3 The Prevalence of Anger Expressions on German Television

3.1 The Visual Media Content Analysis of German News and Talk Shows

The media content analysis shows how frequently politicians displayed emotions on television as well as the nature of these emotional expressions during the time of data collection. The prevalence of emotional expressions on television can provide contextual information to assess the relevance of emotional expressions in politics. Frequent emotional displays are most likely displayed intentionally to a certain extent. Politicians might act as strategic actors who are at least well aware of their media presence and should therefore manage their impressions to the best of their ability (Goffman 1959; De Landtsheer et al. 2008). As it has been noted by Glaser and Salovey (1998): "Most politicians are adept in their use of emotional display rules" (Glaser & Salovey 1998: 167). Because Glaser and Salovey deem most politicians as being "emotionally intelligent", they conclude the violation of emotional display rules by politicians should only occur rarely (Glaser & Salovey 1998: 167).

Therefore, frequently displayed emotions are likely to be those that are deemed as being somewhat beneficial or at least not harmful to politicians' images. Frequent emotions can therefore indicate which emotions are commonly used by politicians and play a role in daily politics. However, the prevalence is not the sole indicator of how important an emotional expression is. On the contrary, it could also be argued that rare emotional expressions might bear a stronger significance, especially if they violate social norms – their rare occurrence makes them more noticeable to observers and thereby potentially more influential. Nevertheless, the media content analysis can provide information about the occurrence of emotional expressions during the twelve-month period from May 2013 until April 2014, thereby covering large parts of the election campaign in 2013.

Much has been discussed around the idea that the general election in 2013 was a tame campaign season, as was the previous campaign period in 2009 (Schmitt-Beck et al. 2014: 355; Schoen & Weßels 2016: 15; Tenscher 2013: 63). One reason for this is given by Zimmermann (2014), who describes the political discourse regarding the issue of the European debt crisis and bailout measures as being consensual across the main political parties during the campaign season (Zimmermann 2014: 327). The most re-

cent election campaign in 2017 has also been deemed rather uneventful by media outlets,[9] which could be attributed to the grand coalition between CDU/CSU and SPD. Upcoming campaign seasons might show higher levels of conflict and potentially higher emotionality, since the AfD has been elected to the 19th German Bundestag. However, a longitudinal analysis of the development and polarizations of the German election campaign and party system is beyond the scope of this analysis. This visual media content analysis focuses solely on a period of twelve months from May 2013 to April 2014, thereby covering main parts of the election campaign in 2013. The media content analysis featured news broadcasts and political talk shows that aired during this period on two public and three private television channels.[10] These channels are arguably the most important public and private channels on German television and have the highest viewership.

The broadcasts of daily prime time news on these channels were recorded for the whole year, as were the political talk shows that were aired on these channels.[11] To deal with the amount of collected broadcasts, three samples were drawn from the material. Two samples were selected from the news broadcasts and one sample from the political talk shows. The news broadcasts samples were generated by drawing two artificial weeks. For one artificial week, seven weekdays were chosen from the complete material, whereby the newscasts from each channel were taken into consideration. This approach allowed researchers to compare the news coverage across TV channels for each day. The second artificial week was selected by drawing seven random weekdays for each channel. Hence, different days were selected for each channel in this sample. This approach of both sampling procedures resulted in a total of 70 news broadcasts. Due to the fact that four news broadcasts were selected for both artificial weeks, double entries were removed from the dataset, so that only 66 news broadcasts remained for the analysis.

The sampling approach for the political talk shows was slightly different. One episode was randomly drawn per quarter for each of the talk

9 For example by an article in Spiegel Online, available online at: http://www.spiegel.de/wissenschaft/mensch/bundestagswahl-2017-danke-dass-der-wahlkampf-langweilig-ist-kolumne-a-1166571.html (last accessed: 05 June 2019).

10 The two public channels were ARD and ZDF, while RTL, SAT.1 and ProSieben were selected as private TV channels for the media content analysis.

