

The Relationship of Social Organisations and Mass Media:

A Comparative Analysis of the International Feminist Organisations
FEMEN, Pinkstinks and #metoo and their Media Coverage in
Germany

*In which ways can third wave feminist social
organisations influence mass media coverage in their
favour?*

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I. Executive Summary

This dissertation explores the ways in which third wave feminist organisations can influence mass media coverage in their favour. Social movements are dependent on mass media in order to thrive. Mass media legitimises social movement's claims, broadens the scope of conflict and mobilises the public (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993). Therefore, it is essential for social movements to be frequently covered in mass media and represented in their interest. However, the relationship of mass media and social movements is asymmetrical and social organisations face a unique media opportunity structure.

Research on the media opportunity structure for social movements is in constant development and recognises a change in the relationship between social movements and mass media, due to the web 2.0, which includes new Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs), such as social media. The common or popular opinion on this subject today states that the ways in which journalists work have changed offering new opportunities for social organisations. However, the importance of being covered in mass media has not changed, since mass media provides a master forum for mainstream public beliefs, it is the major site of contest politically and mass media forums influence changes in language use and political consciousness in the daily lives of citizens (Voss, 2015, p.19)

Factors which can be influenced by social movements regarding their media coverage offer a variety of perspectives by scholars. Some focus on generic features, others highlight the importance of the type of media and communication strategies, used by social organisations. Based on these assumptions and previous studies on media coverage of the third wave feminist movement, the media outcome of three feminist organisations, namely FEMEN, Pinkstinks and #metoo, is assessed through a quantitative media analysis of 621 articles, published between the foundation of the organisations and April 31st, 2018, in Germany. The selected dimension of analysis 'media standing' and 'presence of preferred frame', are recognised as common indicators for measuring the success in media outcome for social organisations.

This research argues that social movements can influence their media coverage in two ways. First, by developing high professionalism regarding the relationship between the social organisation and journalists, which includes the provision of press material and the appointment of a media spokesperson for the organisation. Secondly, by implementing high entertainment value actions on a regular basis, ideally even developing a trademark for protests and campaigns.

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III. List of Abbreviation

ICT Information and Communication Technology

SMO Social Movement Organisation

1. Introduction

Social movements have seen an increase in public and academic interest after the Arab Spring in 2010. Social organisations' campaigns and such as #metoo and naked protests from FEMEN go viral and gain many followers, especially due to the usage of new technology such as social media. Mass media plays a vital role for social organisations in broadening the scope of conflict and how they are perceived in public (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993).

Today's social movements belong to the so-called new social movements, which differentiate themselves from the traditional movements as they try to gain social or political change within the existing political and economic system instead of being revolutionary (Social Movement Theory: New Social Movement Theory, 2018). According to della Porta and Mattoni (2016), social movements are commonly defined as "(a) mostly informal networks of interaction, based on (b) shared beliefs and solidarity, mobilized around (c) contentious themes through (d) the frequent use of various forms of protest.", (p.1 para 1) in which social organisations "constitute crucial building blocks of the mobilizing structures of a social movement." (Kriesi, 1997, p.152 para 1). One important focus of resource mobilisation theory is the political opportunity structure, in which the relationship between social movement and media plays a central role.

Political and social scientists have conducted an array of research on the relationship between social movements and mass media, there is a consensus among scholars on two arguments. Firstly, mass media is essential for social movements and secondly, the relationship between social movement and mass media is asymmetrical (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993, Voss, 2015). Social movements are dependent on mass media in order to thrive. Mass media legitimises social movements' claims, since it indicates to the broader public that the claims which a movement represents are credible (Rohlinger & Vaccaro, 2013). Therefore, it is essential for social movements to be frequently covered in mass media and represented in their interest. Social movements use a variety of actions, such as pamphlet writing, public events and campaigns to get the attention of important authorities and inform the public about their political demands. New social movements especially focus on producing so-called alternative media, which include weekly and monthly magazines, radio broadcasts and TV programmes and blogs, with the purpose of avoiding negative media framing. According to Voss (2015), however, mass media cannot be ignored, since it provides a master forum for the most generally available and shared set of cultural tools. It is not only a major site of political contest, mass media forums also influence changes in language use and political consciousness in the daily lives of citizens (p.19).

Therefore, the question arises in which ways can social movements influence mass media coverage in their favour?

The most important scholars in this field are Gamson and Wolfsfeld, and Voss, who developed hypotheses on characteristics and actions of social movements that are favourable regarding positive or successful media coverage of the movements. While Gamson and Wolfsfeld focus on the generic features of social movements, Voss' interest is on the action of the social movement such as campaigns and protests. Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) argue that the organisational structure which includes "resources, organization, professionalism, coordination, and strategic planning" (p.121), the division of labour and the scope of the organisations' demands, all have an influence on their media outcome. Voss adds the importance of the entertainment value of the organisations' actions to these assumptions. However, both researches lack empirical evidence and focus on social movements rather than social organisations. Thereby, they omit differences between social movement organisations (SMOs) working in the same movement.

Hence, the central question of this thesis aims to analyse in which ways social organisations can influence mass media coverage in their favour. For this purpose, three social organisations working in the same social movement were chosen, their generic features and type of actions to get media attention described, and empirical research provided by analysing their media outcome.

The third wave or also called postfeminist movement is subject of this research, since media coverage of the first two waves of feminist movements were frequently framed in the past and the movement is known for using a variety of actions to get media attention (Drücke, 2015). The most common critique of scholars on the third wave feminist movement is that it is fragmented and a light form of feminism, which is often referred to as pop feminism, since the SMOs within the movement increasingly use social media and other pop culture tools (Barakso & Schaffner, 2006). This is also reflected in the frames used by journalists covering the movement in the news, which often describe the movement actions as juvenile and frivolous (Bronstein, 2005). Drücke (2017) argues, however, that hashtag activism and blogging offer new possibilities for SMOs and are as effective as traditional actions. On the other hand, Teune, Sommer and Rucht (2017) claim that street activism in the form of protest and marches are still the most effective action in order to get media attention. Therefore, this research also examines which SMO's actions are more effective in gaining the attention of mass media.

This thesis assesses the feminist organisations FEMEN, Pinkstinks and #metoo of the third wave feminist movement focusing on their organisational structure, division of labour, political demands and entertainment value of their actions (campaigns and demonstrations)

exploring how these factors influence their media outcome. Since there is only little research on specific feminist organisations within the third wave feminist movement, the organisations were selected based on the availability of data, suitability for analysis, which included differences in demands, organisational structures and the popularity of the actions and year of foundation, all of them being formed after 2008. The thesis utilises scientific literature, the organisations' websites and Facebook pages as well as news articles retrieved from online newspapers using a mixed method approach for the analysis of the data. A quantitative media content analysis is applied for analysing the media outcome for each feminist organisation, focussing on their media standing and prominence of their preferred frame in the most read German online newspapers Bild.de and Spiegel Online (statista, 2018), from the foundation of each organisation until 1st April 2018. Non-Anglophone countries have been neglected in previous research on media coverage of international feminist movements in mass media. Therefore, Germany was picked as the country for analysis, as it represents the non-Anglophone country with the biggest population in Europe.

The literature review establishes the theoretical framework for this research, outlining the dichotomies which dominated previous academic research discussing the asymmetrical relationship between media and social movements and outline the factors that influence media coverage of social movements and how media outcome can be measured, before giving an overview of existing research and theories in this field. The research then moves on to three case studies and a quantitative media content analysis, to analyse the media standing and preferred frame of each case. Three hypotheses on how social movements can influence mass media coverage in their favour have been retrieved from the literature review. These are confirmed or contradicted at the end of this research.

2. Literature Review

The aim of this research is to explore the media opportunity structure of social organisations in times of the web 2.0. For this purpose, it is essential to define and limit the theoretical scope of the complex topic of social movement theory by focusing on the political opportunity structure. The best approaches for further investigations are selected to determine which features and communication strategies of social organisations are beneficial in influencing media coverage. To start, the concept of opportunity structures of social movements is introduced placing the research into the perspective of previous knowledge. Secondly, the relationship of mass media and social movements is discussed, and the advancements in literature are highlighted. Thirdly, perspectives of different authors on features and communication strategies of social movements, which can influence media coverage, are compared and connected to the purpose of this research. Finally, a theory developed by two authors is described, which provides the theoretical framework of analysis for measuring success in media outcome. Lastly, an overview of previous research done in the field of the media representation of third wave, or also called the post-feminist movement, is given.

2.1 Opportunity Structures of Social Movements

One aspect of social movement research focusses on the political opportunity structure, which is part of the recourse mobilisation approach. According to Meyer and Minkoff (2014) this aspect of research covers the external factors which affect the success or failure, as well as the expansion of a social movement, in which the movement has little control (pp. 1457-1458). These factors determine whether a social movement succeeds in *"(a) mobilizing, (b) advancing particular claims rather than others, (c) cultivating some alliances rather than others, (d) employing particular political strategies and tactics rather than others, and (e) affecting mainstream institutional politics and policy"* (Meyer, 2004, p. 126)

One dimension of the political opportunity structure, regularly in the centre of discussion of scholars, is the influence of mass media on social movements. Particularly, the necessity of mass media for getting access to the public and political agenda. Mass media influences the public agenda considerably, since it is the most influential medium to inform the public about current events. Thus, the political process is also indirectly affected by its agenda setting (p.127). Therefore, research focusses on the relationship between media and social movements, in order to investigate the opportunities and constraints implied for social movements.

