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"The 'daughters' found their way into the Austrian
national anthem

Gap in online media coverage of 'gender-issues' using
the example of three online newspapers, regarding the
amendment, in 2011"

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Danksagung

Mein Dank gilt...

...meiner Familie – was wäre ich nur ohne euch!

...meinen Freunden, die mich in dieser Zeit ausgehalten haben.

...Univ.-Prof. Dr. Sarikakis.

“It always seems impossible until it’s done” (Nelson Mandela)

“**AWG**” (Doris Kurzweil)

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1. INTRODUCTION

2012 was the year of monumental change in the history of Austria, because the national anthem was altered into a "gender-friendly" version. To be perfectly honest, it was an historical moment in general, because for the first time in history an original historical document got modified for the better – it responds to both sexes, which are equally important. Before that event, the original anthem paid homage, among other, to "the sons" of Austria – but in how far is that accurate if there are not only men living in Austria. Why are no women mentioned in the Austrian national anthem and why does a whole country refuse to pay credit to the achievements of its important females participants?

Well, currently it relates to both gender, the sons and daughters of Austria – a small but significant step in the right direction – a gender-friendly coexistence of both equally important sexes.

The reason for this change was an ongoing political discussion about the roles, rights and acceptance of women in today's society. General Discussions were started even before the main event happened in 2011. Unfortunately, all those previous attempts had not brought about a change, but they had at least started discussions leading into the right direction. The main discussion started in 2011 and was covered by a vast range of mass media of every kind. Not only the Austrian but also the international press reported on this unique event. The enormous interest in this case, especially from other countries, showed that this might have been the start into perceiving women as totally equal individuals and citizens with their own rights and needs. After all, this precedent might turn out to be a milestone rather than an exception. It has the potential to encourage other countries to follow and officially start to fully integrate women in our society.

In the present work, the reporting on amending the Austrian anthem will be examined, based on the online articles of three daily newspapers.

The structure of the work will shortly be described. First, the main concepts that are regularly mentioned in the research are explained.

The first big chapter deals with the research interest. The formulated research questions specify the research interests and guide through the academic paper.

In the second chapter the emergence and relevance of the Austrian anthem is described. As a result, the incident, which has expanded the discussion on women's equality to a heated debate, is described.

This is followed by the third chapter, in which the theoretical background of the work is shown. Here, the agenda-setting approach was used. Also important in this chapter: the News Values and Factors, will be discussed in detail here. In the next chapter the historical development of women's role is illuminated. Other topics in the next smaller chapter are gender and linguistics. Before the empirical part of the work begins, two, for this research particularly important terms, will be described - nations and nationalism.

The penultimate part of this thesis is the empirical study and the answer of the phrased research questions. This scientific method is explained in detail in this chapter. There are those chosen for this study, newspapers as well as the conditions under which they published their contents, described in more detail. As a tool for analyzing the online articles, Mayrings qualitative content analysis was used.

In the last chapter the workflow as well as the results of the research are described, plus a conclusion rounds off the work.

2. CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAPER

2.1 Research interest and research questions

In this chapter the research interest of this work is described at the beginning. For this purpose, the research questions are formulated, which also serve as a guide this work.

The selected daily newspapers are the Kurier, Krone and die Presse. These were chosen, because they belong to the most important opinion-forming newspapers in Austria. The survey is a census, since the period of investigation in this research study amounts to the period from March 7th until December 7th 2011 (a total of nine months) and were the entire published contributions to the research topic are collected and analyzed.

Next, the research interests and the research goals of this work will be described. The reporting will be analyzed, under various perspectives and points of view.

It is about the question: How was the gender issue, in the examined time, by the media, journalists, the politicians and even the people discussed and explained.

Accordingly, the first research question is as follows:

Research Question1

How is, in the investigated online articles, referred to the gender topic.

The second research interest of this study is to determine how the respective parties and their politicians have spoken on this topic. The opinions of female and male politicians are particularly important. In addition to her political task, these politicians are in fact also citizens of the country Austria - their opinion can also be considered as a mirror of society. Therefore, it was particularly important for the work to illuminate their opinions, because they are of great meaning.

This results in the following research question:

Research Question2

How do the individual parties comment on the event?

As it is common, especially with gender-issues, argued with stereotypes or prejudice, it was particularly important for this research work, to find out whether the media debated in their articles in this direction.

According to that, the third research question is:

Research Question3

What typical stereotypes regarding women and gender were used in the investigated online articles?

With the following research question, all misogynistic utterances, which Maria Rauch-Kallat had to face, are discussed.

The penultimate research question is:

Research Question4

By whom and how was Maria Rauch-Kallat personally attacked and which misogynistic statements were made?

By the means of the last research question of this paper, it will be shown how the media and the politicians, during this debate, have reacted on the issue of nation and nationalism.

The last research question is therefore:

Research Question5

How are the topics nation & nationalism discussed, in the debate of the national anthem.

3. MAIN TERMS AND DEFINITION

In the first part of my thesis I will explain the main terms and definitions that occur frequently and are very essential for this final paper, in more detail. These terms are repeated throughout the whole master-thesis.

3.1 Maria Rauch-Kallat

Born and raised in Vienna, Maria Rauch-Kallat began her career as a teacher in a secondary school in the 11th district of Vienna. She established, among other things, a parent support for visually impaired children. Maria Rauch-Kallat started her political career in the Austrian people's party named "ÖVP" in 1983.¹ "*The Austrian People's Party was founded on 17th April 1945, in the Schottenstift, in Vienna.*"² The first four years of her political career, she stayed at the Federal Council of Austria, shortly after converted to be in the Viennese state parliament and local council until 1992. As environment minister, she stood up for waste separation which up until now has been known to have the highest collection and recycling rates in an international flagship system. 1995 Maria Rauch-Kallat became general secretary and seven years later minister for health and women's issues. As health minister, she abolished the medical certificate as a piece of paper and supplied each and every Austrian with a health card, called ecard. 2007 she became a member of the National Council focused on economy, health, international relations and gender equality politics.³

While working in the Austrian People's Party, she represented Austrian women like in the following way: The strength and self-confidence of Austrian women should be guarantor for the consciousness leading to socio-political change. The strength of every civil women lies in her own freedom of choice but also in her universalism. Women should be able to both start a family and take a professional training to build their own career in life. This is why the resulting strength of women, such as organizational skills, determination, flexibility and self-discipline are indispensable in today's society. Women stand up for their freedom of choice, but are also aware that this freedom is, at the same time, very exhausting and demanding. Therefore, the role of a woman in the context of a family should not contradict her managing a career as well. It stands for the equal partnership between women and men in families.⁴

¹ Cf. <http://www.rauch-kallat.at/index.php/persoenliches> 07Feb2014

² http://www.oevp.at/evp-gipfel/The_Austrian_Peoples_Party.psp 07Feb2014

³ Cf. <http://www.rauch-kallat.at/index.php/persoenliches> 07Feb2014

⁴ Cf. <http://www.rauch-kallat.at/index.php/politik> 10Nov2013

3.2 Patriarchy

The term Patriarchy represents the relation between both sexes. In this relationship, men take the dominant and women the subordinate part. The patriarchy says, that the man may dominate, not only within the family but also in society, women and their children. The patriarchy not only refers to social inequalities and oppressions, but also to uneven power relations. This is not a natural or self-evident phenomenon.⁵

3.3 Gender

Gender is a fundamental part of social relations and establishes the perceived differences between the two sexes. Furthermore, gender is a fundamental way to determine power relations between women and men. Here, changes in social relations, are always changes in the representation of power, but the direction of the transformation may vary, however . Scott's definition of gender contains four inter-related elements: cultural accessible symbols, normative concepts, subjective identity and gender relations.⁶

⁵ Cf. Cyba, 2004: p.15

⁶ Cf. Scott, 1994: p.52pp

4. AUSTRIAN NATIONAL ANTHEM

This segment of the master thesis will be dedicated to the Austrian national anthem. At the beginning, basic facts will be explained in more detail, like why a country needs an anthem in the first place. Furthermore, the legislative history of the anthem is referred to, and the many attempts that have happened before the Rauch-Kallat scandal, are addressed. The most important part is the actual occasion itself – how adding a few words to the national anthem got the ball rolling, will be reviewed. In the history of Austria, this was the first time ever, that an original historical document got updated to be more gender-friendly.

4.1 Austrian national anthem

It's easy to address all citizens in an emotional and irrational form via an anthem. Collective singing of the anthem, music, text and rhythm supports each other with the ambition to establish an alliance. This is how the anthem can merge into a strong and powerful as well as problematic, political instrument. 'Land der Berge' evokes love and loyalty to its mother country and it mirrors peacefulness (to its country). Its lyrics are pretty important because it is seen as the business card of the whole nation.

Modifications can be made, if for example the political affair changes. The first time you will get in touch with your national anthem is probably in elementary school.

Nowadays the Austrian national anthem is used for athletic or diplomatic events – and it should therefore reflect its country's national pride.⁷

4.2 The way till the emergence of the new Austrian national anthem

There were a few other national anthems before Dr. Felix Hurdes, educational Minister of ÖVPs party decided in April 1946 with a 22 members committee that they need to replace the old Haydn-anthem. This old national anthem had a negative historic affect to its meaning and was no longer representative for the nation. Still, there were a lot of Haydn supporters but various committees always banned it. On April 9th 1946 the Austrian government decided that all state residents should be given the opportunity to write the new national anthem via a contest, which would end on the 30th of June. The lucky winner would receive 10.000,- Schilling (around 726,- Euros) prize money. The following day people could read about that event on local newspapers. They received around 1800 submissions and around 200 fitted the standards. They announced the winner – Wolfgang Amadeus Mozarts "Bundeslied" on

⁷ Cf. Steinbauer, 1997a: p.7pp

October 22nd. Finally Austria was back in possession of their official national anthem, yet the right text was still missing. Later that year, around fall, Dr. Hurdes got in touch with a few Austrian writers and poets with the request for writing the proper lyrics to its melody. The judging panel consisting of 18 members announced Paula Molden-Preradovic as the fortunate winner of 'Land der Berge' ('Land of mountains') on January 30th 1947. Before the citizens could hear that version – a few modifications were essential to be made. The author and council of ministers Dr. Peter Lafite changed some of the passages.⁸

The first verse: “[...] *Land der Äcker, Hämmer, Dome, Arbeitssam und liederreich. Großer Väter freier Söhne, [...]*”⁹ got improved by “*Land der Äcker, Land am Dome, Land der Hämmer zukunftsreich! Heimat bis du großer Söhne.[...]*”¹⁰

The second verse was not altered and stayed the same and in the third they changed “[...] *Aber in die neuen Zeiten Sieh uns festen Glaubens schreiten, Stolzen Muts und hoffnungsreich. Laß in brüderlichen Chören, [...]*”¹¹ into “[...] *Mutig in die neuen Zeiten, Frei und gläubig sieh uns schreiten, arbeitsfroh und hoffnungsreich. Einig laß in Bruderchören, [...]*”¹²

The finalized version of the national anthem was presented to the citizens of Austria on February 25th and its world premier took place at the Volksoper on March 9th in 1947.¹³

Recent researches have shown, that its original composer was in fact Johann Baptist Holzer, not Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.¹⁴

4.3 Austrian national anthem until December 2011

Original version of Austrians national anthem in German:

„*1. Strophe: Land der Berge, Land am Strome, Land der Äcker, Land der Dome, Land der Hämmer, zukunftsreich. Heimat, bist du großer Söhne, Volk, begnadet für das Schöne,*

⁸ Cf. Steinbauer, 1997: p.223pp

⁹ Steinbauer, 1997: p.229

¹⁰ Steinbauer, 1997: p.230

¹¹ Steinbauer, 1997: p.230

¹² Steinbauer, 1997: p.231

¹³ Cf. Steinbauer, 1997: p.230p

¹⁴ Cf. <http://www.bka.gv.at/site/5131/default.aspx> 07Feb2014

vielgerühmtes Österreich, vielgerühmtes Österreich.

2.Strophe: Heiß umfehdet, wild umstritten, liegst dem Erdteil du inmitten, einem starken Herzen gleich. Hast seit frühen Ahnentagen hoher Sendung Last getragen, vielgeprüftes Österreich.

*3.Strophe: Mutig in die neuen Zeiten frei und gläubig sieh uns schreiten arbeitsfroh und hoffnungsreich. Einig lass in Brüderchören, Vaterland, dir Treue schwören, vielgeliebtes Österreich.*¹⁵

English translation of the original Austrian national anthem “Land of mountains”:

“Land of mountains, land by the stream, Land of fields, land of cathedrals, Land of hammers, with a promising future, You are home to great sons, A nation highly blessed with beauty, Much-praised Austria, Much-praised Austria!

Strongly feuded for, fiercely hard-fought for, You lie in the middle of the continent Like a strong heart, Since the early days of the ancestors you have Borne the burden of a high mission, Much-tried Austria, Much-tried Austria.

*Bravely towards the new ages See us striding, free, and faithful, Assiduous and full of hope, Unified, in fraternal choirs, let us Pledge allegiance to you, Fatherland Much-beloved Austria, Much-beloved Austria.”*¹⁶

4.4 Reported events that happened before Rauch-Kallats incident

The first attempt ever to change Austrias national anthem happened in the nineties, when the parties of the Grünen (The Green Alternative) and Liberale Forum (Liberal Forum) stood up for a gender-friendly national anthem. Both initiatives remained without results.¹⁷ It was Heide Schmidt of the Liberal Forum who let some singers play a more gender-friendly anthem, by adding daughter to their performance, in December 1995.¹⁸ At a soccer game

¹⁵ http://diepresse.com/home/politik/innenpolitik/135579/Zum-Mitsingen_Bundeshymne-alt-und-neu 01Feb2014

¹⁶ <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/oct/31/austrians-national-anthem-new> 01Feb2014

¹⁷ Cf. http://www.krone.at/Oesterreich/Heinisch-Hosek_will_Toechter_in_der_Bundeshymne-Ein_schoenes_Signal-Story-181650 10Jan2014

¹⁸ Cf. Steinbauer, 1997: p.234p

(Austria vs Kamerun) in 2002, Austrian actress and musician Tini Kainrath added ‘große Töchter’ to the national anthem.¹⁹

Maria Rauch-Kallat’s first attempt to make the anthem more gender friendly took place in 2005 where she proposed to replace a few words – but nothing happened.²⁰ In 2010 Christina Stürmer – an Austrian singer, changed the Austrian national anthem for the first time in an ad campaign (for the education reform) - on national television, for the minister of education and cultural affairs, Claudia Schmied. In her pop version, she modified the original lyrics ‘great sons’ into ‘great sons and daughters’. Higher Regional Court claimed it was strictly prohibited to change the lyrics of the anthem, and therefore the singer was sued.²¹

After that incident, Gabriele Heinisch-Hosek from the party of SPÖ (Social Democratic Party of Austria) Minister for women, supported the change into a gender-friendly national anthem. She felt that it would be a nice sign – for all women’s achievements.²²

4.5 Report of the event

It was Maria Rauch-Kallat, former Minister for Women in Austria, who tried drawing the attention of politicians towards an adaption of Austria’s national anthem. She wanted to speak up for an appreciation of the women that were not mentioned in the national anthem. Her main concern was, that Austrian women who had achieved their goals both in their careers and in their daily family lives, should be acknowledged in the national anthem. As a result she started an initiative in her impartial women Club ‘Club alpha’, where all men and female, who thought alike were welcome to join.²³

Austria went through a big change at the beginning of the year 2012 and a few words were added to the original national anthem – despite the resistance of the parties BZÖ (Alliance for the Future of Austria) and FPÖ (Freedom Party of Austria). A new version of Austria’s national anthem was approved by the members of the National Council, the coalition and the

¹⁹ Cf. http://diepresse.com/home/kultur/literatur/535842/BundeshymneDebatte_Einig-lass-in-Bruderchoren 10Jan2014

²⁰ Cf. <http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/27944906?uid=3737528&uid=2&uid=4&sid=21103363212731> 07Feb2014

²¹ Cf. http://www.krone.at/Oesterreich/Gericht_erlaubt_Aenderung_im_Text_der_Bundeshymne-Soehne_UND_Toechter-Story-216149 10Jan2014

²² Cf. http://www.krone.at/Oesterreich/Heinisch-Hosek_will_Toechter_in_der_Bundeshymne-Ein_schoenes_Signal-Story-181650 10Jan2014

²³ Cf. http://diepresse.com/home/politik/innenpolitik/535512/Bundeshymne_RauchKallat-kündigt-uberparteiliche-Initiative-an 20April2013

Grünen. This was back then and still is, a single case in the history of national anthems in which both, the melody and the text were established by law.²⁴

The first verse says „*Heimat bist du großer Söhne*“²⁵ - this particular sentence led to one of the biggest national anthem discussions in the Austrian parliament. Maria Rauch-Kallat started the controversy, when she was not given the opportunity to orate her farewell speech to the national council in July 2011. In a secret mission, a few female leaders of the ÖVP and the minister for women, Maria Rauch-Kallat, discussed some changes in the lyrics of the national anthem. Maria Rauch Kallat and her colleagues from other parties of the Grüne and SPÖ wanted to change the phrase with ‘*Söhne*’ into ‘*Töchter, Söhne*’ – by simply adding the *daughters*. This was, by far not the only topic she wanted to discuss in her farewell speech, but was only given one minute for her entire speech thus making it impossible to address any other topics and problems that troubled her. All male members of her party talked longer than allowed, exceeding the duration of one minute, about random things. In the end there was no more time for Mrs Rauch-Kallats last speech in front of the Austrian parliament.²⁶

For the next couple of weeks the main focus of all Austrian newspapers, such as the Standard, Kurier, Presse, Krone, Österreich, News, Heute, Wiener Zeitung, Wirtschaftsblatt, Kleine Zeitung, Kärntner Tageszeitung, Oberösterreichische Nachrichten, Salzburger Nachrichten, Tiroler Tageszeitung and many others was set on this incident, that took place in the Austrian parliament – caused by a women.

4.6 Austrian national anthem after the change 2012

New release of “Land der Berge” - in German:

„Land der Berge, Land am Strome, Land der Äcker, Land der Dome, Land der Hämmer, zukunftsreich! Heimat großer Töchter und Söhne, Volk, begnadet für das Schöne, Vielgerühmtes Österreich. Vielgerühmtes Österreich.

Heiß umfehdet, wild umstritten, Liegst dem Erdteil du inmitten Einem starken Herzen gleich. Hast seit frühen Ahnentagen Hoher Sendung Last getragen, Vielgeprüftes Österreich. Vielgeprüftes Österreich.

²⁴ Cf. <http://diepresse.com/home/politik/innenpolitik/715248/Osterreich-ist-nun-auch-Heimat-grosser-Tochter> 20April2013

²⁵ <http://diepresse.com/home/politik/innenpolitik/676514/Nationalrat-Gesetzesantrag-auf-Aenderung-der-Hymne> 20April2013

²⁶ Cf. <http://diepresse.com/home/politik/innenpolitik/676514/Nationalrat-Gesetzesantrag-auf-Aenderung-der-Hymne> 20April2013

*Mutig in die neuen Zeiten, Frei und gläubig sieh uns schreiten, Arbeitsfroh und hoffnungsreich. Einig lass in Jubelchören, Vaterland, dir Treue schwören, Vielgeliebtes Österreich. Vielgeliebtes Österreich.*²⁷

New version of “Land of mountains” in English.

To “*great sons*” the words “*and daughters*” were added and “*choir of brothers*” was changed into “*joyous choir*”.²⁸

²⁷ <http://www.parlament.gv.at/PERK/BOE/BHYM/> 01Feb2014

²⁸ Cf. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/oct/31/austrians-national-anthem-new> 01Feb2014

5. THEORETICAL APPROACH

This theory part will amplify at the Agenda Setting Approach and News Values and News Factors, which are crucial for this master-thesis.