11 The prime time news on these five channels were the following: ARD Tagesschau, ZDF heute, RTL aktuell, Sat. 1 Nachrichten, ProSieben Newstime.

shows. The total sample includes 18 talk shows from five shows (Hart aber fair, Günther Jauch, Anne Will, Maybrit Illner, Eins gegen Eins).[12]

The media content analysis was predominantly conducted at the University of Koblenz and Landau, and student assistants aided in the coding of the material. The unit of analysis for the media content analysis was defined as one coherent visual unit in which a German politician was visible. A coherent unit in this case means that the focus was not disrupted or changed, for example by a pan shot, or a quick glance at the audience or reactions of other politicians. Following the definition of coherent video sequences as a unit of analysis, the sample consists of 1083 video sequences for news broadcasts and 6860 video sequences for political talk shows.

After the politicians were identified as German politicians with an important mandate on a state, national, or European level,[13] the emotional expressions of these politicians were coded by trained student assistants. Their training was completed when student coders reached an acceptable level of inter-coder reliability. This inter-coder reliability was determined in a testing phase at the University of Koblenz and Landau in 2014 by inspecting a random subsample of video sequences in news broadcasts (10 percent of the total amount of news sequences) and sequences from two political talk shows.

The media content analysis classifies emotional displays in three respects. First, raters coded whether an emotion was displayed within a given sequence at all. If that was the case, they subsequently rated the emotional displays according to the two dimensions of the *circumplex* model – its valence (positive-negative) and its arousal (active-passive).

The variable whether emotional displays occurred at all within a given video sequence has only a low inter-coder reliability. The inter-coder reliability for news broadcasts in this regard was reported to be 0.31 (Krippendorf's alpha) and 0.67 (Holsti's method), and only slightly higher within

12 Because the political talk show "Eins gegen Eins" (Sat.1) was discontinued in 2013, only two episodes were sampled; one for each of the first two quarters of the content analysis in which the show was still on air.

13 Politicians are regarded as significant actors based on an approach that focuses on their position within the political system following Machatzke (1997). Politicians are included in the media content analysis if they are seen as relevant actors because they hold crucial positions in political parties on a European level, national level or state level in the branches of the legislative or executive. In addition, actors are also considered as relevant if they have held any of those positions in the past or are nominated as candidates for a relevant position, e.g., the candidate for chancellorship (see also Renner & Masch 2019: 102).

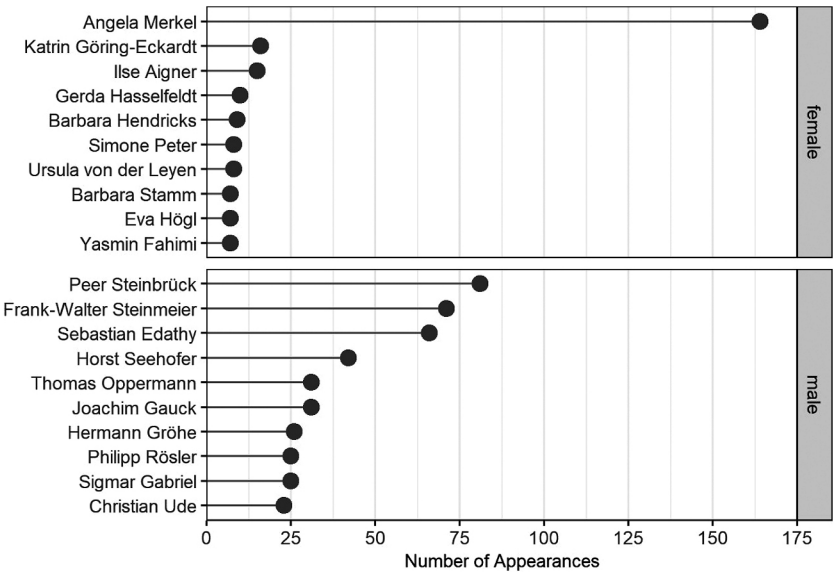
political talk show video sequences (Krippendorf's alpha = 0.42; Holsti's method = 0.68). Once the video sequences were rated as containing either emotional displays or no emotions (neutral expressions), the inter-coder reliability increased for the following two categories. For video sequences from news broadcasts the valence has an inter-coder reliability of 0.72 (Krippendorf's alpha; Holsti's method = 0.78); video sequences that were taken from political talk shows have a similar inter-coder reliability regarding the valence ratings (Krippendorf's alpha = 0.64; Holsti's method = 0.92). The passive-active dimension was only pre-tested for news broadcasts, in which the inter-coder reliability reached a Krippendorf's alpha of 0.69 (Holsti's method = 0.89).[14]