2.1.1 The Relationship of Mass Media and Social Movements

Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993), focus in the first part of their work “Movements and Media as Interacting Systems” on “the power and dependency aspect of the relationship and the consequences of the asymmetries” (p.114). They argue that mass media is essential for social movements due to three reasons: “mobilization, validation and scope of enlargement” (p.116 para 2). According to the authors, social movements’ actions which cannot gain any media, have little, if no chance in mobilising followers, or achieving their political goals. Validation refers to the dependency of social movements to be covered in mass media, in order to get recognition for their demands and goals, by their targeted audience and targets of influence. The scope of enlargement contains the importance of enlarging the scope of conflict through mass media. This enables social movements to alter the power relations between them and their antagonists, by inviting third parties to serve as mediators and introduce their demands outside the circle of like-minded individuals (p.116).

Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) use the power dependency theory, developed by Emerson (1962) and apply it to the mass media and social movement relationship, arguing that social movements are more dependent on mass media than vice versa. According to the authors:

“Power dependency theory distinguishes two components of power: value and need. “Value” refers to how much the other party need one’s own services; “need” refers to how much one needs the other party’s services. The relative power of actors is determined by the ration of their value to their need. For social movements, the ration is rarely favourable.” (p.117, para 2).

Many important scholars such as McCurdy (2012), Barker (2012) and Vliegenthart and Walgrave (2012) share the assumption of the relationship of mass media and social movements being asymmetrical.

Another aspect of the relationship of mass media and social organisations is covered by della Porta and Mattoni (2016). They argue that mass media acts as an agency for social movements. This means that on the one hand, social movements speak to the public through mass media, but, on the other hand, mass media reflects the social and political mainstream beliefs of society, thus making it the target of some social movements. Voss (2015) calls this agency “the dual role of mass media” and elaborates that this can lead to a strategic dilemma for social organisations. Either they comply with its practices by using mass media as a communication tool, or they fight it with alternative media (p.21).

2.1.2 Media Opportunity Structure

Voss (2015) offers the most extensive description of the media opportunity structure. An opportunity structure always comprises opportunities and constraints. The author argues that the opportunities for social organisations are closely linked with the entertainment value of its actions. Spectacles and emotional events that provide strong visual material are the most effective ways of gaining mass media attention (p.21). Vliegenthart and Walgrave (2012) agree with this assumption and add that the focus on “drama, conflict and personalization” of events and campaigns, is essential for being perceived as newsworthy for mass media (p.4, para 3).

However, constraints of the media opportunity structure are diverse. Voss (2015) determines three constraints for social movements: the contest of frames, the news routine of journalists and the culture clash of mass media and social movements (p. 20). Especially the constraint “contest of frames” has been subject of analysis by many scholars. Gitlin (1980) describes frames as “principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters” (p.6). “Contest of frames” refers to the availability of many frames for journalists, from which they have to choose. However, they generally take the official frame, provided by the state, politicians or other well-established groups perceived as experts. Social organisations often try to challenge these specific frames, which leads to a contest, as social organisations try to advertise their frame on the specific issue at hand. The constraint of “the news routines of journalists” is closely linked to the selection of frames. Journalists have certain routines of gathering information, usually relying on the above mentioned well-established groups of experts. Accordingly, journalists sometimes neglect smaller groups, due to time constraints. Lastly, the culture clash between journalists and social movements or organisations can be explained by their different world views. Social organisations tend to have more idealistic beliefs and are often perceived as rather unreasonable and unappealing to journalists (p.20).

Constraints of the media opportunity structure have been subject of discussion by many other scholars, often adding new paradigms to the already existing mix of constraints. One important constraint is the protest reporting paradigm, defined by Chan and Lee (1989). The researchers argue that social protests are often portrayed in a very limited way, focussing on the portrayal of the protesters as ‘others’. Barker (2008) elaborates that often journalists concentrate on “an analysis of the protest activities (and appearances) rather than objectives.” (Barker, 2008, para 8).

2.1.3 Hybrid Media Ecology

The most recent studies of the relationship between mass media and social movements in communication and media are dealing with the change of the media landscape, hence the change of the media opportunity structure for social movements. Especially, due to the rise of mass media and new media, the ideas on how social movements can communicate with the public and authorities and how they can influence their perception in the public arena in their favour, have been viewed differently in earlier studies compared to newer research on the issue. Traditionally, mass media was a monopoly and news agencies were setting the agenda of news and frames. While earlier research claims that social movements only have little influence on media coverage, due to the traditional media structure and its constraints, more recent studies argue that information and communication technologies (ICTs) have changed the media structure in favour of social movements. Journalists adapted their ways of working to this new media environment, which is called hybrid media ecology.

Chadwick (2007) argues that new media has not replaced the traditional mass media practices. Instead, the new media innovations influence older media practices. Journalists do not only research and collect information offline, but also use sources from new media technologies such as Twitter and Facebook. Voss (2015) adds that even today mass media cannot be ignored, since it provides a master forum for mainstream public beliefs. Mass media is the major site of political contest and influence changes in language use and political consciousness in the daily lives of citizens (p.19). However, the rise of new media technologies does not diminish the importance of mainstream media. It only provides more opportunities for social movements to attract journalists.

2.2 Factors which influence Media Coverage

Only a few scholars have attempted to study the complex question of which aspects of social organisations can influence their media coverage. However, the most important works are summarised in this section.

2.2.1 Generic Features (resource mobilization theory)

Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) established three hypotheses in their work “Movements and Media as Interacting Systems”, which aims to give a theoretical framework on which generic features of social movements are favourable in the social movement mass media transaction for media outcome. The hypotheses are based on the resource mobilisation approach, which sees social organisations as the driving force for social movements’ mobilisation structure. One of the hypotheses has been selected for this research, as it

provides a unique view on the ways, in which social organisations can influence the media coverage in their favour, namely:

“The greater the resources, organization, professionalism, coordination, and strategic planning of a movement, the greater its media standing and the more prominent its preferred frame will be in media coverage of relevant events and issues.” (p.121).

The authors explain that the aspects of generic features mentioned in the hypothesis aim at establishing a good relationship with journalists. All the factors mentioned above are appealing to journalists, since these organisations are perceived as sophisticated and professional. The cooperation with journalists ensures a high media standing, while the provision of press material such as pictures, videos and press releases, facilitates the work of journalists, hence it is more likely to be covered frequently and to one's interest.

Considering the hypothesis has been established around the 1990's one might wonder if this theory is still relevant for social movements in the 21st century, especially due to the rise of social media, or how Hara and Huang (2011) call it, web 2.0. Subject of their research were so-called e-movements, e-activists or e-protests. They argue, specifically with regard to resources and organisations, the web 2.0 has facilitated the communication among participants and financial resources are not as important anymore as they used to be. Some subjects of their research were entirely internet based, but did not face any issues to get their message spread. They argue that especially internationally operating social organisations profit from ICTs, as resources do not have to be spent on establishing new branches anymore (p.489).

2.2.2 Communication Strategies of Social Movements

Communication strategies of social movements as well as SMOs have been a subject of discussion in academia from the beginning of social movement studies and has been adapted and extended over the years.

The rise of hashtag activism and blogs has suppressed the traditional protests, which includes street activism and alternative media outlets, such as magazines and pamphlet writing. Scholars are ambivalent about this change, since empirical research on the success of the online media strategies of social organisations is difficult and long-term effects can hardly be measured.

The work of Drücke (2017) focusses on the different online strategies, namely hashtag activism and blogging, and outlines the differences between the two by analysing their strengths and weaknesses. She claims that whilst blogging is a more resourceful type of activism, it struggles to gain media attention. On the other hand, hashtag activism is more

successful in gaining media attention but lacks consistency and long-term news coverage. Drücke provides a unique focus on online activism, as most scholars analyse online activism merely based on its potential to organise public events and alternative news coverage. However, the research neglects a comparison of online and offline media strategies and the degree of dependency on mass media.

Teune, Sommer and Rucht (2017) analysed the media outcome of different mass demonstrations in Germany, arguing that demonstrations are still the most powerful tool for social movements, but ignoring any online activism and the role played by social media in organising such demonstrations.

2.3 Measuring Success in Media Outcome

Measuring media outcome has been in the focus of the research of Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) and Voss (2015). Both works are dividing media outcome into categories. Gamson and Wolfsfeld state:

“There are three elements of media coverage of particular interest to movements actors (1) standing, that is, the extent to which the group is taken seriously by being given extensive media coverage, regardless of the content, (2) preferred framing, that is, the prominence of the group’s frame in media discourse on the issue of concern; and (3) movement sympathy, that is, the extent to which the content of the coverage presents the group in a way that is likely to gain sympathy from relevant publics.”
(p.120-121)

Voss (2015), however, only selects two interconnected aspects of how to measure success, ‘gaining media standing’ and ‘increasing the relative prominence of its preferred frame’ and combines them in four media outcomes for social movements, namely ‘full response’, ‘collapse’, ‘co-optation’ and ‘pre-emption’.

(1) ‘Full response’: Achievement of both high media standing and presence of the preferred frame

(2) ‘Collapse’: Lack of both media standing and presence of the preferred frame

(3) ‘Co-optation’: Achievement of a high media standing, but lack of presence of the preferred frame

(4) ‘Pre-emption’: Lack of media standing, but a high presence of the preferred frame

(p.22.)

2.4 Media Coverage of Post/ Third Wave Feminism

The division of feminism into three waves is the most popular among scholars. To begin with, first wave and second wave feminism are associated with specific goals and demands, namely suffrage for the first wave and topics such as reproductive rights, sexism and abuse and equality rights for second wave feminism. However, it is argued by scholars that third wave feminism or at times also called post feminism lack a single goal or identity and therefore cannot be understood as a united movement (Snyder, R., 2008).

The research on media coverage of the feminist movements has been conducted with focus on various perspectives. Especially the comparison of media coverage between the first and second wave feminist movement has been subject of study. However, the study of the third wave feminist movement and its representation in the media has been scarce, particularly in non-Anglophone countries, for two reasons. First, it is argued that the third wave feminist movement is still in progress, therefore it is difficult to analyse the success and failure of the movement so far (Snyder; 2008). New developments in the use of ICTs, which offered the movement new possibilities, even provoked the discussion, whether we are dealing with a fourth wave of feminism already, although the agenda of the movement has not changed over the years. Secondly, third wave feminism is not a united movement and feminist organisations are increasingly operating on an international level, which makes identifying patterns and frames in media coverage particularly difficult (p.5).

