together people with different values and beliefs including religion but also concepts of gender role allocation and legislation. Especially regarding the Böhmermann case, it is important to take the developments of the blurred borders between different countries in Europe of the last quarter-century into account. A migratory movement unprecedented in Turkish history and irreversible in its consequences has occurred: close to two million Turks resided in Germany in the 1990s, with significant numbers scattered throughout the rest of western Europe (Eickelman & Piscatori, 1990:154). West Germany, commonly joked about as Turkey's sixty-eighth province (Turkey has only sixty-seven), has entered into the consciousness even of non-migrant Turks in Turkey: an awareness of the Turkish experience in Germany has impacted the modern-day folklore, popular songs, literature, television, film, popular newspapers and the everyday life of Turks (Eickelman & Piscatori, 1990).

On the other hand, Turkish migrants cause changes in Germany as well: there are some quarters of German cities, inhabited by more Turks than Germans – the Keupstraße in the quarter Mühlheim of the city Cologne for instance. In the 21st century, there are nearly four Million people with Turkish ancestry in Germany, which adds up to five percent of the 82 Million inhabits and makes them the largest ethnic minority of the country (Bülent, 2013:345). Thereof a significant share living in North Rhine Westphalia, the state in which Cologne is resided. Even president Recep Tayyip Erdogan held various press conferences during his election campaign in Cologne. Furthermore, there occurred demonstrations dedicated to the controversial new head of state as well. In July 2016 for instance a demonstration took place in Cologne, where more than 30.000 participants were expected to show their support to Erdogan. Relating to these developments and events, one could argue that at least two cultural groups with different political and religious beliefs live in the same country. Consequently, the mix of different cultures comes with diverse political tendencies leading to conflicts about cultural symbolic and identity (Oberschall, 1978; Tepper, 2011) transforming into conflicts about political power.

The Böhmermann case sparked both positive and negative reactions – the discourse might have been as intense because of the initial position of two civilizations living in the same state. However, as Huntington recognized and investigated twenty years ago, events in the last decades showing that the diversion between Western Christianity and Islam could be a starting point for cultural clashes and its escalation. Indeed, one has to critically bear in mind that Huntington's views about the antidemocratic tendencies and predisposition to Islamic violence are presumed and not academically investigated and proven (Henderson & Tucker, 2001:332). Still, there are considerable differences between these two cultures with a potential to clash – no matter if within or between two different civilizations. While literature about art related cultural conflicts followed different approaches in the past, the majority of the late 20th century suggest a broader and more

extensive theory of cultural conflict - “urbanization, immigration and changing economic and social conditions lead to disputes over art and cultural expression.” (Tepper, 2011:12)

2. 3 Art and Religion Causing Cultural Conflicts

Since the end of the Cold War, many scholars have argued that most conflicts are driven from clashes based on religious affiliation, race or ethnicity (Abu-Nimer, 2001). Various studies focus on the role of religion in conflict, many of them relating on how it can impact causes and the dynamic of a conflict as well as to the destructive role of religion. While Martin & Appleby (1991) explore in depth the use of religious beliefs in forming fundamental religious movements for example, Fox (1999) illustrates how religious legitimacy can lead to the formation of grievance by ethno-religious minorities. A more recent study by Fox and Sandler (2005) highlights the ability of local religious conflicts becoming internationalized and describe several possible reasons for this development: First, local conflicts often cross borders and can destabilize an entire region such as various ethnic and national conflicts in the former Yugoslavia. Second, the successes of groups on one side of the globe can inspire followers elsewhere to rebel. Third, the increasing presence of the international media makes publications of these conflicts across the globe possible. Fourth, since the end of the Cold War “superpower rivalry international intervention has become more feasible and, thereby, more common” (Fox, 1999:43). Fifth, those involved in domestic conflicts often seek to use international organizations and forums in order to further spread their aims. Sixth, conflicts often result in international refugee flows and seventh, the groups involved in the conflict often have national, religious, or ethnic ties with groups living in other states. These are only suggested possible reasons how contentions about clashing religious beliefs can lead to severe consequences, but religion being the most important and most adversarial and sensitive components of culture is undeniable.

Religion is and always will be a highly sensitive topic as one can observe in contemporary cultural clashes such as the attacks in Paris by Islamic extremists in 2015, which were supposedly caused by the publication of an insulting caricature of prophet Mohammad by the French satire magazine Charlie Hebdo. The global medial response was extensive and seemed to even further stir the debate about the events – while thousands of people showed their respect through a funeral march through France’s capital or using the hashtag “Je suis Charlie” on social media, Muslims around the globe reacted differently: they protested with the message “Je ne suis pas Charlie. Je suis muslim”. Although they judged and distanced themselves from the violent events, they felt offended by the magazine insulting their holy prophet. Interestingly and contrary to my expectations, religion did not play an important role in the Böhmermann/Erdogan case although the transnational conflict occurred between two countries with diverse leading religions: Christianity and Islam. The focus is set on clashing political and legal concepts. However, general values and beliefs are often influenced by and closely connected (the practice of) religion.

Tepper (2011), who found religion as a major pattern in social movements and protests happening in the late 20th century until the beginnings of the 21st century in America, argues that beyond the transcendental clash between art and religion there are more immediate political and practical reasons why religious leaders have been at the lead of combats over contemporary art and entertainment. Art and entertainment became primary sites of political engagement for religious leaders trying to reinsert their values into the mainstream society meaning that controversial art for instance could be used and deployed easily to mobilize citizens in a certain direction.

2.4 Satire

This research focuses on the cultural conflict caused through a poem presented in a satirist TV show, therefore a definition of this art form will be shortly provided. Satire is one of the most misunderstood literary terms, probably because it is applied broadly to any art form in any media that mocks convention (Colletta, 2009:856). It depends upon a stable set of values from which to judge behaviour, and also rests upon engagement - the satirist as well as the viewer need to feel that something could possibly change (Colletta, 2009; Waugh, 1983). The definition of satire is described as a form that holds up human vices and follies to ridicule and scorn (Colletta, 2009). It is “an attack on or criticism of any stupidity or vice in the form of scathing humour” and it criticizes what an author sees as “dangerous religious, political, moral, or social standards” (Colletta, 2009:859; Cuddon & Preston, 1999:202). Satire achieves its aim by shocking its audience out of complacency and sentimentality, and in order to do so, it is usually aggressive and often seditious towards power structures and the status quo (Colletta, 2009:859). Colletta describes satire itself not as a comic device, but as a critique that uses comedic devices such as parody and exaggeration to receive its laughs from the audience. Furthermore, she states that humour is satire’s art and its power, which keeps it from becoming as banal as mere editorial.

Since October 2013, Jan Böhmermann is moderating his satire television show “Neo Magazin Royale”, which is produced in Cologne and broadcasted weekly on the television transmitter ZDF Neo. Already the headline “Deutschlands einzige ernstzunehmende Unterhaltungsshow” (engl.: “Germany’s only serious entertainment show”) of the official website is ironic in saying an entertaining show should be taken seriously (“NEO MAGAZIN ROYALE | ZDFneo,” n.d.). Böhmermann’s show always deals with current political and social topics – in ridiculing prominent political leaders, the German moderator actually criticizes them such as the Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdogan in April 2016. The comedian is known for openly talking and making judgments about critical and controversial hot-button topics as well as testing out thresholds and barriers of freedom of speech. Although his work is considered as tasteless and immoral by some, Böhmermann is an as important approved personality of Germany’s cultural entertainment sector confirmable through winning several television awards for instance the renowned Grimme price in 2014, 2016 and 2017. His doings exceed a weekly satirical show with

common sketches: in 2016, he infiltrated a fake candidate into a scripted reality show on the German television broadcaster RTL for example. Thereby he revealed unfair business practices by the channel regarding rather staged than realistic reality shows.

The complication of the Böhmermann/Erdogan case is that the comedian's work might be accepted in Germany, but not in Turkey – the country of the ridiculed politician. In the president's and his followers' eyes the poem is an inhuman act, which cannot be considered as cultural entertainment. But who decides what is considered “good” and what is considered “bad” culture? Although the case does not directly involve religion, the two concerned cultures possess different concepts of several norms and values such as morality, loyalty and honour, which are significantly influenced by the practices and concepts of the different religions. There is a distinct difference between concepts held by the two cultures, related to the importance of honour to name only one example. The sense of honour in Turkey remains a special significance since decades, which led to severe consequences in the past and still does today: connected to the special position of this value, several cases of honour killings occurred. Indeed, these are isolated cases of strictly religious people, whose actions cannot be generalized. Less tragic consequences are the numerous penal charges, enacted by Erdogan because of (alleged) libel such as in the present case.

2.5 The Internet and Freedom of Speech

“The internet is a medium for individuals to exercise their freedom of speech. It has been referred to the information super highway and has got a significant role in many areas such as shaping public opinion and disseminating information. Its effectiveness as a medium of mass communication is no longer in doubt.” (Mokhtar, 2008:1) The modern technology has created many Internet based services which makes communicating globally easier and quicker: the approach of traditional forms such as broadcasting, telecommunications, online activities and services unsurprisingly gives rise to the question among policy makers in government whether there should be more effective means of the regulation of the Internet (Mokhtar, 2008). However, these regulations clash with the idea of freedom of speech. In an era of global cultural exchange, the boundaries between the different countries within Europe seem to become more ambiguous – through medial as well as physical exchange – affecting and complicating Western artistic fields in different manners such as restricted freedom of speech (Griswold, 2000; Weij, 2015). In the Böhmermann case, the content of the satirical poem got so much attention, because it was excluded from its context of being a social experiment and was spread quickly through social media and other Internet platforms. Beisel's work (1993) is only one example for relevant literature, which deals with questions of censorship – the hot-button topic of the (art) world since decades or even centuries.

Protest art has occasionally spread to the mainstream society: integrating artistic expression and protest, activists have been able to use art for emancipatory purposes (Eyerman, Ron & Jameson, 1998; Weij, 2015). Thereby, they are able to communicate their opinion and

protest to the outside world, mobilize resources and make the public easily understand the issue. Artforms often used to protest and criticize political leaders are satire and caricature such as the satiric magazines *Titanic* (GER) and *Charlie Hebdo* (FR). Within the political field, on the contrary, art is often used instrumentally, as a means to achieve activist objectives rather than an end in itself (Adams, 2013; Weij, 2015). The Böhmermann case creates a third form: as a radio and TV comedian, he is already a public person and he used his position, already several times in the past, to criticize and somehow protest against a politician publicly. But attacking the Turkish president verbally led to different consequences as usual and as expected. While some support the indignant reaction of the Turkish head of state and his supporter and employees, such as German chancellor Angela Merkel, other public persons declared their support for Böhmermann representative for the law given freedom of speech and expression in Germany.

Outside artistic fields, media audiences play a key role in attributing societal impact. The omnipresent (social) media incarnates powerful contemporary mobilizing structures (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012) as they are less influenceable to the government control and make it possible for content to travel quickly (Kraidy, 2015; Weij, 2015). Today, successful political protests are not necessarily actively mobilizing people but generating the most (social) media attention (West, 2008). Especially, online newspapers are updated increasingly quickly and platforms are given for the public to comment on recent events. Thussu (2003) argues that the continuous demand for news in an environment that is dominated by 24/7 satellite television has led to “sensationalization and trivialization of often complex stories and a temptation to highlight the entertainment value of news” (p. 117; Powers & el-Nawawy, 2008:267). The same applies for online press coverage of recent conflicting events - rather than speaking to and informing a multiplicity of audiences, today’s broadcasters are often targeting particular groups of people, relying on cultural conventions and political as well as historical myths in contextualizing international events (Powers & el-Nawawy, 2009:267).

Another factor to consider is the range of social media, which enables everyone to publicly state their opinion about political events – also anonymously which likely leads to more direct and honest speech. Furthermore, anonymity can also cause immoral behaviour because users of social media platforms do not have to fear severe restrictions and therefore do not take personal responsibility for their posts. The poem by Böhmermann got a lot of attention, not only through press and newspapers but also through social media, television and online articles. Through these multiple methods of coverage, the events travelled quickly and probably also reached the Turkish president faster than without having these digital possibilities. His anger and reaction is therefore not only explained through the poem’s content but also through its distributions, which would not have been possible decades ago. In this project, the framing of this case’s media presentation was observed accurately: Who has and who is *given* a voice in this debate? (Who is absent in this critical debate) At which point did the controversy start – was the

raise of attention influenced by a certain person who publicly commented on the poem such as Angela Merkel?