5.1 Agenda Setting Approach

The basic idea behind this approach is, that the mass media tries less to influence, what the audience is thinking, but rather determines how they reflect on it. Media defines, which topics are relevant for the audience. To put it in other words, media has the function to make something a subject of discussion. It will not affect people's attitude or behavior, but determine how attentive viewers are and how widely spread their knowledge about daily presenting events on people or public themes is.²⁹

Since the mid-1940s, the empirical research on media effects had dealt with the question why mass media had such a small impact on the settings of the recipients.

Explanations were offered by the research of Lazarsfeld / Berelson / Gaudet of the year 1944: At that time conversations with other people had a greater impact on the individual judgment than the mass media. This was due to the fact that a majority of people still had no direct access to mass media. In addition, people tended to stick to once formed judgments and consequently took up only the piece of information out of the media that corresponded to their already existing attitude. Thus, it was assumed that mass media could merely reinforce existing attitudes but was not able to change them.³⁰

5.1.1 Chapel Hill study

In the 1970s, in the area of Impact Research, it came to a paradigm shift. That specific time can be described as a renaissance of research on media effects, as several researchers worked almost simultaneously on a number of new media effects theories.³¹

The agenda-setting approach was first tested by McCombs and Shaw in the so-called Chapel Hill study, an empirical study of the U.S. Presidential Election in 1968. The initial formulation of the approach was as follows:

²⁹ Cf. Burkart, 2002: p.246

³⁰ Cf. Maurer, 2010: p.19

³¹ Cf. Maurer, 2010: p.19

„While the mass media may have little influence on the direction or intensity of attitudes, it is hypothesized that the mass media set the agenda for each political campaign, influencing the salience of attitudes towards the political issues.”³²

In this pioneering study, McCombs and Shaw surveyed 100 undecided voters in Chapel Hill (North Carolina) according to their current issues priorities. The information provided by the respondents were then compared with the topics that were covered in the media, whereby the researchers could demonstrate strong correlations between the topics covered in the media (media agenda) and the preferred topics mentioned by the voters (public agenda).³³

5.1.1.2 Effect models of the Agenda Setting Approach

Shaw and McCombs (1977) focused on the ‘classical’ causal connection, where the media agenda is seen as the cause of the public agenda and therefore distinguished three models of agenda-setting research that build on each other:

1) Awareness Model

The attention model is the simplest model in the context of agenda-setting hypothesis and assumes that the recipients pay attention to certain issues because the media report on it.

2) Salience model

This thematization model describes that the varying frequency of the reported topics in the media, is the reason for the fact that their importance is valued differently by the public.

3) Priorities model

This themes structuring model radicalizes the effect of assumption of the former described Salience model. It assumes that the rank order of themes of the media agenda is reflected in the rank order of themes of the public agenda.³⁴

5.1.2 Conceptual further developments

The Agenda setting approach was further developed since the 1970s both conceptually and in terms of methodology. Below two further considerations will be described that are decisively important for the newer Agenda setting research. First, the agenda-building, where the

³² McCombs/Shaw, 1972: p.177³², zit. nach Jäckel, 2012: p.192

³³ Cf. Maurer, 2010: p.20; Cf. Burkart, 2002: p. 250

³⁴ Cf. Burkart, 2002: p.251

question is raised of how the media agenda comes about and which strategies are used by political actors in order to influence media and public agenda. On the other hand the second-level agenda setting explains the effects of the Agenda settings, which go beyond the theming function.³⁵

5.1.2.1 Agenda-Building

„We start from the observation that the agenda-setting hypothesis – the bland and unqualified statement that the mass media set the agenda for political campaigns – attributes to the media at one and the same time too little and too much influence.“³⁶

In their analysis (1981) of the Watergate scandal Lang and Lang came to the conclusion that the assumption of agenda-setting as a simple direct media effect process is not sufficient. That's why they framed a hypothesis saying that the public attribution of content relevance is the cause of a much more complex process, and referred to this as agenda-building.³⁷

As a result not only the media and the recipient influences the media agenda but also the political actors. It is a specific communication process in which various social actors, such as politicians, political parties and interest groups but also business enterprises, try to place their issues in the media. In order to influence the agenda-setting of the mass media in their favor, these social actors use the knowledge of journalistic selection criteria and produce so-called 'pseudo-events' such as press conferences, demonstrations and celebrations.³⁸

From the agenda-building three components of the agenda-setting process can be emerged: Media agenda-setting, audience (public) agenda-setting and policy agenda-setting. These components are also called the 'triangle of political communication'.³⁹

The components are not only with each other in a complex reciprocal relationship, but also with other elements such as the personal experiences of the recipients or the communication between actors of political elites and individuals. Furthermore, indicators of the reality are relevant from which the importance of certain topics follows. The media is presented with influences from control or opinion-leading media but also has to take the existing position of

³⁵ Cf. Maurer, 2010: p.57

³⁶ Lang/Lang, 1981: p.448, zit. nach Eichhorn, 2005: p.39

³⁷ Cf. Maurer, 2010: p.65

³⁸ Cf. Burkart, 2002: p.254

³⁹ Cf. Schenk, 2007: p.439

incidence into account.⁴⁰ The originally simple agenda-setting hypothesis is being stretched by this classification. Therefore the general term "agenda setting" can be understood in an ambiguous way, if the different agendas are not mentioned.⁴¹

5.1.2.2 Second-Level Agenda-Setting

In the traditional agenda-setting (First Level) the importance of subjects and objects are in the foreground. The second level of the Agenda-setting process is called the second-level Agenda-setting and focuses on the importance of attributes of the reported issues, events and people. Here, the influence of media effects is explored on the attitudes of the audience.⁴²

Thus, journalists emphasize or suppress not only the issues in order of importance, but also the positive or negative characteristics of people (e.g. politicians) or objects. These attributes, which are provided by the media in the foreground, are more important for the judgment of the recipient. If the mass media emphasizes especially negative attributes of a politician, the judgments of the recipients will be mostly negative.⁴³

The second-level agenda setting therefore makes clear that it is not only relevant what is being considered, but also "how" one thinks about it.⁴⁴

5.2 News factors and News Values

5.2.1 Walter Lippmann

The significance of an issue is measured by the news' value. The more news factors include a message, and the more the individual factors are pronounced, the greater the chance of publication. The news value theory goes back to Walter Lippmann (1922), since he first identified this event characteristics, the so-called "news values".⁴⁵

Walter Lippmann thought that messages do not reflect the reality, but only convey a specific and stereotyped segment of reality. Additionally, messages are only what the media regarded as news and selected. Accordingly, newsworthy news do not suffer from not newsworthy publications defined by certain selection criteria. Lippmann defined the following seven items that are relevant to an event selection:

1) Unusualness of an event in the sense of surprise or sensation.

⁴⁰ Cf. Schenk, 2007: p.439p

⁴¹ Cf. Schenk, 2007: p.440

⁴² Cf. Schenk, 2007: p.437

⁴³ Cf. Maurer, 2010: p.69

⁴⁴ Cf. Schenk, 2007: p.437

⁴⁵ Cf. Boetzkes, 2008: p.55

- 2) Establishment of a theme. Events that have already been reported, consequently have a higher news value.
- 3) Duration of an event. Quick, exciting episodes are suitable for the media better than events that last for a long time.
- 4) Simplicity simplifies the multimedia presentation.
- 5) Meaning refers to the potential damage or benefit that can arise for the recipient by an event.
- 6) Prominence indicates that influential or known people are involved in the event.
- 7) Spatial proximity refers to the distance of the location from the distribution area of the respective medium.⁴⁶

Although these factors, according to Lippmann, were complementary and repeatedly revised by other researchers, they have still survived up to this day.

European development of newsworthy research.

Next, the European development of newsworthy research will be presented. In Europe in the mid-1960s, three Norwegian peace researchers dealt with the news factors. This was Einar Östgaard on the one hand, and Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge on the other.

5.2.2 News factors after Östgaard

Einar Östgaard (1965) was one of the first who tried explaining approaches on the impact of news factors on the news development. His main interest was international communication. He dealt with the question of how and in which way the content of messages from abroad was being changed and distorted.⁴⁷

In regard of this, he reduced the news factors on three generic terms: *simplification*, *identification* and *sensationalism*.⁴⁸

Simplification here means both clarity and structure but also the tendency to excessive reduction of complexity. By identification Östgaard means that messages that concern people, things or problems, with whom the audience can identify and which are familiar to the audience, find their way through the news channels easier than those messages that treat the

⁴⁶ Cf. Boetzkes, 2008: p.56

⁴⁷ Cf. Boetzkes, 2008: p.57

⁴⁸ Cf. Uhlemann, 2010: p.30

audience with unfamiliar things. It's all about the spatial, cultural and temporal proximity of the reported events, but also to status and emphasis on the actions of people.⁴⁹

Sensationalism refers to the tendency of the media, by reporting using possible dramatic and emotionally exciting events, which reach the attention of its recipients. This applies to reports about crimes and accidents, as well as conflicts, crises or natural disasters in the national and international context.⁵⁰

Here Östgaard has found, however, that this criterion varies from culture to culture and from country to country.⁵¹

Östgaard sees a barrier for the spread of a message. This can be more easily overcome, the simpler the message is, the higher their identification potential is assessed and the higher the sensationalism of a message is. The barrier hinders an event even stronger, the less is already known about the reportable matter. At the same time it means that when an event has already been overcome, the news threshold, can more easily follow developments event.

At the same time it means that when an event has already overcome a news threshold, several developments of events can follow easier.

On the other hand, the news barrier can also cause, if not continuously reported on events, whose development extends over too long of a period, that event histories are lost because they are losing relevance.⁵²

5.2.3 News values of Galtung and Ruge

Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge presented in 1965 their list of news values. These factors were the result of a content analysis. The international coverage of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus crisis was examined in four Norwegian newspapers.⁵³

As a result, they defined the following twelve factors:

- Frequency

Each event requires a certain amount of time to unfold and gain importance. The better the period of time matches with the frequency of the recording and reproducing media, the more

⁴⁹ Cf. Uhlemann, 2010: p.31

⁵⁰ Cf. Boetzkes, 2008: p.57

⁵¹ Cf. Uhlemann, 2010: p.31

⁵² Cf. Uhlemann, 2010: p.31

⁵³ Cf. Boetzkes, 2008: p.57

likely the event becomes a message. Since these media frequencies are relatively short, especially brief and recently completed events have the greatest news value.⁵⁴

- Threshold

So that an event is reported, it must exceed a certain threshold of attention. Therefore it has to stand out in its absolute intensity of similar events.⁵⁵

- Unambiguity

The clearer, simpler and more manageable an event is, the more likely it is to become news.

- Meaningfulness

The greater the impact of an event on the recipient is and the more they cause personal involvement, the more likely it is to become news.⁵⁶

- Consonance

This factor means that events are more likely selected, the more they correspond to what the selective person expects.⁵⁷

- Unexpectedness

Unexpected, rare, curious events have to be the biggest opportunity to become news, but only in combination with the factors 'Meaningfulness' and 'Consonance'.⁵⁸

- Continuity

An event that already was published as important news, is likely continued notice by the media, even if the news value, compared to other events, is not as high.⁵⁹

- Composition balance

In a newscast or a newspaper, the mixture must be right. This means that even if on one day all the major news come from abroad, the less important issue of domestic politics is likely selected for a thematic mixture.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ Cf. Boetzkes, 2008: p.57

⁵⁵ Cf.Boetzkes, 2008: p.58

⁵⁶ Cf. Boetzkes, 2008: p.58

⁵⁷ Cf. Uhlemann, 2010: p.32

⁵⁸ Cf. Boetzkes, 2008: p.58

⁵⁹ Cf. Uhlemann, 2010: p.32

⁶⁰ Cf. Boetzkes, 2008: p.58

- Referenced to elite nations

Events that relate to the influential, politically, economically and militarily powerful states that are above average, become more often than average to news, because they lead to greater consequences.⁶¹

- References to elite persons

The media reports more likely about an event if prominent, powerful, politically important people are involved in that occurrence. This is partly due to the greater consistency and secondly, these people are objects of identification for less important individuals.⁶²

- Personification

Events are preferred in which the human being is the acting subject. In Comparison to that, abstract, structural events has no news value. According to Galtung and Ruge, this can be explained by the fact that the audience searches identification objects and the media needs people for their presentation of the news, to take pictures or interview them.⁶³

- Negativity

Media prefers negative events such as crime, accidents, wars, crises and disasters.

If the event happens to be pretty bad, there is a better chance that news will report about it in more detail.⁶⁴

The eight factors frequency, threshold, unambiguity, meaningfulness, consonance, unexpectedness, continuity and composition are assumed as culturally overarching criteria by Galtung and Ruge. The factors related to elite nations, reference to elite persons, personification and negativity should be regarded especially for western industrial nations.⁶⁵

Galtung und Ruge set up five hypotheses, to what extent these twelve news factors interact with each other.

The *selection hypothesis* says, that an event more likely becomes news, if the news factors fit more intense on the incident. Following the *additivity hypothesis* it is more likely reported

⁶¹ Cf. Boetzkes, 2008: p.58

⁶² Cf. Boetzkes, 2008: p.58

⁶³ Cf. Boetzkes, 2008: p.58

⁶⁴ Cf. Boetzkes, 2008: p.59

⁶⁵ Cf. Uhlemann, 2010: p.33

about, if more news factors can be assigned to the event. The *complementarity hypothesis* means, that the absence of a factor, can be compensated for by another. The *distortion hypothesis* points out, that in the reporting the characteristics, which make the news value, are emphasized and that's why the event will be played in a distorted manner. According to the *replica hypothesis* these emphases, of the features on all selection steps, are performed repeatedly.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Cf. Boetzkes, 2008: p.59

6 GENESIS OF WOMEN

This chapter of the master thesis will go into detail how women in general had to win their position in a world ruled by the other sex - a constant, never winning battle of gender. How they had to fight for everything that was common for man from the beginning on. How long this endless struggle for justice lasted or is it still going on? A couple of, important and for justice fighting women, will be discussed and their careers will be described.

6.1 It began in the early hours of humanity

In the Bible, a joint creation of Adam and Eve is shown. However, in the theological discussion and visual representations, the emergence of the primordial mother is always led from the rib. The Primacy of the male sex can be deduced from that information. Also, the fall of man as the seduction of Adam by Eve proves the inferiority of women and their sexual power over men. Therefore, women must be kept under control. The image of Maria was conceived as the immaculate mother. A woman could only be seen as a positive role model, if she was an asexual and thoughtful female sex⁶⁷.

Even in the Old Testament, the barren woman is considered to be cursed, and God will punish her husband for that.⁶⁸

In the Old Testament the woman is there to propagate. Already in the forefathers of stories you can see that only important women are infertile. This means that they miss their "natural task".⁶⁹

Just as in Christianity, women are regarded as a symbol of fertility, a servant or as a woman whose only job is to bring children into the world. Subliminal power was put in some of these assignments attached to domestication of women but it was never about their freedom.⁷⁰

Back in Judaism but reinforced in Christianity, woman and man were seen as a joint picture with the origin of God. The biblical way of thinking, sees the human image but also the image of god by stripping them off their common magical-mystic domain. This rebellion includes the breakthrough image of women, which is no longer determined by men and the

⁶⁷ Cf. Bremer, 1997: p.17

⁶⁸ Cf. Gerl-Falkovitz, 2009: p.23

⁶⁹ Cf. Gerl-Falkovitz, 2009: p.70

⁷⁰ Cf. Gerl-Falkovitz, 2009: p.76

associated power. This approach provides a vital expression of identity and humanity for both sexes.⁷¹

For various reasons, religious and non-religious women always had to deal with verses of the Bible on their way to independence, because those written texts were always used as the valid role of women in society and as a way to guarantee their obedience. These Bible passages blocked the way of all females, to be equal with the other gender. At the beginning they had to learn and deal with these biblical criticism. The Bible had to be newly interpreted, in other words they had to be capable to criticize and question the church-authorities. Long before organized groups of women turned against men's claim of power, the feministic biblical criticism did had already done exactly that. They got familiar with the form and substance of this holy book and used it in terms of their own interests. In order to exercise criticism or to interpret core texts differently, the female authors compared conflicting representations of the biblical texts.⁷²

From the beginning on, men have set themselves in the center of the universe and considered to look at it from this. They decided for themselves, that only they write history, have the key to knowledge and guide social as well as political communities. Women were less interesting for men.⁷³

Men created history and women always had to fight for changing it and being acknowledged as a part of it, because they were denied the knowledge about their own history.

If you look back, you can see that all women who define the Bible in a new way, tried to oppose the male interpretations with alternative representations because they could not rely on other female authors.⁷⁴

6.2 Until the 16th century

Since the 12th century, women have used the biblical language to express themselves and even to doubt the gender hierarchy.⁷⁵

⁷¹ Cf. Gerl-Falkovitz, 2009: p.104p

⁷² Cf. Lerner, 1995: p.170pp

⁷³ Cf. Becker-Schmidt/Knapp, 2000: p.16p

⁷⁴ Cf. Lerner, 1995: p.200p

⁷⁵ Cf. Bock, 2000: p.21

In the late Middle Ages, people thought the healing seeking men had to protect themselves from the opposite gender and women from themselves. A strong polarization of the sexes was common and the woman was seen mostly as an enemy of friendship, or simply as the nature of all evil. For Thomas Aquinas, the woman was a ‘misguided’ or ‘imperfect’ man. He thought, that women had an important role in the house, but only under male domination. But not all people thought that way about women in the Middle Ages and the early modern period.⁷⁶

In the second millennium before Christ all women where banned from reading and writing classes, because they were not part of the military, religious or political elite – except, princesses, or women from aristocratic families. In other words until the 16th century you had to be associated with aristocracy in order to be a woman of culture. During the Middle Ages, only a certain part of women had the privilege to receive education. They had to be rich, belong to one of the ruling families or afford the dowry for a monastery.⁷⁷

Around that time a law from King Heinrich VIII in England said, that all women that were not associated with the “Gentry”, high or low noble were prohibited to read the Bible aloud or even to themselves. Until the 16th century education was considered to be a class privilege for women. Until the 17th century the chance for women to obtain a certain level of education was uncomparingly higher if they were born in a rich family. In that case they were given to opportunity to receive lessons from their father. Even in the fifties of the 19th century women were still underprivileged and not allowed to study law.⁷⁸

As a mother, women were able to pass all their knowledge to their children. The term “motherhood” was and still is very important for all women, since they substantiate their claim for equality with it. Women share this life experience together. From the beginning – everything regarding to motherhood was being questioned. Only through their work, it was possible for women of all classes to exchange and share their knowledge. Ever since the 17th century the term maternity was modified and adapted several times. Mary Wollstonecraft, one of he first theoreticians claimed that well-educational females were the better mothers. She believed, that women, who were moral creatures of God had the right for higher education and that there had to be an equality of sexes. The first known European writers were Mrs. Ava

⁷⁶ Cf. Bock, 2000: p.14p

⁷⁷ Cf. Lerner, 1995: p.39pp

⁷⁸ Cf. Lerner, 1995: p.47pp

and Dhuoda who justified their rights to self-representation with their mother-status. The French woman Christine de Pizan was also motivated to write because of her motherhood, but she also wrote out of necessity.⁷⁹

Between the 14th and 15th centuries the 'Schwesternbücher' were composed by German-speaking nuns in the Dominican convent. This work consisted of eight chapters in which the daily life of the nuns was documented. Six centuries long both genders were eager to draw up lists about famous heroines to serve as their role models. To counter the negative effects of the denial of women's history, listing such important women is of great importance.⁸⁰

Giovanni Boccaccio was one of the first male authors to publish (between 1355 and 1359) a list of eminent women. He wrote about men's characteristic imagination of women. He described those individuals as weaker, softer and less intelligent by nature. The unique stereotype of a 'masculine women' - a female of courage and power, was born. His itemization was the prototype and beginning of a lot of followers. The first woman, to emulate Boccaccio's deeds, was Christine de Pizan, 1405 with her book 'Le Livre de la Cité des Dames' (The Book of the City of Ladies) - an attempt to defend women and their history.⁸¹