However, researchers tried to analyse prominent frames in media coverage of the third wave feminist movement. One study of particular interest is named "Representing the third wave: Mainstream Print Media framing of a new feminist movement" by Bronstein (2005), which retrieved frames used by journalists of the second wave feminist movement and analysed, whether these frames are still present in the coverage of the third wave. The results discussed the issue that third wave feminism is presented against the second wave feminist movement, often diminishing the demands of the third wave. The authors call this frame 'feminism lite' and argue that this frame is the most prominent frame, which often describes the movement's actions as juvenile and frivolous (p.15).

Another study of importance in the field of research on the third wave feminist movement is "Feminismus im Netz- Strategien zwischen Empowerment und Angreifbarkeit" by Drücke (2015). She analyses the communication strategies of hashtag activism and blogging of feminist organisations regarding its media coverage. She argues that both forms of activism provide a good opportunity for feminist organisations to spread their ideas.

2.5 Conclusion

The literature review shows that the research on the media opportunity structure for social movements is in constant development and has been elaborated and changed over the years. Although researchers agree that the relationship of mass media and social movements is asymmetrical, there has been a change in this relationship, due to the rise of the internet and social media. However, the view of some scholars, who say that the internet and social media are diminishing the importance of mainstream media, is controversial and has been refuted by the most recent studies. The common or popular opinion on this subject today states that the ways in which journalists work have changed. The hybrid media ecology of today asks for a hybrid usage of media and communication strategies by social organisations to use it to its full potential. However, the importance of being covered in mass media has not changed. Since mass media provides a master forum for mainstream public beliefs, it is the major site of political contest and mass media forums influence changes in language use and political consciousness in the daily lives of citizens (Voss, 2015, p.19).

Research on factors which influence media coverage of social organisations offers a variety of perspectives. Some focus on generic features, others highlight the importance of the type of media and communication strategies used by social organisations. Based on these assumptions and previous studies on the media coverage of the third wave feminist movement and other social movement and organisations, three hypotheses were retrieved from the literature review which will be contested in the media analysis and discussion of this thesis.

Hypothesis 1

“The greater the recourses, organization, professionalism, coordination, and strategic planning of a movement, the greater its media standing and the more prominent its preferred frame will be in media coverage of relevant events and issues.”

(Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993, p.121-123)

Hypothesis 2

The greater the focus of the social organisation on the entertainment value of their online and offline actions, the more likely it is to receive high media standing, but the less likely it is being portrayed in a preferred frame.

Hypothesis 3

The greater the focus on hybrid media and communication strategies by using online and offline activism, the greater the ability of the organisation to gain both standing and preferred frames.

3. Methodology

The aim of this research is to explore the media opportunity structure for Social Movements, by analysing the coverage of three feminist organisations, within the third wave feminist movement, in two online newspapers in Germany. The literature review sought to establish a theoretical framework for this research, outlining the dichotomies which dominate previous academic research. Giving a broad context and presenting the analytical framework, it hopefully demonstrates the relevance of an empirical analysis of differences in news coverage of specific social organisations within the third wave feminist movement. As all research is theory based, the following section will outline, discuss and justify the research philosophy, the type of research, the research approach and the research design of this thesis. Moving on, the data collection and sampling methods are explained, and the theories used for the data analysis are summarised. Lastly, any limitations and ethical issues are put into consideration.

3.1 Research Philosophy

All research is based on a philosophy regarding the approach of what can be known. There are four major research philosophies in social science research which are based on ontology, and epistemology which are post-positivism, constructivist, transformative and pragmatic paradigms (Creswell, 2009). This research concurs with the pragmatic paradigm which focusses on the research problem and its solution and utilises a variety of approaches in order to fully understand the research issue. The pragmatic evaluation model is deemed to be fitting mainly due to the mixed method approach which is typically used by researchers using this philosophy (p.11). Both qualitative and quantitative data was collected in order to fully understand the issue of how social organisations can influence being represented in their interest in mass media in this research.

Furthermore, the scholarly world distinguishes between inductive and deductive research approaches, which describe the process of generating and establishing a theory. Inductive research observes specific findings and tends to detect patterns; developing a conclusion or theory, while in deductive research a hypothesis is created and either confirmed or rejected through the observation of findings (Trochim, 2006). This thesis uses both a deductive and inductive research approach. Although the analysis chapter uses the deductive approach by generating three hypotheses out of normative theories and trying to confirm or reject them with empirical evidence, part of the data analysis of the findings chapter is inductive. Therefore, the research design is both exploratory and conclusive.

3.2 Research Methods and Research Design

Firstly, since the content of a research determines the methodology, the complexity of the broader subject, required a more flexible design for this research (Van der Velde et al., 2004). Researchers distinguish between two different research strategies: quantitative and qualitative (Bryman, 2012, p. 76). A mixed method approach for data collection as well as data analysis was chosen for this research, to ensure flexibility and to meet the requirements, which the goal of this research entails.

The Findings & Analysis chapter is divided into two parts, followed by a short analysis of the data collected and a conclusion. The first part gathers qualitative data through comparative case studies of the three selected feminist organisations FEMEN, Pinkstinks and #metoo. The findings of this first chapter are written out and simultaneously compared to each other. The second part gathers quantitative data by applying a media content analysis that analyses German online news coverage of the chosen feminist organisations. The quantitative findings of this media content analysis serve as empirical evidence and are described in detail and linked with the qualitative data from the case studies, in order to find patterns or dependencies between the organisations' internal structures and strategies and their representation in the news media.

The methods and resources used for the data collection and the coding of the data for the analysis will be described in detail in the following sections of the methodology.

3.2.1 Case study

The three selected international feminist organisations FEMEN, Pinkstinks and #metoo differ considerably in their strategy to gain media attention (focus on public events, #hashtag activism and community work), their organisational structure and professionalism. Since there is only little research on specific feminist organisations within the third wave feminist movement, the organisations were selected based on the availability of data, suitability for analysis which included differences in demands, organisational structures and the popularity of the actions and year of foundation, all of them being formed after 2008. As the literature review shows, non-Anglophone countries have been neglected in the research of mass media representation of international feminist movements. Germany was picked as the country of analysis, as it represents the non-Anglophone country with the biggest population in Europe, hence offering a new perspective on how international feminist organisations are represented in an international mass media landscape to the already existing research.

First, it is important to gather relevant information on how the three organisations differ in their media strategies, structure and professionalism, to find patterns and/or link found

information to the outcome of the then following media content analysis. As Stake said, “a case study is the study of the particularity and complexity of a single, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances” (1995, p. XI). The most efficient way to catch this complexity of each organisation is, by conducting a qualitative case study and examining primary data, retrieved from the organisations’ websites.

To facilitate the retrieval of data that is not only comparable to each other but also relevant to the quantitative data retrieved in the following media content analysis, a comparative case study design was chosen. According to Bryman (2012), this type of methodological design “embodies the logic of comparison, in that it implies that we can understand social phenomena better when they are compared in relation to two or more meaningfully contrasting cases or situation” (p. 72).

Data Collection

For the comparative case studies, the each organisation’s foundation, political project, organisational structures and media campaigns are described in detail through collecting primary data from the organisation’s Facebook page and websites. Three aspects of the social organisations, which were extracted from the literature review, were in the focus of the description: (1) the organisational structure of the organisation, including “resources, organization, professionalism, coordination, and strategic planning” and the division of labour (2) The scope of the organisations demands and (3) the entertainment value of the organisations actions, such as demonstrations and campaigns (Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993, p.121-123). The findings are explained in detail and, at the same time, compared to each other, to find differences, as well as similarities.

3.2.1 Quantitative Media Analysis

The second part of the Findings & Analysis chapter consists of a quantitative media content analysis, which examines German online news coverage of the three feminist organisations, chosen to be analysed in this research. As early as in the 1950s, Bernard Berelson defined a content analysis as “a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (1952), and most scientists agree with him until this day. Bryman described a content analysis as a highly objective type of research, thanks to its transparency (2012, p. 304). However, Bryman also mentioned one factor that needs to be taken into consideration: “a content analysis can only be as good as the documents on which the practitioner work” (p. 306).

To start with the content analysis a media sample had to be selected. For this purpose, articles were collected from the online newspapers Bild.de and Spiegel Online. The selection of the two mass media sources is based on statistics published by statista which

focus on news media usage in Germany. Although, online newspapers are only on third place after TV and Radio when it comes to news media usage of the German population in 2017 (statista, 2018), however, the collection and access of a large set of samples is very difficult (Reuter Institute for the Study of Journalism, 2018). Furthermore, there is an increase of online newspaper usage via Apps and computer applications among the German population with 89% of the population having access to internet (Reuter Institute for the Study of Journalism, 2018). Therefore, online newspapers were deemed most suitable for the representation of mass media in Germany. According to statista (2018) the online newspapers most visited in Germany are Bild.de and Spiegel online (p.11). Another aspect that was taken into consideration is the reporting style and political viewpoint of the news outlets. While Bild.de is positioned more to the right on the political map of Germany and is perceived as having a rather sensationalistic reporting style, Spiegel online can be found more on the left side and is perceived more reliable and unbiased (Reuter Institute for the Study of Journalism, 2018). Therefore, the selected online newspapers offer two different angles on the influence of different reporting styles and political views on the news coverage of feminist organisations.