2.6 The Role of Media and Mass Communication in Cultural Conflicts

Besides the dominant position of religion causing contentions; obscenity, pornography and indecency have been main sources of complaint against cultural works in the Western World in the last decades (Tepper, 2011:41). The controversial poem by Jan Böhmermann includes obscene and pornographic allusions of Erdogan's private bias as well as accusations of violent acts against women, which not only portray him as an indecent person, but also clearly conflict with the "victim's" religious belief (See the complete poem in Appendices, A1). The fast spread of the controversial poem is explained through the medium it was presented in: a public German television broadcasting transmitter, which was also accessible online for a short time period. Indeed, the video was deleted by ZDF, who distanced themselves from its content, but not fast enough to prevent the upload of video copies on online channels such as Youtube – even with the addition of subtitles in English, Turkish etc. Media coverage, including online platforms as well as printed newspapers, of contemporary conflict has been dominated by a style of "war journalism" that is more likely to further increase international tensions between global publics (Powers & el-Nawawy, 2009:266). According to Powers and el-Nawawy (2009) the role of media in negotiating international and cross-cultural tensions is much debated as well as the phenomena of satellite television, which was dramatically introduced to the Arab world during the first Gulf War in 1991 and has altered the structure of the global media ecosystem, as well as the role of the news media in times of conflict. During the last decade of the 20th century, several communication scholars such as Volkmer (1999) argued that we are entering an era of globalization whereby international news media could create a global public sphere, making an international conversation between geographically far and culturally diverse communities possible (Powers & el-Nawawy, 2009:264).

Unfortunately, despite the promise of new media technologies providing for cross-cultural relations and engagement, it seems that global audiences are more likely to choose informative broadcasters that fit within their worldviews, as well as it is not possible to measure how these new forms have been able to foster a global society (Powers & el-Nawawy, 2009). According to a study by Pew Global Attitudes Project, conducted in 2006, many of the Western people see Muslims as "fanatical, violent, and as lacking tolerance", while Muslims in the Middle East and Asia generally see Westerners as "selfish, immoral and greedy – as well as violent and fanatical" (Kohut, Doherty, & Wike, 2006). It is likely to be the case that, rather than the global news media fostering engagement and understanding between geographically distant and culturally diverse publics, audiences have been tuning into the news media that deliver stories in ways that are ideologically in line with their worldviews, resulting in global publics moving into discrete and clearly separated communications networks (Powers & el-Nawawy, 2009:266).

Particularly when it comes to the coverage of international conflict, this “balkanized” process of media globalization has the potential to make international conflicts more difficult to resolve or might even contribute to causing an international cultural conflict (Powers & el-Nawawy, 2009). Consequently, one has to consider the dangerous potential of mass media and the development towards separated global news media following clashing ideologies, because a possible reason for values and beliefs of different civilizations to clash could be this exchange within the globalized world, which was the case after Jan Böhmermann created the critical poem about the R. T. Erdogan.

The theorists associated with the Frankfurt School were the first to formally develop interest in the mass media as primary site for the construction and dissemination of dominant ideologies (T. Adorno, 1957; T. W. Adorno & Horkheimer, 2002; Binder, 2016). They argued that the mass media as key members of the cultural industry were the main platform for the contemporary society’s ideological discourse (Binder, 2016; Thompson, 1990). Later studies suggest that the news media’s impact rather comes from the selection and application of the “cultural lenses” (Geertz, 1973) through which events are portrayed than the result of statements about what the audience should believe (Binder, 1993:754). How is the press selecting what is and what is not important to report? How is this selection influencing the audience’s perception of reported events? Literature about mass communication shows that controversy makes news (McLeod & Mackenzie, 1998:278). Analysing television news programs and news magazines in the 1960s and 1970s, revealed that within the eight major not war-related domestic activities covered by the news, 35 percent of the stories featured “government conflicts, disagreements, decisions, proposals, personnel changes, and campaigning” (Gans, 1979; McLeod & Mackenzie, 1998:278). Another important development to consider is the relation between the organizational and the institutional bases of the news-making process and the ideological character of the resulting newspaper product (Ettema, 2009). Gaye Tuchman (1978) was one of the first introducing research about post-factual news reporting. He analysed the relationship between the organizational routines of news gathering and the uncritical promotion of positions favoured by powerful institutions, in particular the government, as public knowledge (Ettema, 2009). An additional important influence on the reporting style is caused by the papers’ different ideologies.

Another study found that mainstream media focuses on conflicts and controversies involving prominent leaders (Paletz & Entman, 1981). Various past studies showed that international tensions are becoming increasingly defined and regulated through the global news’ flow. “Perceptions of success, failure, injustice and heroism are all controlled by the ability of a global citizenry, ever more tied together through information communication technologies, to see and hear about global events” (Powers, 2008:340). These conditions have facilitated an increase in the power and influence that is negotiated through media networks - the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century have offered researchers numerous examples of the increased

importance and influence that news media have on the conduct and flow of international conflict (Powers, 2008). Yet, to a large extent, literature regarding media and conflict continues to focus on the impact that information communication technologies and media have on winning and losing wars and not on the consequences that these technological changes have on the formation of broader public attitudes, opinions and ideologies that are at the genesis of international tensions (Powers, 2008:340). As Powers recognises many researchers have speculated of dramatic changes to come, but not enough have analysed particular aspects of today's culturally grounded conflicts or articulated a nuanced understanding about the ways contemporary media technologies and operations allow for the escalation of tensions.

Increasing attention probably was the contrary result Erdogan wanted to achieve after protesting the insulting poem and the attempt to sue the German comedian. This is not an isolated case as Mcleod and MacKenzie (1998:297) argued, attempts by individuals and interest groups to suppress cultural forms including art and media content often produce the ironic result of stimulating an increase in the audience's interest and exposure. Controversial cases not only attract the medial attention but also the attention of the public, which leads to more people hearing about the controversy. The resulting curiosity may even activate the public to take further actions which "may range from talking about the issues to more direct forms of participation." (Mcleod & Mackenzie, 1998:297)

2.7 Used Frames by Online Newspapers

To investigate how the media influences audience perceptions, the codes used by the media to frame public discussions of events or objects must be examined (Binder, 1993:754). Frames and frameworks help individual receivers make sense of social occurrences because they divide and organize events they have experienced directly or indirectly into recognizable patterns (Binder, 2016:755; Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 2016). As sociologists, interested in how media construct reality, have described, media writers use frames to selectively represent certain elements of their stories (Binder, 2016; Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, & Sasson, 2016) and to stress some information while not mentioning others (Binder, 1993:755). Framing an issue by using a certain set of arguments of the text reduces the readers' capacities to understand the text differently (Binder, 2016; Entman, 1991:755). Besides its effects, the study of framing must consider how the media choose certain frames for events and objects, and why a subset of these frames becomes the dominant mode of discussing a particular issue in the mass media and by the general public (Binder, 2016:755).

Binder further criticizes that previous literature on social movements, the media and the sociology of culture have addressed how ideological frameworks are imposed on social events and cultural texts but did not further extend on social framing (Binder, 2016: 756). Her approach of taking the role of the mass media coverage on controversial music provoking a legal case and debate in national press is relevant for my research (Binder, 2016:753). Similar developments

occurred after Böhmermann presented his poem on television – mostly the national, but also the international press reacted to Böhmermann’s act of criticizing the Turkish president an even bigger debate sparking both positive and negative reactions. This study is primarily concentrating on online newspaper articles, because the relevance of printed newspaper seems to be rather outdated. Therefore, it is important to look at the internet’s impact as an important and effective medium of mass communication.

2.8 Agenda Setting Theory

Another reason for increased media coverage as well as the public’s attention is when an issue becomes a topic of concern by those in power. Then it is more likely to receive status on the official political agenda (Mcleod & Mackenzie, 1998:289). In sociological literature, this phenomenon is called “agenda setting theory”, which was formally developed by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in a study about the American presidential election in 1968 (M. E. McCombs et al., 1997). McCombs and Reynolds defined the agenda setting theory as the ability of the news media to influence the salience of topics on the public agenda (M. McCombs & Reynolds, 2008). It basically means that the more a news article is promoted in terms of frequency, prominence and coverage, the more the importance and attention by audiences is given to it (Gaikwad, 2010). Establishing this salience among the public so that an issue becomes the focus of its attention, thought, and perhaps even action is the initial stage in forming public opinion (M. McCombs & Reynolds, 2008:1). While many issues compete for public attention, only a few succeed in capturing public attention. Mc Combs and Reynolds argue that the influence of our perceptions of what are the most salient issues of the day is significantly exerted by the news media, because people use the media to help them categorize political issues. Consequently, the agenda setting theory is the definition of the process in which a media agenda receives public attention and transforms into a political agenda. Examples for this process could be a presidential election, but also a controversial cultural conflict. Consequently, the Böhmermann/Erdogan case represents a perfect opportunity to investigate the practical implementation of the agenda setting theory: a controversial art piece (satiric poem) provokes a public debate with political leaders involved and transforms into a political agenda including political tensions.

3 Method and Data

3.1 Research Context

To investigate how the German online newspaper articles presented the transnational debate and cultural conflict caused by Böhmermann's "Schmähkritik" in 2016, a partly qualitative and partly quantitative content analysis was conducted. The Böhmermann case was chosen, because it is relatively novel and provides a window of studying conflict in today's Europe with its diverse immigrant cultures. With this case, the study sought to examine how the media presents and frames cultural conflicts and whether this framing and selection by media writers might influence this presentation.

3.2 Method: Qualitative Content Analysis of Media Coverage

Public discourse in contemporary societies is not exclusively, but largely mediated through the institutions collectively known as "mass media" which also contribute their own interests and (political) positions in selecting and diffusing what becomes the "mainstream" of ideas and claims (Ferree, 2002, 2003:311). The analysis process is represented in three main phases: preparation, organizing and reporting, there are no systematic rules for analysing data; the key feature of all content analysis is that the many words of the text are classified into much smaller content categories (Burnhard, 1991; Weber, 1990). The preparation phase starts with selecting the unit of analysis, which can be a word or a theme (Cavanagh, 1997; McCain, 1988) – in this study it is an article. Deciding on what to analyse in what detail and sampling considerations are important factors before selecting the unit of analysis (Cavanagh, 1997; Elo & Kyngäs, 2007). Following in the analytic process, the researcher strives to make sense of the data and to obtain a sense of the whole (Burnhard, 1991).

Content analysis is a method of analysing written, verbal or visual communication messages (Cole, 1998). It was first used as a method for analysing hymns, newspaper and magazine articles, advertisements and political speeches in the 19th century (Harwood & Kipping, 2003). Today, it is often used in communication, journalism, sociology, psychology and business, and during the last few decades its use has shown steady growth (Neundorf, 2002). Content analysis allows the researcher to test theoretical issues to enhance understanding of the data and makes it possible to collocate words into fewer content-related categories (Elo & Kyngäs, 2007). It is assumed that when classified into the same categories, words and phrases share the same meaning (Cavanagh, 1997). The analytic procedure entails finding, selecting, making sense of and synthesising data contained in the analysed documents (Bowen, 2009:27).

The method has several advantages: it is less time-consuming than other methods because it requires data selection, instead of data collection. On the other hand, the analysis of the coded documents requires more time than analysing a survey's outcomes. Furthermore, many documents are easily accessed without the author's permission, because they are in the public domain, particularly since the advent of the internet (Bowen, 2009:31). The method was also

selected, because it fits the interest of this thesis best, observing the forms of media presentation of (public) cultural conflicts, which are rather complicated to measure by means of qualitative interviews or surveys. Content analysis is flexible and can be used to develop an understanding of the meaning of communication (Cavanagh, 1997) and to identify critical processes (Lederman, 1991). The method can be used in an inductive or deductive way. This study will use an inductive approach, moving from the specific to the general. While the first codes are related to specific categories such as publication and newspaper section as well as included and quoted voices and speakers, the analysis will become more general in observing which frames were used to shape the whole presentation of the Böhmermann case.

Through the chosen method and a diverse selection of newspapers, this study's aim is to receive subjective findings representative for cultural conflict reporting in Germany. Newspapers are utilized as a proxy for the wider media: looking beyond the specific issues being presented in the news, it seems like journalists have considerable power to select what they present as news to their readers (Smith et al., 2002). According to Smith et al. (2002), it becomes clear that newsmakers have the possibility to shape a story, both in topic and scope once one advances beyond the notion that there is a single 'objective' perspective from which a news story can be presented. Blogs and social media websites writing and debating about this case were not included because they do not possess a large circulation as official newspapers do, and furthermore they tend to be less trustworthy, also because they do not belong to the leading medium in Germany.

3.3 Data

The data includes articles published online by German newspapers, reporting on the case of the controversial poem and its consequences. A selection had to be made as the coverage of the Böhmermann case was as extensive. First, it was chosen to filter the articles published between the end of March until the 23rd of April 2016, because the different chronologies of the case revealed that this time-period covers the most important peaks of the controversy such as the announcement of the legal prosecution and official statements by important political, juridical and journalistic actors. Furthermore, the number of publications decreases after the 22nd of April 2016. Second, the focus was set on three different newspapers to suit this paper's scope and to investigate three different papers regarding ideology, target audience and publishing place. The (online) newspaper articles of Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ), Express (EX) as well as Deutsch-Türkische Nachrichten (DTN) were observed. Table I summarizes the most important information about the selected newspapers including publishing place, political orientation, circulation as well as the description of the particular media category.