In this book a city is built, which can only be accessed by women. It's about the intellect of women and their ethical merits, to disprove their alleged weaknesses and failures. Christine de Pizan is regarded as one of the first discoverers of the interplay of historical context and identity.⁸²

It was not until the 15th century that a number of well-trained writers reached a wider audience and achieved something with their publications. In their work, female authors accepted that the role of women (due to the long tradition of feminist criticism in the Bible) was still regarded as a wife and mother. For all women, improved education was also an important point in their publications. In the late 18th century, the term "motherhood" was redefined in a feminist way. It was said, that the majority of mothers served the nation, for this reason they began to think much more in the direction of feminism. In the early days feminists thought men made fun of them, referred to them as manly women or called them

⁷⁹ Cf. Lerner, 1995: p.144pp

⁸⁰ Cf. Lerner, 1995: p.302p

⁸¹ Cf. Lerner, 1995: p.304p

⁸² Cf. Gerl-Falkovitz, 2009: p.108

sexless. All these ideas of earlier feminists have contributed to feminist awareness and shown their effect later. Not until the 19th century, when middle class women gathered up in church-based charities and started to improve their economic living conditions, this idea of solidarity between women, became a core point of feminist thought in America and the United Kingdom. Still, until the 1st decade of the 20th century females always had to argue in terms of their feministic concerns with reference to their mutual experience as mothers.⁸³

In Europe, the highlights of witch-hunts are between the years 1590 and 1630. Two documents affect the demonic nature of women. Giuseppe Passi said that women could only be tamed if they were dependent on the male. Abt Tondi thought, women did not do evil they were the bad. This contradicts including a woman, the Venetian Lucretia Marinella writes in her book about the benefits of women. She wants to spiritually see the divinity of woman and demonstrate that woman with their ethnic behavior are much closer to the will of God, than the opposite sex. Furthermore, she says that in history men have forced women to be silent, because they were afraid of losing their power.⁸⁴

In the 16th century, the “one-sex model” dominated, which meant that man and woman were mainly perceived as a coherent whole of humanity. Both sexes were quantitatively but not qualitatively different. Only the man was seen as the highest achievement of the common people, the woman was worth less. This was replaced by the two-sex model in the course of the 17th and 18th century. During this time, the difference between man and woman was highlighted. Both sexes were assigned conflicting essentials and separate living areas. The four walls belonged to the wife and the public space belonged to men.⁸⁵

6.3 The start of the patriarchy

The feminist movement inherited the term ‘patriarchy’ (oppression of women by men) from the Marxist philosophy of history.⁸⁶

When talking about women throughout history you have to keep the “evolution of the patriarchy” in mind, which describes how unimportant the role of women was, even back in the ancient days. Since women were considered to be weaker than men, they were oppressed and

⁸³ Cf. Lerner, 1995: p.166pp

⁸⁴ Cf. Gerl-Falkovitz, 2009: p.110pp

⁸⁵ Cf. Schabert, 2006: p.15

⁸⁶ Cf. Opitz-Belakhal, 2010: p.122

sexually taken advantage of. Slavery is one of the structures of domination that was developed out of this form of male dominance. In the first volume of her books 'Die Entstehung des Patriarchat' (The Creation of Patriarchy) Gerda Lerner learned, that the relationship between a woman and God was extremely important and at the same time the solution to all struggles that women had to endure throughout history. For nearly a decade religion was one of the most important means for women to seek their feministic awareness.⁸⁷

Three different assignments of man and woman can be outlined. These assignments occur throughout the known cultures as a basic pattern. Their development has been well researched for the old European culture. Equating 'woman' as 'mother' is a basic constant, since some languages do not have a word for 'woman', but only 'mother'. It is the main task of the woman to have children in order to maintain the viability of the tribe. In the second assignment, the woman is considered as the mystery of the man and then again she is seen as her solver and emancipator. At last, the man is considered to be human in whom the father is seen as a legal entity. The Patriarchate is related to the man as head of the family, not just any man and also not primarily refers to the quality of the biological fatherhood. The father is therefore the bearer of the law, he is the owner of women, children, slaves, etc. The father represents the religious obligations and is the carrier of all knowledge. Everything that he decides or defines is valid. The woman is always the man's property, except in the household - there she can take care of their children. For these reasons, women remain mostly 'invisible' under the Patriarchate.⁸⁸

This patriarch began 2000 before Christ and since then it has been connected to sexual violence, since the first slaves in history were females.⁸⁹

6.4 Since the start of the 17th century

As a woman, it was unthinkable to earn money by writing. From the 17th till the 18th century it was assumed, that women did not write their work by themselves. Women were either considered to copy-paste, or simply put their name under a work that was written by a man. To counter these copy accusations, these female writers had to get male authorities to confirm

⁸⁷ Cf. Lerner, 1995: p.9p

⁸⁸ Cf. Gerl-Falkovitz, 2009: p.62pp

⁸⁹ Cf. Schwarzer, 2000: p.87

that they were the authors. The first famous female who achieved this privilege, was Christine de Pizan (1365 - ca.1430).⁹⁰

The first poetess in the German-speaking world, who was accepted as an active member at the 'Deutsche Gesellschaft' (German Association), was Christiana Mariana von Ziegler (1695-1760). Emily Dickinson (1830-1886), one of America's most famous poetesses, distanced herself from church and the way in which she was raised. Her skills were the subversive resistance from women against the patriarch.⁹¹

There were not even a few female writers until the middle of the 19th century who did not have to pay for their intellectual productivity with an unhappy family life. The women who lead an unconventional life, had to fight some social taboos. They paid a very high price and in some cases their work has been suppressed or not even made public to the community. The best example of this is Mary Wollstonecraft. Her life was cited as a prime example of moral depravity. Furthermore, it was mentioned with the close link between feminism. This attack on Mary Wollstonecraft discouraged many women until the 19th century to provide access to their work and also to take it seriously.

Furthermore, women could not replace intellectually with men, since they were not allowed access to institutions of higher education. The authors and their like-minded women lacked a protected space, where they could work and were able to exchange ideas without being disturbed by men. However, this refused access may have been a benefit, as women have been so free for their new and own developments.⁹²

Mary Wollstonecraft has joined Olympe de Gouges in spirit and demanded civil rights for women. Today, she is considered as a feminist pioneer in England. She also made a name for herself, by generally defended the achievements of the French Revolution.⁹³

For centuries women had to teach themselves how to read, write or think, even though society, religion and education told them that it was inappropriate to have these desires as a female individual. The feeling of inferiority had to be overcome. As a consequence they started to stand up for their rights – equality for both genders. Women demanded to be treated like their male opposite – job wise or in everyday life. Gender Gap, diverse level of

⁹⁰ Cf. Lerner, 1995: p.66pp

⁹¹ Cf. Lerner, 1995: p.211pp

⁹² Cf. Lerner, 1995: p.216pp

⁹³ Cf. Schwarzer, 2008: p.178p

performance, different interest or working experience between men and female was the result of gender-related education and formation. The discrimination of women in education was the root of inferiority to men. As a result equal educational opportunities were the key to emancipation. The historian, poet and writer Christine de Pizan (1365- circa 1430), also known as the lawyer of female education, had a major importance in that case. For Christine de Pizan, this was a very big issue, since she did not have the ability to receive a good education. In her collected works, she always encouraged women to aim for a better education.⁹⁴

Between the years 1848-50, the feminist movement decided to incorporate the right for equal educational opportunity, legal and social equity and voting rights in their manifesto. Congress resolution of feminist movement in Seneca Falls (in 1848), Ohio, Worcester and Massachusetts (in 1850). The women's right for education was no longer justified with the role as a mother or religious, moral arguments. It's a law of nature and only the woman herself decides, whether she wants to begin or continue with her education or not.⁹⁵

Women were simply pushed over by the opposite sex and they had to gather all the information about their tradition by themselves. There simply was no systematic course of progress. It was, well still is, a very long and hard way for women to fight for their rights – rights that actually should have been given without asking for them. To make all that happen, they had to build groups, where they could pass on their knowledge to other rational minds. Then, all these women simply had put all patriarchal definitions or prejudice in question – they has to think out of the Patriarch addition. In order to achieve social change (which is represented with thinking and acting) they had to achieve a place in public. To talk and validate their ideas they needed a big audience – private or in public.⁹⁶

The first congenial groups of women were found in the 17th century. They consisted of women who shared a common interest in religion, literature and also in women's education. A few factors were highly important for the development of feministic awareness, such as the ability to live an economically independent life as an unmarried woman, various demographic and medical changes that freed women of their obligation to reproduce, equal opportunities in education and finally the opportunity to provide free space for women. For a woman, to

⁹⁴ Cf. Lerner, 1995: p.232p

⁹⁵ Cf. Lerner, 1995: p.260p

⁹⁶ Cf. Lerner, 1995: p.263p

qualify from a place of awareness to the next, these social spaces have always been very important. As already mentioned, it was very difficult to get women to such open spaces in universities or political parties. Men, on the other hand, did not have this problem because they were never denied access. For the liberation of women, a free space outside the family had to be found.⁹⁷

A very important fact is that the mere forming of those groups did not alter or developed the feministic way of thinking. The reason for that was that the knowledge of women's history was non-existent. Unfortunately until the early Romantic, these social spaces did not get the women any closer to their goal of creating a feminist consciousness. On the contrary, it is fair to say that it even had an opposite effect. In all those social open spaces, there was insufficient knowledge of an autonomous feminist organization but also of women's history in general. For women, in order to finally be able to escape from the patriarchy, requirements had to be done in order to organize their own interests.⁹⁸

From the early 18th century until the middle of the 19th century a lot of women in Germany encouraged women to form groups, that would read aloud their published work.⁹⁹

Not only men contributed to the rise of civilization, so did women. Unfortunately you could not find a lot of information about that small group of females who were fighting for their rights in the early history. From the beginning on these women lived on the condition of patriarchy, which meant that their gender-specific social role and behavior in public, was defined by men. Nowadays they got to the bottom, that since the 18th century woman had influence on writing their own history. When it came to write women's history, women used the same way as men. They made lists of notable women and heroines and their life story. In the 7th centuries the first female life descriptions where located in monasteries.¹⁰⁰

Slowly but steady and with the help of list-formations, a literary genre was born. In the 18th and 19th century various authors published books featuring outstanding personalities and achievements of women, which lead to an enormous female-targeted readership. In the late 19th century the start of a new orientation of women history began, starting in the United States of America. The writer's attention was no longer only directed towards putting together

⁹⁷ Cf. Lerner, 1995: p.273pp

⁹⁸ Cf. Lerner, 1995: p.292

⁹⁹ Cf. Lerner, 1995: p.270

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Lerner, 1995: p.295p

a long list of female leading figures that could be followed by other mothers and daughters. To save all these writings, they tried to collect all their source material systematically, to document the performance of women in educational systems, in churches, in female clubs or various communities. Mass movement was required for analyzing and collecting all kind of women-history resources. These women changed their way of documenting their knowledge. Instead of relying only on important women or their worship, they documented what particularly stand-out women had achieved in their everyday life. In 1880 the first Graduate Schools were founded, that women still were barred from and had to fight hard for entering.

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Despite left behind "traces" it was never possible to discover how the history of women had been presented or taught. This structure of society barred women thousands of years from equal rights. History shows, that women only had the right to study, teach and define, after a long way of political controversy. Men were always supported and promoted by other males or institutions. However, women never had the chance to be accepted or taken seriously as a single person. They always had to form groups, to get the attention and support they needed. It always had to be an organized fight, to stand up for their rights.

In 1960, the last part of the modern feminist movement began. For the first time in women-history groups of highly talented women, who worked in strategic beneficial educational positions, met with the formation of a vibrant feminist movement.¹⁰²

Thanks to Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), a woman was no longer considered an evil demon but the inferiority of women still continued to exist. He was convinced that the essence of a woman was beauty and (the essence) of man was sublimity. This reflected the classic comparison that nature was seen as female and the mind as masculine. Kant thought the marriage to be the degree slope and not a legal relationship, thereby he left out the natural law of marriage.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Cf. Lerner, 1995: p.317pp

¹⁰² Cf. Lerner, 1995: p.321p

¹⁰³ Cf. Gerl-Falkovitz, 2009: p.121p

6.5 The beginning of feminist thought

In the first movement of feminists, the term feminism was used as recommendation for its radical part. The term feminism was developed in France, the nineties, of the 19th century. Around the turn of the century, countries like Spain, Germany, Italy and others, gathered this term as synonym for the emancipation of women. Then in the twenties and thirties of the 20th century, the term established itself and got used as a feminist movement.¹⁰⁴

Since the 19th century, the focus in Europe was on the elaboration of a concept of 'womanhood'. It was, unlike in the United States of America, rather referred to the difference in the genders than on their equality. Before the 20th century the term 'feminism' hardly existed in Europe and its introduction was controversial. In France, the term "feminism" was regarded as a synonym for the emancipation of women, since the 1890s. The origin of the term is still unknown, although it falsely, for a long time was attributed to Charles Fourier. Hubertine Auclert, the apologist of suffrage for women in France, was the first self-designated feminist. In 1894-95, the term reached the United Kingdom and before the turn of the century, it appeared in German, Italian, Belgian, but also Russian sources. In the late 1890s, the term had then reached Argentina and the United States. Back then and also up until now, however, most people use the term in a hateful intention, or as a curse word, rather than for the purpose of analysis.¹⁰⁵

In the 19th century, unlike the historical women's movement, feminism developed primarily theoretical concepts. From these developed concepts political and social conclusions were drawn secondarily. In Germany this term was known since 1970. The definition means that the standards of humanity are obtained from the male gender. Feminism reflects the social but also the individual type of woman and is reconciled to the autonomous self-definition.¹⁰⁶

Up till now radical feminism could not establish itself in our society, because it is difficult for most women to imagine independence as an expense of love and education. Surely it made sense to stir up suppressed women but after that, both genders had to make their coexistence top priority – and not to create a split. They rather try to grind out their right to education and profession and at the same time they want to remain true to the traditional perception of women. Generally speaking, it can be pointed out that men established equal opportunities for

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Nusser, 2002: p.102

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Offen, 1993: p.101pp

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Gerl-Falkovitz, 2009: p.153

women as a social value but in reality women still have to fight against traditional patronizing patterns. It may be the case that a few strong women who were “newborn”, merely changed the way men thought about a women’s role in general. To finally succeed in an equal social coexistence men have to improve themselves and separate from their old structure of roles. In this day and age most women are still trying to find their own identity but at least, in terms of money they are finally independent.

As a result of its longstanding women-discrimination in this men-society, women are standing under self-generated pressure to prove their skills and strength. Social recognition is the new goal. They also managed to escape the traditional role of a housewife and established an independent, sophisticated and modern perception of women.¹⁰⁷

Up to the present, it is still not possible to talk about emancipation (this is a process not a condition) in a feministic sense, which means that women and men are seen as two equal individuals. At least the paternalist is overcome and women think of themselves as independent persons in this society. Without knowing or wanting, women themselves created themselves a new role - “super-woman” – the new example for the perfect woman. Extensive media coverage helped to establish this new roll, which seemed to be the new key to happiness, success and social recognition. To become this ‘super-woman’ you have to be fit, which means physically attractive and without any financial independence.

Still it is not quite possible for women to break through those typical old-fashioned gender roles, because up to the present time women haven’t learned to make their own independent decisions yet.¹⁰⁸

In her book ‘Maschinenzeitalter’ which was published in 1888, Bertha von Suttner, also known as ‘Friendensbertha’ dealt with varied role assignment.

She was known for being a determined campaigner for women’s rights and assumed that both genders had to be equal. She was strictly against putting them into separate categories.¹⁰⁹

Shortly after World War II, Simone de Beauvoir originated a feminist theory where both genders were equal, along the way Betty Friedan, who was against the typical gender role, established that woman should create their own schema of life, where they can be a business- and housewife at the same time. At the beginning of the seventies Alice Schwarzer

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Lausus, 2007: p.182pp

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Lausus, 2007: p.187pp

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Götz, 1998: p.15pp

communicated a negative image of men, assuming they would misuse their power against women. She was known as a promoter for radical feminism and with her extreme turn of phrases she woke up women's competitive spirit. Up till now Alice Schwarzer remains faithful to her radical feminism thoughts.¹¹⁰

According to Beauvoir feminists are women as well as men who are fighting for women, without making the entire society dependant on the pursued change. She realized that the struggle at the political level nowadays does not quickly lead to the goal. Today, women only have one goal, to fight for their specific situation, before the undreamed socialism begins. In addition Beauvoir thinks, that equality has not yet occurred, even in socialist countries.¹¹¹

In the late 20th century, the second-wave feminism formed in the United States of America and England, which is no longer fighting, like in the 'first-wave feminism', for the equality of the sexes, but their diversity. Here women demand that their specific conditions of life in society will be taken into consideration. Furthermore, their particular desires should get a space where they can develop. Women should not be determined by the patriarchal order, anymore, but should rather explore and express their own female identity.¹¹²

Back in the early seventies American historian tried to examine the history of European women and their women's movement. Before 1970, feminism was often seen, in most popular books, as a movement that spoke up to improve women's situation. This left feminism start in 1948 in Seneca Falls and placed the right to vote for women at the center. Both genders should have equal rights.¹¹³

6.6 Women's movement

The fighters of the women's movement consisted of two groups: Women who did not want to be patronized by other women and on the other hand, all the independent feminists. Before the departure of the women's movement, these women were not politically organized. There was no hierarchy and instead campaigns were the guides of this women's movement.