Data Collection

The relevant articles for this dissertation were obtained from the online archives of Bild.de and Spiegel Online, using the names of the three selected feminist organisations as search terms: “Femen”, “#metoo” and “Pinkstinks”. The sampling timeframe for each organisation differs, as they all start at a different date, each from the time of the organisations’ foundation until 1st April 2018. However, these search terms yield a myriad of news articles, of which a large amount are irrelevant to this study, as they are duplicates, discuss feminism in a historical context or only list the organisation as an example for feminist organisations. Thus, the pool of articles to be analysed in this research only incorporates articles that mention the search term in its title or first paragraph and discuss the selected organisation as central topic. After removing irrelevant articles, 621 articles were identified: 328 discussing “Femen”, 267 discussing “#metoo” and 26 discussing “Pinkstinks”.

Generally, it can be said that this research examines the overall media outcome, focussing on two aspects: (A) the media standing of the three feminist organisations and (B) the presence of the organisations’ preferred frame. The media standing can be assessed by determining and comparing the total amount of news articles discussing each organisation, as well as determining and comparing the total amount of articles over time, whilst considering factors that could influence changes in the density of published articles.

The second aspect examined, (B) the presence of the organisations’ preferred frame, is much more comprehensive and thus segmented into two dimensions: (1) the representation of the organisation and (2) the representation of action. To find out whether German news

outlets represent the three feminist organisations in a way that concurs with their own ideas and policies, the content of the news articles needed to be examined, coded and then analysed. Both dimensions consist of a certain set of questions, the answers of which were summarised in different units. A scale was developed from 1% to 100% to measure the outcome for each unit. Only if an organisation managed to achieve over 50% of the answer 'Yes' in all the units of both dimensions, a presence of the preferred frame could be identified.

The units of the first dimension 'representation of the organisation' include: 'main topic', 'statement of the organisation', 'information about goals & demands' and 'usefulness of goals & demands'. This dimension serves as an indicator of how serious an organisation is taken and how much space it is given to present their point of view on an issue. Furthermore, it gives an idea of how journalists and therefore also the public, perceive the organisation and its demands, as being professional and useful for society. The units of the second dimension 'representation of action' were divided into 'description of reason & trigger' and 'effectiveness of the action'. The second dimension serves as an indicator if an action by the organisation has any influence on the presence of a preferred frame.

A detailed coding manual defining the numbers that coincide with the listed aspects, dimensions and units can be found in the Code Book. However, according to Bryman "it is almost impossible to devise coding manuals that do not entail some interpretation on the part of coders" (p. 306). Nevertheless, it is hoped that the majority or all existing researcher bias could be eliminated, by applying constant critical reflexivity processes throughout the process of writing this dissertation.

4. Case Study

In this chapter, the organisational characteristics, social and political demands, as well as forms of actions of each feminist organisation are described. Based on the assumptions of the scholars in the literature review section 'Factors which influence Media Coverage', four aspects are in focus: Firstly, the organisational characteristics including "resources, organization, professionalism, coordination, and strategic planning" and the division of labour within the organisation" (Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993, p.121-123). Secondly, the social and political demands and, thirdly, the forms of actions which the organisations use to attract the public and mass media attention. The conclusion is highlighting the differences between the three feminist organisations to provide content to contest the hypotheses in the discussion, by connecting the findings of this section with the media analysis of the following.

4.1 FEMEN

4.1.1 Organisational Characteristics

FEMEN is an international feminist organisation which fights against the patriarchy and was founded in Ukraine in 2008, by Inna and Sasha Shevchenko and Anna Hutsol. In the beginning, the feminist organisation consisted mainly of young university students and was operating in Ukraine only. However, this changed in 2012 after Inna Shevchenko experienced severe mistreatment of the Ukrainian secret service due to showing solidarity with imprisoned members of Pussy Riot, a Russian feminist protest punk band, by chopping off a wooden cross. Since then, the Headquarters are situated in Paris, France and include a training centre for activists (Thomas & Stehling, 2015). The organisation states on one of their websites that they are currently operating in over thirty countries with over thirteen branches and offices in Europe and around the world. Further, the organisation is registered as an international organisation and tries to legalise all its groups, which is especially problematic in authoritarian regimes, and is continuously looking for new locations to expand their global presence (FEMEN, n.d.). FEMEN finances itself through donations by likeminded individuals and through the sale of products and art on their website. They do not except any financial aid from politicians, religious groups, businesses or other foundations, as they would like to stay independent. Concerning the organisation, coordination and strategic planning FEMEN explains, "The movement is managed by the Coordination Council which includes the founders and the most prominent activists of the organization." (para.14). The website provides e-mail and Skype contacts for journalists. In order to become an activist, women have to undergo a physical and psychological training in one of the training centres. However, it is possible to be a participant by donating or by distributing and spreading their campaigns and actions via social media channels.

4.1.2 Social and Political Demands

FEMEN's core social and political goal is "Complete victory over patriarchy" (FEMEN, n.d. para 8) by strategically fighting in "three manifestations - sexual exploitation of women, dictatorship and religion". (BBC News, 2013).

The scope of social and political demands by FEMEN broadened significantly over the years. In the beginning, the organisation focussed on national issues of sex tourism and human trafficking in Ukraine. After 2011 they included global issues, such as patriarchy in religion and authoritarian regimes, and expanded their political and social efforts to other countries within and outside Europe (Thomas & Stehling, 2015).

4.1.3 The forms of Actions

FEMEN's trademark is the naked protest or, as they call it on their website, 'sextrimism'. This term was newly developed by FEMEN and the organisation gives a detailed definition of the term and how this form of protest works on their website.

"Sextremism is female sexuality rebelling against patriarchy and embodied in the extremal political direct action events. Sexist style of the actions is a way to destruct the patriarchal understanding of what is the destination of female sexuality to the benefit of the great revolutionary mission. Extremal nature of sextremism demonstrates intellectual, psychological and physical superiority of female activists from FEMEN over the bandogs of patriarchy. [...] Sextremism is the woman's mockery of vulgar male extremism and its bloody mayhems and a cult of terror. Sextremism is a non-violent but highly aggressive form of provocation; it is an all-powerful demoralizing weapon undermining the foundations of the old political ethics and rotten patriarchal culture." (FEMEN, n.d. para 8)

The targets are politicians, religious leaders and brothels around the world. This form of protest is directly aimed at getting the public and media attention, by putting a spotlight on specific people or events. The activists usually protest topless with slogans written on their bare upper bodies and flower wreaths in their hair, holding up banners, screaming insults or paroles and sometimes provoking their targets with obscene or radical symbolisms. Famous naked protests were executed against sex tourism at the UEFA Football Championship in Ukraine and Poland, patriarchy in the Catholic Church at the Christmas Eve service in Cologne, oppression of women in Muslim countries such as Tunisia, and politicians such as Vladimir Putin, Dominique Strauss-Kahn and Marie Le Pen (Femen,n.d, 2018).

4.2 Pinkstinks

4.2.1 Organisational Characteristics

Pinkstinks is an international feminist organisation fighting against stereotypes and sexism in advertisement and product targeting, with branches in the UK and Germany. Abi and Emma Moore founded the organisation in the UK in 2008. Its German counterpart followed in 2012, after the journalist Stevie Schmiedel had met the British initiators. The branches work separately and focus on the legal environment of their own country, since politics and laws regarding advertisement and education differ. However, the branches exchange ideas for campaigns (Cleaver, 2013). The Pinkstinks Germany and Pinkstinks UK websites offer a detailed overview of the organisation's campaigns and structures. Both branches are registered as non-profit organisations in their countries. Therefore, the funding for campaigns relies on voluntary donations (Pinkstinks Germany, n.d). Pinkstinks UK has four permanent staff members and they work closely together with other UK feminist organisations listed on their website. Pinkstinks Germany employs six people. The contact details and detailed job descriptions are provided on both websites. In order to be a participant, member or activist in the organisation, you can become a supporting member by donating, ordering information material (such as stickers and posters), signing petitions, following their social media channels, joining social media campaigns or, in case of Pinkstinks Germany, becoming a "Werbemelder", a person who reports a sexist advertisement on a newly developed App. Both websites of the organisation provide contact details for journalists and Pinkstinks Germany even has a press mailing list, offering press releases, press pictures and other materials.

4.2.2 Social and Political Demands

As Pinkstinks states on their Facebook page:

"Pinkstinks is a campaign that targets the products, media and marketing that prescribe heavily stereotyped and limiting roles to young girls. We believe that all children – girls and boys - are affected by the 'pinkification' of girlhood. Our aim is to challenge and reverse this growing trend. We additionally promote media literacy, self-esteem, positive body image and female role models for kids." (Pinkstinks UK, n.d.).

Pinkstinks Germany offers a similar statement and adds that the specific political demands of the organisation aim at the abolishment of sexism in advertisement and gender-marketing. The target is the industry producing and marketing the products, as well as politics which should develop laws prohibiting gender marketing and sexism in

advertisement, since children should not be defined by corporate businesses (Pinkstinks Germany, n.d., para 2).

4.2.3 The forms of Actions

Pinkstinks mainly uses online campaigns through social media such as; Youtube, Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and Blogging, as forms of actions. As stated on the UK website "Pinkstinks run targeted campaigns aimed at creating positive changes in the products, messages, labelling, categorisation and representations of girls. We use writing, social networking, video and blogging to raise awareness and tackle companies." (Pinkstinks UK, n.d, para 3). However, Pinkstinks Germany also uses street activism such as demonstrations and protest concerts to fight for their goals and gain followers. Most significant campaigns were the social media campaigns #NotHeidisGirl, #keinBildfürHeidi (NoPictureForHeidi) and #Ichkaufdasnicht (Idonotbuythat) and the demonstrations at the opening of the Barbie house in Berlin and the final of Germany's Next Topmodel (Pinkstinks Germany, n.d.). Prominent targets are big toy companies and marketing companies which produce and market toys such as Playmobil, Barbie, Lego or Hello Kitty, as well as TV shows, such as 'Germany's Next Top Model', which promote an unhealthy beauty standard for girls and other companies using the female body for promoting products.