Table I: Selected Newspapers

Newspaper	City	Political Orientation	Circulation	Description
FAZ	Frankfurt a. M.	Conservative	305.257	Quality paper
EX	Cologne	Left-centered	111.365	Tabloid press
DTN	Berlin	Liberal	Unknown	Mainstream press

Amongst others, these three papers were chosen, because they are situated across Germany and because they are targeting different audience groups. According to *statista.com*, FAZ has a daily circulation of around 305.000 copies, while Express describes a circulation of 111.365 copies (Table I). Furthermore, the total circulation of daily papers, Sunday papers and weekly papers was at 24,78 million copies in 2010. However, the number of circulated copies dropped from 28,76 million in 2003 to 21,56 million in 2014 which could be explained through the development of more and more people reading the news online for several reasons, such as free access (Schoenbach, 2005). Because of the general importance of the internet and the newspaper online spaces are becoming increasingly relevant and powerful, this study focused on online articles instead of printed ones.

While two of the chosen papers have a national audience (FAZ, DTN), the regional paper Express is included to have another media category rather belonging to the mainstream press. Furthermore, it is situated in Cologne – the city where Jan Böhmermann’s satirical show is broadcasted and a city with a relatively high percentage of Turkish inhabitants as mentioned in the theory chapter. Because of the fact that the conflict involves a German satirist and the Turkish head of state, one German-Turkish paper was observed as well. The *Deutsch-Türkische Nachrichten* is situated in Berlin and describes itself as a “current, independent and exclusive newspaper for the young second and third generation of German Turks”, informing about politics, economics and culture (“Impressum | DEUTSCH TÜRKISCHE NACHRICHTEN,” n.d.).

Finally, there are some small ideological differences between the chosen papers. Although the FAZ situated in Frankfurt, a liberal as well as multi-cultural region, it is orientated to center-right readers (Ferree, 2002:46). It belongs to the group of Germany’s high-profile national papers and remains one of the largest in circulation nationwide. Like the majority of the tabloid press, Express can be described as a less prestigious and left centered newspaper. Tabloid press entails newspapers that primarily focus on sensational stories regarding to crime or political scandals, gossip columns about celebrities and athletes etc. Famous examples for publications belonging to the tabloid press include *The Sun* in the United Kingdom as well as the *Globe* and *New York Post* in America.

Prior to the analysis, it was already expected that the FAZ had a rather critical position towards the controversial poem and supported Angela Merkel’s position in the debate because of

their conservative ideology. The reporting of the less prestigious EX was instead expected to focus on the sensational aspects of the debate – the scandals and disputes etc. as well as being rather supportive towards Böhmermann because of freedom of speech, which remains an important law for the tabloid press. It was especially interesting to observe the DTN because as commonly known, the Turkish press is completely in line with the government in Turkey. Regarding to the case, it was expected that Turkish voices remain more critical towards Böhmermann's doings. However, these newspapers are only a small and specialized sample of the mass media in Germany, and the reader should keep this limitation in mind.

3.4 Units of Analysis

The primary unit of analysis are articles, which are defined as newspaper contributions that form separate text units which can be discriminated from other text units by clearly distinguishable demarcation symbols before and after the text, such as headings, demarcation lines or extra space. Newspaper contributions shorter than 10 lines are not considered 'articles' and therefore were not taken into consideration in the sampled collection of German newspaper articles to analyze. The following types of articles were included in my analysis: news articles, interviews, previews, reviews, announcements, background stories, opinion articles and columns. However, columns (also by 'professional' writers) were only included if they discuss the doings of Böhmermann, Erdogan or another important actor in the controversy. Articles covering all details about the Böhmermann/Erdogan case in the time-period of around three weeks were coded, provided they qualify as articles in the sense defined above. Articles as the unit of analysis make sense for several reasons: looking at it as a whole allows us to ask what percentage of articles quote a particular organization or type of organization as well as what kind of mixes of certain speakers it includes (Ferree, 2002).

In adapting the approach of Ferree et al. (2002), the secondary unit of analysis of the rather quantitative part are speakers and utterances. Speakers are persons such as Angela Merkel, who are named and quoted in an article about the Böhmermann/Erdogan case. A speaker can also be a group of people such as the German party SPD or a business, which announce official statements such as the ZDF. Speakers are units constructed from all utterances in a single article that can be attributed to a single source. The speakers were coded per article, which means that the total number of 251 not necessary represents 251 different people, but shows that as many speakers were named in total. For example, Angela Merkel was quoted various times in different articles, therefore she was counted only once per article but several times in total. Achieving representation in the media is a requirement for reaching a popular audience and thus is an important form of success for particular speakers (Ferree, 2003:311). Furthermore, journalists also select speakers who they view as responsible and important – not everyone is given a voice. The relative representation of particular speakers and the views they express and a movement's success or failure in entering this medial discourse must be "separated analytically from the extent

of conformity between an institutionally fixed discourse and specific frames in a movement's repertoire" (Ferree, 2003:311).

Since journalists are the ones constructing articles, they may be separating utterances into different short paragraphs – thus, it makes sense to consider the speaker as a whole when presented in the entire article. Speakers and utterances are of course closely related to each other, but were also consciously selected to support the media writers' frames. In some articles, several utterances, which are separated in different paragraphs, by only one speaker were mentioned. In these cases, the writer substantiates his arguments with quotations or transcriptions of a certain speaker who substitutes a particular stand in the debate. One example is an article (EX, April 15), which was published shortly after Merkel announced that she will allow the prosecution regarding the controversial satire. The text is subdivided into three paragraphs, each of them including utterances of the same speaker – the German local politician Elfi-Scho Antwerpens (SPD). The title already reveals the politician's as well as the article's tendency by quoting her statement "I deeply condemn Merkel's decision" ("Fall Böhmermann! Elfi Scho-Antwerpes: „Ich verurteile Merckels Entscheidung zutiefst“ | Express.de," 2016). The writer included two subheadings, which summarize the politician's statements, arguing that the debate is not about deciding if Böhmermann's poem can be considered as legitimate satire or if it is offending Erdogan, but primarily about the federal government making itself dependent on the benevolence of foreign heads of state. Followed by the reference of a suiting citation by Scho-Antwerpes on the importance of freedom of press and speech in a democracy, which clearly clashes with Erdogan's agenda, who sued various (Turkish) journalists for libel.

An utterance is a speech act or statement by a single speaker – in this study, this means someone's quoted or transcribed statement is coded. Each utterance presents an opinion or a neutral observation regarding the Böhmermann case. Deciding on or interpreting whether these utterances are in either favor of Böhmermann or Erdogan would have been too subjective and therefore were not included in the analysis. Not all utterances included in the articles were coded, because not all of them were related to the case. Express sometimes reported about updates on the legal case, but then shifted to another unrelated topic for example.

3.5 Data Collection

First, all publications of the chosen online articles of newspapers and news magazines in Germany reporting about the Böhmermann case, between the 31th March 2016 until the 23rd April in 2016 were collected by using the online archives of Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Express and Deutsch-Türkische Nachrichten. The indicated issue of Neo Paradise Royale was broadcasted on the 31st March, and the media attention increased in the observed twenty-three days after, amongst others through the participation of Angela Merkel and other politicians as well as figures from media, television etc. The articles were sampled to achieve a comparative basis for the research. Articles featuring both keywords "Böhmermann" and "Erdogan" were selected, but also had to

meet a number of other screening criteria such as lengths of a minimum of three paragraphs to code the content-rich and longer articles. Furthermore, they had to report about the consequences of the controversial poem's publication including public debate, following legal case and transnational consequences. Two articles of the FAZ fulfilled the basic screening criteria such as length, and the key word "Böhmermann", but reported about another satire and were consequently excluded from the analysis. Table II shows the numbers of all articles per newspaper published between the 31st March and the 22nd April in 2016 as well as the number of the final sample of articles. While FAZ published 7.663 articles in the observed period of time, only 44 fulfilled the screening criteria. The total number of articles published by Express represents 1.871, whereof 45 articles included the keywords "Erdogan" and "Böhmermann" (See Table II). While DTN only published 98 articles during the time range, 17 articles dealt with the controversy. Consequently, the case was an important topic, in particular for the mainstream and tabloid press.

Table II: Sampled articles

Newspaper	All articles	Sampled articles
FAZ	7.663	44
Express	1.871	45
DTN	98	17
Totals	9.632	106

3.6 Operationalization

The research question will be answered by means of a partly quantitative and partly qualitative framing analysis of media coverage. First, the number articles were counted per day to evaluate if the debate increased at specific dates, for instance when the German chancellor, Angela Merkel stated her opinion on the case publicly. Then the quantitative step of analysis followed: the speakers and utterances the articles were coded to find out who is speaking/present in the debate, who is given a voice (political leaders, public personalities, figures of the arts and culture sector/literary figures). Coding the speakers in the debate was connected to coding the names, nationalities and occupations – not only in total, but also per newspaper. The same applies for coding the utterances (See the whole coding sheet in Appendices, C1-4). These steps belong to this study's quantitative part of analysis.

The final step of the qualitative analysis was carried out by investigating the used frames by media writers in generally presenting the transnational debate. There are two general application methods to examine how frames resonate with beliefs in the culture at large – either by focusing on the audience side of framing through qualitative work or by concentrating on the writer's side (Binder, 1993:755). Adopting Binder's approach, this study focussed on the latter application method by carefully studying the writer/production side of framing and by looking at the techniques, such as the elements that make up successful frames by media writers to build these linkages. Writer techniques include the trope such as used metaphors and narrative structure

employed in the frames (Binder, 1993:755). Which codes are used and which frame patterns can be found while coding the selected media coverage? Through intensely reading the articles multiple times, different frames were coded such as: satire, racism, political tension, Böhmermann's "Schmähgedicht" is offensive, "Schmähgedicht" is legal, freedom of speech etc. The step of analysing the used frames is closely connected to the former step of looking at the utterances, because these are the statements used by media writers to support their arguments. After reading and coding a certain number of articles, recognizable patterns were found and finally these frames were filtered and sorted into four main groups. While most articles included one frame, a few did not include any such as an article by Express which presented a table of the controversy's chronology and a few included more than one frame.

4 Results

4.1 Newspaper Article Coverage per Day

In the first step of the analysis, articles were counted per newspaper articles per day to gather an overview of how the media coverage evolved in the first three weeks after the poem's publication: when is the number of publications increasing and why? Figure I, describes this development graphically: the different graphs represent the articles of EX, DTN and FAZ as well as the total number of articles of all three newspapers published per day.

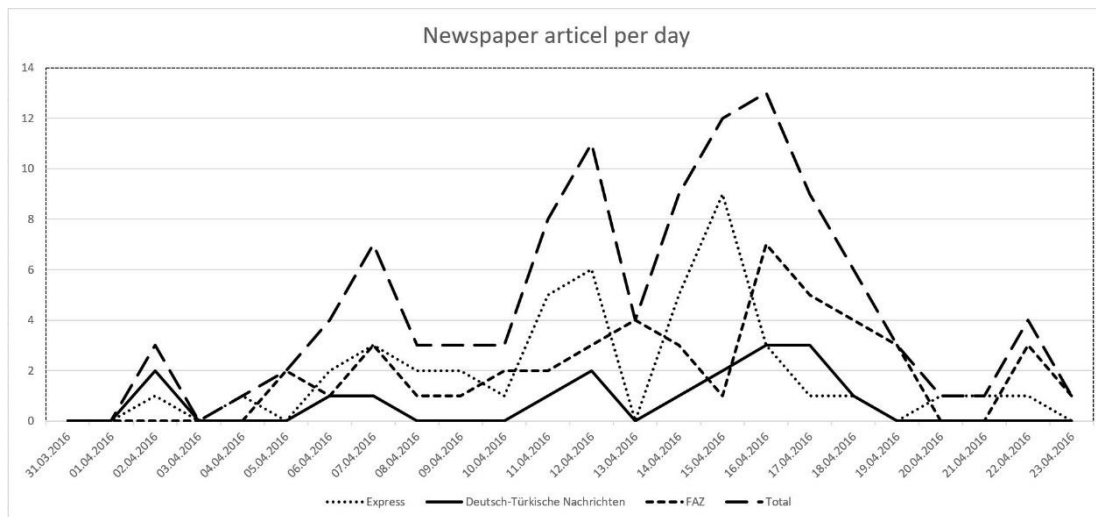


Figure I: Newspaper articles per day

Visually through the graph, three large and two smaller peaks can be observed during the investigated time-period. This first impression already confirms several theories stating that controversy makes news such as McLeod & MacKenzie (1998). The first small peak (01.04.2016-03.04.2016) can be explained easily: the episode of Böhmermann's TV-show "NEO PARADIESE ROYALE", presenting the controversial poem, was broadcasted on the 31st March in 2016, one day later the reports about it were published. The next peak evolved on April 4th, when government spokesman Steffen Seibert announced that chancellor Angela Merkel officially distanced herself from the "Erdogan-satire" and that she considers its content as "consciously hurtful". Furthermore, it was reported that the department of public prosecution began investigating the Böhmermann case. The increase in the number of published articles proves that media writers are more likely to report about conflict when political leaders are involved (Gans, 1979; Paletz, David L. & Entman, 1981; Powers & el-Nawawy, 2009). In addition, several studies were confirmed in stating the general attention increases when a legal case is included such as by Amy Binder (2016). Interestingly, the peaks are increasing even more intensely the more time passes since the initial broadcast which emphasizes the sensationalization of coverage (Thussu, 2003).