3.2 Politicians' Emotional Expressions on German Television

Figure 2 shows the politicians who were predominantly covered by the media content analysis, Frank-Walter Steinmeier, who was foreign minister at the time of the content analysis, and Peer Steinbrück as running candidate for the election in 2013 were covered frequently. Philipp Rösler as candidate and party leader of the FDP, is in the sample for the same reason. He stepped down after the FDP was not elected to the 18th German Bundestag. Christian Ude was running as leading candidate in the Bavarian state election in 2013. Furthermore, the sample reflects a political scandal that has been frequently featured in the news – the "Edathy-Affäre". This scandal involved the then MP Sebastian Edathy, a backbencher who gained media attention due to the alleged possession of child pornographic material. The then parliamentary leader of the SPD, Thomas Oppermann, also appeared in relation to this scandal due to his position as a spokesperson for the parliamentary party.

14 All inter-coder reliabilities were calculated and deemed acceptable by research colleagues at the University of Koblenz and Landau, who supervised the media content analysis and trained the coders. Because of their training, coding guidelines were established to facilitate the coding process, for example the coders had to indicate whether they recognized the emotional expression because of the facial expression, the gesture, the verbal content, or overall demeanor of a politician. More information can be obtained from the codebook (Maier & Gabriel 2015).

Figure 2: The Most Frequent Female and Male Politicians Within the Media Sample of News Broadcasts



Note: Author's own illustration based on the media content analysis (project data).[15]

The following Table 1 shows the frequencies in which one or several politicians can be seen in a video sequence. Slightly more than six out of ten video sequences show only one single politician (62.4 percent). About one quarter of video sequences (24.5 percent) show two politicians, and three politicians could be seen in every tenth video sequence (10.9 percent). More than three politicians rarely occurred in a video sequence. Based on these sequences, Table 1 indicates in how many sequences any number of politicians express emotions.

15 A similar figure has been produced for another publication based on the media content analysis (Renner & Masch 2019: 91).

Table 1: The Number of Politicians in Each Video Sequence

Number of Politicians in Each Video Sequence	Frequencies N	Percentages (Percent)
One Politician	4953	62.36
Two Politicians	1949	24.54
Three Politicians	864	10.88
More than Three, Focus on One	53	0.67
More than Three, Focus on Two	66	0.83
More than Three, Focus on Three	58	0.73
Total	7943	100

Note: Author's own calculations based on the media content analysis (project data).Video sequences in which no relevant politicians were identifiable are not part of the data set.

Table 2 shows the frequencies in which politicians display emotions on television. In this random sample, the majority of sequences showed no emotionality by politicians (56.5 percent), while only 34.0 percent of sequences showed politicians who clearly expressed emotions visibly, aurally, and/ or verbally. Table 2 does not distinguish between news broadcasts and political talk shows. Differences in displays of emotionality between these two program formats are considered in Table 3.

Table 2: The Emotionality in the Media Sample

	No Emotion	Emotion	Ambivalent	Total
Number of Sequences (N)	4486	2698	759	7943
Percentages (Percent)	56.48	33.97	9.56	100

Note: Author's own calculations based on the media content analysis (project data).