4.3 #metoo

4.3.1 Organisational Characteristics

Metoo is a feminist organisation originally founded by Tarana Burke in 2006 in the US, in order to support rape victims in her local community, but since 2017 it has expanded and operates globally nowadays. The hashtag metoo went viral in 2017, after Alyssa Milano, an American Actress, posted a tweet on twitter reporting about her own experience with sexual violence and encouraging the twitter community to do the same. The metoo feminist organisation belongs to the social organisations of the so-called web 2.0. It is considered to be an e-movement or also an e-social organisation. The metoo organisation is based on network structures and collective identity rather than traditional memberships and its existence relies on the support of social media users of Twitter, Facebook and Instagram (Hara & Huang, 2011). The social organisation does not have global resources. The new website, established by Burke, only lists social organisations as resources which are US based, but you can make donations from countries outside the US. Furthermore, there are neither contact details of any of the founders nor a media spokesperson provided on the website.

4.3.2 Social and Political Demands

The social and political demands are summarised on the organisation's website and are as follows:

"Our goal is also to reframe and expand the global conversation around sexual violence to speak to the needs of a broader spectrum of survivors. Young people, queer, trans, and disabled folks, Black women and girls, and all communities of color. We want perpetrators to be held accountable and we want strategies implemented to sustain long term, systemic change" (Me too, n.d., para 3)

Furthermore, Tarana Burke talks in a youtube video on the metoo website about the purpose of the organisation, which tries to "empower" victims of sexual harassment and abuse through "empathy" ([Me too movement], 2018). They want to "uplift radical community healing as a social justice issue" and "disrupting all systems that allow sexual violence to flourish." (Me too, n.d., para 5)

4.3.3 The forms of Actions

The trademark of #metoo is the personalisation of the problem to create empathy. Victims report about their experience with sexual violence and add the hashtag "metoo". The campaign mainly focusses on social media. However, the hashtag also resulted in street protests in France (Cotton & Rosemain, 2017). The numbers how often the hashtag was used vary among the sources and range from over one million (Khomami, 2017) to twelve million (CBS, 2017) within twenty-four hours around the world. In some non-Anglophone countries, the hashtag was translated one-to-one into the national language. Although metoo was founded in 2006, the hashtag was the first significant campaign and the first used internationally. Tarana Burke states in a YouTube video that the organisation would like to expand their platform globally and foster conversations about sexual harassment and abuse (Me too movement, 2018). Therefore, new social media campaigns can be expected in the future.

4.4 Conclusion

FEMEN, Pinkstinks and metoo differ considerably regarding their organisational characteristics, their scope of political and social demands, as well as their forms of actions.

4.4.1 Organisational Characteristics

While both FEMEN and Pinkstinks established or try to establish branches in countries they operate in, metoo only has a branch in the US. Furthermore, Femen and Pinkstinks are legally registered social organisations, either in the country they established a branch in or

internationally, while metoo only operates as an e-organisation with its headquarters in the US. Regarding financial resources, all of them rely on donations. However, it can be argued with regard to human resources, metoo has all social media users participating in their social media campaign, while FEMEN mainly relies on its activists and only partly on social media supporters, and Pinkstinks works with their staff members and collaborates with schools and parents. Other distinctions can be observed regarding the division of labour. Pinkstinks clearly provides job descriptions as well as contact details for all its members, offering contacts to journalists for journalistic enquiries as well as legal questions. FEMEN offers e-mail and Skype contacts but does not clearly state who is responsible for press enquiries, while metoo does not have a contact person at all. Continuing with the organisation and strategic planning of the organisations, both Pinkstinks and FEMEN describe their organisational structure and the bodies which are responsible for strategic decisions and have branches in the countries they are operating in. Considering that the founder did not initiate the hashtag campaign of metoo and that the expansion of the organisation globally was ad hoc, it can be argued that there was no coordination or strategic planning concerning the expansion of the organisation or the implementation of the social media campaign.

4.4.2 Social and Political Demands

All social organisations belong to the third wave feminist movement and cover different social and political demands connected with it. FEMEN fights against patriarchy, Pinkstinks against sexism and stereotypes in advertisement and metoo against sexual violence. Regarding the scope of the political demands, Pinkstinks' demands can be described as narrow, since they are directed at specific laws. Metoo's goals are slightly broader. The main aim of the organisation is to raise awareness and offer victims a healing path through sympathy of others. However, a second aspect of their social project is to disrupt social structures in which sexual violence can flourish, which is a broader political goal. It is neither restricted geographically nor does it aim at specific laws. FEMEN has broadened the scope of its demands significantly over the years. First, specific laws in Ukraine were in their focus, nowadays they fight against patriarchy in almost all aspects of public life.

4.4.3 The forms of Actions

Regarding the forms of actions, the organisations differ in their approaches in getting public and media attention. Regarding the entertainment value of their actions, both FEMEN and metoo try to have a specific trademark connected to their campaigns. While FEMEN relies on sextremism or the naked female body, metoo uses the personalisation of the issue by focussing on evoking empathy for the victims from the public. Both trademarks provide a

high entertainment value. Nakedness provokes and personalisation does not only trigger empathy, but also puts faces to the issue. In case of me too, these are often women of public interest. Pinkstinks uses both online and street activism. However, the organisation does not frequently implement campaigns or protests and has no specific trademark.

5. Media Content Analysis & Discussion

The media content analysis provides empirical evidence for the discussion of the hypotheses, by analysing the media outcome of the three organisations and connecting the results with the case studies. The media outcome is divided into two aspects of assessment, ‘media standing’ and ‘prominence of the preferred frame’, which results enables the division of media outcome into four categories: Full response, collapse, co-optation and pre-emption (Voss, 2015), which is done in the conclusion of this chapter.

5.1 Media Standing

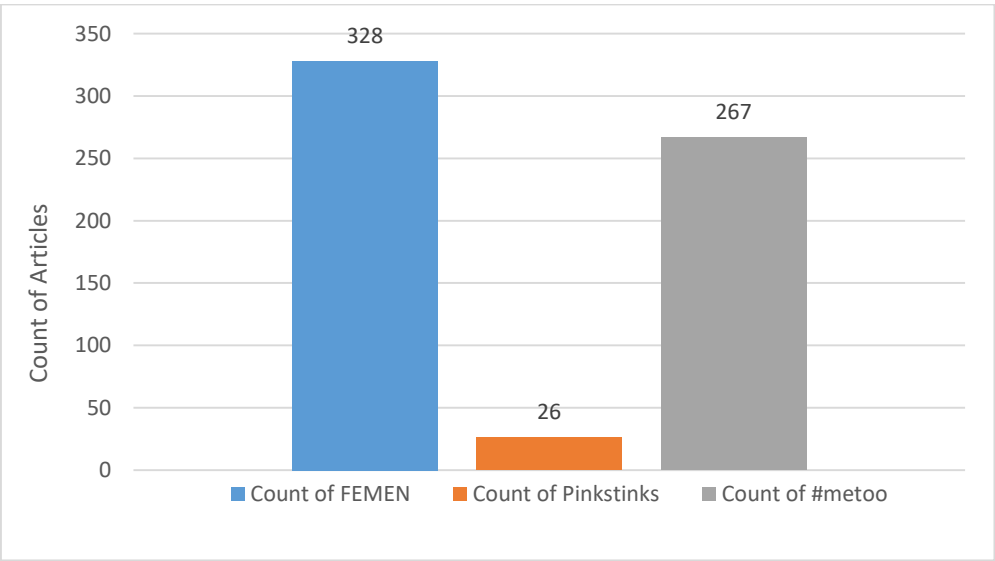


Figure 1: Total amount of articles retrieved

The data collected from both news websites clearly shows a high media coverage of FEMEN with a count of 328 articles and a very low media coverage of Pinkstinks with a total amount of only 26. The articles were collected in different time spans, since the foundation of each organisation varies. However, considering that #metoo only reached international attention in 2017, the organisation has been covered significantly more than Pinkstinks, with a total amount of 267, and almost reaches the amount of FEMEN, whose foundation goes back to 2008. The data sample for the analysis of the media standing includes articles, in which the organisations might only be mentioned as a side note, without them being the central topic. However, the media outlets’ frequent usage of the name of an organisation in articles ensures that the organisation is in the back of the minds of the public. Further, it shows that the organisation is recognised and associated with specific social and political issues and serves as an example for certain social and political positions for journalists. However, in case of FEMEN and #metoo, while scanning through the sample, it could be observed that FEMEN’s and #metoo’s forms of protest were often in focus of the

articles and the organisations served as an example in explaining or comparing other social media campaigns and naked protests (see Appendices 8.3).

When looking at the media standing over time for each organisation, similarities and differences can be detected, which is connected to the frequency of the organisations' actions and the different time spans of the collected articles.