The third peak is reached on April 10th, the day when the federal government of Germany received the official announcement from Ankara that Erdogan insists on a criminal prosecution

against Böhmermann. After receiving this news, not only did politicians express their opinions openly but so did Böhmermann's colleagues, including journalists such as Matthias Döpfner, CEO of Axel Springer, one of the largest publishing houses in Germany, and others – mostly to declare their solidarity with Böhmermann and to underline the freedom of speech and press as well as the artistic freedom in Germany. Other frequently reported aspects after the announcement were speculations about how the legal case will develop as well as the description about rising political tensions between Turkey and Germany. These led to protests in Berlin as well as to increased safety precautions to the personal security of Böhmermann by the police in Cologne and updated travel warnings by the department of foreign affairs. According to Thussu (2003) reporting about these side effects, can be described as “sensationalization” which is an observed development of the mainstream press: aspects that are known to raise the audience's attention because of the shared feeling of danger and involvement. Through reporting on protests or travel warnings the audience becomes even more involved in the reported conflict, because these facts concern and affect their everyday life.

The biggest peak is reached in the graph from the 13th until the 20th April. On April 13, 2016, German chancellor Angela Merkel openly announced that she will allow the criminal prosecution of Böhmermann regarding his controversial poem despite the clear dissenting vote from the rest of the governing coalition (existing from the two leading German political parties CDU and SPD). After her statement, not only the national but also the international press highly criticized her decision. As expected, many politicians challenged her decision and accused her of subjection towards Erdogan, a man who actively fights against the freedom of speech and press in his country (Herten, 2016). This opinion was, amongst others, shared by Sevim Dagdelen (Die Linke), member of the Bundestag and spokesperson for International relations: “Merkel sacrifices the freedom of press and fundamental law in Germany for Erdogan's delusional prosecution. More than 1800 libel suits were initiated by the Turkish head of state. Thanks to Merkel's vote, he also receives more power in Germany now.”² Many accused her vote as attempt to save the deal between the two countries, as a resolution to the flow of refugees, which was closed shortly before the controversy. This development proves again what Paletz and Entman (1981) found about how media writers operate: mainstream media often focuses on conflicts and controversies involving prominent leaders. Every significant peak in the discourse is related to a politician, first and foremost the German chancellor, announcing an official statement.

The final peak occurred between the 21st and the 23rd April when Angela Merkel announced at a press conference that she made a mistake by publicly judging the poem as “consciously hurtful”, not because she changed her mind but because it does not belong into her

² „Merkel opfert Pressefreiheit und Grundgesetz in Deutschland dem Strafverfolgungswahn Erdogans. Mehr als 1800 Beleidigungsklagen hat der türkische Staatschef in seinem Land bereits angestrengt. Dank Merkels Votum kann er jetzt auch in Deutschland besser zuschlagen.“(Herten, 2016).

line of action. Judging a legal case is only the task and duty of the judiciary in a constitutional state, therefore she justified her decision to allow the prosecution. Furthermore, she accentuated the importance of freedom of speech and press in Germany and argued that her decision is to separate from the “Turkey-deal”, which was arranged shortly before the conflict regarding the refugee difficulty. After the 22nd April of 2016, the media coverage of the case decreased, but infrequently articles were published until February 10th, in 2017, because of the proclamation of the sentence: according to the judge, parts of the controversial poem are officially forbidden.

4.2 Speakers and Utterances

After counting the published articles per newspaper and per day, the secondary units of analysis – speakers and utterances - were collected by using the coding program Atlas TI. Table III represents the number of articles, speakers and utterances, both per newspaper as well as in total. The speakers were coded per article, which means that the total number of 251 not necessary represents 251 *different* people, but shows that as many *speakers* were mentioned in total.

An utterance was coded when a statement by a speaker was quoted or transcribed. Since journalists are the ones constructing articles, the utterances were sometimes separated into different short paragraphs – this explains why the total number of utterances (338) is considerably larger than the total number of speakers (251). The largest number of speakers was coded in the articles of Express, which will be explained in detail later on by looking into the different occupation groups of speakers. Although Express and FAZ published nearly the same number of articles in the investigated time frame, which are of relevance of this topic, the FAZ only mentioned 85 speakers. Deutsch Türkische Nachrichten only published 17 articles, but referred to 62 speakers while reporting about the Erdogan-satire. All in all, the case was more important for the mainstream press (DTN and EX) proportionately to the number of all publications than it was for more prestigious paper FAZ.

Table I: Units of analysis

Newspaper	Articles	Speakers	Utterances
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)	44	85	116
Express (EX)	45	104	149
Deutsch-Türkische Nachrichten (DTN)	17	62	73
Totals	106	251	338

hierarchy existing within the occupation groups. Not every citizen with a political occupation is considered equally important and possesses the same power to speak out publicly as well as being heard. In addition, it was not surprising to find more German politicians quoted in the reports because the debate was surrounding the freedom of speech and expression in Germany and the legal case was occurring there. All in all, 152 *different* speakers were mentioned in the newspaper articles reporting about the discourse.

The FAZ, EX and DTN were selected as a diverse representative sample for the newspaper landscape in Germany. One of the study’s main goals was to find out if the (small) ideological differences and the different formats are mirrored in the quoted and mentioned people (speaker) in the articles. Therefore, the occupation of the different speakers was investigated per newspaper as well as in total. The findings are presented in Table II.

With a total number of 105, which adds up to 42% of all speakers, by far the largest occupation group is “Politicians”. As explicated before, the reader has to keep in mind that this number does not mean 105 different politicians were counted, but as many quoted speakers belonging to this occupation group. 56 *different* politicians were given a voice in the conflict coverage, the distinct majority with German nationality. The politician group is followed by the number of named journalists, including media, radio and television, with a count of 37 (15%). The four groups of satirists, newspapers (national as well as international), lawyers and citizens lie close together with numbers ranging from 21-28 (8,3-11%). Whereas the group “Others” including Athletes (2), Authors (2) and Police (3) remains relatively small with a percental distribution of 3%.

Table II: Groups of Occupations, Absolute Counts and Percental Distribution

	Citizens	Journalists	Lawyers	Newspapers	Politicians	Satirists	Others
FAZ	1	14	9	4	45	10	2
EX	20	14	13	6	30	17	4
DTN	0	9	4	17	30	1	1
Totals	21 (8,3%)	37 (15%)	26 (10%)	27 (10,7%)	105 (42%)	28 (11%)	7 (3%)

This distribution of different occupation groups is to explain through the reports primarily focussing on the debate whether the controversial poem can be considered as Satire, an art form, or if it is merely insulting a leader of a foreign country. Furthermore, the penal consequences of the satiric poem for Böhmermann as well as for the relation between Germany and Turkey were

described. Consequently, the statements of politicians, journalists, lawyers and Böhmermann's colleagues are the most relevant to substantiate the media reports.

4.4 Differences Between the Papers

Although the general distribution of occupation groups of quoted speakers is relatively similar in all three papers, there are still some differences. While the prestigious paper FAZ mostly quoted politicians, journalists and lawyers, the tabloid newspaper Express, known for its rather lurid headlines, also included numerous statements by the general public, including mostly German but also Turkish speakers, or socialites such as football player Lukas Podolski – represented under the occupation group “Athlete” (in Table III under “Others”). The main reason for including Podolski's statement in the article is him residing in the same city as both Böhmermann and the publishing house of Express. Lukas Podolski was the star of the city's football team for a long time, becoming an international player and currently playing for a Turkish team. Podolski's statement on social media was rather in favour of Erdogan by saying it is the satirist's own fault because always ridiculing other people leads to taking the responsibility and consequences for it (“Erdogan-Streit: Jetzt schießt auch Lukas Podolski gegen Jan Böhmermann! | Express.de,” 2016). The two are also related through a past: a couple of years ago, Böhmermann published a weekly radio broadcast called “Lukas's diary”, where he satirised the football player. Podolski even pressed charges against Böhmermann, but without success. Quoting the athlete as uninvolved but biased third is a typical example for the usual news coverage of the tabloid press.

Another difference is that DTN included more international voices than the other two papers, notably regarding to newspapers (17) such as statements by the Turkish papers Bir Gün, Sabah and Anadolu as well as other international newspapers like The Guardian or the Washington Post. Indeed, the mixed nationalities of the paper's audience as well as the Turkish origin of one of the paper's authors (Yasin Bas) can explain influencing the reports.

Altogether, existing precognitions (and prejudices) regarding the ideological differences of the three papers were partly confirmed. For instance, the prestigious newspaper FAZ referring to the opinion of the involved parties, in the present case, predominantly Böhmermann's colleagues from satire and journalism, leading political figures, as well as responsible lawyers. Furthermore, the conservative orientation was noticeable through rather judging the poem as frivolous, exaggerated and insulting than legitimate satiric criticism as well as questioning the artistic value of the satirist. Whereas the tendency of reporting by Express, which belongs to the tabloid press and therefore also possesses a different audience, typically comprised of working class and lower-educated citizens, seemed to support Böhmermann's doings more in terms of artistic freedom. Expectedly, Express also included various voices belonging to the general public (20) or other groups (4), that do not necessarily belong to the experts in their ability to judge politics or juridical matters. In summary, it seems that Express focuses on writing for the audience and what receives the most attention – this observation aligns with the term of sensationalizing

complex stories and underlining the entertaining details of news (Thussu, 2003:117; Powers & el-Nawawy, 2008:267). Online press coverage of recent conflicting events seems to often target particular groups of people, relying on cultural conventions and political as well as historical myths in contextualizing international events, rather than speaking to and informing a multiplicity of audiences (Powers & el-Nawawy, 2009:267). In addition, Express also includes numerous statements by the general public to highlight itself as their representative. This finding and interpretation emphasizes the post-factual manner of coverage: not the content itself is the most important, but what the people think about it (Ettema, 2009).

In contrast, DTN stayed relatively neutral in reporting besides quoting the Turkish voices by politicians and newspapers, which were clearly critical. However, in general, the focus lied on reporting about the legal case and about the international reaction rather than on sensational aspects of the controversy such as protest, police protection. Only the tabloid press informed about reactions by socialites or low class comedians writing supportive songs (“Nach Jan Böhmermann: Jetzt singt auch Didi Hallervorden gegen Erdogan | Express.de,” 2016).

4.5 Frames

Frames and frameworks are categories of interpretation that help individuals in the readership to identify and label events they have experienced directly or indirectly (Binder, 2016; Snow et al., 2016). Media writers use frames to selectively represent certain elements of their stories – the present study observed which frames were used by media writers working for FAZ, EX and DTN to describe the cultural conflict of the Böhmermann/Erdogan case including the transnational debate, protests and penal consequences. In 106 articles, the results revealed that the media writers used 10 different frames, which can be sorted into four main frame groups: (1) Schmähhkritik = Satire, (2) Schmähhkritik = Offensive, (3) Political and Penal Consequences and (4) Reasons for Certain Acts and Decisions during the Debate. All in all, 93 frame uses were identified. In the discourse surrounding the controversial satiric poem in 2016, media writers in the mainstream press invoked different frames such as *freedom of speech*, *crossing borders* and *prevention of political tensions* to address the different stands in the discourse about the controversial satire being harmful and offensive or not. They constructed images of two clashing cultures regarding legislations, power, politics and beliefs to raise awareness of different aspects of the discourse. In doing so, they called upon present issues like the already tense subliminal atmosphere between the two countries, which even increased through Böhmermann’s ”Schmähhkritik”, to demonstrate the detrimental effects of these objects on their audiences and on society as a whole. These frames were most powerful when they addressed the stated or unstated concerns of readers as well as (political) participants and tapped into their audience’s understandings of what the two cultural groups were like.

Table III: Frame groups, Percentage Distribution of Total Frames and Number of Frame uses

	Frame group 1	Frame group 2	Frame group 3	Frame group 4	Total
FAZ					
<i>Number of Frames</i>	13	7	9	9	38
<i>Percentage of total Frames</i>	(34%)	(18%)	(24%)	(24%)	
EX					
<i>Number of Frames</i>	18	6	8	5	37
<i>Percentage of total Frames</i>	(49%)	(16%)	(22%)	(14%)	
DTN					
<i>Number of Frames</i>	4	6	3	5	18
<i>Percentage of total Frames</i>	(22%)	(33%)	(17%)	(18%)	
Total					
<i>Number of Frames</i>	35	19	20	19	93
<i>Percentage of total Frames</i>	(38%)	(20%)	(22%)	(20%)	(100%)

The first two groups (Table V, VI) describe a frame and a counter frame group representing the two main stands in the discourse: while the first include arguments demonstrating that Jan Böhmermann’s “Schmähkritik” is satire, the second (counter) group concentrates arguments underlining that his poem cannot be considered as satire, an art form. The third group (Table VII) gathers descriptions of the political and penal consequences of the controversy, while the final group (Table VIII) includes arguments explaining reasons for acts by certain participants during the debate.