Furthermore, the rejection of traditional forms of organization was an important point on their agenda. The foundations of government and autonomous women's projects began in the mid-

¹¹⁰ Cf. Lausus, 2007: p.179pp

¹¹¹ Cf. Schwarzer, 1999: p.44p

¹¹² Cf. Schabert, 2006: p.302

¹¹³ Cf. Offen, 1993: p.100

seventies. Later it was no longer possible to speak of a homogeneous social movement of women because political differences of all the activists have become significant. The political term "movement" created common goals, which means Public visibility and organizational solidarity. At the beginning of the eighties, this was no longer the case, because this motion entered society. So one can say that women's movement died and feminism was born.¹¹⁴

Unfortunately, there is also a disadvantage in the women's movement. Nowadays you can find feminism everywhere, but unfortunately it is not tangible or enforceable. It should be an institution and not a factor of social power or status. So it happens that feminism today is speaking with many different voices but there is no representation in the top choir.¹¹⁵

In the history of the women's movement the resistance against the oppression of women by men is always visible, which made the subject in the early but also current women's studies. One of the first anthologies entitled 'Liberating Women's History' plays an important role on the discourse about the historiographic tradition. Another important point is the history of the women's movement and feminism in America. Again, the most important question is asked, what 'women's movement' and what feminism means and how these two terms differ from the 'women's history' as a total phenomenon. For Hilda Smith it is very problematic, how feminist actions are usually defined by their goals. That's how the decision-making processes and the design processes are lost from its view. She does not pick and choose only the goals and activities of a group of activists but also departs the foreign-definition and the self-definition of these activists. Hilda Smith thinks that feminism is a building full of ideas that examines the relationship between both sexes. This is supported by the belief that the whole social system was created by the relationships between men and women, which must be changed. Only by this definition, Hilda Smith will be able to find feminist reflections before the 19th century. Karen Offer represents a different opinion, where she is against this wide, Euro-centric definition of feminism. Karen Offer is committed to ensuring that the term feminism is made into a better weapon against the political struggle. In her opinion, feminism should serve as a generic term to label these social movements with feminist goals. In Karen Offer's extensive monograph on feminism in Europe she has shown the international integration of women's bonds. Furthermore, the exchange of ideas and activities across national borders was explained.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Cf. Schwarzer, 2000: p.256pp

¹¹⁵ Cf. Schwarzer, 2000: p.266

¹¹⁶ Cf. Opitz-Belakhal, 2010: p.123pp

Nowadays, the term women's movement is automatically connected to feminist movements, which emerged in the late Sixties and Seventies. This called for the liberation of all women from their economic exploitation and sexual oppression, also the gender-specific social marginalization had to be canceled.¹¹⁷

For some feminist an approach to identify women as historical subjects, was to collect information and write her-story. This play on words history is derived from 'his story' and the same applies to 'her-story'. They wanted to give back the devalued observation value and thereby give the feminine contribution to the design of history validity. Men were only just a group of actors and women had to be considered by the historians. Some historians have gathered sources of women to demonstrate their similarity as historical subjects with men. They tried to fit this new subject 'women' in the general historical category. Furthermore they interpreted the activities of women in terms. For example, they considered a political women's movement from the perspective of ordinary members, rather than from the view of the leaders. Furthermore, women have been examined within the 'her-story' and those used results (of traditional presentation of progress but also retrogressive steps in history) have been put in question. Other investigations are different from the classic story and offer a different course of history, recent of narrative, a different periodisation. Here, the life structure of normal as well as important women is examined. They tried to discover the heart of the feminist awareness, which motivate their behavior. The approach of "her-story" had a very important impact on the historical science. It refutes the claim of those, that women have no history or important place in the past. The approach justified the legitimacy of narratives about women and general meaning of the sex difference in the formation of concepts, or in the conduct of social life. Thanks to the social history, (which provided the women's history methods to quantify, but also for the use of pieces of information from everyday life) her-story developed further and further.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Cf. Gehmacher, 1998: p.11p

¹¹⁸ Cf. Scott, 1993: p.41pp

6.7 Significant Women

6.7.1 Olympe de Gouges

For the first time in 1789, women in France went public as a group to enforce their rights. The history of modern feminism started and this was linked to the history of the bourgeois demand for equality. Olympe de Gouges wrote in 1791 "Die Erklärung der Rechte der Frau und Bürgerin", which is also available in German language since 1977. This applies, to many other political writings, the main work of Marie Olympe Aubry. Since 1770, she called herself only "de Gouges". The author of the declaration of human rights (shortened women's rights declaration) talked with her 'declaration' very precisely to the sequence of the general declaration of human rights from 1789. She just changed some text parts that felt important to her. Olympe de Gouges did not return the favor with a sexist countermove and simply exchanged the term man by woman in her text. No, she emphasized in all political issues the necessary 'union of man and woman' and demanded to protect the rights of both sexes. It was always about man and woman – she wanted to protect both. She thinks that there is the sole cause of public misery, only because of forgetfulness or contempt of women's rights. She exchanged the term people with nation. Olympe did this, not because she was against the sovereignty of the people - on the contrary, she always saw herself as a lawyer who fought for the public. In two other articles, she does not refer to the law but speaks of 'laws of nature and of reason' (as all women, in the Declaration of Human Rights, are excluded). She says that men have destroyed by their authoritarian rule, the harmonious community and this is at odds with the order of nature – that's why the order of nature felt apart.¹¹⁹

For Olympe, freedom only makes sense with justice - not with equality. This connection of freedom of justice has to do with the fact that women were always prevented from exercising in their natural role, by the eternal tyranny of men. She wanted women to feel free and do what they wanted to do.¹²⁰

Human rights became a revolutionary instrument for women, because they are in any way radical in their criticism. However, her knowledge of politics is fundamentally different. All claims relating to the participation of women in public policy are brought forward in connection with the reproduction duties of woman – her assigned privacy. She says that a legally secured equality does not necessarily mean approximation. On the contrary, the

¹¹⁹ Cf. Gerhard, 1990: p.53pp

¹²⁰ Cf. Gerhard, 1990: p.60

achievement of equality allows only a new form of relationship between both sexes, beyond the patriarchal society.¹²¹

Olympe de Gouges (1748-1793) was the first woman who stood up for the equal political rights of both sexes. She demanded this right for women, because men already had this privilege. In 1789, when the Declaration of Human and Civil Rights was written and adopted two years later by the National Assembly, the author complained. She complained that all women who had fought together with their comrades or risked their lives, were now eliminated by their own attendants back from their political life. The use of freedom should only be given to men and women should return to their households. She simply could not accept this decision and therefore published 'Declaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne'. Where she pleaded in favor of both sexes voting rights, but also that women were allowed to participate in the political bodies. Despite their courage, Olympe, got beheaded, with many other courageous women, on November 3rd 1793.¹²²

6.7.2 Simone de Beauvoir

Simone de Beauvoir was one of the many women who have early recognized, that men were the norm. She sketched, the position of women as 'other', in her book ('The second sex'). Men were doers, which meant that they were central figures. Women, however, just had to keep things going.¹²³

For Simone de Beauvoir connection meant, that a woman is a reflection of education. Furthermore, she thought that woman were an invention of male deception, so that they had someone to transfer the unpleasant tasks to. In her opinion, women should phase on the child and the bond on the man, because these two factors lead to responsibility, and thus again to permanent acquisition of duties. Therefore, Simone de Beauvoir requires a connection-less self-determination – a masculinization of women. She believed, that the simple way of thinking must be annulled (which means being a woman is determined by the biological uterus) and the woman should no longer referred to as the other, because that would exclude

¹²¹ Cf. Gerhard, 1990: p.70p

¹²² Cf. Schwarzer, 2008: p.177p

¹²³ Cf. Franks, 1999: p.172

them automatically. From the beginning on, the female category should be understood as repressive.¹²⁴

With her book 'Le deuxième sexe', she sparked a scandal in France. The book is about the oppression of women in patriarchy. With her book, she created a substantial theoretical basis for the new women's movement and because of her feminist theories, she was very often criticized for.¹²⁵

Simone de Beauvoir wanted to be a woman who did not want to be a man. Women should not give up their humanity. She did not content with the womanhood but presumed to male-defined freedom. She is a female critic of the emphasis on a natural sex. Her desired image would be, that both sexes would understand each other on a sibling level.¹²⁶

6.8 Women's rights

For many centuries women were limited within their scope, unable to reveal their personality or rights. In every situation they were unable to reveal their personality or rights. A lot of female authors adapted to the given expectation, others attacked or avoided them openly since they thought it was impossible to ignore it. Some women realized that they had the talent to write and affect other humans. These women were often very lonely but strong and were ridiculed but thanks to these women's feminist consciousness became public. When they accepted their ability as their gift, these women encouraged other people to fight for gender-specific equality. Before women were able to develop their creative skills, they had to be fight hard for their anatomy.¹²⁷

Back in the modern era, women had no rights in the public life and were committed to their stay-at-home mom lifestyle, their role as the weak gender. Back then, women were not even master of their own body, no they had to please their partner by reproducing children and staying in shape. The new woman was born in the sixties where they were fighting for their place in society in general, equal rights of men and women. Commonly, men were not delighted – more frightened for their own privileges and to lose their beloved housewife. This new woman was not only a fighter for her own rights, no she also had to be different

¹²⁴ Cf. Gerl-Falkovitz, 2009: p.145

¹²⁵ Cf. Beck, 2008: p.129

¹²⁶ Cf. Schwarzer, 1999: p.20p

¹²⁷ Cf. Lerner, 1995: p.202pp

from the old-line mother and full-time housewife. Boyish looking, shorthaired women who dressed more manly, had a new symbolic value and projected androgyny which would help to match their opposite sex.¹²⁸

In Germany in the middle of the 18th century, with the entry into marriage the female "virgin" loses all her rights. Her own husband now owns her and her only job is to run their household. The man may even prohibit her career. Women and their children are under the total control of the Patriarch. If the husband dies, the widow is placed under guardianship. Furthermore, women are not entitled to inherit and are not allowed in court. The women have no voice, neither in the nation nor in their own marriage. Not until the time of the German Revolution of 1848, several women raised their voices against the opposite sex.¹²⁹

6.9 Women nowadays

In the seventies the UN-Women's Commission established that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights could not be a sufficiently effective tool to come along with this diversity of women-specific forms of denial and violation of human rights. Therefore they wrote up a convention in which 134 states (half of them joined conditionally) are parties, since 1979. In this convention, the elimination of all Forms of discrimination is formulated. In 1990 the CSW summarized that advanced rights in their own country or international agreements have hardly taken place. Women often do not know their own rights, in which case the women should be helped by a campaign. This campaign will help women know their written rights and no longer be exploited because of their uncertainty. Further, women should learn to recognize their interests but also afflict them. If they want to enforce their legal right, all women should get legal assistance. Women are simply not given any rights, even when they fight for their equality and climb domestic and international barricades. Anywhere, the contradiction between administrative law and actual injustice is a starting point for women's policy.¹³⁰

The last preparatory conference before Cairo, was held in New York in April 1994. Feminism had discovered lobbying and how women are, perfected it. They agreed, to out women's rights

¹²⁸ Cf. Lausus, 2007: p.175pp

¹²⁹ Cf. Schwarzer, 2008: p.179p

¹³⁰ Cf. Wichterich, 1995: p.80p

on the international agenda. The population lobby joined forces with the Women's Lobby and together they strongly encourage for women's rights and against the massive occurrence of men from the Vatican church. The Women's Lobby had given the population policy with its reform concept of reproductive rights an outstanding renewal and a greater acceptance.¹³¹

Different researches confirm that more than ever women identify with their professional life – their main goal is to succeed at work. In 1996 according to CIM, an opinion research institute in Great Britain, women regretted it if they hadn't build a career when they were laying on their deathbed. Secondly, not having a long and stable relationship and not giving birth to a child is number five on their list of regrets. Nowadays it is more important for the new generation of women to be successful than to have children and be a good housewife to their opposite sex.¹³²

In the last decade, women's work has shaped into two trends. One trend is the flexibilisation of all forms of work and secondly, it is the rise of women in employment market. In 1995, the United Nations believe that the global statistics show an increasing proportion of women in paid work. Around 41 percent of the employees in industrialized countries, are women and 34 percent worldwide.¹³³

A lot of different studies have shown, that the women's main objective is, to be successful in their jobs and to receive credit for it.¹³⁴

As a gender of moral, women are still incapable of speaking up for themselves, let alone saving the word, contrary to men.¹³⁵

Nowadays it is no big secret, that women earn less money than men, it is a worldwide phenomenon. This differs from country to country. In Italy, women receive 80 percent of the man's wage, closely followed by Sweden, Austria and Australia. In America, paradoxically, the income gap between men and women is the highest. It only makes 64 percent of man's

¹³¹ Cf. Wichterich, 1995: p.106pp

¹³² Cf. Franks, 1999: p.27pp

¹³³ Cf. Wichterich, 1995: p.145

¹³⁴ Cf. Franks, 1999: p.26p

¹³⁵ Cf. Rutschky, 1999: p.41pp

average salary, although they were one of the first countries to introduce the law of equality in 1963.¹³⁶

Up to the seventies, the women in the trade unions were hardly present. The tale of the two workforces is no longer true today. The heavy industry, which has previously taken care of the 'real' and well-paid jobs, has shrunk. Today, the service sector and other occupied areas of women have grown. These jobs will grow in the future, because men are not willing to do 'women's work'. A British study from the year 1996 shows, that six out of ten men will not apply for a job, they consider typical female.¹³⁷

These days, women are expected to seek a job, unless they have some other form of support. They, however, are still not in the same position as men. Gender-specific restrictions in the choice of employment, low salaries and burden of the household will make a woman's decision to work much harder than men. Here, the position as a family manager may be a conflicting issue. Over time, the political debates on this have evolved in different directions. But one thing is clear, women still have remained on the track. On one hand, the talk of family, to offer children a stable environment. On the other hand, the desire to motivate the younger generation to do greater volunteering in a community is still present. Jobs are insecure, casual work or long working hours make it retrospectively, even harder than before to meet the expectations of the most that are provided to by parents and community. Basically, the mothers are the community and they need more than ever, to contribute to this community.¹³⁸

Children are no longer as important as it used to be for the economic future of their parents. Back in the days they used to contribute to the substantial welfare of the family – which in most developing countries is still the case. Children are seen as 'cost center' at the present time.¹³⁹

A thesis is, that the distinction between both genders is very significant because of its asymmetry – which is considered as the law of life and the beautiful. Everything that is alive is not made symmetrical. However, the forces are to amount to a common goal. Both sexes

¹³⁶ Cf. Franks, 1999: p.45

¹³⁷ Cf. Franks, 1999: p.195

¹³⁸ Cf. Franks, 1999: p.264p

¹³⁹ Cf. Franks, 1999: p.265

are associated with each other asymmetrically, which constitutes the charm of the relationship. Nowadays, the search for the moving identity of women is further advanced.¹⁴⁰

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Gerl-Falkovitz, 2009: p.86

7. LINGUISTICS AND GENDER

This part of the master thesis will go into more detail on the topic linguistics and gender.

7.1 Linguistics

Back in the eighties Luise Pusch, one of the founders of feminist linguistics in Germany, show us how far patriarchal interests enroll in the grammatical texture of the German language. Her proposal is that women and men in public should either be addressed gender-related or with a 'generic feminine gender', which means that the 'feminine nominal form' passes for both sexes. Even the noun's arrangement is not insignificant, because women are not lower ranked than their male opposite. Luise Pusch believes that, if you really want to change social orders towards non discrimination, both sexes have to alter their language into an awareness forming and publicity generating medium for feminist arrangement.¹⁴¹

Researches on gender and language can be found for several centuries. Already in the 17th Century there were representations of missionaries, where the saying of the woman of these so-called exotic cultures is described, while at the same time, the speaking of the man raised the standard. Even at the turn of the century, representations about the speaking of women were not uncommon, by which the male supremacy should be confirmed.¹⁴²

In the following, only approaches are described, which belong to the category 'Feminist Linguistics'. All these studies have, the fact that they actively are against a discrimination of women as a research objects, in common. It is a critique of society, by which the desire for change can be derived. Initially, the field of research is described in which the ratio of the 'Genus' and 'Sexus' is examined. This is a language-systematic perspective, in which the relationship between 'Genus', the grammatical gender and in linguistics indicated 'Sexus' is researched. The 'Sexus' is defined, both in linguistic literature as well as in grammars, as biological sex. 'Genera' are used to divide the nouns into different classes. However, there is a connection between these two classification systems: In the German language, a distinction is between the 'Genera' feminine, masculine and neutral, which are referred to in many grammars as 'weiblich', 'männlich' and 'sächlich'. Overlaps can happen in the designations of the 'Genus' and 'Sexus' classification, as those also differentiates between male and female.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Cf. Waniek, 2002: p.32pp

¹⁴² Cf. Hornscheidt, 2006: p.271

¹⁴³ Cf. Hornscheidt, 2006: p.272

The research on the relationship between 'Genus' and 'Sexus' began in the seventies: In many Western countries awoke with the new women's movement, the interest in language as a medium of sexual discrimination. At this time, the focus of research was on the representation of the relationship between 'Genus' and 'Sexus', and a critique of this. This was implemented in the late seventies and early eighties, especially in the American guidelines, for a non-sexist use of language. In the nineties, the focus has shifted to the question of the influence of language forms on the gender perception.

This involves the question of what influence the reading and listening of various people reference- forms has on the perception of individuals ,and, what sort of effects appropriate guidelines consequently have and might have. Results of this research,therefore, affect both voice change strategies and structures of argumentation. Through this criticism on the relationship between gender and sex, feminist linguistics exceeds the traditional framework of structuralist linguistics, which sees itself as descriptive. Within their own discipline, this lead to strong resistance. However, it remains largely excluded in all researches on the relationship between gender and sex, the problematization of the category "gender" within the corresponding linguistic research.¹⁴⁴

According to Butler, we live in a world dominated by men, which refers its effect from a structuring of discourse and language. The male can extinguish female desire with its uniqueness in the language of the symbolic order (because it is not even representable).¹⁴⁵

In the nation and nationalism chapter of my research paper, this subject of linguistics is discussed again a little bit more.

7.2 Gender

Gender studies analyze the meaning of gender in society, culture and science. They do not require a solid term of the word gender, but rather try to figure out how this item is going to be fabricated and which significant meaning is attached to it. Furthermore gender studies want to figure out how it impacts on social structure, which distribution it has on political power and production of knowledge, culture and art. An investigation between biological and social

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Hornscheidt, 2006: p.275p

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Ott, 1998: p.104pp

gender can be made, by the separation of the terms sex and gender – which is not possible in the German-speaking world. The gender category opens new fields and creates opportunities from interdisciplinary and international cooperation, where ‘gender’, ‘class’ and ‘race’ form a critical instrument of cultural reflection and social criticism.¹⁴⁶

The German term ‘Geschlecht’ (from Latin *genus*) is almost completely displaced in the language. However, this has nothing to do with 'Americanization of the German language, there is simply no adequate translation for that term. Furthermore, the English language distinguishes between sex and gender – the differentiation between biological and social gender, which has no origin in the German language. The advantage of the term gender is, that it can be referred between the two sexes and the one-dimensionality of the German term is lifted. The numerous publications show the importance of this gender category. This determination between sex and gender has become the subject of science in the context of the feminist movement in America in the seventies.¹⁴⁷

Doing Gender states, that the affiliation of gender should not be seen as a characteristic of the general public. It should also consider all social processes in which ”Geschlecht” is produced and reproduced as a socially momentous distinction. This concept was developed in the context of sociological study to transsexuality. It states, that the identity of the Geschlecht/sex, is regarded as a continuous manufacturing process. The sex-gender model was simply reversed, which means that 'Geschlecht' is no longer seen as natural starting point, but as a result of complex social processes. Not the distinction represents the significance, but the importance represents the difference.¹⁴⁸

In the United States of America, these two women, Kate Millet and Sulamith Firestone laid the foundation of sexuality of the feministic debate with its concepts to the critique of the social organization of sexuality. Thanks to them, at the end of the sixties sexuality was an important part of the analysis of gender hierarchy. They developed two approaches, which until today have had an important influence on the discussion. During this time sexual liberation seemed to be possible, but was considered revolutionary as long as these sexual acts did not violate national and social norms. In her book ‘Sexus und Herrschaft’ Kate Millet developed the term ‘sexual politics’ which meant that women always have and will struggle

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Braun / Stephan, 2000: p.9p

¹⁴⁷ Cf. Stephan, 2006: p.52

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Gildemeister, 2004: p.132

with different power strategies. To her mind, sexual liberation is a prerequisite for overcoming the patriarchy. In order to get a sexual revolt, both sexes had to pass sexual freedom. Furthermore, Miller found out in her thesis, that the sexes are different in the federated social system of sexuality. She criticizes that gender inequality is stored as gender identity and sexual code of conduct.¹⁴⁹

The Gender topic will be discussed in more detail in the section 8.3

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Ott, 1998: p.64pp

8. NATION AND NATIONALISM

In this section of my master thesis, the issue of the nation and nationalism will be addressed.