Table 3 shows the occurrence of emotions for each program type. In this media content analysis, slightly more than half of the video sequences in news broadcasts showed emotional expressions (55.2 percent), while less than a third (30.6 percent) of political talk show sequences included emotional expressions by politicians. The difference in emotional displays between news broadcasts and political talk shows is highly significant, $\chi^2(2, N = 7943) = 253.81$, $p < 0.001$. This finding is contrary to initial assumptions about the discursive and confronting nature of political talk shows in which heated debates could take place. One possible explanation is that any form of communicative smiles was coded as positive emotional displays for sequences that typically occurred within news broadcasts in the media content analysis. Such communicative smiles, however, mainly indi-

cate politeness and can hardly be described as intense emotion. Communicative smiles are emotional expressions that frequently occur when politicians or public officials gather. Those gatherings, meetings, and summits are commonly reported on in the news and therefore likely to lead to an imbalance between the two formats.

Table 3: The Emotional Expressions in News Broadcasts and Political Talk Shows

		No Emotion	Emotion	Ambivalent	Total
News	Number of Sequences (N)	425	598	60	1083
News	Percentages (Percent)	39.24	55.22	5.54	100
Talk Shows	Number of Sequences (N)	4061	2100	699	6860
Talk Shows	Percentages (Percent)	59.20	30.61	10.19	100

Note: Author's own calculations based on the media content analysis (project data).

Focusing on the valence of emotional expressions (Table 4), it can be seen that of the 34.0 percent of video sequences which included emotional expressions (Table 2), more than half of them included positive emotions, leading to 17.7 percent positive emotions in total. Negative emotional expressions were displayed slightly less often (13.8 percent) and a small amount of expressions were coded as emotionally ambivalent (2.5 percent).

Table 4: The Valence of the Emotional Expressions

	No Emotion	Positive	Negative	Ambivalent
Number of Sequences (N)	5245	1408	1095	195
Percentages (Percent)	66.03	17.73	13.79	2.45

Note: Author's own calculations based on the media content analysis (project data).

The emotional expressions can also be classified according to the circumplex model (see Table 5). This more detailed approach shows that the vast majority of positive emotions can also be classified as positive-active emotions with only 34 video sequences that displayed positive-passive emotions (0.4 percent). Similarly, negative emotions can mainly be regarded as negative-active emotions (11.4 percent), with less than 2 percent of all video sequences being classified as negative-passive emotional expressions.

Table 5: The Valence and Arousal Levels of the Emotional Expressions

	No Emotion	Positive-Active	Positive-Passive	Negative-Active	Negative-Passive	Ambivalent
Number of Sequences (N)	5245	1323	34	903	126	312
Percentages (Percent)	66.03	16.66	0.43	11.37	1.59	3.93

Note: Author's own calculations based on the media content analysis (project data).

Next, frequencies of emotional expressions are obtained for male and female politicians separately as well as for three politicians who gained particular attention in this study due to their roles as key figures in their respective parties in 2015: Angela Merkel (CDU), Sigmar Gabriel (SPD) and Gregor Gysi (The Left) (see Table 6).

The emotional expressions differ significantly according to the gender of politicians, $\chi^2(5, N = 7943) = 58.51$, $p < 0.001$. Across all video sequences, male politicians are more likely to express no emotions than female politicians (68.1 percent vs. 59.2 percent), while female politicians show slightly higher percentages for any form of emotionality, regardless of its valence and arousal, even negative-active emotions than male politicians.

In this sample, the video sequences for the three politicians were broadcast during the news. In her role as chancellor, Angela Merkel, usually did not attend political talk shows, while the other two politicians were frequent guests during the time of the media content analysis. However, the shows they attended were not randomly chosen as part of the analysis. During the period of data collection, Gregor Gysi appeared in seven political talk shows and Sigmar Gabriel in three (for an overview of the politicians who appeared most frequently as guests in talk shows see Table A.1 in the online appendix).