All in all, 93 frame uses were found, most of them with arguments belonging to frame group 1 with an absolute counting of 35, which adds up to a percental share of 38% regarding to all frames. Followed by the number of articles describing the penal and political consequences (22%), the counter group arguing that Böhmermann’s poem cannot not be considered satire (20%) and the equal share of frames explaining certain acts and decisions by main actors of the controversy, were found. While in online articles by FAZ (34%) and EX (49%) most frames belonging to frame group 1, which gathers arguments supporting Böhmermann’s stand in the discourse, DTN media writers used more frames, belonging to counter group 2 (33%), to shape their articles. Media writers are likely to adapt and shape their media coverage to their target audience, while FAZ and EX reach a German readership, DTN also addresses Germans with Turkish roots. Consequently, this finding is might to explain through DTN media writers remaining more critical towards Böhmermann in the present case. In some articles, no frames were found at all, such as in short updates about recent events or announcements like Böhmermann explaining the temporary intermission of his show because of the tense situation or in articles neutrally reporting the chronology of the discourse.

While table III presents how often frames of frame groups 1-4 were revealed in the analysis by each newspaper with regard to the total number of frames, Table IV describes the

different frames in detail and the number of how often they are used per newspaper and in total. Both tables include the absolute number of how often a frame group was mentioned (Table III) or one particular frame such as *freedom of speech* was found (Table IV), as well as the relative number regarding the total number of frames.

Table IV: Frames, Number of Frames, percental distributions per newspaper and in total

Frame	FAZ	Express	DTN	Total
Freedom of Speech				
<i>Number of Frames</i>	5	8	4	17
<i>Percentage of all Frames</i>	(13%)	(22%)	(21%)	(18%)
Legitimate Satire				
<i>Number of Frames</i>	7	5	0	12
<i>Percentage of all Frames</i>	(18%)	(14%)	(0%)	(13%)
Artistic Freedom				
<i>Number of Frames</i>	1	5	0	6
<i>Percentage of all Frames</i>	(3%)	(14%)	(0%)	(6%)
Offense				
<i>Number of Frames</i>	2	4	4	10
<i>Percentage of all Frames</i>	(5%)	(11%)	(21%)	(11%)
Crossing boundaries				
<i>Number of Frames</i>	5	1	0	6
<i>Percentage of all Frames</i>	(13%)	(3%)	(0%)	(6%)
Racism				
<i>Number of Frames</i>	0	1	2	3
<i>Percentage of all Frames</i>	(0)	(3%)	(11%)	(3%)
Legal case				
<i>Number of Frames</i>	6	1	0	7
<i>Percentage of all Frames</i>	(16%)	(3%)	(0%)	(8%)
Political tension				
<i>Number of Frames</i>	3	7	3	13
<i>Percentage of all Frames</i>	(8%)	(19%)	(16%)	(14%)
Prevention of political tension				
<i>Number of Frames</i>	4	1	6	11
<i>Percentage of all Frames</i>	(13%)	(3%)	(28%)	(12%)
Diverse concepts of freedom of speech				
<i>Number of Frames</i>	4	4	0	8
<i>Percentage of all Frames</i>	(11%)	(11%)	(0%)	(9%)
Total	37	37	19	93

4.6 Schmähgedicht = Satire

With a total share of 18% regarding to all frames (Table IV), the most frequent arguments made about the Böhmermann/Erdogan controversy was first introduced in the debate by an Express article on the 8th April in 2016. This argument, which is called the *freedom of speech* frame, emphasizes that in the democratic state of Germany, every citizen has the right of freedom of speech and expression and that Böhmermann therefore should be allowed to create critical satire. The article was quoting Böhmermann, one of the main actors himself, who posted a tweet addressed to Peter Altmaier, head of the Bonn chancellery, saying he wants to live in a country in which exploring the frontiers of satire is allowed, desired and can be matter of civic debate (“Um Hilfe getwittert: Jan Böhmermann schrieb Kanzleramtschef Peter Altmeier | Express.de,” 2016). A desire, which should not be subject of debate, but should be as a matter of course regarding the legislation in Germany.

Table V: Frame group 1, „Schmähhkritik“ = Satire, Number of Frames and percental distribution of total Frames

1 “Schmähhkritik” = Satire				
Newspaper	Freedom of Speech	Legitimate Satire	Artistic Freedom	Total
FAZ				
Number of Frames	5	7	1	13
Percentage of total Frames	(38%)	(54%)	(8%)	
EX				
Number of Frames	8	5	5	18
Percentage of total Frames	(44%)	(28%)	(28%)	
DTN				
Number of Frames	4	0	0	4
Percentage of total Frames	(100%)	(0%)	(0%)	
Total	17	12	6	35
Percentage of total Frames in group 1	(49%)	(34%)	(17%)	(100%)

The *freedom of speech* frame also appeared in articles published by DTN. In an article titled “Washington Post judges Merkel because of Böhmermann” (“Washington Post verurteilt Merkel wegen Böhmermann”, 14.04.2016), one author argues that international papers are criticizing the German chancellor for her subjection towards Erdogan which is not only sending a wrong signal regarding the freedom of speech in western countries, but also because it allows other countries such as China to encourage the suppression of freedom of opinion (“Böhmermann: Internationale Medien attackieren Merkel | DEUTSCH TÜRKISCHE NACHRICHTEN,” 2016). FAZ published an article on the same date, framed by the same category. The media writer used several quotations by politicians to underline the (inter)national critique of Erdogan’s prosecution because of the law enabling the freedom of speech (FAZ, “Europaparlamentarier kritisieren Erdogans Vorgehen gegen den Satiriker”, 14.04.2016). Guy Verhofstadt (ALDE) for instance

argued that Böhmermann's poem might not conform to his understanding of humour, "but in a liberal society such satirical poems have to be possible. This is the price to pay for freedom – and we're paying gladly." (Article 20, Reference list) Furthermore, the writer reports that the politician stated that the EU already handed over the "key to the gateway of Europe" through closing the deal regarding the flow of refugees and "now we further risk to hand him the key to our news departments so that he is able to control our media". This frame supporting Böhmermann's action through the reference of freedom of speech was found 17 times in the 106 articles, which adds up to 49% of the total frames of this group. Interestingly, this frame was mostly used by EX media writers (eight times) compared to the other papers, whereas FAZ included it only five and DTN four times. Although the absolute number of this frame was counted twice as much in EX articles as in DTN articles, it adds up to 22% of all frames used by EX media writers but still 21% of all frames used by DTN media writers. This finding is to explain through the diverse number of published articles of the two papers. Consequently, this frame discussing the freedom of speech argument in the discourse was considered equally important by Ex as well as DTN media writers. In comparison, only 13% of all FAZ frames represented freedom of speech.

The *Legitimate Satire* frame is related to arguments stating that Böhmermann's controversial poem was legal in terms of the German legislation. By using this frame, media writers refer amongst others to the framework condition in which the poem was presented. The frame was found 12 times in the observed articles, which adds up to 13% of all frames. It was identified seven times in articles by FAZ (18% of all FAZ frames) and five times in articles by EX (14% of all Ex frames), whereas it was not found in any article published by DTN. One argument representing this frame was introduced by a writer from FAZ on April 6th accentuating the basic condition of Böhmermann's presentation, which makes the poem legitimate:

As the case may be, satire comes along with being consciously offensive. Böhmermann identified his poem as satire. He explicitly displayed his Erdogan-poem as 'abusive criticism'. Thereby, a meta level was reached: the invective itself, its essence and form became the subject of discussion. Böhmermann wanted to demonstrate how one creates such an abusive criticism.³

This quotation originated from an opinion piece by a journalist working for FAZ. While the argument primarily describes an aspect to consider in judging if the poem is legitimate satire,

³ „Aber das hat Satire nun mal so an sich, dass sie gegebenenfalls auch bewusst verletzt. Und als Satire hat Böhmermann seinen Fernsehbeitrag über Erdogan kenntlich gemacht. Er wies sein Gedicht ausdrücklich als "Schmätkritik" aus. Damit war eine Metaebene erreicht: Die Schmäkung selbst, ihr Wesen und ihre Form, wurde zum Thema. Böhmermann wollte demonstrieren, wie man so eine Schmätkritik anfertigt.“ (Article No. 6, See Reference List)

another article (FAZ, April 15th) used the same frame but announced the official juridical evaluation by ZDF's law department:

Nevertheless, the ZDF finds that the discussed sequence of Böhmermann's show, including the so called 'Schmähgedicht', was legally acceptable and consequently no frontiers to criminal liability have been crossed. Especially regarding issues of public interest, the general guaranteed freedom of satire includes the use of rough stylistic devices (...) The satiric input's form and content does not aim to the libel of the Turkish president but intends to cause critical debate about these topics', writes the ZDF. Thereby, it defends the freedom of speech, expression and press regarding the Böhmermann case, but exercises itself in not rendering homage of the input itself. ⁴

This finding is to relate to the result of the FAZ quoting a large number of lawyers: the prestigious paper does not rely on statements by the general public like Express, but primarily on official statements by professionals who are rather able to assess the situation as well as experienced journalists working for the paper. With a conservative ideology, the topic of law and order is predominantly present in the observed articles by FAZ. In contrast, by including several statements of laymen, the coverage of EX rather transforms into a debate of civil right and liberty.

Artistic freedom was a third theme that emerged around the time when Erdogan claimed the prosecution of Böhmermann. This frame highlights the right of artistic freedom, which is of course highly individual. It was only used by authors of FAZ articles once (3% of all FAZ frames) but five times by EX authors (14% of all EX frames) – mostly in the context of Böhmermann's colleagues demonstrating their solidarity with the satirist and protesting against restrictions of the general freedom of artistic expression. An example for this frame is the article (EX, April 11; See Reference List, Article No.57), which amongst others entails the following quote by Turkish-German comedian Serdar Somuncu: "The artist owns the right to decide on her/his own with which means he or she practices satire." ("Es ist das Recht der Künstler, dass er selbst entscheidet, mit welchem Mitteln er Satire betreibt") The frames *freedom of speech* (8) and *artistic freedom* (2) received, compared to the other two papers, the highest rate in Express articles, adding up to 36% of all frame uses found in EX articles. This finding is probably related to the most frequently quoted particular occupation group: with a number of 17 speakers being satirists, which unanimously supported Böhmermann's doings. In addition, the patterns of the

⁴ „Gleichwohl ist das ZDF der Ansicht, dass die in Rede stehende Sequenz von Böhmermanns Magazin einschließlich des sogenannten ‚Schmähgedichts‘ rechtlich zulässig war und daher die Grenzen zur Strafbarkeit nicht überschritten worden sind. (...) Die ‚grundgesetzlich garantierte Satirefreiheit‘, so das ZDF, umfasse gerade im Zusammenhang mit Angelegenheiten von öffentlichem Interesse auch den Einsatz grober Stilmittel (...) Form und Inhalt des satirischen Beitrags zielten nicht auf eine Ehrverletzung des türkischen Staatspräsidenten, sondern bezweckten die kritische Auseinandersetzung mit diesen Themen, schreibt das ZDF. Und übt sich solchermaßen in der Kunst, die Presse- und Satirefreiheit im Fall Böhmermann zu verteidigen, dem Beitrag selbst aber nicht zu huldigen.“ (Article No.22, See Reference List).

tabloid paper become visible: in comparison to the other two papers, EX includes voices belonging to other occupation groups such as comedians and the general public.

4.7 Counter-group

The second (counter) frame group entails three themes as well: *offense*, *crossing boundaries* and *racism*. With a total number of 10 times the first frame *offense* was used, 4 times by EX (11% of total frame uses by Ex) and DTN (21%) and twice by FAZ (5%). Although the same absolute rate of frame uses counted in EX and DTN articles, the relative number of *offense* uses in DTN articles adds up to almost twice as much regarding all frames. Consequently, DTN media writers considered this frame and the arguments coming with it as relatively important.