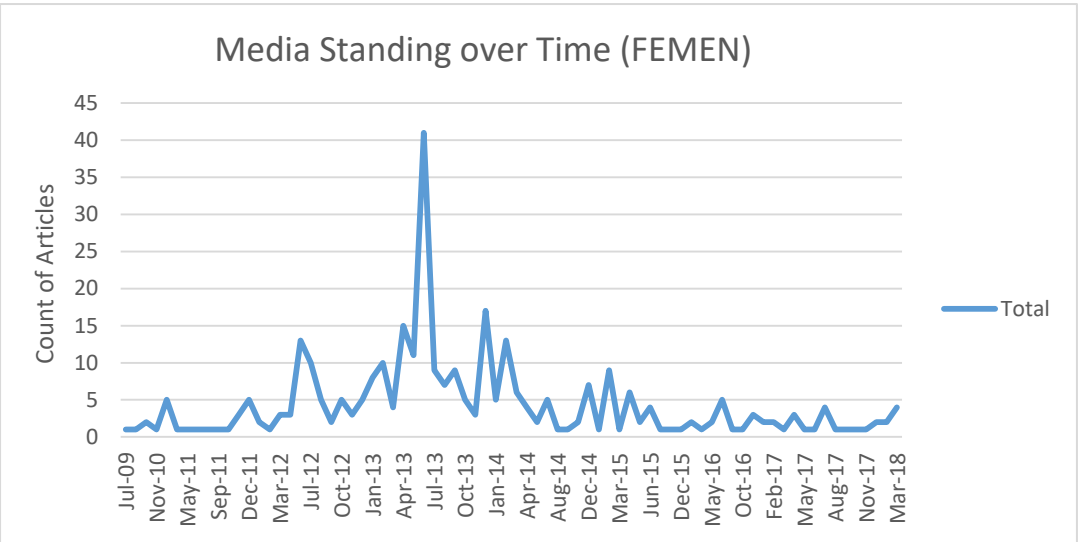


Figure 2. Media standing over time (FEMEN)

As elucidated in the line chart above, FEMEN managed to be frequently covered in the German media over a time span of nine years. The amount of media coverage varies with small ups and downs and hits a peak between April and October 2013. This can be explained by increased protest actions of FEMEN at high profile events, such as the final of Germany's Next Top Model, the opening of the Barbie House in Berlin and Putin's state visit, as well as the controversial protest action the "international topless jihad day" (see Appendices 8.3, no. 29/84). The smaller spikes in the chart, can all be explained with either new protest actions of the organisation or repercussions of previous events, such as imprisonment or releases of activists. Another important aspect of the increase in news coverage in 2013 is the establishment of the headquarters in France and the first German FEMEN branch in Hamburg in 2013.

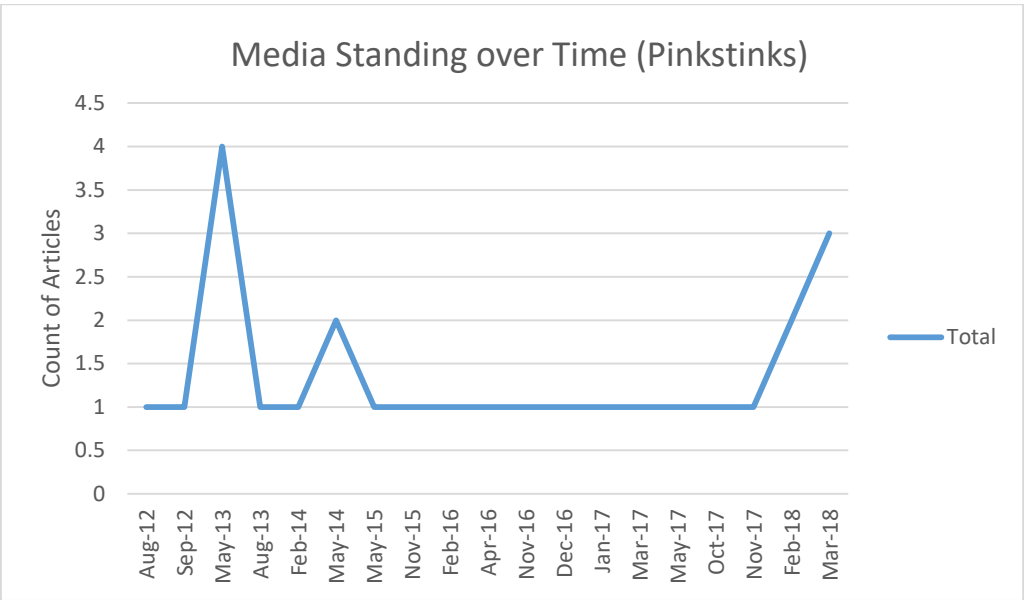


Figure 3: Media standing over time (Pinkstinks)

The line chart of Pinkstinks shows a consistency in media coverage over a time span of 7 years, but with a very low overall coverage of the organisation. Further, it is significant that no articles about the UK branch, or the foundation of the organisation in 2008, could be retrieved. Only after the German branch was established in 2012, German media covered the organisation. The only very small peaks in the line chart can be connected to four certain events of social media activism: the campaign #NotHeidisGirl, against Germany's Next Topmodel in 2013, the repetition of a similar social media campaign against the same show in 2014, the launch of the 'Werbemelder' App and the release of a protest song on Youtube against Germany's Next Topmodel in 2018.

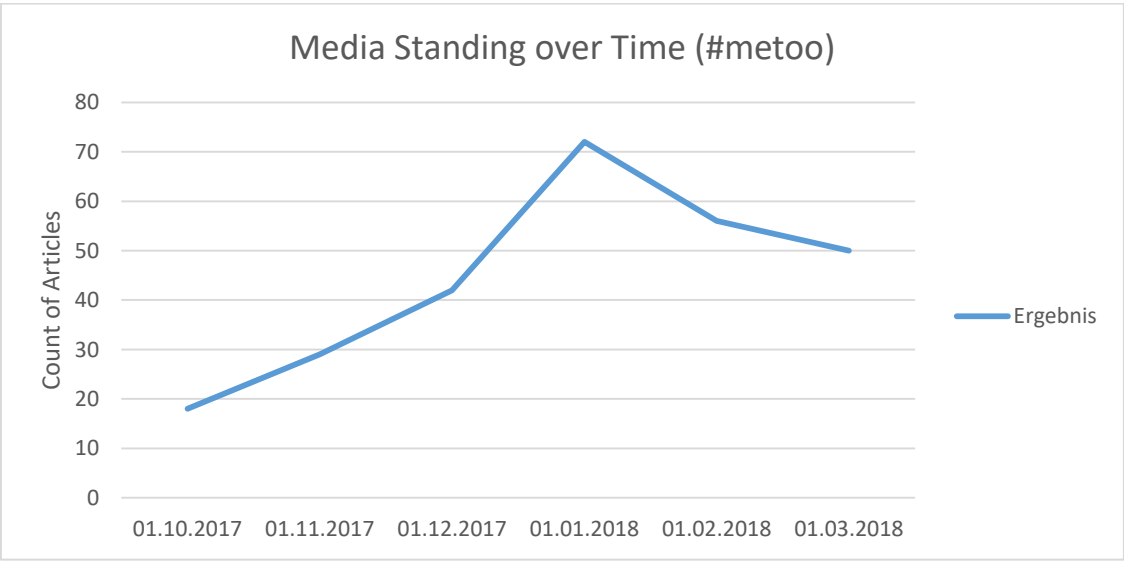


Figure 4: Media standing over time (#metoo)

The line chart above displays the media standing of #metoo over a time span of six months. This is, since the organisation has not been working internationally before October 2017.

Currently, only one significant social media campaign has been executed, the #metoo campaign started by Alyssa Milano. Nevertheless, the very high media coverage and consistency over the past six months exceeds the media standing of a single action of FEMEN and Pinkstinks. It even exceeds the overall coverage of the Pinkstinks organisation.

5.1.1 Conclusion

The media standing analysis shows that media coverage highly depends on the frequency of actions, as well as the entertainment value. FEMEN and #metoo both achieved a very high overall coverage and consistency. However, FEMEN achieved the consistency through continuous protest, while #metoo only had one campaign. Due to the different time span, a reason for this difference cannot be determined and would be speculative. However, when comparing the media standing of Pinkstinks and FEMEN, in which a similar time span was used, the importance of continuous actions can be identified. Furthermore, an increase of media coverage due to the establishment of a German branch could be detected.

In conclusion, FEMEN and #metoo have a good media standing, while Pinkstinks lacks the amount of media coverage.

5.2 Presence of the Preferred Frame

For the analysis of the presence of the preferred frame, the analysis is divided into two dimensions, the 'Representation of the Organisation' and 'Representation of the Organisation's Actions'. Each of them is consisting out of a specific set of questions, the answers of which are summarised in different units. A scale was developed from 1% to 100% to measure the outcome for each unit. Each unit is measured individually and only if an organisation manages to achieve over 50% of the answer 'Yes' in all units, a presence of the preferred frame can be identified. The results over 50% are highlighted in yellow in each table.

5.2.1 'Representation of the Organisation'

The dimension of the 'Representation of the Organisation' includes four units of analysis: 'Main Topic', 'Statement of the Organisation', 'Information about goals & demands' and 'Usefulness of goals & demand'. The overall dimension serves as an indicator on how serious an organisation is taken and how much space it is given to present their point of view on an issue. Furthermore, it shows how journalists, and therefore the public, perceive the organisation and its demands as being professional and useful for society.

Central Topic			
	FEMEN N = 332	Pinkstinks N = 26	#metoo N = 269
Count of YES	153	23	100
Result	46,08%	88,46%	37,17%

Figure 5: Is the organisation or their action central topic of the article?

As the table above elucidates, Pinkstinks is the only organisation being the central topic in 88% of its retrieved articles. The others have a significant number of articles in which they are just mentioned as a side note. Only 46% of the articles retrieved for FEMEN and 37% of #metoo cover the organisations or one of their actions as their central topic. This poses a risk for the organisations, as they can be referenced out of context and connected to social and political issues they do not want to be associated with.

Organisation	Representation of the Organisation			
		Statement	Goals & Demands	Usefulness
	FEMEN N = 153	60,13%	39,87%	37,10%
	Pinkstinks N = 23	73,91%	69,57%	56,25%
	#metoo N = 100	39,00%	78,79%	62,50%

Figure 6: Representation of the Organisation

The next table summarises the results of the analysis of the other three dimensions. First, the importance of a statement and quotes of members and media spokespersons in articles needs to be discussed. According to Teune, Sommer and Rucht (2017), the presence of a statement and one or more quotes indicates that the organisation is deemed professional and an expert on the issue at hand by journalists. The table shows that both FEMEN and Pinkstinks achieved over 50% in this unit. When connecting this result to the case study, this can be explained by the fact that both organisations have a media spokesperson, write press releases and statements on their website and give contact details to journalists. On the other hand, #metoo does not give contact details and since the organisation is internet based and all social media users posting the hashtag could be described as participants, it is difficult for journalists to determine who the face of the organisation is.