Although Angela Merkel has often been described as lacking emotional expressiveness (e.g., Mölders et al. 2017: 119), she nonetheless displays positive-active emotions in more than half of the video sequences (53.7 percent). While this is an appropriate emotional expression for political leaders (Sullivan & Masters 1988: 362; Bucy & Grabe 2008: 84), this high number of emotional expressions is likely to be the result of communicative smiles that were coded as positive-active emotions within news broadcasts. Nevertheless, several video sequences from the night of the CDU's victory in the 2013 election show strong displays of joy. She also talked about personal topics and showed strong positive expressions in an interview with the women's magazine "Brigitte" that was broadcast on both private TV channels ProSieben and RTL as part of the prime time news during the election

campaign, on May 3rd 2013.[16] In addition, Angela Merkel was the politician with by far the highest coverage in the news according to the media content analysis (see Figure 2). Gregor Gysi and Sigmar Gabriel rarely appeared in the news – at least according to this sample of the media content analysis.

Table 6: Emotional Expressions of Male and Female Politicians and Specific Politicians

	No Emotion	Positive-Active	Positive-Passive	Negative-Active	Negative-Passive	Ambivalent
Female Politicians						
N	1085	342	14	268	39	85
Percent	59.19	18.64	0.76	14.62	2.13	4.64
Male Politicians						
N	4160	981	20	635	87	227
Percent	68.09	16.06	0.33	10.39	1.42	3.71
Merkel						
N	62	88	2	1	3	8
Percent	37.80	53.66	1.22	0.61	1.83	4.88
Gysi						
N	2	2	-	-	-	-
Percent	50.00	50.00				
Gabriel						
N	14	7	1	1	-	2
Percent	56.00	28.00	4.00	4.00		8.00

Note: Author's own calculations based on the media content analysis (project data). In this table the unit of analysis shifts from a focus on video sequences to a focus on the politicians and their appearances across video sequences. The frequencies indicate the number of video sequences and the percentages show the percent of each emotion expression for the politicians.

16 Merkel also gave a personal interview with the women's magazine Brigitte in the election campaign 2017. Merkel's interview with the women's magazine "Brigitte" during the election campaign in 2017 has gained some additional media attention, e.g. https://www.stuttgarter-nachrichten.de/inhalt.kanzlerin-beim-brigitte-talk-mensch-merkel.9e354d92-16a7-4774-9be6-4401d331695e.html (last accessed: 05 June 2019) and https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jun/30/did-merkel-trip-on-gay-marriage-vote-or-is-this-more-canny-politics (last accessed: 05 June 2019). This is mainly due to Merkel's stance on marriage equality as a personal moral choice which was a deviation from her party line. Her spontaneous answer to a member of the audience, an LGBT activist, who asked when he could finally marry his partner, later opened the way for a conscience vote in parliament only a few days later on June 30th 2017, https://www.bundestag.de/parlament/plenum/abstimmung/abstimmung?id=486 (last accessed: 05 June 2019).

Finally, politicians' emotional expressions in accordance with their status as incumbents or opposition are analyzed. Previous findings from a visual media content analysis of US media reports showed that politicians of the opposition showed displays of anger/threat more frequently than incumbents (Grabe & Bucy 2009). This finding could be due to ethological factors. Hence, it is worthwhile to test whether these findings can be replicated in the context of German politics, whereby German politicians of the opposition are assumed to display more anger than their governmental counterparts. Since the media context analysis coded emotional displays according to a circumplex model, the following analysis can only describe the emotional expressions of politicians on these dimensions and their combination. Therefore, politicians of the opposition should show a higher amount of negative-active emotions compared to incumbents. In addition, it also has to be noted that during the time of the data collection the coalition government changed on the national level as well as in two federal state parliaments: Bavaria and Hesse.

The election of members to the 18th German Bundestag, as well as the state parliament in Hesse took place on September 22nd, 2013. In Bavaria, the state parliament was elected a week earlier, on September 15th. None of the coalition governments remained in power after the elections, members of these parties on the state and respectively national levels were reassigned based on whether their parties belonged to the opposition or government. After the elections, the FDP was no longer part of any of the three former government coalitions and did not even remain in the national and Bavarian state parliament after falling below the five-percent hurdle. The SPD formed the new coalition with the CDU in the German Bundestag, while the Greens formed a government coalition as minor partner with the CDU in Hesse, the CSU was able to govern without forming a coalition with any other party in Bavaria.