Table VI: Frame group 2, „Schmähhkritik“ is Offensive, Number of Frames and percental distribution of all Frames

Frame group 2: “Schmähhkritik” = Offensive				
Newspaper	Offense	Crossing boundaries	Racism	Total
FAZ				
Number of Frames	2	5	0	7
Percentage of all Frames	(29%)	(71%)	(0%)	
EX				
Number of Frames	4	1	1	6
Percentage of all Frames	(67%)	(17%)	(17%)	
DTN				
Number of Frames	4	0	2	6
Percentage of all Frames	(67%)	(0%)	(33%)	
Total	10	6	3	19
Percentage of total Frames of group 2	(53%)	(32%)	(15%)	(100%)

The *offense* frame was found early on (April 2nd) by EX and DTN writers connected to not only Turkish newspapers’ utterances, but also to statements by German chancellor Angela Merkel. This frame mainly represents first reactions and evaluations by politicians or media writers themselves. The EX article referred to a quotation by Merkel during a telephone call with Turkish prime minister Ahmet Davutoglu, which was variously mentioned in the discourse reports, stating the content of the poem was “consciously hurtful” (“bewusst verletzend”). Furthermore, she pointed to the deletion by ZDF of the initiated episode of Böhmermann’s show for the same reason. DTN primarily represented indignant voices by Turkish newspapers fitting into the frame supporting the writer’s stand towards the debate. One writer, for one thing, highly criticized the ZDF for not recognizing the inappropriate content before publishing because the poem’s “artistic

level did not exceed the quality of relevant offenses of German-Turkish bulletin boards”.⁵ As Binder (2016) argues, the power of these frames derives from the referent images they evoke. Articles in which the *offense* frame appeared, often referred to the writer’s own background such as the Turkish author Yas Basin, working for DTN, who might be more involved or offended by the cause of the discourse through his nationality. But also, FAZ writers used arguments supporting the category representing the rather conservative bias of the paper. The following example was observed in an article, which was published on the 14th April arguing that Erdogan’s questionable beliefs cannot be a justification to insult him: “Unfortunately, the Turkish president Erdogan does not represent an ideal encouraging the respect of democratic maxim and civic laws of freedom. But that should not be a reason to insult him in such a contrarious manner.”⁶

The *crossing boundaries* frame includes arguments discussing what can be considered legitimate satire and when the artistic boundaries stop. Regarding to the case, it emphasizes that even satire has its boundaries in the western world, which were clearly crossed by Böhmermann’s poem. Like *offense*, the *crossing boundaries* theme was also first established very early in the debate, when Express reported on what happened during the initial broadcast (Neo Paradise Royale, March 31) and ZDF’s reaction about the poem. With a sub-heading “The difference between allowed and forbidden” (“Unterschied zwischen erlaubt and unerlaubt”), the media writer added the following official statement by ZDF program director Nobert Himmler about deleting the episode from the channel’s online media center:

We are famous for providing our satire formats as well as the protagonist’s large clearances. But there are frontiers of irony and satire. In this case, they were clearly crossed. Therefore, we decided, in agreement with Jan Böhmermann, to delete the sequence from the broadcast. This concerns the video in the online media center, clips on Youtube as well as repetitions.⁷

While this theme was identified five times in FAZ articles, which adds up to 13% of all frames used by FAZ, it presents only 3% (1) of all frames used by EX authors.

The third and final frame of the second group, *Racism*, is closely related to the two frames mentioned before. It gathers arguments stating that Böhmermann created a racist poem. It was found 3 times in total: twice in articles by DTN and in one EX article. Although the absolute number of two appears like a low rate, this adds up to 11% of all used frames in DTN articles.

⁵ „Das künstlerische Niveau ging nicht über die Qualität einschlägiger Beschimpfungen auf deutsch-türkischen Foren hinaus“ (“Erdogan-Satire: Das ZDF verblödet die ernste Lage in der Türkei | DEUTSCH TÜRKISCHE NACHRICHTEN,” 2016).

⁶ „Leider ist der türkische Staatspräsident Erdogan nicht von der Art, dass er als Vorbild für die Respektierung demokratischer Maximen und bürgerlicher Freiheitsrechte taugte. Doch selbst das darf kein Grund sein, ihn auf widerwärtigste Weise zu beleidigen.“ („Freiheit“, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 4/2016, No.87, p.8).

⁷ “Wir sind bekannt dafür, dass wir bei unseren Satire-Formaten breite Schultern haben und den Protagonisten große Freiräume geben. Aber es gibt auch Grenzen der Ironie und der Satire. In diesem Fall wurden sie klar überschritten. Deshalb haben wir in Absprache mit Jan Böhmermann entschlossen, die Passage aus der Sendung herauszunehmen. Das betrifft das Sendungsvideo aus der Mediathek, Clips auf Youtube, sowie Wiederholungen.“

The utterances used to support this argument originated only from speakers with a Turkish nationality. It was inserted on April 2nd for the first time, in an article published by DTN under the section “agitation and racism” quoting pro-government newspapers such as Haber7 with headings including keywords like “Turkophobie” (strong antipathy towards people with the Turkish nationality) as well as the official statement of Turkish ambassador Hüseyin Avni Karslioglu:

This case has nothing to do with freedom of press or opinion, but it is situated in the abyss of disagreeableness and clearly crosses the frontiers into racism. This is not dealing with tolerance or criticism. The whole Turkish population is targeted. Nobody should emerge and state that only one politician and not the whole nation is targeted.⁸

This quote clearly demonstrates that there are distinct differences between Turkey’s and Germany’s concepts of freedom of press and opinion. These differences are likely to clash when it comes to transnational debate and can easily lead to an interpretation of discrimination against minorities. As mentioned before, Binder (2016) argues that frames can be especially powerful when they evoke referent images. Arguments which included the *racism* frame were only used by Turkish speakers, who want to highlight the unequal treatment of the minority they belong to. Thereby, they might want to convince more people with the same background for support by relating to a shared displeasing memory or feeling. Furthermore, as already mentioned before, a large number of people, with Turkish roots lives in Germany, the integration into society remains to be a challenge in some cases – amongst others because many Turkish people uphold their conservative beliefs and support a populist leader like Erdogan although living in and enjoying the benefits of a democratic state. Furthermore, this frame shows that particularly when it comes to the coverage of international conflict, the “balkanized” process of media globalization has the potential to make international conflicts more difficult to resolve or may even causing of international cultural conflict (Powers & el-Nawawy, 2009). In the present case, not only the clashing concepts of freedom of speech were causing the conflict, but also the fact that most of the international audience only watched or read about the controversial extract of Böhmermann’s show without his introducing explanation that he will now present a poem which would be considered as “abusive criticism” and therefore is not allowed in Germany. Consequently, the case proves the dangerous potential of mass media and the development towards separated global news media causing the feeling of offense and confirmation of racist embossment of German citizens towards the minority culture of Turkey.

⁸ „Diese Sache hat nichts mit Presse- oder Meinungsfreiheit zu tun, sondern befindet sich im Abgrund der Widerwärtigkeit und geht sogar über die Grenzen des Rassismus. Das ist keine Frage der Toleranz oder der Kritik. Hier wird auf dies gesamte türkische Bevölkerung abgezielt. Niemand soll hier auftreten und sagen, dass ein Politiker und nicht ein ganzes Volk im Visier ist.“ (“Türkei empört: „Hässlicher Angriff auf Erdogan im deutschen Staatsfernsehen“ | DEUTSCH TÜRKISCHE NACHRICHTEN,” 2016).

4.8 Political and Penal Consequences

The third frame group entails the following themes: *legal case* and *political tension*. In contrast, these frames do not represent arguments of both of the main stands in the debate, but describe the general penal and political consequences.

Table VII: Frame group 3, Consequences, Number of Frames and Percental Distribution

Frame group 3: Consequences			
Newspaper	Legal case	Political tension	Total
FAZ			
<i>Number of Frames</i>	6	3	9
<i>Percentage of all Frames</i>	(67%)	(33%)	
EX			
<i>Number of Frames</i>	1	7	8
<i>Percentage of all Frames</i>	(13%)	(88%)	
DTN			
<i>Number of Frames</i>	0	3	3
<i>Percentage of all Frames</i>	(0%)	(100%)	
Total	7	13	20
<i>Percentage of total Frames of group 3</i>	(35%)	(65%)	(100%)

With a total frequency of 7 (8% of total frames uses), the *legal case* frame was used - most frequently by media writers of the FAZ with the absolute count of six (16% of total FAZ frame uses) and only once in EX articles. This theme is mostly connected with neutral reports about the newest update regarding Böhmermann's prosecution. Interestingly, this finding underlines again the diverse selection of newspapers, because the most prestigious paper frames its articles distinctly more often with legal matters compared to the other two. With a share of 16% regarding to the total frame uses by FAZ, this adds up to the second most frequently applied frame after *legitimate satire* (18%) by FAZ authors.

Whereas, the *political tension* frame with a more sensational pattern, was used more often by Express (19%) or DTN (16%) media writers, which could rather be described as the mainstream press. As Thussu (2003) argues this is a consequence of the continuous demand for news in an environment that is dominated by 24/7 satellite television, which has led to the sensationalizing and trivializing of complex stories as well as the attempt to highlight only the entertainment value of news (p. 117; Powers & el-Nawawy, 2008:267). This applies for several online articles by Express - rather than speaking to and informing a multiplicity of audiences by targeting particular groups of people, the articles framed with the *political tensions* frame describe

protest or safety precautions by the police conveying an impression of danger and possible riots. Regarding to the total frame uses of all three papers, the relative number amounts to 14%.

In an article (EX, April 12), written by Oliver Meyer, it is stated that Böhmermann is protected around the clock and further it is implied that the TV host could become the victim of an attack by Erdogan supporters, for instance through an explosive package via mail (Meyer, 2016).⁹ These side effects of the controversy clearly do not affect the debate or the legal case, but they are exciting to read about and raise the attention of a particular audience. Similar information, which is not related to the discourse, is stated not only in one, but in three Express articles.

4.9 Reasons for Certain Acts and Decisions during the Controversy

The last frame group gathers arguments explaining which clashing values led to the discourse in the first place. Furthermore, arguments interpreting the background of acts by particular participants are included in this group as well.

Table VIII: Frame group 4: Reasons for Certain Acts, Number of Frames and Percental Distribution

Frame group 4: Reasons for certain acts and decisions during the Controversy			
Newspaper	Prevention of political tension/ Turkey-deal	Diverse concepts of freedom of speech	Total
FAZ			
<i>Number of Frames</i>	5	4	9
<i>Percentage of all Frames</i>	(56%)	(44%)	
EX			
<i>Number of Frames</i>	1	4	5
<i>Percentage of all Frames</i>	(20%)	(80%)	
DTN			
<i>Number of Frames</i>	5	0	5
<i>Percentage of all Frames</i>	(100%)	(0%)	
Total			
<i>Percentage of total Frames of group 4</i>	11 (58%)	8 (42%)	19

The *prevention of political tensions (Turkey deal)* frame was introduced later on in the discourse when different actors attempted to make sense amongst others of Merkel's behavior and decisions. Most of the involved arguments state that Merkel behaved in the way she did to prevent further political tension and save the deal with Turkey which was closed shortly before the controversy. In total, this theme was identified 11 times, six times in articles of DTN (28%), four times in FAZ (13%) and only once in EX (3%). With a share of 28% regarding to all frames used

⁹ „Ein Polizeisprecher bestätigte unserer Zeitung, dass Böhmermann nun 'rund um die Uhr' bewacht werde. Ein Streifenwagen steht jetzt ständig vor seiner Wohnung, da man zum jetzigen Zeitpunkt nicht ausschließen könne, dass der Satiriker und TV-Moderator Opfer eines Angriffs wird. (...) Neben dem Schutz wird auch ab sofort seine Post überprüft, wie wir erfuhren. Damit wolle man verhindern, dass ihn ein Sprengsatz in einem Kuvert erreicht.“ (Meyer, 2016).

by DTN, the *prevention of political tensions (Turkey deal)* frame was considered the most important argument in the DTN coverage as it represents the largest share regarding to the other frames.

Despite the unequal distribution of using this frame, the media writers of the different papers connected it to the same correlation. First, the chancellor was highly criticized by different speakers in saying Merkel sacrificed the freedom of speech and press to save the Turkey-deal, but later on, there was a notable shift in the pattern of this frame. Media writers as well as a few politicians realized that the controversy is centered around considerably more than a debatable poem and artistic freedom – the chancellor’s decision was not only influenced by domestic politics but especially by foreign affairs. An example of this development is the article “Right” (FAZ, April 16; See No. 23 in Reference List), written by Bernd Kohler, whose title is targeted at Merkel’s decision. In Kohler’s opinion it is important to take the “important, adequate relationship between Germany and Turkey“ into account. That is why Merkel referred to the partnership of NATO and to the many people with Turkish roots in Germany in her official statement. Consequently, the frame pattern shifted from a rather negatively stressed, supported by many politicians’ statements, to a more positive and understanding tendency on the part of the media writers.

The last theme is called *clashing concepts of freedom of speech*, which describes the primary reason causing the discourse. Although Germany as well as Turkey claim to be democratic states, the legislation in the two countries differs strongly. Particularly when it comes to regulations of freedom of press, opinion and expression, Turkey’s restrictions are rather disputable. The development to stricter interference of the press, which began with the imprisonment of various journalists, is likely to increase through the recent vote for the referendum on April 16th 2017, which makes president Erdogan even more powerful regarding the country’s judiciary.

The frame was found six times in total, equally often in articles by FAZ (11%) and Express (11%). It gathers arguments demonstrating how the concepts of freedom of speech and press differentiate in the two concerned countries, which (allegedly) follow democratic legislations. This theme was first identified in two articles published by Express, including utterances by a Turkish journalist as well as a German politician. The first article (April 12th) reported on an incident in Cologne: a Turkish journalist from the pro-government newspaper “A Haber” positioned himself in front of a ZDF building to report on site without permission. Consequently, he was asked to leave whereon he became upset, saying: “Have a look, how the freedom of press is treated in Germany. You are insulting and offending Turkey, our president

and our people and are standing in front of us now in the most impolite way”.¹⁰ Not only does this quotation emphasize again that not many Turkish people or other people abroad watched the entire broadcast of „Neo Paradise Royale“, but only know the content of the “Schmähgedicht” itself. Furthermore, it demonstrates that not only the concept of freedom of opinion but also the forms of satire in the two countries differentiate.