Secondly, the detailed description of the goals and demands of the organisation is an essential aspect of the presence of the preferred frame, since it highlights the need for change regarding the specific issue covered in the article. As presented in the table, both Pinkstinks and #metoo achieve distinctly over 50%, while FEMEN only reaches 39,87%. This unit is closely linked with the next unit, in which the perception of the journalists regarding the usefulness of the political demands and goals was analysed. In only 37,10% of the articles, FEMENs fight against patriarchy was assessed as useful for society, while 62,50% of the articles considered awareness raising and the debate about sexual violence of #metoo as important and 56,25% considered Pinkstinks’ battle against sexism and stereotypes in advertisement as useful. When linking the results to the case studies no clear pattern could be detected.

Organisation	The Results of each unit				
		Main Topic	Statement	Goals & Demands	Usefulness
	FEMEN	46,08%	60,13%	39,87%	37,10%
	Pinkstinks	88,46%	73,91%	69,57%	56,25%
	#metoo	37,17%	39,00%	78,79%	62,50%

Figure 7: Results of each Unit of the Dimension ‘Representation of the Organisation’

The summary of the results of each unit shows that Pinkstinks consistently scored over 50%, therefore it can be argued, that a presence of a preferred frame can be detected. FEMEN and #metoo struggle in different units. While #metoo has difficulties to get a voice in the articles, its goals and demands are present. On the other hand, FEMEN does get room to express their ideas, however, its goals and demands are not represented to their interest.

5.2.2 ‘Representation of the Organisation’s Actions’

The units of the second dimension are divided into ‘Description of Reason & Trigger’ and ‘Effectiveness of the Action’. This unit serves as an indicator if an action influences the presence of a preferred frame negatively or positively.

Reason & Trigger			
	FEMEN N = 22	Pinkstinks N = 14	#metoo N = 96
Count of YES	22	14	96
Result	88,00%	93,33%	78,05%

Figure 8: Description of the Reason & Trigger of Action

As the table above elucidates, all organisations’ actions are described in detail in the data set retrieved. Therefore, a clear pattern on how specific actions influence the preferred frame of the organisations could not be detected. FEMEN mainly uses street activism, Pinkstinks uses mixed actions and #metoo only operates on the internet. However, the results do not differ. Therefore, it can be assumed that street activism and online activism gain the same media attention.

Effectiveness of the Action			
	FEMEN	Pinkstinks	#metoo
Yes	22,13%	33,33%	48,00%
No	28,69%	20,00%	0%
Neutral	6,56%	26,67%	24,00%
N.A	42,62%	20,00%	28,00%

Figure 9: Effectiveness of the Action

The second aspect of analysis, ‘the effectiveness of the actions’, is not exceedingly representative, since in most of the articles a clear statement of the author is missing. However, when only considering the result of the answer ‘Yes’, #metoo scores the highest and FEMEN the lowest. Nevertheless, assessing this data would be highly speculative.

5.2.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, the analysis of ‘the presence of the preferred frame’ shows that high professionalism regarding the relationship with journalists and media is favourable for social organisations to get roam in the articles to express their beliefs, as well as their social and political demands. However, a connection between the organisations’ high entertainment value actions and a negative influence on the preferred frame could not be detected. Further, all organisations’ reasons and triggers of the actions were described in detail in the article, no matter if they used online or offline activism. Hence, a clear statement on the hybrid media usage and its advantages cannot be clearly made.

The conclusion attempts to outline and classify the findings by applying Voss’s approach on measuring media outcome, which was selected and described in the literature review.

This approach combines the two aspects of media outcome 'media standing' and 'presence of the preferred frame' and divides the SMOs' results into four categories:

(1) 'Full response': Achievement of both high media standing and presence of the preferred frame

(2) 'Collapse': Lack of both media standing and presence of the preferred frame

(3) 'Co-optation': Achievement of a high media standing, but lack of presence of the preferred frame

(4) 'Pre-emption': Lack of media standing, but a high presence of the preferred frame

(Voss, 2015, p.22)

The examination of the two aspects of media outcome concludes that none of the three feminist organisations achieved a 'full response' from the German media. However, a 'collapse' could not be identified either in any of the cases. FEMEN and #metoo can be classified into the category of 'co-optation', both have a high media standing, but the prominence of the preferred frame could not be identified in the data sample. On the other hand, Pinkstinks has a low media standing, but in the few articles of the data set analysed its preferred frame of the representation of the issue and the organisation could be detected.

6. Conclusions

This research explored the media opportunity structure of international feminist organisations in Germany, by examining the media outcome of each organisation in order to answer the question:

In which ways can third wave feminist social organisations influence mass media coverage in their favour?

Two ways could be identified:

1. High professionalism regarding the relationship between the social organisation and the journalists. Which includes; the provision of press material for journalists and the appointment of a media spokesperson for the organisation.
2. Implementation of a high frequency of high entertainment value actions. Preferably developing a trade mark for protests or campaigns and implementing social media campaigns and organising street protests on a regular basis.

The examination of the articles refutes some of the aspects of the hypotheses extracted from the literature review, when analysing them with the empirical evidence retrieved from the media content analysis. Specifically, regarding the generic features of the organisation, the analysis shows that professionalism, a division of labour, strategic planning and good resources cannot be a guaranty for media standing, as it is the case with Pinkstinks. However, this has been predictable, since the hypothesis was developed in the nineties and the web 2.0 has not been considered in the assumption. Nevertheless, high professionalism when dealing with journalists is essential for social organisations to increase the presence of their preferred frame. Only if journalists perceive the organisation as sophisticated and professional, a good relationship can be established. For this, an appointment of a media spokesperson and the provision of press material is an advantage, since it facilitates the work of journalists and the material can be drafted in accordance with the organisation's political and social demands.

Regarding the forms of actions, which are favourable for social organisations' media outcome, it can be concluded that especially the frequency of protests and campaigns is of great importance for media standing. However, considering the entertainment value of the action, it can be argued that personalisation and provocation are effective ways in getting media attention. Nevertheless, the organisations must be careful how they would like to be perceived in public and develop their own trademark.

Lastly, although the aspect of the hybrid media landscape has been put into consideration, the data did not offer clear evidence for the effectiveness of hybrid media and communication strategies.

6.1 Recommendations

First, it needs to be highlighted that the ways in which social organisations can influence media coverage in their favour is depending on the newspapers they are covered in. The media analysis showed major differences in media coverage of feminist organisations between the news portals. However, examining the reasons for these differences would have exceeded the scope of this research. Therefore, an analysis of media coverage of feminist organisations considering the different political views of newspapers, and how social organisations need to adapt their media strategies accordingly, would provide a new angle to this research.

Secondly, further research on the organisations chosen in this research would be insightful. Specifically, a comparison of the social organisations' media coverage in other non-Anglophone countries. This would provide an idea of how much the media practices in other European countries need to be put into consideration by international social organisations.

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8. Appendices

8.1 Media Analysis – Code Book

Var1

Is the organisation or their action the central topic of the article?

1 = Yes → Var2

2 = No → end

Var2

Are statements from members and/or participants of the organisation used in the article?

1 = Yes

2 = No

Var3

Are the goals and demands of the organisation mentioned in the article?

1 = Yes

2 = No

Var4

Are the goals and demands perceived as useful for society?

1 = yes

2 = no

3 = neutral

4 = not mentioned

Var5

Is a particular action of the organisation subject of the article?

1 = yes → Var6

2 = no → end

Var6

Is the reason and trigger for the action of the organisation mentioned in the article?

1 = yes

2 = no

Var7

Is the action of the organisation perceived as effective?

1 = yes

2 = no

3 = neutral

4= not mentioned

8.2 Media Analysis – Data Matrix

Pinkstinks Spiegel

Art. No.	Date	Var1	Var2	Var3	Var4	Var5	Var6	Var7
1	Aug 12	1	1	1	1	2		
2	Sep 12	1	2	2		2		
3	Mai 13	1	1	1	1	1	1	3
4	Feb 14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	Mai 14	1	1	1	1	1	1	3
6	Mai 14	2						
7	Nov 15	1	1	2		1	1	1
8	Feb 16	2						
9	Apr 16	1	2	1	1	2		
10	Dez 16	2						
11	Jan 17	1	2	1	3	2		
12	Mai 17	1	1	2		1	1	1
13	Nov 17	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
14	Mrz 18	1	1	2		1	2	1

Pinkstinks Bild

Art. No.	Date	Var1	Var2	Var3	Var4	Var5	Var6	Var7
1	Mai 13	1	1	1	4	1	1	4
2	Mai 13	1	1	1	4	1	1	4
3	Mai 13	1	2	1	2	1	1	2
4	Aug 13	1	2	1	4	1	1	4
5	Mai 15	1	1	2		1	1	3
6	Nov 16	1	1	1	2	2		
7	Mrz 17	1	1	1	1	2		
8	Okt 17	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
9	Feb 18	1	1	1	1	2		
10	Feb 18	1	1	2		1	1	3
11	Mrz 18	1	1	1	3	1	1	2
12	Mrz 18	1	2	2		2		

