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More or less desirable citizens: Mediated spaces of identity and cultural citizenship

Elisabeth Klaus & Ricarda Drücke

Abstract: Based on the concepts of *cultural citizenship* and media-constructed *spaces of identity* the article explores how issues of migration, residency and citizenship are discussed in the Austrian press. The authors are interested in two questions: Which *spaces of identity* does media create for migrants and locals? And which markers of citizenship are used in migration policies? The analysed articles stem from a national quality paper (*Der Standard*), a very influential boulevard paper (*Kronen Zeitung*) and one of the major regional newspapers (*Salzburger Nachrichten*). The analysis focuses on four case studies: Arigona Zogaj and her family were denied permanent residency after having spent many years in Austria. In the only terrorist trial in Austria to date, Mona S. was symbolically excluded from Austrian citizenship. The reporting in these cases is contrasted with those related to two persons in the attention of public interest– the famous opera singer Anna Netrebko and the actor Christoph Waltz –, who were granted citizenship rights on the grounds of exceptional cultural achievements in the interest of the Austrian nation. The media coverage shows that cultural dimensions of citizenship are used as important indicators for determining the entitlement to permanent residency and citizenship. Belonging to a nation is linked to cultural factors such as wearing the right clothes, behaving properly or speaking the language and having attended an Austrian school. Along these lines migrants are divided into two groups of good and bad foreigners, but issues of power and social hierarchies of gender, race and class are involved here as well. While this holds true for all three papers, the Boulevard press is adhering to an extremely personalized style, while the quality paper is linking the specific cases to the debate on migration policies and laws.

Keywords: cultural citizenship, spaces of identity, migration policies, inclusion/exclusion, Austria, case study, media analysis

Introduction

The making of national or transnational communities is linked to the definition of external and internal boundaries, and thus the inclusion of one's "own" identity and the exclusion of "other" or "foreign" identities. The construct of "Europe" or "Austria" as spaces of identity is based on differentiations that refer to territorial, religious, moral and cultural aspects.

The article will present findings from a larger study focusing on media coverage of the current Austrian migration policies. We are interested in the following questions:

- Which spaces of identity do media create for migrants and locals, for non-citizens and citizens?
- How are processes of exclusion and inclusion linked to questions of citizenship?
- Which markers of citizenship and which characteristics of a genuine Austrian identity are circulating in the public debate?
- Who, in the perspective of the media, are considered worthy of becoming a resident or a citizen and what are the reasons given for denying such a request?

In order to explore the public debate on issues of migration politics, the rights to residency or the entitlement to citizenship, we have concentrated our analysis on the cases of four persons that have attracted considerable media attention in recent years. The material stems from Austrian dailies – included were a popular tabloid (*Kronen Zeitung*), a high quality national daily (*Der Standard*) and an important regional newspaper (*Salzburger Nachrichten*). The period of analysis is different for each person, since the length of time that each case was debated varied considerably. More information is given in the respective parts and chapter 3 of our paper. The discursive strategies of the newspapers were analyzed by looking for key words and metaphors as well as adjectives and by focusing on the reasoning that media provided for supporting claims to citizenship or objecting to it.

The paper is structured as follows: first, we will give a short overview of the concepts of cultural citizenship and media-constructed spaces of identity that have guided our empirical work, the latter of which is linked to the spatial turn in communication research. Second, we will briefly introduce the Austrian legislation on migration and citizenship. Third, and in the centre of this paper we will present our analysis of the four cases selected.

Preliminary theoretical remarks

Two concepts provide the theoretical background for our discussion. On the one hand cultural citizenship extends the notion of citizenship rights and duties. The concept points to the importance of cultural factors as markers of belonging to a nation. On the other hand mediated spaces of identity indicate the practices of positioning and self-positioning of specific social groups and individuals. Media-constructed spaces of identity define borders that distinguish “us”, the natural and legitimate citizens, from “them”, the migrants and foreigners.

Cultural Citizenship

Thomas H. Marshall (1950) first introduced the meanwhile well-known and widely used distinction between civil, political and social citizenship. He thus highlighted different aspects of citizenship, but basically assumed a linear development and a continuous extension of the rights citizenship entailed. According to Marshall civil rights preceded political rights and were then followed by social rights. The linearity of the model was one of the reasons why a number of researchers arguing from the viewpoint of discriminated groups such as women and migrants have criticized Marshall. Coming from a perspective of critical political economy Marshall neglected to note that not everyone was entitled to all types of citizenship at the same time. The right to belong to a nation-state has always been a contested domain that marginalized groups had to fight for. Furthermore, Marshall failed to see the autonomous and essential role that cultural factors played in ascribing rights of belonging.

Political theory starting from Marshall's work and including the work of Jürgen Habermas (e.g. 1988) and others have focused on the political as well as the cognitive-rational dimension of citizenship and the public sphere. However, as various scholars have pointed out the public sphere is always and at the same time created by political and cultural discourses (e.g. Couldry, 2006; Hermes, 2006; McGuigan, 2006). Thus citizens operating in the public sphere are politically as well as culturally located. The term cultural citizenship has been used to refer to more recent social and economic developments and their influence on the concept of belonging to a nation-state or other communities. However, the term is not well defined and different authors refer to diverse aspects as Gerard Delanty (2002) has pointed out. He distinguishes between two conceptions of cultural citizenship. Although he is probably drawing too strict a line, his distinction leads to a helpful clarification of the colourful concept.