Three days later, an article interviewing local politician Elfi-Scho Antwerpens (SPD) is published, where she implies that she expects an evident position from the federal government, especially when the president of a country, where the freedom of press is massively restricted, questions and contests the high standard of freedom of press in Germany.¹¹ Media writer Michael Hanfeld even goes one step further by using the same frame. He argues that Erdogan only waited for an opportunity to contest the freedom of press in Germany and gain power beyond the borders of his country – as generally known, he arbitrary proceeds against the freedom of press by leading various law suits because of alleged libel in his own country. After being unsuccessful in suing the satirists of Extra3, he might be able to succeed because of paragraph 103 in the penal code, which forbids the offence of a foreign country’s leader.

Furthermore, another FAZ article announced on the April 23rd that the Netherlands protested against Turkey’s involvement in freedom of speech in their country, relating to an invocation by Turkish consulate to report any forms of offenses or libels against the Turkish president (See Reference List; Article No.44). The conservative FAZ performs a thematic shift in messaging the reader implicitly through the frame to be aware that the controversy and the clashing concepts of freedom of speech and opinion led to more than only a debate and that the proceedings and involvements by Erdogan should be observed regarding the protection of important laws and values in Germany.

¹⁰ „Seht, wie die Pressefreiheit in Deutschland einzuordnen ist. Sie beleidigen und beschimpfen die Türkei, unseren Präsidenten, unser Volk und stehen hier nun vor uns auf unhöflichste Art und Weise!“, (“Türkei-Eklat: So berichtet das türkische Fernsehen über die Böhmermann-Affäre um Jan Böhmermann | Express.de,” 2016).

¹¹ (“Insbesondere wenn der Präsident eines Landes, in dem die Pressefreiheit massiv angegriffen werde, fordere den hohen Standard der Pressefreiheit in Deutschland zu beschneiden, erwarte sie eine eindeutige Haltung der Regierung.”) (“Fall Böhmermann! Elfi Scho-Antwerpes: „Ich verurteile Merkels Entscheidung zutiefst“ | Express.de,” 2016).

5 Conclusion

5.1 Findings

The research explored how German online articles represent cultural conflicts caused by satiric art. By analyzing media coverage reporting about the controversy in 2016, caused by the poem of German satirist Jan Böhmermann about Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdogan, this research investigated which aspects of the conflict are reported, which speakers are given a voice in the debate and which frames are used to generally organize and influence this representation. The findings expand on the sociological research of the active impact of media writers to represent cultural controversies, which focused in the past on discourse occurring within one country, mainly in the US. By including certain aspects and speakers in using specific frames while excluding others, this study argues that online newspaper articles represent the writer's stories. By focusing on three main aspects, this research revealed which elements are considered the most important by media writers to select in their coverage.

First, by looking at the online article publications per day to receive an overview about the general development of media coverage, three remarkable peaks were visible in the first three weeks after the broadcast. During the analyzed time-period reports about first reactions by the main actor (Böhmermann) himself as well as official spokesperson of the "victim" (Erdogan), such as the demand for the legal prosecution, were published. Followed by Angela Merkel commenting on the controversy, clashing opinions about freedom of speech as well as speculations about the legal case and descriptions of political tensions were reported. The peaks during the selected time range were always related to a statement given by a politician. These findings confirmed several theoretic approaches arguing the involvement of political leaders causing an increased media attention such as the theory by Powers and El-Nawawy (2009).

Second, the research focused on the different speakers and utterances in the discourse. The distinct majority of speakers belonged to the occupation group of politicians with 42% regarding to all speakers. These findings emphasized an existing hierarchy which determines whose voice is worthy of being heard and reported. Some articles only included utterances by a single politician for example which stresses the speaker's importance. Notably more leading German politicians were given a voice in the debate and rather less Turkish politicians – explainable through this research's focus on observing German papers but also through the debate and legal case occurring within the country. Individuals from other occupation groups such as Jan Böhmermann or Norbert Himmler (ZDF) were frequently mentioned because of their respective involvements as main actor of the controversy and main guarantor for the broadcasting of the initial TV show. In the light of fact that Angela Merkel was the most frequently quoted speaker in the discourse coverage, as well as the politicians being the largest occupation group, one can observe the debate about satire transforming into an affair of state. Altogether, politicians, journalists and lawyers are predominantly given a voice in the debate.

Third, by looking at the frames used by the media writers, the focus of the online articles was primarily directed towards reporting about the two main stands of the discourse itself. With adding up to a percental rate of 58% regarding to all frame uses as well as the penal and political consequences following the controversy adding up to 22%. This study's findings are aligned with Binder (2016) in arguing that media writers use frames selectively to represent the stories they tell in reporting on cultural conflicts. They choose from a set of social-cultural images fitting the case, to make their accounts convincing, compelling, and familiar to themselves and their audiences. These emerging frame patterns can vary from newspaper to newspaper, not only because of ideological differences but because of targeting different audience groups. With shares of 34% and 49%, FAZ and EX most frequently used frames emphasizing that Böhmermann's poem can be considered as satire especially in terms of Germany's legislation which supports the freedom of speech and artistic freedom. Whereas DTN used more frames belonging to the counter frame group, which gathers arguments stating Böhmermann's poem is offensive or even racist, with a share of 33% regarding to all frame uses by the paper's authors.

However, several frames did not only concentrate on the two main stands in the debate, but also on its political and penal consequences as well as on reasons explaining why particular actors decided and acted as they did. In particular, Express highlighted the *exciting* details of the controversy by reporting amongst other topics about protests and safety precautions by the police. This confirms the theory by Thussu (2003) who ascertained that particularly mainstream media often focuses on the sensational aspects of events. Finally, in using these frames, writers simplified the complexity of the controversy (Binder, 2016). These media accounts made sense of issues that the readers wanted to comprehend without introducing subsidiary factors. They focused on the two different stands of the discourse and highlighted that the controversy included more than just a discussion about a critical poem and thereby how much power cultural objects like art can have. The discourse transformed into a political agenda challenging different legislations such as the lèse-majesty article and clashing concepts of freedom of speech. In addition, it revealed how important a good relationship between European countries is for the future – explaining why Angela Merkel decided to strengthen the transnational contact with Turkey and thereby tolerated a domestically conflict. Altogether, this research argues that media writers actively shape the representation of cultural conflicts adapted to their target audiences as well as to the ideologies of the papers. Furthermore, there is a hierarchy existing which decides on who is given a voice and whose voice is worthy of being heard.

5.2 Discussion and Future Research

While the qualitative content analysis was appropriate for my research because it enabled the answering of the research question and connected sub-questions, this study does however have some limitations which suggest several avenues for future research.

There are numerous newspapers with different orientations and ideologies in Germany. Due to the scope of this research, three papers with different orientations, publishing places and target audiences were selected to achieve representative results for the diversified German media landscape. The initial plan was to observe four different papers for a full month, but because the newspaper coverage about the Böhmermann/Erdogan case was so extensive, the number of newspapers as well as the chosen timeframe had to be limited. While the mainstream (DTN) and tabloid press (EX) enables the reader to access the archive of online articles via their website, more prestigious papers such as FAZ or Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ) restrict access to journalists or German students. Consequently, the articles published by FAZ were liable to paying costs, another reason why articles by SZ were not included in this study. Interesting questions for future research would be: how successful is media in positioning their thematic focal points within their target audience? Does the coverage cause a change in perception or does it serve to confirm already established prejudices?

Because of the involvement of two countries in the controversy, the German-Turkish newspaper DTN was included. While EX and FAZ are commonly known newspapers with a regular online and print circulation, articles by DTN are only accessible online and published irregularly. That is why only 17 online articles were published in the observed time frame. Consequently, the absolute numbers in the findings are somehow disproportionate, because around 50 articles by EX and FAZ were observed. Therefore, the percental numbers regarding the overall distribution were calculated and added. All in all, the reader has to keep in mind that a selection of newspaper articles was made and therefore the results are somehow limited or might be influenced by this selection.

For future research, several interesting approaches were found during the working process. First, more sufficient findings would be achieved when observing one or two additional German newspapers such as BILD and SZ over a longer time-period. Thereby, the findings would be even more representative for the big variety of German newspapers. Second, it would be interesting to investigate Turkish newspapers, pro-government ones like Haber7 but also liberal, left-centered ones such as Bir Gün. Third, one could enlarge the focus of the research by complementing the analysis with the observation of the discourse via social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter. Some of the observed online articles, especially articles by EX, already referred to different citations taken from politicians' social media pages for instance, providing interesting and relevant statements for the discourse. Consequently, a more detailed observation of these channels could result in interesting additional findings. Due to time and extent limitations, as well as language barriers, these different approaches were beyond this study's capabilities but would create an interesting avenue for future research.

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6.1 List of Observed Newspaper Articles

	Date	Newspaper	Title
1.	05.04.16	FAZ	Verschmäht
2.	05.04.16	FAZ	Merkel rügt Erdogan-Gedicht
3.	06.04.16	FAZ	Merkel mischt mit
4.	07.04.16	FAZ	Seibert mischt mit
5.	07.04.16	FAZ	Böhmermanns Rede
6.	07.04.16	FAZ	Verdacht der Beleidigung
7.	08.04.16	FAZ	Wird er zum Augenblick sagen: Verweile doch, die Pointe sitzt?
8.	09.04.16	FAZ	Grenzerfahrung
9.	10.04.16	FAZ	Mister Germany
10.	10.04.16	FAZ	Die Lieben Kollegen
11.	11.04.16	FAZ	Ankara fordert Strafverfolgung Böhmermanns
12.	11.04.16	FAZ	Vor dem Kadi
13.	12.04.16	FAZ	Zu Böhmermann
14.	12.04.16	FAZ	Bundesregierung prüft im Fall Böhmermann noch
15.	13.04.16	FAZ	Keine Satire
16.	13.04.16	FAZ	Erdogans strafrechtliche Doppelstrategie
17.	13.04.16	FAZ	Wenn man nur verlieren kann
18.	13.04.16	FAZ	Provokateur
19.	14.04.16	FAZ	Europaparlamentarier kritisieren Erdogans Vorgehen als Satiriker
20.	14.04.16	FAZ	Gottes verzweifelte Anwältin
21.	14.04.16	FAZ	Freiheit
22.	15.04.16	FAZ	Sendeauftrag
23.	16.04.16	FAZ	Richtig
24.	16.04.16	FAZ	Merkel gestattet Verfahren gegen Böhmermann
25.	16.04.16	FAZ	Alternativlos
26.	16.04.16	FAZ	Gewaltenteilung
27.	16.04.16	FAZ	Zwei Meinungen, eine Entscheidung: Die Richtlinienkompetenz
28.	16.04.16	FAZ	Satire
29.	16.04.16	FAZ	Bekenntnisse von Getriebenen
30.	17.04.16	FAZ	IRONIE
31.	17.04.16	FAZ	Bürger Jan B.
32.	17.04.16	FAZ	Böhmermanns Schmähkritik und das Unflätige im öffentlichen Raum
33.	17.04.16	FAZ	Von der Schwierigkeit, Leute aufzuregen
34.	17.04.16	FAZ	Die SPD taktiert mit Böhmermann
35.	18.04.16	FAZ	Ferien von Erdogan
36.	18.04.16	FAZ	Mehrheit gegen Strafverfahren
37.	18.04.16	FAZ	Wo isst Böhmermann?
38.	19.04.16	FAZ	Europas Witzverbot
39.	19.04.16	FAZ	Spätzünder
40.	19.04.16	FAZ	Warum mied Merkel die goldene Brücke?
41.	22.04.16	FAZ	Ehre, wem Ehre gebührt
42.	22.04.16	FAZ	Umweg als Ausweg
43.	22.04.16	FAZ	KEINE GUTEN AUSSICHTEN FÜR BÖHMERMANN
44.	23.04.16	FAZ	Merkel: Ich habe einen Fehler gemacht
45.	02.04.16	Express	Böhmermann-Gedicht. ZDF löscht Schmähgedicht aus Mediathek
46.	04.04.16	Express	"Bewusst verletzender Text" Wegen Böhmermann: Merkel ruft türkischen Premier an
47.	06.04.16	Express	Erdogan-Gedicht hat Folgen. Warum Jan Böhmermann jetzt sogar mehrere Jahre Knast drohen