FEMEN Spiegel

Art. No.	Date	Var1	Var2	Var3	Var4	Var5	Var6	Var7
1	Jul 09	1	1	1	1	1	1	3
2	Feb 10	1	1	2		1	1	4
3	Feb 11	2						
4	Feb 11	1	2	2		1	1	4
5	Mai 11	1	1	1	3	1	1	3
6	Nov 11	1	2	1	3	1	1	3
7	Nov 11	2						
8	Dez 11	2						
9	Feb 12	2						
10	Jun 12	1	1	1	3	2		
11	Jun 12	1	1	1	1	2		
12	Jun 12	2						
13	Jun 12	2						
14	Jul 12	1	1	1	3	2		
15	Jul 12	2						
16	Aug 12	2						
17	Sep 12	1	1	1	3	1	1	4
18	Okt 12	1	1	1	3	1	1	4
19	Nov 12	2						
20	Dez 12	2						
21	Feb 13	2						
22	Mrz 13	1	1	1	3	1	1	1
23	Apr 13	2						
24	Apr 13	1	1	1	2	2		
25	Apr 13	2						
26	Apr 13	1	1	1	2	1	1	2
27	Mai 13	1	2	1	2	1	1	2
28	Mai 13	1	1	1	3	1	1	3
29	Mai 13	1	2	1	3	1	2	2
30	Mai 13	2						
31	Mai 13	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
32	Jun 13	1	1	2		1	1	2
33	Jun 13	1	1	1	2	1	1	2

34	Jun 13	1	2	2		1	1	4
35	Jun 13	2						
36	Jun 13	1	2	1	2	1	1	2
37	Jun 13	2						
38	Jun 13	2						
39	Jun 13	2						
40	Jun 13	2						
41	Jun 13	2						
42	Jun 13	2						
43	Jul 13	2						
44	Jul 13	2						
45	Jul 13	2						
46	Jul 13	2						
47	Jul 13	1	1	2		1	1	4
48	Aug 13	2						
49	Aug 13	2						
50	Aug 13	2						
51	Aug 13	1	1	1	4	1	1	4
52	Aug 15	2						
53	Sep 13	2						
54	Sep 13	1	1	1	3	2		
55	Sep 13	1	1	2		2		
56	Sep 13	2						
57	Sep 13	2						
58	Sep 13	1	1	1	1	2		
59	Okt 13	1	1	2		1	1	4
60	Okt 13	1	1	1	2	2		
61	Nov 13	2						
62	Dez 13	2						
63	Dez 13	1	1	2		1	1	3
64	Dez 13	2						
65	Dez 13	1	1	2		1	1	4
66	Dez 13	1	1	1	2	2		
67	Jan 14	2						
68	Jan 14	2						
69	Feb 14	1	1	1	4	1	1	4

70	Feb 14	2						
71	Feb 14	2						
72	Feb 14	1	1	1	2	1	1	2
73	Feb 14	2						
74	Mrz 14	2						
75	Apr 14	2						
76	Jul 14	2						
77	Jul 14	2						
78	Jul 14	2						
79	Nov 14	2						
80	Nov 14	2						
81	Dez 14	1	1	1	2	2		
82	Dez 14	1	1	2		1	1	4
83	Feb 15	2						
84	Feb 15	2						
85	Feb 15	2						
86	Feb 15	2						
87	Feb 15	1	2	2		1	1	4
88	Feb 15	1	1	2		2		
89	Feb 15	2						
90	Feb 15	2						
91	Mrz 15	1	2	2		1	2	1
92	Mai 15	2						
93	Jun 15	1	1	2		2		
94	Jun 15	2						
95	Jan 16	2						
96	Jun 16	2						
97	Sep 16	2						
98	Nov 16	2						
99	Apr 17	2						
100	Jul 17	1	2	2		1	1	1
101	Okt 17	2						
102	Nov 17	2						
103	Dez 17	1	1	2		1	1	1
104	Jan 18	2						
105	Mrz 18	2						

106	Mrz 18	2						
107	Mrz 18	2						

FEMEN Bild

Art. No.	Date	Var1	Var2	Var3	Var4	Var5	Var6	Var7
1	Nov 09	1	1	1	4	1	1	1
2	Feb 10	1	1	2		1	1	4
3	Nov 10	1	2	2		1	1	2
4	Dez 11	2						
5	Feb 11	1	2	2		1	1	4
6	Feb 11	1	2	1	3	1	2	4
7	Feb 11	1	1	1	3	1	1	1
8	Apr 11	1	2	2		1	1	4
9	Jul 11	1	2	2		1	1	1
10	Aug 11	1	1	1	1	2		
11	Sep 11	1	2	1	1	1	1	2
12	Okt 11	2						
13	Nov 11	1	2	2		1	2	4
14	Nov 11	1	2	1	3	1	2	4
15		1	1	1	1	2		
16	Nov 11	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
17	Dez 11	1	1	1	1	1	1	3
18	Dez 11	1	2	2		1	2	
19	Dez 11	1	1	2		1	1	1
20	Jan 12	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
21	Jan 12	1	2	2		1	1	3
22	Mrz 12	2						
23	Mrz 12	2						
24	Mrz 12	1	2	1	1	1	2	4
25	Mai 12	1	2	2	2	1	1	1
26	Jun 12	2						
27	Mai 12	1	1	1	2	1	1	2
28	Mai 12	1	2	2		1	2	4
29	Jun 12	2						
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183	Dez 14	2						

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199	Dez 15	2						
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220	Jul 17	2						
221	Jul 17	2						
222	Jul 17	2						
223	Aug 17	2						
224	Sep 17	1	1	2		1	1	4
225	Dez 17	1	2	2		1	1	2
226	Jan 18	1	2	2		1	2	4
227	Mrz 18	2						

#metoo Spiegel

Respn r	Date	Var1	Var2	Var3	Var4	Var5	Var6	Var7
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18	Nov 17	1	2	1	1	2		
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41	Nov 17	2						
42	Dez 17	1	2	1	1	2		
43	Dez 17	1	2	2		2		
44	Dez 17	1	1	2		2		

45	Dez 17	2						
46	Dez 17	1	2	2		1	1	4
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167	Mrz 18	1	1	2		2		
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203	Mrz 18	2						
204	Mrz 18	1	2	1	4	2		
205	Mrz 18	2						

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Respn r	Date	Var1	Var2	Var3	Var4	Var5	Var6	Var7
1	Okt 17	1	1	1	3	1	1	3
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3	Nov 17	2						
4	Nov 17	1	1	1	3	1	1	3
5	Nov 17	1	1	1	3	2		
6	Nov 17	2						
7	Dez 17	2						
8		2						
9	Dez 17	1	2	1	1	2		
10	Dez 17	2						
11	Dez 17	1	1	1	1	2		
12	Dez 17	2						
13	Dez 17	2						
14	Dez 17	2						
15	Dez 17	2						
16	Dez 17	1	2	1	2	2		
17	Dez 17	1	2	1	3	2		
18	Dez 17	2						
19	Dez 17	2						
20	Dez 17	2						
21	Dez 17	2						
22	Jan 18	2						
23	Jan 18	1	1	1	1	2		
24	Jan 18	2						
25	Jan 18	1	2	2		2		
26	Jan 18	1	1	1	4	1	1	4

27	Jan 18	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
28	Jan 18	2						
29	Jan 18	2						
30	Jan 18	2						
31	Jan 18	2						
32	Jan 18	2						
33	Jan 18	2						
34	Jan 18	1	2	1	4	2		
35	Jan 18	2						
36	Jan 18	1	1	1	4	1	1	4
37	Jan 18	1	2	2		2		
38	Feb 18	2						
39	Feb 18	1	2	2		1	1	4
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41	Feb 18	2						
42	Feb 18	2						
43	Feb 18	1	2	1	3	2		
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45	Feb 18	2						
46	Feb 18	2						
47	Feb 18	1	2	1	1	2		
48	Feb 18	2						
49	Feb 18	2						
50	Feb 18	2						
51	Feb 18	2						
52	Feb 18	2						
53	Feb 18	2						
54	Mrz 18	2						
55		1	2	2		2		
56	Mrz 18	2						
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59	Mrz 18	1	2	1	1	2		
60	Mrz 18	1	1	1	4	1	1	4
61	Mrz 18	2						
62	Mrz 18	2						
63	Mrz 18	2						
64	Mrz 18	2						

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8.4 Student Ethics Form

Student Ethics Form

European Studies

Student Ethics Form

Your name: Laura Meyer

Supervisor: B. C. van der Sluijs

Instructions/checklist

Before completing this form you should read the APA Ethics Code (<http://www.apa.org/ethics/code/index.aspx>). If you are planning research with human subjects you should also look at the sample consent form available in the Final Project and Dissertation Guide.

- a. ☒ Read section 3 that your supervisor will have to sign. Make sure that you cover all these issues in section 1.
- b. ☒ Complete sections 1 and, if you are using human subjects, section 2, of this form, and sign it.
- c. ☒ Ask your project supervisor to read these sections (and the draft consent form if you have one) and sign the form.
- d. ☒ Append this signed form as an appendix to your dissertation.

Section 1. Project Outline (to be completed by student)

(i) Title of Project:

The Relationship of Social Organisations and Mass Media:

A Comparative Analysis of the International Feminist Organisations FEMEN, Pinkstinks and #metoo and their Media Coverage in Germany

In which ways can third wave feminist social organisations influence mass media coverage in their favour?

(ii) Aims of project:

The aim of this research is to explore the media opportunity structure for Social Movements, by analysing the media coverage and outcome of three feminist organisations, namely FEMEN, Pinkstinks and #metoo, through a quantitative media analysis of 621 articles, published between the foundation of the organisations and April 31st, 2018, in Germany.

- (iii) **Will you involve other people in your project – e.g. via formal or informal interviews, group discussions, questionnaires, internet surveys etc. (Note: if you are using data that has already been collected by another researcher – e.g. recordings or transcripts of conversations given to you by your supervisor, you should answer ‘NO’ to this question.)**

NO

If no: you should now sign the statement below and return the form to your supervisor. You have completed this form.

This project is not designed to include research with human subjects. I understand that I do not have ethical clearance to interview people (formally or informally) about the topic of my research, to carry out internet research (e.g. on chat rooms or discussion boards) or in any other way to use people as subjects in my research.

Student's signature _____ - date _____