8.1 Nation and nationalism

Ernest Gellner (1991) defined in his book that a nationalist principle (nationalism), a political principle, which states that national political units should coincide. According to him, the state and the nation are developed independently from each other. The state is a necessary but not sufficient condition of nationalism.¹⁵⁰

The nation is an industrial society, with a standardized written language and resort to older cultural heritage. Nationalism invents new historical realities or uses the historical inherited cultures selectively. It may happen that the high culture takes elements from popular cultures, which means that everybody thinks it had always been there.¹⁵¹

According to Gellner, there are two prospects for nationalism. The first thesis of the increasing convergence towards a homogeneous culture industry, is caused by common constraints of the industrial revolution. The second thesis, the incommensurability, states that every culture has different standards of virtue, morality and conception of reality.¹⁵²

Most countries have one main ethnic and several smaller minority groups, which despite their marginalized position consist of quite a big number of people. That is the reason why in many Western European nations, those minorities mentioned seek both cultural and political autonomy. Thus, internal ethnic conflicts have always been present and had to be dealt with in nation states. Consequently people are familiar with and used to them, since they have always existed. These marginalized groups sought legal protection and recognition of the cultural practices in Western democracy.¹⁵³

According to research conducted in 1980, it can be said that gender and nation (also nationalities) are closely related. They refer to each other in many ways and are also historical concepts that need to be critically examined and the, with them associated construction of identity, has to be deconstructed.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Gellner, 1991: p.8pp

¹⁵¹ Cf. Gellner, 1991: p.87pp

¹⁵² Cf. Gellner, 1991: p.163pp

¹⁵³ Cf. Lutz/Phoenix/Yuval-Davis, 1995: p.5p

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Opitz-Belakhal, 2010: p.88

National history was a political project since the late 18th century. National historiography is partly due to national identities. Not only with 'Christian middle-class men' but also by women. This national identity formation was connected with processes of exclusion, which are related to people of different sexes, or dissimilar religious/ethnic backgrounds. Furthermore, it is a central role for the construction and legitimacy of the nation. At the end of the nineties, there were more studies regarding the relationship between gender and nation (among other things, the question of female nationalism or gendering of national symbols). An important work for the study of nationalism is by Karen Hagemann. She examined, gender images, which were used for the mobilization of the population – of both sexes. This reflects gender but also different role models for each individual citizen. Of great significance are the national masculinity designs. For men, these include the family, to defend the homeland in war in which they could die as a hero, but also the linking of male military preparedness and political rights of citizenship.¹⁵⁵

Gender has an important role in the concept of the nation, which, in the narratives of nationalization, is barely visible. Transnational perspectives enable a door of the national-cultural but also national political fixation. According to Patricia Calvon (2005), the transnational perspective is closely linked to a cultural studies perspectivization and leads to duplication and recognition of less noticed citizens or arrangements in groups. Another important focus is the migration research, which can be created biographically, groups of persons of both sexes but also political regulations or gender exclusion and limiting processes.¹⁵⁶

For the sociologist Ernest Gellner, nationality means that women are devalued and stripped of their own individuality. As a modern phenomenon, Gellner interprets the ubiquity of nations and nationalities, which he brings in the context of the emergence of industrial societies. He claims that only the industrial mode of production has made the development of national cultures, languages and education systems necessary. According to him, loyalty is towards one (national) culture the basis of advanced identity and only one state is the only power structure, which can secure such a culture. The American historian Joan W.Scott has interpreted social constructions of gender as a naturalistic form of representation of power relations. It should be seen as a reference system to legitimate criticism and political power,

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Opitz-Belakhal, 2010: p.89p

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Opitz-Belakhal, 2010: p.91p

where gender relations and politics develop mutually. Hierarchical relations between the sexes are maintained, so that they can fulfill their function of legitimation of power.¹⁵⁷

A conservative family is a structure, which was made and reproduced by a modern human. Gender is used as a metaphor for Nationality, where the modern human is considered as a common product of both organs. Everything that could not be associated with the identity of the male, is found as a female property. So women were not allowed to form their own identity, which can be observed in nationalist but also racist discourses. In recent years, the feminist theory construction examined the role of women and the associated social development. Kumari Jayawardena, a political scientist wants to justify in her book the authority the women's movements against national Company Information. In her strategy, Jayawardena makes the women's movement become part of national projects.¹⁵⁸

Two British sociologists, Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias attempted, in a systematic synopsis of case studies, to develop the connection of 'Western' and postcolonial perspectives. They define five forms of involvement, of the female sex in national events. First, they are biological reproducers of national and ethnic collectives plus their boundaries. Beyond that, the collection can be seen as a symbol and sign in the discourse on ethnic differences in this role. Furthermore, they are not only involved in the purveyors of culture in the reproduction of the collectives, but also participants in national liberation struggle on a political and economic level. Sylvia Walby, another sociologist, criticized the strong focus on ideological and cultural practices to their outline. In this connection, questions about the division of labor and social hierarchy are not addressed.

Frequently, two dominant perspectives can be worked out in feminist approaches. The foundation of every nation postulated the gender ratio in the image of the family as a 'germ-cell' of the state. The overcoming of the differences between sexes in the field of politics, is used as a factor in the completion of the formation of a nation. If everyone inside a community (which also includes women) has all democratic rights that exist, only then the nation is considered complete. For the existence of the nation, these concepts require the consent of all its relatives.

In the twentieth century, gender and nation introduce themselves as universal categories and are understood as the identity constructions of the Modern. An untouchable naturalness

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Gehmacher, 1998: p.20pp

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Gehmacher, 1998: p.22p

together with years of tradition is linked to them, which gives them stability. Nowadays these two terms have become the object of historical deconstruction work.¹⁵⁹

8.2 The French Revolution and its counter-concept

Eric J. Hobsbawm claims in his study 'nations and nationalism' that the history of the past 200 years can not be fully understood without the knowledge of the term nation and of terms derived from it. More over the organization principle (also known as nation) is one of the most important invention of the nineties and twentieth centuries. The reason why a nation is always depicted as a community is because it is only then that it is seen as a companionate network regardless of any existing inequality and exploitation.

There are many definitions of the word nation but all have in common that they define, which criterias establish a belong to the nation – a production of identities, the identification of the stranger. The concept of the nation state says that national identities can be clearly defined. These identities are always produced politically and are no natural or spontaneous circumstance.¹⁶⁰

In his study, Eric J. Hobsbawm points out that it was decided in France, not to make the spoken language the crucial decisive criterion for a citizenship. Ethnic or linguistic differences were not of relevance in France. The term 'nation' was seen for public interest and against the individual interests of the preferred classes. According to Hobsbawm, the common historical memory, language or religion (which constitute the criteria for the nation-state) cannot be fully transmitted in the newly-understood 'nation'. Slowly a modern understanding of nation occurs. The French Revolution has changed the ideas of the social order of the future fundamentally.¹⁶¹

In Germany the 'organic' nation was developed as a counter-concept to the French. This nation should be considered as an original condition. Although both notions of the term nation were totally different, they were equal in their identification: 'state equals nation equals people'. They distance themselves from strangers and put all humans who built one nation

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Gehmacher, 1998: p.24p

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Appelt,1999: p.131p

¹⁶¹ Cf. Appelt, 1999: p.132pp

equal with the state. Furthermore, both concepts match with their claim, to separate public and private spheres, where a legitimacy of the gender hierarchy arises.¹⁶²

Ernest Gellner sees nation and nationalism as a modern phenomenon, which makes the development of a national language, education and culture necessary. Loyalty to a culture is, according to him, the basis of a modern identity and the only power structure that can protect this culture is the nation-state.¹⁶³

Towards the end of the 18th century, the term 'nation' developed into a political key concept. At the beginning, the nation was closely associated with male-oriented public, who attributed housework to the opposite sex. However, since both sexes live in this society, a connection with the socio-economic development cannot be overlooked. In the 19th century, among other things, the Central European marriage pattern disappeared. With the implementation of the concept of the nation, old political boundaries were dissolved but new ones (between the public and private sector) have been 'invented'. In Europe, with the help of 'brotherhood, nation-states developed into two separate spheres-the male public and the private sphere. However, this was often criticized, because the nation can only be completed, if women have all democratic rights too.¹⁶⁴

8.3 Sex and gender bodies

The separation of sex (means the biological) and gender (labels the social and cultural), was in the sixties and seventies, the origin for research on women but also gender studies. The body was rather attributed to the biological sex, equipped with either male or female sexual characteristics. This exact idea of the body makes it (the body) a kind of advertising column, which was sometimes indeed covered with new embassies, yet remains unchanged in the center. The core as a central 'space of identity' becomes visible, which is homogeneous and has clear boundaries. The media appears in this advertising column, as cultural agent which disguises this. An advertising medium appears, which spreads embassies to replicate and therefore the core which actually has been the same, disappears. Women were regarded as mediators of messages that have been properly assigned the biological body in the imitation process. The structured relationship between the sexes has been fixed. Through the

¹⁶² Cf. Appelt, 1999: p.134pp

¹⁶³ Cf. Appelt, 1999: p.133

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Appelt, 1999: p.135p

representation of the media, sex becomes gender. These create artificial bodies, that constantly repeat and redesign the gender dualism.¹⁶⁵

In 1991, Judith Butler published her very famous book 'Das Unbehagen der Geschlechter' ('Gender Trouble'). For Butler, biological sex has always been a part of the cultural and social gender. According to her, both are inseparable and a construction. The humanity has, according to Butler no clear gender, is not man or woman, but created the sex as a byproduct of its pursuit of life constantly new. By this change of paradigms in gender studies, the body is no longer considered as a biological constant, but has become the scene of social practice. Gender is not written on the body, but anchored in it. This link leads to a naturalistic understanding of the identity of sexes.¹⁶⁶

In order to comprehend the aligning of different individuals and groupings in Europe the term gender is very crucial because firstly in a lot of cases women represent significant roles in narratives about the honor of a nation (as stated by Anthias and Yuval-Davies, 1989) and secondly they very often participate in national and ethnic battles. Nevertheless women are considered to be symbols and men to be the representative agents of a nation. To Yuval-Davis view mostly men with fundamentalist religious beliefs are chosen to illustrate a nation. It is only the men who are given a legitimate voice, not the women, as they are associated with ethnicised and racialised collectivities.

The protection and or violation of the female gender therefore has been main topic in discourses of the nation. Feminist claim that both the protection and the exploration couplets aim to deny women access to power by using the vulnerability of women against females. Furthermore they are abused as a reason to justify wars by portraying them as a 'rape victim' or a 'mourning mother' in order to mobilize the masses. In addition to that, women are also either encouraged or forbidden to reproduce, depending on the population rate or during time of war, which then again makes them a subject of exploitation and a natural strategic weapon to crush the honor of a nation. The reason why this kind of exploitation always strikes the female and not the opposite gender, is the mere biological fact that only they can give birth to children.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Klaus, 2004: p.165p

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Klaus, 2004: p.167pp

¹⁶⁷ Cf. Lutz/Phoenix/Yuval-Davis, 1995: p.10p

The scientific theories reproduce gender blindness by having ignored gender relations and automatically assumed that there is just one gender – the male one. Yuval-Davis points out that women have shaped the society and have always been a part of it.

The gendered - social identity of both sexes is closely linked to the national identity. Despite the role restriction, the national education was an important function, which was assigned to women. Men and women are both enrolled in different ways, in national stories. The woman, with the function as a mother and the man was considered as a hero and warrior. ¹⁶⁸

In the 18th and 19th century clear dividing lines between masculinity and femininity were drawn. While the masculinity was described with positive attributes, the femininity was attributed negatively. ¹⁶⁹

8.4 The nation as a woman

Looking at the aspect of the “biological” production of a nation, the concrete reproduction of its members, it’s not only about the regulation of births, but also about the subsequent symbols and discursive practices. Johanna Gehmacher regards the reproductional discourses and symbols, that a company has, as a dimension of restoring cultural nationals. Reproduction is in all its dimensions a relevant aspect of the construction of a nation and of gender, because it links - apparently inseparable, due to its material dimension, women to reproductional work, by using the argument of natural purposes of the female body. Furthermore the specific social regulation of reproduction has concrete impact on both gender relations and national identities of each and every of its individuals. As a conclusion birth itself cannot be considered a natural act since it always takes place in a specific social, economic, cultural, political and historical context. ¹⁷⁰

“[...] women’s membership in their national and ethnic collectivities is of a double nature. On the one hand, women, like men, are members of the collectivity. On the other hand, there are always specific rules and regulations which relate to women as women. This is especially important to remember when we consider the political implications of the ways women are constructed as biological reproducers of “the nation”. [...]”¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Thurner, 2004: p.17p

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Thurner, 2004: p.19

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Yuval-Davis, 2001: p.48

¹⁷¹ Yuval-Davies, 1996: p22

Since the Greece antiquity, a woman's body was never the norm. It had always been the male body, which stuck out for the proper, predictable corpus. A woman per se was symbolized as a stranger or as an unpredictable human being. Polyklet, a sculptor from the 5th century composed a paper that painted the ideal proportion of a human being. The "ideal corpus" was considered a male body that matched a metric system. Cities, however, were represented through female figures like Pallas Athene, Germania or Britannia. This took place because the female body was associated with motherhood and femininity. The "unblemished" mother represented the whole community. This led to the collective rape of women during time of war. The community corpus of the enemy (for example, Germania, known as a female) was hit brutally by rape and sexual violation of women. To put it plainly, the female body represents both unity and vulnerability of a whole society.¹⁷²

The effeminate German nation is known as Germania. Here the historical characteristics of the relationship triangle of politics, nation and gender is traced. Femininity emerges only on the political scene, when it come down to crucial and essential matters. Gender relations were and still are important for the legitimacy of political actors. The relational link of politics, nation and gender has a system, which is analyzed in the shape of a female nation embodiment.¹⁷³

A lot of important female figures are very often associated with nations or ethnic identities. A few other examples are: the very famous French female symbol Marianne or Lady Hungaria.¹⁷⁴

*"The primary function of the symbolic woman is to show her beautiful body, in postures expressing, for example, optimism or defiance. Symbols of the Fatherland may show emoticons – for instance, weep for the men fallen in wars – but the hardly ever speak. Rather, they react to the words, actions and opinions of (male) citizens and politicians."*¹⁷⁵

In her study, about the political discourse of Hungarian women amongst war, Andrea Petö (1997) refers, that only the female gender can protect the body of the nation and can also act

¹⁷² Cf. Von Braun, 2000: p.17pp

¹⁷³ Cf. Brandt, 2010: p.11pp

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Laakso, 2008: p.188

¹⁷⁵ Laakso, 2008: p.192

for the purity of the race. To the generation of the future, they also stand for the forwarding of affirmative attributes considered as ‘racial characteristics’.¹⁷⁶

When women are described as nations, the usage of the contrast between man and female, is shown. Here the man is seen as the prototypical and the woman as his (worth) less prototypical object.¹⁷⁷ *“The object of the man’s action is a woman – bit the woman is also a wonderful metaphor for something that belongs organically together with the man, forms a part of his identity. This is what nationality and ethnicity are like: one is born into them, but is also (at least in principle) free to leave them and choose something else. The same goes for languages.”*¹⁷⁸

In many European countries in which the language is gendered, some words for institutions or ideas like: ‘Liberte’, ‘Frau Musica’, ‘Academia’ or ‘Freiheit’, got feminised. This even happened with the Latinized name of countries like: ‘la France’ or ‘Germania’.

There is a connection between the female symbolic and the grammatical femininity.¹⁷⁹

*“[...] feminine is that is excluded from or contrasted with prototypical humanity, i.e. masculinity, and this exclusion is expressed both by the structure of language and in other aspects of culture.[...]”*¹⁸⁰

The triumph over a military precipitation was doubled through rape. These rapes marked the end of a war in which the woman's body was used as a functional resource. Due to this massive and systematic rape of women, the deconstruction of cultures was symbolized. This was regarded as the greatest form to inflict damage to a nation. The female body acted as a symbolic representation of the body of the nation. The sexual occupation of that female body through the winner, symbolized the military defeat of the whole group and also of each man. In this connection, the humiliation of women became a symbolic castration of the other sex. Due to this extreme violence of the rape, the woman's body was marked. This expressed that the defeated community was no longer safe from their attackers. The extent of sexual violence against the female corpus, showed the low level of physical invulnerability of women. The woman's body was used to exchange masculine messages.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Laakso, 2008: p.191

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Laakso, 2008: p.195

¹⁷⁸ Laakso, 2008: p.195

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Laakso, 2008: p.192

¹⁸⁰ Laakso, 2008: p.196

¹⁸¹ Cf. Eifler, 1999: p.162pp

The Austria - Hungarian Empire was a multinational state and was in the verbal and non-verbal sense multilingual. This was determined by a large number of useful imaging symbol systems, such as architecture, music, and food. The Geograph Friedrich Umlauf described this monarchy as a 'state of contrasts', where all European ethnic groups have been represented by significant masses. But this unification was also based on the playout of power. The absolute and authoritarian nation, pursued the goal of creating a centralized modern order. Homogenization won by the emerging national strata, a new power-political dimension – they wanted to reshape the political system.¹⁸²

In Austria, from 1907, the universal right to vote for man was valid. On the 12th of November in 1918, finally all Austrian women got the right to vote – active and passive. This new right to vote, called for an equal, direct and secret right to the election for all citizens - regardless of gender. The active right to vote was over the age of 20 years and the passive power came with 29. But there was a census. By the year of 1923 prostitutes were excluded, but “procurer” retained their right to vote. With the introduction of the right to vote the country Austria is located in the chronological middle field of the European states.

This achievement of voting rights for women was triggered, as well as in all other European countries, by an active women's movement.

Despite many similarities with other European countries, peculiarities are still observed in Austria. In the Habsburg monarchy of the 19th Century, a small group of educated women already had the right to vote.

On February 16th 1919, the first general election was held, where all the citizens of Austria were allowed to vote. In this election, the valid current limitations of Austria were founded.¹⁸³

8.5 Nations, based on Austria

Each national identity is based on an objective and subjective element. These two are connected and are subject to historical change. The objective part has the character of a political (nation-state) or cultural (cultural nation) dimension. Both allow transitions and gray areas. The subjective component is responsible for the political controllability but also the historical changeability. The perception of language, community or religion can lead to

¹⁸² Cf. Feichtinger, 2005: p.172p

¹⁸³ Cf. Sauer, 2008: p.25pp

various consequences. Before 1918, talking German in Austria, was the objective circumstance that led to the subjective perception that Austrians were German citizens. After 1945, the same objective fact, however, was perceived differently - patriotism took over the role of the German language. Furthermore, each identity is unfortunately also the inclusion and exclusion of other people. If people attributed to these identities, then they would be counted towards their 'own' people, but strangers would be excluded. National identities satisfy exactly the same functions as prejudices and reinforce a dichotomous understanding of society and politics. We against the others.¹⁸⁴

National identity can not be described as a phenomenon of nature. It is a cultural phenomenon that is dependent on social development which means it is changeable and controllable. Only the political socialization makes a human being for example a French. Through this socialization, a person experiences then her/his status of her/his own identity. National identity develops through the comparison with others. The connection between national and gender-related or religious identities relativized the weight of a single identity. This helps to prevent the hegemony of a single (national) identity. National self-sameness is not only reality but furthermore it is an indicator. This intensity says something about real relations – about the distribution of life chances. The direction and intensity of national identity changes when these conditions are changed.¹⁸⁵

In Austria there are hardly any female intellectual voices on the topic of national identity. This is not a contradiction but, according to a public opinion research, identified since 1967, more women have a stronger identification with the state.¹⁸⁶

Austria has long been associated with the 'victim theory', which is related to the country's history and the identity of the post-war Austria.¹⁸⁷

In 1945, after the end of World War II, the way to the nation in Austria has been researched intensively. After this time, Austria developed into an open, modern u pluralistic industrial society. The social structure, value patterns and formerly dominant ideologies changed significantly. 1945 was experienced by many Austrians, as the year of liberation. Nevertheless, Austria was designated, after the war, as a land without history. In 1986, due to

¹⁸⁴ Cf. Pelinka, 1995: p.28p

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Pelinka, 1995: p.33

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Thurner, 2004: p.12

¹⁸⁷ Cf. Weiss, 2004: p.5

the 'Waldheim Affair' it came to a separation in the political script of Austrian historical representation.¹⁸⁸

National identity is now a common term with less precise meaning. The importance of common symbols and identifications are highlighted when it comes to the permanence of a nation. The common history, language, culture and religion is emphasized. From the point that nations can never be completely homogeneous, common standards and rules of coexistence are highlighted which are reflected in democracy, civilization and law.

The modern nation-state combines heterogeneous languages and cultures and the rights of citizens regardless of gender, religion or national origin. In constitutional norms, the feeling of solidarity in all people is justified. There the equality of all citizens is prepared by applying universal rules in public. There is no generally accepted theory of the nation. It is precisely the various reasons of nation-building, which have led to the development of specific national identities.