48.	06.04.16	Express	Nach Erdogan-Schmähgedicht. Staatsanwaltschaft ermittelt gegen Jan Böhmermann
49.	07.04.16	Express	Erdogan Streit. Jetzt schießt auch Podolski gegen Böhmermann
50.	07.04.16	Express	Experten erklären. Kann Jan Böhmermann verknackt werden?
51.	07.04.16	Express	Erdogan-Ermittlungen. So reagiert Jan Böhmermann in seiner Show
52.	08.04.16	Express	"Ich fühle mich erschüttert" Jan Böhmermann sagt Auftritt beim Grimme-Preis ab
53.	08.04.16	Express	Um Hilfe getwittert. Jan Böhmermann schrieb Kanzleramtchef Peter Altmaier
54.	09.04.16	Express	Kam er jetzt doch? Jan Böhmermann beim Grimme-Preis gleich zweimal ausgezeichnet
55.	09.04.16	Express	Absage. Jan Böhmermann zeigt Grimme den Stinkefinger
56.	10.04.16	Express	"Schmähgedicht" Türkei will Strafe für Böhmermann
57.	11.04.16	Express	Böhmermann-Debatte. Wer kuscht bei Anne Will? Somuncu zumindest nicht
58.	11.04.16	Express	Nach Böhmermann. Jetzt singt auch Didi Hallervorden gegen Erdogan
59.	11.04.16	Express	Schmähgedicht. Varoufakis überrascht mit Solidarität: "hände weg von Böhmermann"
60.	11.04.16	Express	Zwei Meinungen. Darum ist Jan Böhmermann ein Genie- und darum nervt er!
61.	11.04.16	Express	Erdogan stellt Anzeige. Böhmermann-Gedicht ein "Verbrechen gegen die Menschlichkeit"
62.	12.04.16	Express	Porträt. Papa war Polizist, Studium abgebrochen: Das ist Jan Böhmermann
63.	12.04.16	Express	Böhmermann-Eklat. Wirbel an ZDF-Zentrale: Türkischer Reporter regt sich furchtbar auf
64.	12.04.16	Express	Kontroversen um Erdogan-Gedicht. Jan Böhmermann sagt Sendung "Neo Magazine Royale" ab!
65.	12.04.16	Express	Polizeischutz. Höchste Sicherheitsstufe für Jan Böhmermann!
66.	12.04.16	Express	Kölner Comedian. Fesai Kawusi: "Böhmermann hat Eier in der Hose!"
67.	12.04.16	Express	Strafanzeige gegen Böhmermann. Erdogan-Anwalt will bis zur letzten Instanz gehen
68.	14.04.16	Express	Fall Erdogan. Böhmermann will keine Unterlassungserklärung abgeben
69.	14.04.16	Express	Als strippender Erdogan. Oscar-Preisträger verfilmt Böhmermanns Schmähgedicht
70.	14.04.16	Express	Zdf-Redakteure fordern. Böhmermann-Gedicht soll wieder in Mediathek aufgenommen werden
71.	14.04.16	Express	Nach Böhmermann-Eklat. Das ist türkischer Humor
72.	14.04.16	Express	Böhmermann-Affäre. ZDF-Gutachten: Schmähgedicht hat Grenzen nicht überschritten
73.	15.04.16	Express	Schmähgedicht. Merkel gibt Erdogan nach und erlaubt Ermittlungen gegen Böhmermann!
74.	15.04.16	Express	Böhmermann-Affäre. Was bisher passiert ist- eine Chronologie
75.	15.04.16	Express	Kommentar. Merkels Böhmermann-Entscheidung polarisiert - zwei Meinungen!
76.	15.04.16	Express	Fall Böhmermann. Das sagt Erdogans Anwalt zur Entscheidung der Bundesregierung
77.	15.04.16	Express	Fall Böhmermann. SPD stimmt gegen Merkel - droht jetzt ein Koalitionszoff?
78.	15.04.16	Express	Cause Böhmermann. AfD übt heftige Kritik an Merkel-Entscheidung
79.	15.04.16	Express	#Böhmermann. So reagiert das Netz auf Merkels Entscheidung
80.	15.04.16	Express	Fall Böhmermann. Elfi Scho-Antwerpes: "Ich verurteile Merkels Entscheidung zutiefst"
81.	15.04.16	Express	Böhmermann. Das sagt Ex-BGH-Richter Neskovic zur Entscheidung von Merkel

82.	16.04.16	Express	Bei Facebook. Jetzt meldet sich Jan Böhmermann zu Wort- und taucht ab
83.	16.04.16	Express	TV-Pause angekündigt. Jan Böhmermann im genauen Wortlaut
84.	16.04.16	Express	Schmähkritik an Erdogan. So krass ledert Bernd Lucke gegen Jan Böhmermann
85.	17.04.16	Express	"Sanft & Sorgfältig" Böhmermann pausiert auch im Radio
86.	18.04.16	Express	Türkei. Auswärtiges Amt warnt Urlauber davor, Erdogan zu kritisieren
87.	20.04.16	Express	Böhmermann-Affäre. Kult-Satiriker John Oliver vergleicht Erdogan mit Gollum
88.	21.04.16	Express	Polizeischutz aufgehoben. Böhmermann: In seinem Veedel sind die Meinungen gespalten
89.	22.04.16	Express	Böhmermann-Gedicht. Kehrtwende! Jetzt spricht Kanzlerin Merkel von einem Fehler
90.	02.04.16	Deutsch-türkische Nachrichten	Türkei empört: "Hässlicher Angriff auf Erdogan im deutschen Staatsfernsehen"
91.	02.04.16	Deutsch-türkische Nachrichten	Erdogan-Satire: Das ZDF verblödet die ernste Lage in der Türkei
92.	06.04.16	Deutsch-türkische Nachrichten	Staatsanwaltschaft ermittelt gegen Jan Böhmermann
93.	07.04.16	Deutsch-türkische Nachrichten	"Erdowie, Erdowo, Erdogan"?
94.	11.04.16	Deutsch-türkische Nachrichten	Türkei verlangt Strafe für Jan Böhmermann
95.	12.04.16	Deutsch-türkische Nachrichten	Akute Gefährdung: Polizeischutz für Böhmermann
96.	12.04.16	Deutsch-türkische Nachrichten	Wegen Erdogan: Böhmermann sagt nächste ZDF-Sendung ab
97.	14.04.16	Deutsch-türkische Nachrichten	Washington Post attackiert Merkel wegen Böhmermann
98.	15.04.16	Deutsch-türkische Nachrichten	Merkel lässt Ermittlungen gegen Böhmermann zu
99.	15.04.16	Deutsch-türkische Nachrichten	Böhmermann: Proteste aus allen Parteien
100.	16.04.16	Deutsch-türkische Nachrichten	Türkei lobt Merkel für ihre Entscheidung im Fall Böhmermann
101.	16.04.16	Deutsch-türkische Nachrichten	Böhmermann: Internationale Medien attackieren Merkel
102.	17.04.16	Deutsch-türkische Nachrichten	Umfrage: Mehrheit hält Merkel-Entscheidung zu Böhmermann für falsch
103.	17.04.16	Deutsch-türkische Nachrichten	ZDF zieht Böhmermann für vier Woche aus dem Verkehr

104.	18.04.16	Deutsch-türkische Nachrichten	Böhmermann: ZDF zahlt Rechtsstreit bis zur letzten Instanz
105.	16.04.16	Deutsch-türkische Nachrichten	Gericht verbiete "Ziegen-Demo" vor türkischer Botschaft
106.	17.04.16	Deutsch-türkische Nachrichten	Hat Deutschland keine anderen Probleme?

7 Appendices

7.1 Appendix A: Böhmermann's Poem

Table A1: Böhmermann's „Schmähgedicht“

Schmähgedicht	Vituperative Criticism
<p>Sackdoof, feige und verklemmt, ist Erdogan, der Präsident. Sein Gelöt stinkt schlimm nach Döner, selbst ein Schweinefurz riecht schöner. Er ist der Mann, der Mädchen schlägt und dabei Gummimasken trägt.</p>	<p>Dumb as a bag, cowardly and uptight that's what Erdoğan the President is. His privates reek awfully of döner kebab, even a pig fart smells nicer. He's the man who beats up girls while he's wearing rubber masks.</p>
<p>Am liebsten mag er Ziegen ficken und Minderheiten unterdrücken, Kurden treten, Christen hauen und dabei Kinder pornos schauen. Und selbst abends heißt's statt schlafen, Fellatio mit hundert Schafen. Ja, Erdogan ist voll und ganz, ein Präsident mit kleinem Schwanz. Jeden Türken hört man flöten, die dumme Sau hat Schrumpelklöten.</p>	<p>Most of all he likes fucking goats and oppressing minorities, kicking Kurds, whacking Christians while watching child porn. And even in the evenings, instead of sleep, it's all about fellatio with a hundred sheep. Yes, Erdoğan is totally a President with a small cock. Every Turk is heard to warble, that stupid twat has got wrinkled balls.</p>
<p>Von Ankara bis Istanbul weiß jeder, dieser Mann ist schwul, pervers, verlaust und zoophil - Recep Fritzl Priklopil. Sein Kopf so leer wie seine Eier, der Star auf jeder Gangbang-Feier. Bis der Schwanz beim Pinkeln brennt, das ist Recep Erdogan, der türkische Präsident.</p>	<p>From Ankara to Istanbul everyone knows, that man is gay, perverted, lice-ridden and zoophile, Recep Fritzl Priklopil. His head as empty as his balls, the star at every gangbang party until his cock burns while peeing. That's Recep Erdoğan, the Turkish President.</p>

7.2 Appendix B: Abbreviations

Table B1: Abbreviations

ALDE	Fraktion der Allianz der Liberalen und Demokraten für Europa
CDU	Christlich Demokratische Union, German Political Party
DTN	Deutsch Türkische Nachrichten, German Newspaper
EX	Express, German Newspaper
FAZ	Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, German Newspaper
FR	French
GER	German
GRÜNE	Bündnis 90/ Die Grünen, German Newspaper

HPD	Demokratische Partei der Völker, Turkish Political Party
LINKE	DIE LINKE, German Party
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, German Political Party
ZDF	Zweites Deutsche Fernsehen, German Television Broadcaster (subject to public law)

7.3 Appendix C: Coding Sheet

Table C1: General Newspaper Article Characteristics

Code	L1	Coder: 1 Lilian Vogt
Code	L2	Newspaper
1		Frankfurter Allgemeine
2		Express
3		Deutsch-Türkische Nachrichten
Code	L3	Day of Publication 2-digit format for day number. April 01, 2016 would appear <01>
Code	L4	Month of Publication 2-digit format for month number. April 01, 2016 would appear <04>
Code	L5	Year of Publication 4-digit format for year: April 01, 2016 would appear <2016>
Code	L6	Day of the week
1		Monday (L6=1)
2		Tuesday
3		Wednesday
4		Thursday
5		Friday
6		Saturday
7		Sunday
Code	L7	Name of Section in which article appeared Write down the name of the section or quire in which the article appeared (in exactly the same way it appears in the paper). A section or quire is defined as at least 3 pages of the newspaper having with a separate name or heading, dedicated to one specific topic (e.g. arts, sports). Original Language: German
Code	L8	Heading of Article Write down the verbatim title of the article. Write down the main headline here. If there is a subheading, write it down at L11. • Follow the original document in your use of quotation marks, italic of bold fonts. • Use capitals for the first word of the title and for names. If the whole title is in capitals, it is not necessary to write down the whole title in capitals.
Code	L9	Subheading of Article
Code	L10	Origin of writer (if accessible)
1		Germany
2		Turkey
3		Others

Code	L11	Religion of writer (if accessible)
	1	Christian
	2	Muslim
	3	Others
Code	L12	News location
		Write down the name of the news location only if it is explicitly mentioned outside the article (usually next to the name of the author).

Table C2: Speaker Variables

Code	L13	Number of Speakers Mentioned in the Article
		Count the number of actors mentioned in the article – focus only on actors relevant for the Böhmermann case/ transnational debate
0		0 ACTORS mentioned
1 or 2		Fill in ACTOR1 and/or ACTOR2
More than 3		ACTOR<3
Code	L14	Name of Principal Actor discussed
		Böhmermann Erdogan
Code	L15	Name of other Speakers
1		Speaker 1
2		Speaker 2
3		Speaker 3
4		Speaker 4
5		Speaker 5
Code	L16	Occupation group of other Speaker 1-5 (L25-1-1 Actor 1 (L24-1) is a politician)
1		Politician
2		Journalist
3		Satirist
4		Television
5		General Public
6		Others
Code	L17	Nationality of Speaker 1-5 (Example: L26-1-1 = Actor 1 from Germany)
1		Germany
2		Turkey
3		Others
Code	L18	Religion of Speaker 1-5 (if mentioned)
1		Christian
2		Muslim

Table C3: Utterances

Code	L19	Number of Utterances
0		0 Utterance mentioned
1 or 2		Fill in UTTERANCE1 and/or UTTERANCE2
More than 3		More than 3 UTTERANCES: Always fill in "If>2UTTERANCES"
Code	L20	Utterance
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
...		

Table C4: Frame Groups and Frames

Code	L21	Frame group 1: "Schmähhkritik" is Satire
1		Freedom of Speech
2		Legitimate
3		Artistic Freedom
Code	L22	Frame group 2: "Schmähhkritik" is not Satire
1		Offense
2		Illegal
3		Crossing frontiers
4		Racism
Code	L23	(Neutral) reports about consequences/ Reasons for actions
1		Legal case
2		Political tension
Code	L24	Reasons for actions
1		Prevent political tension (Turkey-deal)
2		Clashing concepts of freedom of speech
Code	L24	Number of frames