Across all available video sequences, roughly one third of visible politicians belonged to the opposition (34.5 percent), while almost two thirds belonged to the government on national or state levels (65.5 percent). Hence, this finding indicates a media exposure bias in favor of members of the government and therefore, supports the notion of an incumbency advantage (e.g., Ashworth & Bueno de Mesquita 2008). Looking at all video sequences that were coded as including emotional expressions by politicians, a significant difference between politicians of the opposition and government can be detected when comparing the valence and arousal of the emotional expressions, $\chi^2(5, N = 7798) = 91.08$, $p < 0.001$. The following descriptive statistics presented in Table 7 are based on the circumplex

model and also included video clips without emotional expressions in them. Politicians of parties in power show emotional expressions slightly less often than politicians of parties in the opposition (33.0 percent vs. 35.3 percent). According to the circumplex model, this minor difference increases when considering negative-active and positive-active emotions. Politicians of the opposition displayed negative-active emotions slightly more often than politicians in government (15.4 percent vs. 9.1 percent). Furthermore, they displayed positive-active emotions less often which is in accordance with the theoretical assumptions (13.5 percent vs. 18.3 percent).

Table 7 also shows emotional expressions by their status separately for female and male politicians. It can be further noted that in this sample female politicians displayed negative-active emotions more frequently when they belonged to the opposition and not the government (18.6 percent vs. 4.0 percent). This difference for female politicians in regard to their political position is highly significant, $\chi^2(5, N = 1831) = 173.29$, $p < 0.001$. The difference in negative-active emotions for male politicians, however, is less noticeable (12.4 percent vs. 9.7 percent) and their emotional expressions are not significantly different at a 5-percent significance level, χ^2 (5, N = 5967) = 9.88, p = 0.079.[17] Female and male politicians also show less positive emotional expressions if they belong to the opposition.

Table 7: Emotional Expressions According to the Political Status

	No Emotion	Postive-Active	Postive-Passive	Negative-Active	Negative-Passive	Ambiva-lent
Politicians in Government						
N	3419	935	20	466	74	190
Percent	66.99	18.31	0.39	9.13	1.45	3.72
Politicians in Opposition						
N	1742	363	12	416	50	111
Percent	64.66	13.47	0.45	15.44	1.86	4.12
Female Politicians in Government						
N	260	180	7	20	9	25
Percent	51.90	35.93	1.40	3.99	1. 80	4.99

17 The reported results do not alter in their significance when Fisher's exact tests were applied instead.

	No Emotion	Postive-Active	Postive-Passive	Negative-Active	Negative-Passive	Ambiva-lent
Female Politicians in Opposition						
N	824	162	7	247	30	60
Percent	61.95	12.18	0.53	18.57	2.56	4.51
Male Politicians in Government						
N	3159	755	13	446	65	165
Percent	68.63	16.40	0.28	9.69	1.41	3.58
Male Politicians in Opposition						
N	918	201	5	169	20	51
Percent	67.30	14.74	0.37	12.39	1.47	3.74

Note: Author's own calculations based on the media content analysis (project data). The frequencies indicate the number of video sequences and the percentages show the percent of each emotion expression for the politicians.

Unfortunately, only a few video sequences included Sigmar Gabriel, who was part of the opposition as well as the government during the time of the data collection. As the number of observations is very small, it is hard to say whether any differences in his emotional expressions were observed by chance or as a result of his change in status. Nonetheless, the overall analysis of politicians, indicates that politicians of the opposition show more negative-active emotions compared to those in power. Combined with previous findings (e.g., Grabe & Bucy 2009), this finding provides sufficient grounds to assume that politicians of the opposition display more emotional expressions with a negative valence, particularly a negative-active valence. Hence, this chapter has shown that negative-active or anger expressions are frequently displayed by politicians and should therefore be studied in more detail. The next chapter describes the experimental design in order to investigate how emotional displays influence the assessment of political leaders and their leadership qualities.