According to various studies, the origin of the nation is a product of the modernization of society. It produces a new form of communitization (not community), which created the new social action. It is a construct, which satisfies the densification of the mobility and communication. The nation does not only replace the sense of unity of small social units and groups, but also creates cohesion between all anonymous individuals.¹⁸⁹

The emotional bond between the individual and the nation finds its expression in symbols such as the flag, love for the homeland or an anthem. The normative binding refers to the primary roles and the functional relationship is consistent with our modern conception. All human beings connect their goals with the opportunities that they are given in an institution. Another type of relationship is the lack of bonding. Through the sense of alienation, the individual gets no emotional or financial bonus.¹⁹⁰

Defined boundaries but also the exclusivity of the emotional attachments are important conditions for the existence of a nation. On the basis of stereotypes, image of the others and enemies the borderline from other nations and to strangers is investigated. Most stereotypes act from a feeling of one's own superiority – the feeling of being better than the others.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Weiss, 2004: p.9p

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Weiss, 2004: p.12p

¹⁹⁰ Cf. Weiss, 2004: p.15

The 'we-feeling' can not only generate delimitation, but also the superiority of their own and the inferiority of the other groups. In Austria it can be shown, according to Gehmacher, that the negative stereotypes of the former monarchy countries live on unchanged. Even the improvement has not changed anything on the negative stereotype of the East, for most Austrians.¹⁹¹

In the Habsburg multinational state, the collective identities could not easily be produced on the construct of the nation. The various language communities were not divided on ethnic cultural territories. Language seemed separating as a symbolic system. The idea to belong to a social union remained impossible. Different national approaches fought for the supremacy. The homogenization slowly gained a new national political scope. The ideal was the membership to 'a' nation - under the destruction of other identificatory elements. The language was associated with the national identity formation. The mixed use of language slowly lost its importance and a new symbolic dimension of language slowly gained dominance. That's how the perception of inequality has become increasingly clear but at the same time it increased the sensitivity to the problem of language.¹⁹²

Benedict Anderson says that the idea of a nation is a rhetorical process. Only through the art of speaking, it is possible to produce identification and convictions. Therefore, the so-called gender appeal is a used device in the classical rhetoric. Gabriele Kämper understands by the gender appeal, rhetorical devices, that appeal to sexual self-images of people - the gender-identity atmosphere of national language use.¹⁹³

In national rhetoric common identities are produced, ethical boundaries are drawn and the inner as well as outer foreigner is excluded. Mostly, nation and subject merge into one - a male subject of self-assertion. This figure of national rhetoric is then usually interpreted as a hero and occurs in several texts. The publicist Peter Meier-Bergfeld determines, that in Austria the 'patriarchal – Earthbound' still has a great influence on politics. In Austria there is, among others, the law that only the name of the man is valid in marriage and that he state has the right to make legal name consequences. The normal determines in Austria - the legal

¹⁹¹ Cf. Weiss, 2004: p.17

¹⁹² Cf. Feichtinger, 2005: p.179p

¹⁹³ Cf. Kämper, 2008: p.342

or state sphere. Pictures where women neither have a married name nor a subject status can still be found in Austria.¹⁹⁴

Masculinity is identified with the social strengths in resistance to a female media society. No more demands are made from the media, they just want to satisfy the masses. The 21st century is an affluent society, in which the self-satisfaction is top priority. That's how the past can fall into oblivion and that's what causes the feelings of guilt. The philosopher Reinart Maurer believes that the self-realization through technically mediated satisfaction of needs of any kind, is the end of national history. He calls this individual fulfillment "pursuit of happiness", which is associated with women and their consumption. Reference is made again, that women submit to society with the principle of happiness and pleasure. In addition, it reinforces masculine and national self-assertion.¹⁹⁵

According to Zygmunt Bauman nation states are a result of modern processes of order where everyone has the right place, which appears given as 'natural'. This also applies to people who live in this nation-state, where areas are identified with a common language. Anderson sees the nation state as the successor to the pre-existing cultural systems that were determined by world religions and dynasties. Furthermore, it is an important basis of the national consciousness, that books can be published, in a few languages. So it was aware for the readers, that there were other recipients out there, who spoke their language and with whom they were connected via media. Anderson calls this notion of shared identity with other rooms 'imagined community'. New forms of community developed, which occur through new technologies of communication and information.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Kämper, 2008: p.347pp

¹⁹⁵ Cf. Kämper, 2008: p.349pp

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Hipfl, 2004: p.53pp

9. FINDINGS

The object of study, the to be investigated daily newspapers will be explained in more detail.

9.1 Quality paper

The coverage of the quality paper, aims to provide information, not entertainment.

Consequently, the messages are selected according to accuracy and relevance and not by sensational character. The quality press sets itself higher standards regarding objectivity and compliance with ethical guidelines. Furthermore, it can be characterized by a restrained style, for example the title page plays no great importance, it uses fewer images and headlines are not so emotionally charged and disproportionately made large. The quality paper places great emphasis on the background reporting, strict separation of news and opinion is respected and the sources of the message is communicated. Stylistically, the quality paper is characterized by more complex sentence structures and the use of more foreign words.¹⁹⁷

Quality newspapers will not practice a 'Häppchenjournalismus', but one of the importance of the event adequate coverage. The goal here is the representation of different aspects, at with the structures of events, their causes and consequences is attached to great importance. This results in a balanced coverage for readers, who want to make their own judgment. Although the strict separation of news and opinion as well as source transparency, is of central importance.¹⁹⁸

9.2 Die Presse

The history of Die Presse starts in 1848 and the inventor of this newspaper was August Zang, who felt it was very important that Die Presse would make profit. The annulment of censorship was a very important event, because the Austrian newspaper became the organ of public opinion. After the long period of oppression, everybody who could afford it, tried to make his/her opinion public. On July 3rd 1848 Die Presse appeared for the first time in Austria. Although this daily newspaper has a very simple title, it is known for having a very high standard. This newspaper was written by very well trained journalists who had to go through the rigorous school of French journalism. The paper represented a politically moderate position and declined to significantly promote extreme positions. They represented this position with a sophisticated language and serious presentation. In the fifties Die Presse was, thanks to its readers, the most influential journal of the monarch. On September 1st 1864

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Neissl/Siegert/Renger, 2001: p.100p

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Haas, 2008: p.103

the 'Neue Freie Presse' appeared. This newspaper differed only slightly (editorial, linguistic or stylistic) from die Presse. The newspaper die Presse, which was founded in 1848, was called by the population from now on "'die alte Presse' and this newspaper kept its liberal direction and rejected the neo-absolutism. 1896 Zang removed himself from the newspaper and the former subscribers were informed that there would be no more Die Presse soon. At this point, however, the 'Neue Freie Presse' was at the height of its fame as a successor newspaper and also dropped good profits.¹⁹⁹

This newspaper did not become a 'World Journal' due to of its high circulation but because of their journalistic and technical perfection. 1934, the largest shares of the newspaper were sold to the Austrian government, therefore it became the "newspaper of the government" and disappeared completely in 1938 by the Austrian scene.²⁰⁰

In 1939 Ernst Molden brought the newspaper Presse back to life and called it die Presse. Until October 1948, it was a weekly paper. After Ernst Molden passed, his son took over the newspaper in 1953. In 1965, the material basis of the newspaper was secured again, after 80% of share (were) sold to the Federal Economic Chamber.²⁰¹

1991 51% of the newspaper belonged to 'Verein zur Förderung der freien bürgerlichen Presse in Österreich' and the remaining percentage were divided by Styria and other companies. In June 1993, the daily newspaper was launched in a new appearance. Only three years later the first issue will appear in the world wide web. Since 1999 Styria is the sole owner of die Presse.²⁰²

9.3 Kurier

The newspaper 'Neue Kurier' appeared for the first time on 18th October 1954 in the Austrian media landscape. It was regarded as the successor of the newspaper 'Wiener Kurier' and was released by the U.S. Information Service in Austria since August 1945. This paper should help to ensure that the Austrian population was informed about democracy. From October on this American newspaper was published only once a week and was discontinued in July 1955. When Louis Pol learned that the newspaper was discontinued, he tried to convince the American Embassy to let them continue it. The embassy demanded guarantees that the democratic line of the newspaper would be maintained, and finally agreed to the transfer into

¹⁹⁹ Cf. <http://diepresse.com/unternehmen/geschichte/9819/> 10Dec2013

²⁰⁰ Cf. <http://diepresse.com/unternehmen/geschichte/unternehmen/geschichte/9835/> 10Dec2013

²⁰¹ Cf. <http://diepresse.com/unternehmen/geschichte/unternehmen/geschichte/unternehmen/geschichte/10765/> 10Dec2013

²⁰² Cf. <http://diepresse.com/unternehmen/geschichte/10768/> 10Dec2013

Austrian hands. Only two days later the newspaper 'Neue Kurier' appeared in Austria. Chief editor of this newspaper which was published two times a day (morning and noon) was Hans Dichand. From March to November 1958, the newspaper came out even three times a day. From October 1958, thanks to Hugo Portisch the newspaper gained prestige and importance in Austria. In 1988 Kronen Zeitung und Kurier became one and thanks to Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung (WAZ) a marketing and production subsidiary was founded. With 1 August 2010, Dr. Helmut Brandstätter took over Kuriers chief editorship and since 1st of August 2013 he is also the editor of this newspaper.²⁰³

According to the published Media-Analyse (MA) in 2011, Kurier had 575.000 readers and a national range of 8.1%.²⁰⁴

9.4 Tabloid

With the term boulevard the type of distribution and the way the newspaper is sold, is pointed out. These papers were originally sold exclusively on/in the street and at the kiosks.²⁰⁵

Through the sale on the path, a bold and sensationalistic presentation of the first page was required. As a result a purchase incentive for potential readers was created.²⁰⁶

Firstly tabloids want to attract the attention and interest of the readership. On the other hand they want link the reader to themselves, in the long run, to build a "reader-journal-bonding".²⁰⁷

It is based mostly on the interest of the audience, where human-interest topics dominate.

Politics and economics do not play a big role in tabloids. The focus lies on topics such as celebrities, sports, disasters, crime and violence. When tabloids write about politics, complex issues are briefly summarized and simple solutions to populist alternatives are shortened. This often gives the false impression, that readers were already sufficiently informed when reading about a problem.²⁰⁸ The most emotionally appealing theme is placed with a related headline

on the front page. Tabloids are formally characterized by a striking and illustrative presentation. Striking headlines, different font sizes and many pictures are used and the language is characterized by simple and short sentences, and by the use of the everyday language. For the readers, the articles are easy to understand and easily consumable.²⁰⁹

²⁰³ Cf. <http://kurier.at/services/diezeitung/die-geschichte-des-kurier/714.239> 10Dec2013

²⁰⁴ Cf. http://www.ots.at/presseaussendung/OTS_20120326_OTS0193/media-analyse-2011-kurier-punktet-mit-stabiler-reichweite-und-bester-performance-in-top-zielgruppen-bild 10Dec2013

²⁰⁵ Cf. Burkhardt, 2005: p.31

²⁰⁶ Cf. Pürer/Rabe, 1996: p.173

²⁰⁷ Cf. Burkhardt, 2005: p.32

²⁰⁸ Cf. Pürer/Rabe, 1996: p.173

²⁰⁹ Cf. Burkhardt, 2005: p.32

9.5 Krone

The first time the Kronen Zeitung got published, was on January 2nd 1900. It was founded by Gustav Davis, a former officer and chief editor of the then Reichswehr newspaper. The newspaper got its name, because its monthly-subscription cost/was one Krone, which was the former currency in Austria. Gustav Davis wanted to create a newspaper, that was accessible to all Austrians citizens. This idea appealed to many important people in Austria, that's why he had a lot of prominent support. Ladislaus Tuszynki, a cartoonist was, among others, one of the accomplices, who had part in the sustained success of the newspaper. Since photography was not yet mature at that time, his drawings had to be in every newspaper. In the beginning, however, the newspaper was not very successful. This changed on June 11th 1903, after the newspaper reported on the Serbian regicide. Back then Davis sent a team of reporters to Belgrade in order to report on the spot. Thanks to this, for that time, revolutionary action, the circulation figures of the Krone increased and they also brought the newspaper sustained popularity. The 200 serial novels, that appeared from 1900 until 1938, help the newspapers level of awareness. In 1938 the newspaper was then controlled by the National Socialists and renamed Kleine Kriegszeitung and only six years later it was completely abolished. On 10th April 1959, due to Hans Dichand, former editor in chief of Kleine Zeitung and Kurier, the first edition of the Neue Krone Zeitung got published with a circulation of 156,000 pieces. This copy was immediately sold out, although one year before, people predicted the pointlessness of this newfound company. In 1962 the newspaper increased its price and presented it on large format. The circulation received an increase of 50,000. On its website, the Kronen Zeitung labels itself the most-read daily newspaper in Austria, which, thanks to Hans Dichand, acts as a voice for readers and at the same time is an effective advertising medium for business people.²¹⁰

²¹⁰ Cf. <http://www.krone.at/Kronen-Zeitung/Die-Geschichte-der-Kronen-Zeitung-Damals-und-heute-Story-263526>
10Dec2013

10. METHODOLOGY

In this chapter of the master thesis, the empirical investigation is described. At the end, an explanation of the qualitative content analysis according Mayring will be explained, since this method was used for the evaluation.

10.1 Object of investigation

In this section, the selected newspapers for this research study, will be described in detail. Quality paper, midmarket paper and tabloids were selected in which the analysis of the online articles, regarding the change the national anthem, should be rounded. The Austrian posts to the change of Austrian national anthem were examined with reference to the newspapers Kronen Zeitung, Die Presse and Kurier.

10.2 Evaluation period

The period covered in this research study covers the period from March 7th 2011 until December 7th 2011. A total of nine months.

10.3 Investigation unit

This research evaluated the editorial online contributions regarding the changing of Austrian national anthem. In this addition to journalistic articles, in which the change of the national anthem was the main theme, articles were also taken into account in which the subject was treated only in passing on the edge. Letters to the editor, reader questions and reader comments, however, were not included in this study. The articles were obtained from the following web sites. For quality newspaper die Presse their website www.diepresse.com was used. For the midmarket paper Kurier www.kurier.at and for the tabloid Krone their website www.krone.at was used. This is a full survey regarding the sample of the examined Austrian online articles. During the selected time period (from March 7th until December 7th in 2011) all the published contributions to this research topic were collected and analyzed.

The distribution of the individual articles on the various online newspapers presents itself successor reasonably:

Die Presse:	23 articles
Kurier:	12 articles
Krone:	13 articles

10.4 Approach

When people communicate with each other or write, not only do they rephrase their opinion (which is influenced by the socio-cultural system), but also their knowledge and assumptions about the environment. These opinions and intentions reflect not only the personality characteristics of the writer, but also resist characteristics of the society. These may be values and norms. In order to draw logical inferences from linguistic material on non-linguistic phenomena that content analysis is applied. It describes and identifies linguistic features of a text in an objective systematic way. It then draws conclusions on non-linguistic characteristics of social groups and individuals.²¹¹

“Inhaltsanalyse ist eine Methode der Datenerhebung zur Aufdeckung sozialer Sachverhalte, bei der durch die Analyse eines vorgegebenen Inhalts (z.B. Text, Bild, Film) Aussagen über den Zusammenhang seiner Entstehung, über die Absicht seines Senders, über die Wirkung auf den Empfänger und/ oder auf die soziale Situation gemacht werden.”²¹²

Texts are here the most used material, which is evaluated using content analysis techniques. Including products of verbal communication, documents, files as well as newspaper articles.²¹³

In this research, the qualitative content analysis is used and will be described in more detail below.

10.4.1 Elements of the qualitative content analysis

Qualitative methods are difficult to determine because they mostly do not have a theory or paradigm - the same applies to the methods. For this reason, qualitative research is limited in

²¹¹ Cf. Lamnek, 2008: p.478

²¹² Atteslander, 2010: p.203

²¹³ Cf. Lamnek, 2008: p.492

the methods and paradigms are not only restricted to the social sciences, but they refer to many scientific disciplines.²¹⁴

In the quantitative content analysis, the research question must be clearly described as in the qualitative content analysis. The structuring of the analytical material in the qualitative content analysis assumes a comparable central importance as the education category in the quantitative content analysis. In addition, the qualitative method is characterized by a number of features. A result differentiation of the qualitative approach is possible. These four characteristics are:²¹⁵ “*Offenheit, Kommunikativität, Naturalistizität und Interpretativität*”.²¹⁶

The term *Offenheit* means that theoretical concepts and hypotheses are not formulated on the basis of scientific and personal knowledge, but develop as interpretations of the given material. The qualitative content analysis tries to let the content speak for itself, and from that develop the analysis.²¹⁷

The *Kommunikativität* is based on the assumption that social reality is created by communication or interaction. The source material for qualitative content analysis methods form protocols on the communicative act.²¹⁸

Naturalistizität says that the principle of naturalness must be maintained in the survey situation. This refers both to the communicative act and on the storyline of the content analysis. They should come as close as possible to everyday life and are also required for its evaluation. The researcher must be familiar with the used language codes of the subject's group.²¹⁹

Interpretativität refers mainly to the evaluation phase. On the basis of the material new hypotheses are extracted and the data collected will be used by interpretations.²²⁰

In this master thesis, the method developed by Mayring is used, which will be explained in the following chapter.

10.4.2 The qualitative content analysis after Mayring

Referring to Rust (1980), Phillip Mayring has developed four principles that are very important for the development of a qualitative content analysis.

²¹⁴ Atteslander, 2010: p.211

²¹⁵ Cf. Atteslander, 2010: p.212

²¹⁶ Atteslander, 2010: p.212

²¹⁷ Cf. Lamnek, 2008: p.508

²¹⁸ Cf. Lamnek, 2008: p.508p

²¹⁹ Cf. Lamnek, 2008: p.509p

²²⁰ Cf. Lamnek, 2008: p.511

1. During the procedure, the qualitative content analysis has to be aware of the quantitative techniques of communication sciences (the systematic procedure).
2. This material may not be understood alone, but as part of a chain of communication and has to be classified as a model of communication.
3. Lots of basic concepts of the quantitative content analysis are adopted. The focus of the analysis, is the construction and application of a category system.
4. Like other scientific methods, this analysis must be able to check on quality criterias.²²¹

Three different approaches can be distinguished with Mayring where a combination of procedures is possible.

In *summary*, the analysis has the aim to reduce the material so that the essential contents remain. Furthermore, a manageable corpus must be created by abstraction, which can still apply as an image of the base material.

The *explication* has set itself the goal of making individual, problematic parts of the texts, by additional material, understandable. The questionable part, should be explained and interpreted under the aid.

The *structuring* wants to filter out, certain aspects of the material.

It may also, under predefined sorting criteria, make a cross-section of the material or it can judge the material by means of certain criterias.²²²

In *structuring*, the researcher carries a structure in the form of a category system to approach the material. It is therefore necessary before the start of the analysis, to derive a fundamental structuring dimension of each research question and to justify this theoretical. Then one has the possibility to differentiate these further.

Mayring distinguishes again, between four different forms of structuring:

- The formal structuring has the goal, to filter out inner structure of the material according to certain formal structuring aspects.

²²¹ Cf. Mayring, 2003: p.27

²²² Cf. Mayring, 1997: p.58

- The content structuring extracts material on specific topics and content areas and summarizes these.
- Through a “typing dimension” the typological structure must detect distinctive characteristics and describe these in more detail.
- The scaling structure will define characteristics in the form of scale points for each dimension and assess the material on this basis.²²³

For the present investigation, without a doubt, the content structuring makes the most sense. Thematic focus and contents should be extracted from the material and then present a summary. In the first step, categories are determined by the theories. Then the material is investigated with the aid of the category system, and finally presented.²²⁴

In the present study, the research questions form the same content categories. Also subcategories (SC) are defined, by which the analysis of the material is specified.

RQ1 How is, in the investigated online articles, referred to the gender topic.

SC1: favourable comments

SC2: critical comments

RQ2 How do the individual parties comment on the event?

SC1: reactions to the speech prohibition

SC2: proponents

SC3: opponents

SC4: abstention

SC5: reactions after the debate in the parliament

RQ3 What typical stereotypes regarding women and gender were used in the investigated online articles?

²²³ Cf. Mayring, 1997: p.85pp

²²⁴ Cf. Mayring, 1997: p.89

RQ4 By whom and how was Maria Rauch-Kallat personally attacked and which misogynistic statements were made?

RQ5 How are the topics nation & nationalism discussed, in the debate of the national anthem.

11. DISCUSSION

In this chapter the research questions, with the help of the qualitative content analysis by Mayring will be answered. First, the text material was processed using the category system, in which the extracted text passages were summarized. As a result, the interpretation of the results and answering of the research questions.

RQ1 How is, in the investigated online articles, referred to the gender topic.

With the help of this research question, it should be explored, in which way the examined articles refer to the gender topic. There has been a discussion in the Austrian politic, regarding the change of the national anthem. A discussion was triggered on the topic ‘women's equality’, where some politicians have commented in a positive but also negative way. Before the actual event, which wasn't the topic until July 9th 2011 in the online coverage, some politicians already focused, on the occasion of the 100th Women's Day, on equality between women and men. The SPÖ Federal Women CEO Andrea Mautz expressed as follows in this regard: *„Es wurde zwar bereits viel erreicht, aber wir haben noch nicht in allen Bereichen eine tatsächliche Gleichstellung.“*²²⁵ The Minister for Women Gabriele Heinisch-Hosek called for: *„Gleicher Lohn für gleiche Arbeit“* because *„Frauen verdienen nach wie vor weniger als Männer.“*²²⁶ In addition, she calls for a proportion of women, at least in *„Aufsichtsräten von staatsnahen Betrieben: „Die gläserne Decke gibt's, sie ist mittlerweile aus Stahlbeton.“*²²⁷

Basically, you could determine in the analysis, that the new national anthem in the articles was called several times a *„geschlechtergerechte Hymne.“*²²⁸ In the Kurier, the research topic is referred to *“Schritt der Gleichberechtigung.”*²²⁹ This proposal regarding the change of the national anthem was not only expressed by the ex-Minister Maria Rauch-Kallat, but *„über eine geschlechtergerechte Änderung wird schon seit den 90er- Jahren diskutiert.“*²³⁰

SC1: favourable comments

In the examined articles, it was mainly female Austrian politicians who advocated for this project and supported it. Especially Maria Rauch-Kallat occupied a central position (in these online reports). In her opinion, the Austrian national anthem should do justice to women's

²²⁵ Kronen Zeitung, 07.03.2011

²²⁶ Kronen Zeitung, 07.03.2011

²²⁷ Kronen Zeitung, 07.03.2011

²²⁸ Die Presse, 13.07.2011

²²⁹ Kurier, 13.07.2011

²³⁰ Kronen Zeitung, 22.11.2011

needs and therefore not only „großen Söhne, sondern auch die Töchter besungen werden“ because „*Sprache präge Bewusstsein*.“²³¹ Furthermore, Maria Rauch-Kallat refers to the current national anthem as a „*Macho-Hymne*.“²³² National Council President Barbara Prammer sees the change as „*ein wichtiges Signal für Frauen*“ and for Women’s Minister Gabriele Heinisch-Hosek „*würden so die Leistungen von Frauen anerkannt*.“²³³ Judith Schwentner, spokeswoman for the party of the Grünen supported Maria Rauch-Kallats proposal and showed a lack of understanding regarding the emerged turmoil: „*Diese Änderung ist ein symbolischer Akt- wieso das so viel Aufregung und Irritation führt, ist nicht nachzuvollziehen*.“²³⁴ However, Schwentner says: „*Die meisten Österreicher identifizieren sich ohnehin eher mit den Lipizzanern als mit der Hymne. Ob die Frauen im Text das ändern können, wird sich zeigen*.“²³⁵

For the SPÖ spokeswoman Wurm, the change of the national anthem is of central importance for the all women, as they „*ja die Mehrheit sind und daher vorangestellt werden sollten*.“ Apart from that language is „*ein Herrschaftsinstrument*“ and the Austrian national anthem possess a great symbolic power.²³⁶ The ÖVP chief of women's Wurm requires on the other hand, that „*solches Lächerlichmachen von Frauen*“ would quickly come to an end. Wurm is convinced, that „*die neue Hymne könne und werde dazu beitragen, das Bewusstsein der Frauen selbst, aber auch jenes der Männer für die Frauen und ihre Leistungen zu steigern*.“²³⁷

The ÖVP-wife spokeswoman Dorothea Schittenhelm on the other hand does not understand all the uproar about this event „*Wir wollen ja nicht die Söhne aus der Bundeshymne streichen- um Gottes Willen!- , sondern nur das Familienbild ergänzen*.“²³⁸ In addition, she believes that Austria has a lot of „*großartige Frauen und Männer*“ and for this reason it should „*eigentlich selbstverständlich sein, dass sich dies in der Bundeshymne widerspiegelt*.“²³⁹ Judith Schwenter from the party of the Grüne, however, calls for a „*Rundum-Reform der Hymne mit noch mehr gendergerechten Formulierungen*.“²⁴⁰ Maria Rauch-Kallat asserted that

²³¹ Kurier, 13.07.2011

²³² Die Presse, 22.10.2011

²³³ Die Presse, 09.07.2011

²³⁴ Kronen Zeitung, 09.07.2011

²³⁵ Die Presse, 22.10.2011

²³⁶ Kronen Zeitung, 13.7.2011

²³⁷ Die Presse, 22.10.2011

²³⁸ Kurier, 09.07.2011

²³⁹ Die Presse, 15.07.2011

²⁴⁰ Die Presse, 22.10.2011

the women's issue had not been adopted by this debate, but hopes that through these *„andere Frauenthemen sensibler betrachtet werden.“*²⁴¹

In addition to the statements of the female Austrian politicians other male politicians spoke up. Federal whip of the SPÖ Günther Kräuter sees the change of the national anthem as an important step for the equality: *„Die symbolische Wirkung der längst überfälligen Geste im Sinne gelebter Gleichberechtigung sollte nicht unterschätzt werden.“*²⁴² SPÖ leader of the parliamentary group Josef Cap advocated Kräuter's position: *„Weil wir der Auffassung sind, dass wir auf unsere Töchter und Söhne stolz sind.“*²⁴³

Chairman of the ÖVP, Michael Spindelegger support the proposal, because this acts as sign of appreciation of women and their achievements.²⁴⁴

In the coverage not only quotes from Austrian politicians were found. In this regard, also Koschka Hetzer Molden, the daughter of the hymns-author Paula Preradovic expressed, that she sees the change as a *„ein Erfolg für Frauen ganz allgemein- wenn auch auf europäischer Provinzebene.“*²⁴⁵

SC2: critical comments

The research problem in relation to gender issues has been criticized in some articles as well. In an OGM poll commissioned by the newspaper Kurier, 70 percent of respondents are opposed to the inclusion of daughters in the text of the national anthem. In addition, 85 percent of respondents have classified the issue as *„weniger wichtig“*.²⁴⁶ OGM chief Wolfgang Bach Mayer explains it this way: *„Mit einer Anti-Gleichberechtigungs-Haltung habe das nichts zu tun.“* Instead he suggests, that the majority of women think this is more of a *„populistisches Sommerloch- Thema.“*²⁴⁷

The importance of the new national anthem for the equality of women in Austria is, however, also expressed by the journalists of die Presse. *„Die Republik hat sicher größere Sorgen, als sich den Kopf darüber zu zerbrechen, ob der Text der Bundeshymne nun „geschlechtergerecht“ oder nicht ist. Keine Frau wird selbstbewusster durch Österreich schreiten, wenn künftig vor Fußballländerspielen nicht nur die „großen Söhne“, sondern*

²⁴¹ Die Presse, 15.07.2011

²⁴² Kurier, 09.7.2011

²⁴³ Kurier, 11.7.2011

²⁴⁴ Cf. Kurier, 12.7.2011

²⁴⁵ Kronen Zeitung, 15.7.2011

²⁴⁶ Kurier, 14.07.2011

²⁴⁷ Kurier, 14.07.2011

auch die „großen Töchter“ im Land am Strome besungen werden.“²⁴⁸ Rather, these issues have „etwas lächerlich Substanzloses, wenn so viel politische Energie in eine bloße Behauptung investiert wird.“²⁴⁹ In another article of die Presse, the whole meaning of this change is also called into question: „Was uns vor die Frage stellt, was die offizielle Beschwörung der großen Töchter eigentlich bringen soll. Sicher, es ist eine nette Geste. So aus dem Stegreif fielen einem im Zusammenhang mit dem Komplex Gleichstellung/Gleichbehandlung/Gleichberechtigung, um den es hier ja geht, allerdings auch noch ein paar andere Gesten ein.“²⁵⁰ Even in this article the opinion is expressed, that Austrian girls and women do not think much of the change: „Den meisten großen und kleinen Töchtern dürfte es ziemlich egal sein, ob sie in Zukunft vor jedem zum Fiasko verdamnten Fußballländerspiel explizit erwähnt werden. Und das ganz zu Recht. Denn ist es wirklich so ein Renommee, in einem Lied vorzukommen, das kaum noch einer vollständig kennt und an dem außer der Topografie mit Berg und Strome praktisch nichts mehr stimmt?“²⁵¹ Criticism in this context was also practiced by FPÖ spokeswoman Carmen Gartelgruber, as she called these causa as „Gender-Klamauk.“ In addition she believes that „seriöse Frauenpolitik würde mit dieser Aktion ins Lächerliche gezogen.“²⁵²

The research has shown that in the investigated reports, both positive and negative, was taken on the gender issue reference. In general it can be said, however, that the majority of politicians have had an adverse on the subject.

Overall, it was observed that there were more women who have campaigned for the change of the national anthem. In the debate Maria Rauch-Kallat occupies a central position: she was the one who triggered the debate. Her story should not be disregarded - since the beginning of her political career she campaigned for equal rights for women. Overall, it was observed that there were more women who campaigned for the change of the national anthem. In the debate Maria Rauch-Kallat occupies a central position: it was her, who sparked the debate. It should not be disregarded in their history - since the beginning of her political career she campaigned for equal rights for women. The new fact about the issue of equality of women and men, although it was dissolved repeatedly in political debates since the nineties, is that it is now, for the first time ever, the subject in the Austrian parliament.

²⁴⁸ Die Presse, 09.07.2011

²⁴⁹ Die Presse, 09.07.2011

²⁵⁰ Die Presse, 13.07.2011

²⁵¹ Die Presse, 13.07.2011

²⁵² Kronen Zeitung, 13.7.2011

For Maria Rauch-Kallat the current national anthem is a "*Machohymen*". In her plan to let the anthem apply to both men and women, a few other political parties supported her. Mostly her female politicians have been strong supporters in her project, on changing the national anthem – for the better.

Among other things the Grünen spokeswoman Judith Schwendter sees the change of Austria's national anthem as a "*symbolic act*." For most female politicians of various parties, it is difficult to understand why this change has caused so much mostly negative excitement. In addition, a large part of the politicians take the view, that this is the contribution of the Austrian daughters already lapsed since these "*are the majority, and should be preceded by*". With the male colleagues, however, there were not too many supporters. The only one, who was for the change, from the beginning on was Josef Cap from the SPÖ. From the start on he felt that it was a "*legitimate concern*", because there are enough important "*big daughters*" in Austria.

In addition to the favorable statements, there were also a number of critical remarks. On this subject, the daily newspaper Kurier made a survey where 70 percent of the respondents were against a placement of "*the daughters*" in the national anthem. The respondents rated the issue as a less important. This shows that the Austrian population has little interest for the investigated gender issue. Here it becomes clear, that the research topic is not only by the public but also by the journalists attributed of minimal relevance. However, it does not depend on the fact that, the opinions in the examined articles are, that the gender topic in itself is not a divisive issue, but it is criticized that the current state of research, which is the Austrian national anthem, contributes little to promote the equality of women or to support them.

RQ2 How do the individual parties comment on the event?

This research question discusses how the different parties have commented on this event and what position they have taken in this regard.

This conflict started in a meeting of the National Council in July 2011. Maria Rauch-Kallat wanted to talk about the law proposal designed to amend the text of the national anthem, in her farewell speech, but „*dieses Vorhaben wurde aber von der ÖVP-Klubführung torpediert, da aufgrund von Endlosreden männlicher ÖVP-Abgeordneter, zum Teil über Nonsensthemen wie den Süßstoff ‚Stevia‘ oder Mastschweine, keine Redezeit mehr für Rauch-Kallat übrig*

blieb.²⁵³ From her own ranks, she was prevented on her speech, by the ÖVP club chairman Karl Heinz Kopf, because he „in den Frauen-Vorstöß nicht eingeweiht war.“²⁵⁴ She found the proposal „ganz und gar nicht lustig, dass ihnen Rauch-Kallat zum Abschied ein feministisches Ei legte und in – einer Geheimaktion- gemeinsam mit Frauen der SPÖ, den Grünen und der eigenen ÖVP.“²⁵⁵

SC1: reactions to the speech prohibition

Now, it will be analyzed, which of the political parties or politicians have regretted or criticized on this incident of the ‘speech ban’. Criticism was expressed mainly by the Grünen politicians: „Dass die Ex-Ministerin nicht ans Mikrofon durfte, fand Grünen-Gesundheitssprecher Kurt Grünewald schade.“²⁵⁶ For his colleague, Daniela Musiol this reflects: „von bedenklichem Demokratieverhalten, jemanden buchstäblich einfach den Ton abzudrehen.“²⁵⁷ „Grünen-Frauensprecherin Judith Schwenter nannte das Verhalten der ÖVP-Männer am Samstag ‚peinlich‘.“²⁵⁸ But also from the People's Party, there were critical voices to this incident: „Auch die ÖVP-Frauenchefin Dorothea Schittenhelm kritisierte ihre männlichen Parteikollegen“²⁵⁹ and did „ihren Unmut und ihre Meinung kund: ‚Ich glaube, es ist höchst an der Zeit, das zu regeln.‘“²⁶⁰

SC2: proponents

Next should be shown, what political parties have welcomed this proposal amending and have assisted Maria Rauch-Kallat projects. Proponents were therefore also from the ÖVP, since the „ÖVP-Chef Michael Spindelegger hat – im Gegensatz zu den männlichen Abgeordneten seiner Partei- offenbar kein Problem damit, auch die Töchter in der Bundeshymne zu besingen.“²⁶¹ ÖVP federal party leader from Burgenland, Franz Steindl said to this causa that „alles recht ist“ for him, moreover he had „nichts dagegen, dass die Hymne geändert wird.“²⁶²

²⁵³ Kronen Zeitung, 13.07.2011

²⁵⁴ Kurier, 09.07.2011

²⁵⁵ Die Presse, 09.07.2011

²⁵⁶ Kronen Zeitung, 09.07.2011

²⁵⁷ Kronen Zeitung, 09.07.2011

²⁵⁸ Die Presse, 09.07.2011

²⁵⁹ Die Presse, 11.07.2011

²⁶⁰ Die Presse, 09.07.2011

²⁶¹ Kronen Zeitung, 13.07.2011

²⁶² Die Presse, 12.07.2011

The initial "Reiberein" within the ÖVP were according to Schittenhelm clarified, so that both club head Kopf and the party leader now stood behind the text change.²⁶³ The ÖVP spokeswoman Dorothea Schittenhelm described the change as: „längst überfällig.“²⁶⁴

Some members of the BZÖ Maria Rauch-Kallat too, they showed “gegenüber einer Änderung aufgeschlossen.”²⁶⁵ BZ chief Bucher expressed as follows in this regard: „Wir sind im 21. Jahrhundert angekommen, daher sind textliche Änderungen durchaus möglich.’ Das BZÖ sprach sich auch für einen Ideenwettbewerb zur neuen Textpassage aus.“²⁶⁶

BZÖ spokeswoman Schenk represented the same opinion She thinks that the change would be “grundsätzlich positiv“ because „die Zeit für einen solchen Zugang reif sei.“²⁶⁷

„Die Grünen äußerten sich naturgemäß positiv über die Initiative Rauch-Kallats.“²⁶⁸

In this context, the spokeswoman Schwentner spoke out „für eine freie Abstimmung aus und zeigte sich zugleich zuversichtlich, was einen aus ihrer Sicht positiven Ausgang betrifft.“²⁶⁹

Especially SPÖ politicians have spoken out for a change of the Austrian national anthem.

SPÖs Chairman Josef Cap views the project „positiv gegenüber: Es sei ‚Fakt’, dass Österreich auch ‚große Töchter’ habe und das in der Hymne zu berücksichtigen sei ein ‚berechtigtes Anliegen.“²⁷⁰ He had announced via the newspaper Kuier: „Wir haben überhaupt kein Problem mit dem Thema.“²⁷¹ „Die Nationalratspräsidentin Barbara Prammer hält die Änderung für ‚ein wichtiges Signal für die Frauen’; für Frauenministerin Gabriele Heinisch-Hosek würden so die Leistungen von Frauen anerkannt.“²⁷²

SC3: opponents

After it had been shown what parties or which politician said positive things about the change within the investigated coverage, it now will be analyzed, which voices were opposed to it. Primarily criticism against this project came from the party of the FPÖ. The Freedom Party did not want anything to do with such a „Kulturlosigkeit“, „Symbolromantik“ and

²⁶³ Kronen Zeitung, 13.07.2011

²⁶⁴ Die Presse, 15.07.2011

²⁶⁵ Die Presse, 13.07.2011

²⁶⁶ Kronen Zeitung, 13.07.2011

²⁶⁷ Kurier, 11.07.2011

²⁶⁸ Kurier, 11.07.2011

²⁶⁹ Kurier, 11.07.2011

²⁷⁰ Die Presse, 09.07.2011

²⁷¹ Kurier, 11.07.2011

²⁷² Die Presse, 09.07.2011

„*Verfälschung eines historischen Dokuments.*“²⁷³ The party takes the view, that the plot is indeed a "Placebo."²⁷⁴ FPÖ General Secretary Herbert Kickl has no problem to release the vote in the National Council. He justified his opinion, because he expects that „*dass es im freiheitlichen Klub ohnehin eine einhellige Meinungsbildung, nämlich gegen eine Änderung der Bundeshymne, gibt.*“²⁷⁵ The FPÖ's position represents a uniform opinion on this event, because „*sich selbst weibliche Mandatarinnen gegen die Töchter-Änderung aussprechen.*“²⁷⁶

Gerald Grosz from the BZÖ criticized the ex Minister for women likewise: „*Rauch-Kallat stellt das personifizierte Macht- und Mobbingtum der ÖVP dar.*“ In addition, is the „*Einsatz für die Frauen in der Bundeshymne pure Heuchlerei.*“²⁷⁷ BZÖ representative of the people, Stefan Petzner also did not like the text change, but he fears that now the „Land der Dome‘ zum ‚Land der Dominas‘ verwandelt werden könnte.“²⁷⁸ The analysis of the coverage has shown that some politicians changed their minds about this causa during the debate. Certain politicians who initially spoke out against a change, showed remorse and then advocated the change eventually. „*Spindelegger hat offenbar erkannt, dass das Verhalten seiner Parteikollegen im Parlament rund um die Präsentation des Entwurfs von Maria Rauch-Kallat (ebenfalls ÖVP) zur Hymnenänderung nicht so wirklich der Heuler war.*“²⁷⁹

SC4: abstention

Besides the aforementioned critical and favorable comments on this incident, there were also politicians, who did not want to comment on that. This can be found in the analyzed coverage of the Tyrolean governor Günther Platter of the ÖVP. He „*wollte zur aktuellen Diskussion über die Bundeshymne und die Aufnahme der ‚Töchter‘ in den Text am Dienstag nichts sagen.*“²⁸⁰ The same also applies to the head of the Viennese ÖVP, Christine Marek, because for her, the question was not a priority. „*Es sei aus ihrer Sicht nicht das vorrangigste Thema, das derzeit zu diskutieren sei, ließ Marek über einen Sprecher ausrichten.*“²⁸¹

SC5: reactions after the debate in the parliament

²⁷³ Kronen Zeitung, 20.10.2011

²⁷⁴ Kronen Zeitung, 20.11.2011

²⁷⁵ Kurier, 11.07.2011

²⁷⁶ Kronen Zeitung, 13.07.2011

²⁷⁷ Kurier, 09.07.2011

²⁷⁸ Kurier, 20.10.2011

²⁷⁹ Die Presse, 13.07.2011

²⁸⁰ Die Presse, 12.07.2011

²⁸¹ Die Presse, 12.07.2011

For the first time, on October 20th 2011, the change of the Austrian national anthem was finally discussed in the parliament. ÖVPs leader of women Dorothea Schittenhelm *„warb für eine sachliche Diskussion im Ausschuss und hoffte auf Zustimmung zu diesem symbolischen Akt.“*²⁸² *„Etwa die Hälfte des VP-Klubs beklatschte den Vortrag der Frauenvorsitzenden, auch Fraktionschef Karlheinz Kopf- vor dem Sommer als Verhinderer der Hymnen-Debatte gescholten - schenkte ihr kurzen Beifall.“* SPÖ and the Grünen showed with regard to this debate *„klare Zustimmung zum Antrag.“*²⁸³ The ex-leader of the Grünen Alexander Van der Bellen described the discussion on the inclusion of *„großen Töchter“* as *„masochistischen Wahnsinn.“*²⁸⁴

Nevertheless, still sharp criticism was voiced by the BZÖ and FPÖ at this stage of the debate: *„BZÖ-Mann Peter Westenthaler erachtet die neue Formulierungen als historische Verzerrung und ‚falsch verstandene Vergewaltigung.“*²⁸⁵ The representative Stefan Petzner explained *„die Änderung für unnötig und erwartet, dass der alte Text weitergesungen wird. Klüger wäre für ihn – wenn schon- gleich eine ganz neue Hymne gewesen.“*²⁸⁶ *„Die neue ‚schlechte Fassung‘ bringe ein ‚musikalisches Holpern‘, beklagte der FPÖ-Abgeordnete Walter Rosenkranz.“*²⁸⁷

The liberal culture spokeswoman Heide Marie Unterreiner described the change of the national anthem as *„kulturlos“* because it should not be seen as *„kein Sprachbasteltext.“*²⁸⁸

*„Die Frauen kommen nach 65 Jahren wohl doch noch in die Bundeshymne.“*²⁸⁹ The debate on this event finally ended with an agreement: *„SPÖ und ÖVP einigten sich am späten Freitagabend am Rande der Nationalratssitzung mit den Grünen auf einen gemeinsamen Antrag.“*²⁹⁰

²⁸² Die Presse, 20.10.2011

²⁸³ Die Presse, 20.10.2011

²⁸⁴ Kronen Zeitung, 20.10.2011

²⁸⁵ Kronen Zeitung, 22.11.2011

²⁸⁶ Die Presse, 07.12.2011

²⁸⁷ Kronen Zeitung, 22.11.2011

²⁸⁸ Die Presse, 07.12.2011

²⁸⁹ Die Presse, 17.07.2011

²⁹⁰ Die Presse, 18.11.2011

The study, for the second research question revealed, that the majority of politicians have made adverse comments against the topic. Alone, that Maria Rauch-Kallat has been tricked by her own male party members, before she could submit her observations, shows how much she came across resistance, with this topic.

The sub-category 'reactions to speech prohibition' has revealed, that a majority of the politicians were appalled, that Maria Rauch-Kallat was brought by her own party members to remain silent. Critical voices even came from her own party. From the beginning on, the party of the Grünen, was on her side. The spokeswoman of the Grünen, Judith Schwentner thought that the behavior of the ÖVP-men was simply "*embarrassing*". Health spokesman Kurt Grünwald thought it was a pity, that "*das die Ex-Ministerin nicht ans Mikrofon durfte.*" On the one hand, there were many positive comments on the subject and on the other hand, many negative statements were made. At the start of the discussion, a few members of the ÖVP contained their statements on the topic of their female colleague. In the end though, many of these first silent politicians broke their silence and faced it positively.

Maria Rauch-Kallat got significantly more positive consent from the women in the three major parties (ÖVP, SPÖ, Grüne). Here all women campaigned positively for the change from the beginning to. Even BZÖ's woman spokesperson had positive comments for a change since "*die Zeit für solchen Zugang reif sei*".

Not a lot of positive words and statements were uttered by her male colleagues. One of the few supporters of the People's Party was Michael Spindelegger but also Franz Steindl from ÖVP-Burgenland had nothing against the change of the national anthem. From the very beginning, SPÖ's club chairman Josef Cap, stood behind the action.

There were more male party members who decided against the change and to the end remained true to their statements. He was one of the only men of the Social Democratic Party who found positive words about change.

A lot of sharp criticism came from the party of the FPÖ and BZÖ. Here Maria Rauch-Kallat was repeatedly attacked personally. Her commitment was seen as "*pure Heuchlerei*".

It was Stefan Petzner from the BZÖ, who took it to the extreme. He said that Austria would become a „*Land der Dominas*“ if the national anthem was changed. But not only the text with the new "*bad version*" but also the resulting changes in melody would bring, according to Freedom party member of the parliament, Walter Rosary a "musical jolting".

There was only one female BZÖ proponent at the beginning of the debate, but her opinion did not get much attention. Although some politicians changed their minds, in the course of the

debate, only a few of them showed regret. Unfortunately, the reason why they changed their opinion will not become apparent in the online article.

However, in the end all three major parties were eager for a change. A change for improvement – for equality. So, after a long and intense back and forth, the change of the Austrian national anthem was finally checked off the agenda.

Here, it can be stated again, that women today still have to fight hard for their rights and they have to defend them until the bitter end.

RQ3 What typical stereotypes regarding women and gender were used in the investigated online articles?

In all the examined online articles, no stereotypes were made to women or gender.

As already mentioned, no gender discriminating statements or stereotypes about women were found in the articles. No wonder regarding this particularly sensitive topic:

If the author, who represents a position against changing the national anthem in favor of Austrian women, would argue with gender discriminatory statements, he or she would give themselves a disadvantage. The reason for this is simple: stereotypical and thus discriminating statements would weaken the credibility of the arguments within the shortest possible time. Furthermore these statements would antagonize the part of the readership, although they refuse to change the national anthem, but at the same time distance themselves from irrelevant and exclusionary statements.

Maria Rauch-Kallat was indeed often attacked verbally, but stereotypes have never been used.

RQ4 By whom and how was Maria Rauch-Kallat personally attacked and which misogynistic statements were made?

The investigation of the online article shows, that most of the negative comments against Maria Rauch-Kallat came from male members of the BZÖ and FPÖ.

In the examined online articles from the newspaper Kurier, only one time a misogynous statement was made. Here Stefan Petzner of the BZÖ abused Maria Rauch-Kallat indirectly as a dominatrix. He feared that by changing the original text, the “*Land der Dome*” will be

transformed into the “*Land der Dominas*”.²⁹¹ This misogynist statement is not directly aimed against Maria Rauch-Kallat, but still, negativity against women is expressed with this message. Furthermore, Gerald Groz of the BZÖ called Maria Rauch-Kallat as „*Schande für Österreich*”²⁹² and thought, „*Rauch Kallat stellt das personifizierte Macht- und Mobbingtum der ÖVP dar*”²⁹² and “*der ‚Einsatz‘ für die Frauen in der Bundeshymne sei ‚pure Heuchlerei.*”²⁹³ The woman speaker of the Freedom Party said that, “*Es ist nur peinlich, wenn die ÖVP-Frauen versuchen, ihre männlichen Kollegen im Klub auszutricksen und dabei auch noch spektakulär scheitern, sodass am Ende der Eindruck bleibt, dass Mastschweine und Süßstoff wichtiger sind als Frauenanliegen*”²⁹⁴

According to Maria Rauch-Kallat herself, she got insulted with „*Hexenverbrennung*”, „*Schleich dich Emanze*”²⁹⁵. This happened „*In Gesprächen beim Einkaufen, auf der Straße – oder sogar unter Parlamentariern.*”²⁹⁵

The analysis of the investigated material, with regard to the question of whether Maria Rauch Kallat was attacked with misogynistic statements, has revealed that various people often insulted her. Not always did these insults lead to misogynistic utterances. Many of the insults were, however, very personal, but she „*ist Kummer gewohnt.*”²⁹⁶

During the whole time, Maria Rauch-Kallat had to put up with a lot of negativity. The many negative comments did not only come from her own colleagues, or other parties. No, even citizens that she encountered in normal life, threw vulgarities at her, but she remained strong.

Because of these sometimes extreme reactions, the following question arises:

Do strong reactions to a politically sensitive topic, generally have to be assessed as negative or could they be assessed in the broadest sense as positive: Namely in so far that this quite accessible and public discussion dominating issue leads to Austrian citizens becoming more interested in politics and their historical background, in this time of absolute political apathy? It must also be said, that politics, as a cultural institution, also has to polarize.

Without these polarizing forces, the emergence of a democracy would not be possible in life today.

²⁹¹ Kurier, 20.10.2011

²⁹² Krone, 09.07.2011

²⁹³ Die Presse, 09.07.2011

²⁹⁴ Die Presse, 09.07.2011

²⁹⁵ Die Presse, 22.10.2011

²⁹⁶ Die Presse, 09.07.2011

RQ5 How are the topics nation & nationalsim discussed, in the debate of the national anthem.

In the 48 examined online articles, neither has any of the various parties, the journalists nor other individuals taken regard to the nation or nationalism

To place the focus on the theme of "nation" or “nationalism” in the course of the debate, would most likely get out of hand and could then not be discussed precisely. As a creative precedent in history, the debate about changing the national anthem anyway had enough material for discussion, not least because the subsequent public discrimination of Maria Rauch-Kallat triggered new waves of outrage and brought, to the same extent, a lot conversation and discussion.

12. CONCLUSION

In the present work, the coverage amending of the Austrian national anthem was investigated. In order to accurately analyze and represent the contents of the reports, a qualitative content analysis after Mayring, of the published posts on the Internet was performed. The total online contributions of the newspapers Kurier, Krone and die Presse, which were published on this subject, were included in the content analysis.

First, the aim of this study was to find out to what extent, in the various online media and their different approaches to news values on the theme of "gender" reference was taken. The analyzes of the articles showed, that those in politics working women, were more likely to have been positive about the subject. Most of them argued, that the time would finally be right for a change. Positive words did not only come from Maria Rauch-Kallats female colleagues, but also from a few male politicians. Here, from the very beginning, Josep Cap of the SPÖ stood behind the change.

Furthermore, the survey showed, that there was little positive response on the part of the Austrian population at the beginning of the discussion. The question that arises here is, why the Austrian people refused this change. Even though this question probably can not be answered unequivocally, there are various, obvious guesses. So it would be possible, for example, that the population has not extensively dealt with the case and the denial is the result, of a defensive attitude of convenience. Another possibility would be that the Austrians did not want to break up with their traditions and therefore they did not want to change the original text that was created in 1947.

Another focus of this work was to find out in what way diverse politician of the Austrian parties have expressed to this discussion. What position did they have on this topic? It showed clearly, that a striking number of politicians expressed negatively on this subject. At the end of the day, it was Maria Rauch-Kallat who was the victim in this whole debate. The discussion would never have reached this extreme extent, if they got the opportunity to keep her closing speech undisturbed. The fact, that she was slowed down by male colleagues of her own party shows, that in terms of equality in Austria, basically a lot still has to change. That this masculine "*macho*" behavior just took place at the discussion on the equality of women is particularly bitter.

On the other hand, the situation also proves to be a blessing. Mainly through its particularly heated and by diverse views, the discussion was passionately debated in the parliament and the media. Due to the discussion, it became a topic that moved the nation and stimulated the way many citizens thought. Multiple times, this issue had been addressed in the past, but never actually discussed in detail. This is probably, because the issue of equality, as important as it actually is, since decades, stands in the room without anything happening to it. As much as one may believe today, that the society has changed to the advantage of women, it shows very evidently on the other hand, that the equality has only manifested "on paper". This is evident for example in the job field, because women earn up to a quarter less, for the same qualifications than the opposite gender. Politicians are forced to introduce quotas for women for businesses, not because women are less qualified than men, but because the "glass ceiling" is not a myth but just yet exists. These examples show, that the debate about the equality of women continues to be a central issue and probably will in the near future.

The third research question, investigating whether it was argued, in the discussion on change of the Austrian national anthem with negative stereotypes, which discriminated women. As already mentioned, Maria Rauch-Kallat a lot of times, by all types of people - not just politicians, but also fellow citizens, got insulted and personally attacked. It should be found out, whether clichés about women were used or not. If these stereotypes got used, one thing can be determined: A lot of times, the bodies who involved clichés in their discussion, ran out of arguments. It turns out that these people did not extensively engage with the topic and then responded to arguments with clichéd statements. This applies, of course, not exclusively, but to a large extent to men, who fear a loss of power, in effect, they are trying in this way to defend their highly conservative worldview.

Especially bitter: Even women argue with judgments against women, who are actively committed to a change of their conditions. This is also a reason, why the debate on equality will, for a long time prove for a lot of material for further discussions. The self-image of women, who continue to idolize men, ensures a disagreement that may arise from the yet not closed but for this subject still so important movement.

The result: after all the online articles in the three newspapers have been precisely investigated, no clichés that were discriminating against gender were found in this case. The reason for this is that the editors of the newspapers, of course, know as media professionals about the fact that an argument with clichés is operated, in effect, indicating a content of poverty. In addition, there are readers who quite share the opinion, that the national anthem

should be left as it is, but they would feel personally attacked by the use of stereotypes from the media.

Had the newspapers argued with clichés, they would therefore have harmed themselves in two ways: their arguments and thus the medium itself would be made vulnerable and simultaneously offended loyal readers.

The fourth research question shows, from which human beings, Maria Rauch-Kallat got assaulted, during the time, the change of the anthem was present in the media. As it has been crystallized, she was not only attacked in Parliament. Most misogynistic statements came from the two smaller parties, the BZÖ and the FPÖ. Here it is showed again, that mainly male politicians rejected the amendment of the national anthem and openly expressed that. For example, Maria Rauch-Kallat was indirectly attacked and insulted by Stefan Petzner as 'dominatrix'. The overall conclusion is, that both, BZÖ and the Freedom Party have taken the demands from Maria Rauch-Kallat, at no time seriously and-treated her, because of their receivables, in a not objective extent. Overall, Maria Rauch-Kallar was above average, often insulted and attacked, even by female colleagues.

The fifth and final research question was to test, if during the whole discussion, the theme of the nation and nationalism was discussed. This was not observed. The reason was probably, that the whole debate already has drawn so much attention, so that the issue of nation only illustrated a fringe area, which was not discussed. It is also to say, that the issue of equal rights for women raises a global claim, which is omnipresent. The issue was therefore seen more from the perspective of the global debate, so that the topic of the nations has been neglected in this case.

Finally it can be noted, that the coverage of the various online publications in the newspapers showed no major differences. The contents of the online newspaper articles on this subject were both, in terms of the representation and the reasoning very similar. The only thing that was noticeable is, that a frequent repetition of arguments and a very similar representation was present in all online references.

However, it remains to be hoped, that on the example of Austria it will be recognized, how strong the need for discussions on the topic of "equality" is today, although, the change has already taken place on the paper.

Thus, women feel related to their nation, the "great daughters" should be mentioned to the Austrian national anthem

As can be seen in the chapter Genesis of women, females had to, contrary to men, fight for everything. A few important women who have been recognized for their performance were enumerated. That also includes Maria Rauch-Kallat, since the national anthem debate where she had to fight against a lot resistance until she enforced the change.

The topic also covers many factors of Galtung and Rues News Values, for example:

Threshold and negativity – through it many negative statements of politicians.

Meaningfulness – because it is of high relevance for the nation.

Unexpectedness and personification - the verbal attack on Maria Rauch-Kallat, because she stood up for Austrian women.

In this research, therefore, the reporting amending the Austrian national anthem was investigated. The special feature of this change: It was not only the first time in Austrian history that a traditional text from the last century has been changed in the favor of women, it was the first time in history. We can only hope, that this was just the beginning. Those other countries orientate on Austria and think about the position of women in their own country. However, it remains to be hoped, that on the example of Austria, it will be recognized, how strong the need for discussions on the topic of equality is today, although, the change has already taken place on the paper.

In further research, it would be very interesting to find out, how, in twenty years or more, the issue of gender, equality or women in general will be dealt with, in Austria. In particular, it would be of interest to investigate whether the 'Töchter' have settled in the anthem.

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14. ABSTRACT GERMAN

Im Jahre 2011 fand in Österreich ein bis dahin einmaliges Ereignis in der Geschichte des Landes statt: Der im Jahre 1947 entstandene Text der österreichischen Nationalhymne, der bis 2011 nur den „Söhnen Österreichs“ huldigte, wurde um das Wort „Töchter“ erweitert. Dieses Ereignis folgte schlussendlich auf eine lange politische Diskussion, während der sich zeigte wie verschieden die Meinungen der Politiker aber auch die der österreichischen BürgerInnen zum Thema Gender waren. Diese Magisterarbeit erforscht nun, welche Rolle bei dieser Diskussion die Medien und Politiker gespielt haben.

Der erste Teil der Arbeit befasst sich mit dem theoretischen Hintergrund. Es wird der Agenda-Setting-Ansatz, die Nachrichtenfaktoren und Nachrichtenwerte erklärt, aber auch die Entstehungsgeschichte der österreichischen Nationalhymne und die Gleichberechtigungsgeschichte der Frauen werden näher beschrieben. Außerdem wichtig: die Beschreibung der politischen Situation, die als Katalysator für die Hitzigkeit der Debatte angesehen werden kann. Abgerundet wird der theoretische Teil durch die Erläuterung der Themen Linguistik, Gender, Nationen und Nationalismus, die für die Forschungsarbeit ebenfalls wichtig sind.

Im empirischen Teil der Arbeit, werden die am Anfang gestellten Forschungsfragen beantwortet. Diese Fragen wurden beantwortet, indem Online Artikel zum Thema der Änderung der Nationalhymne analysiert und mittels der qualitativen Inhaltsanalyse nach Mayring ausgewertet wurden. Es handelt sich hierbei um Artikel der Zeitungen Kurier, Krone und die Presse die ausgewertet wurden.

15. ABSTRACT

For the first time, in Austria's history a unique event took place: The text of the Austrian national anthem, who was originated in 1947, which only paid homage to „the sons of Austria“ until 2011, was extended by the word „daughters“. Finally, this event was followed by a long political discussion, during which it became evident how different, the opinions of politicians and Austrian citizens were on the gender subject. This master thesis will explore, which role the media and politicians played in this debate.

The first part of the thesis deals with the theoretical background. The Agenda Setting Approach plus the News Factors and Values are explained, plus the genesis of Austrians national anthem and the equality of women's history are described in more detail. Another important point: the description of the political situation, which can be viewed as a catalyst for the heatedness of the debate. The theoretical part will be completed through the explanation of the topics linguistics, gender, nations and nationalism, which are also important for the research.

In the empirical part of this thesis, the research questions will be answered, by analyzing online articles on the topic of the national anthem alteration and were then evaluated by using Mayrings qualitative content analysis. The online articles from the newspapers Kurier, Krone and die Presse were evaluated.

16. CURRICULUM VITAE

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