One approach is influenced primarily by political theory, the other is rooted in cultural sociology. The first approach was developed in the context of multiculturalism and community studies. Those contributions demonstrated that the fulfillment of equal rights in a society has to be based on the acknowledgement that social life is structured by diversity. Demands for equal rights thus have to be complemented by the right to be different. For Renato Rosaldo (1999) cultural citizenship refers fundamentally to the rights of cultures and communities to be accepted as different. It thus entails the promise of overcoming power relationships. While Rosaldo stresses processes of empowerment, he seems to underestimate the complexity of this issue. Aiwah Ong (1999) holds that Rosaldo's demand for "respecto" nourishes the illusion „that immigrant or minority groups can escape the cultural inscription of state power and other forms of regulation that define the different modalities of belonging“ (p. 264). "Respecto" seems a rather individualistic concept when matters of social hierarchy and power relationships are involved.

Delanty (2002) notes that cultural citizenship in this strand links citizenship and different cultures, but does not really integrate cultural factors into a radically new conception of citizenship. The strand we are following relies primarily on cultural sociology and is generally concerned with “cultural resources, identities and the cultural presuppositions of the polity”. “Thus citizenship as cultural citizenship is about the status of culture as discursively constructed. In this view what is at stake is cultural rights rather than minority rights” (Delanty, 2002, p. 64). Cultural citizenship in this vein is defined as a discursive process. Aiwah Ong (1999) has pointed out, that the concept brings into focus „the cultural practices and beliefs produced out of negotiating the often ambivalent and contested relations with the state and its hegemonic forms that establish the criteria of belonging within a national population and territory. Cultural citizenship is a dual process of self-making and being-made within webs of power linked to the nation-state and civil society“ (p. 264).

Involved in the making and self-making of citizens, then, are the terms of belonging and processes of identity formation. These are intimately linked to the cultural resources people possess in participating in society and shaping its social, political and cultural environments. Obviously communication and media are fundamentally involved in these issues since media provide certain spaces of identity for certain groups of migrants and define others as being outside of the realm of citizenship. For communication research the latter strand then seems a promising starting point in order to better understand the media related aspects of belonging or not belonging, of inclusion or exclusion in today’s societies. Elisabeth Klaus and Margreth Lünenborg (2004) have introduced the concept of cultural citizenship into the German-speaking debate and defined it as “an essential dimension of citizenship in media society. It entails all those cultural practices that allow competent participation in the cultural resources of society. These unfold under the conditions of unequal power relations. Cultural citizenship is tied both to agency and activity and entails the unconditional right to communicate and speak in the public sphere.”

Our basic hypothesis underlying this paper is, that in the debate on migration policies in Austria – as probably in all of Western Europe – the cultural dimensions of citizenship are used as prime indicators for determining citizenship.

Belonging to a nation or being excluded from it is more and more linked to cultural aspects such as:

- Clothing: The veil as a signifier for a fundamental “otherness” is a prime example of this.
- Religious affiliation: Although Islam is accepted as a religion since 1912 in Austria, members of that religion are more and more seen as the blueprint for foreigners.

- Media use: Using foreign media is eyed suspiciously and as a sign of unwillingness to integrate into the migrant country.
- Norms: Although quite untrue, equality between the sexes is seen as an integral part of a European heritage.
- And so on.

Along these lines different inhabitants of a country are positioned as belonging to the nation or not, and people with a migrant background are divided into two groups that are seen as valuable or not so valuable for the Austrian nation.

Media-constructed spaces of identity

It is not entirely new to communication research that spaces function as enablers of communication. As early as 1951, the media theorist Harold Innis suggested dealing with power structures in those historically specific areas in which media are produced and consumed. His goal was to derive opportunities for the development of new and different spaces of media and communication. Since the mid-1990s the social sciences and humanities have become increasingly spatial in their orientation, typically labelled as the “spatial turn”. According to „social geography” theoretical approaches are often based on concepts of space, time and place. Various scholars assume that space is a social and cultural construction relevant to the understanding of societal practices as well as of different histories. Edward Soja (1989) developed a model of the „trialectics of spatiality“ that includes perceived, conceived and lived spaces. Doreen Massey (1994) added that spaces have multiple identities and are processes within time: „Space is not static, nor time spaceless. We need to conceptualize space as constructed out of interrelations, as the simultaneous coexistence of social interrelations und interactions at all spatial scales.” (p. 264).

The book „Spaces of Identity“ by David Morley and Kevin Robins (1995) highly influenced the „spatial turn“ in communications research. Morley and Robins assume that today it is not so much physical but rather symbolic constraints that function as the framework of cultural communities. They show that mass media in Europe offer primarily an ethnic white identity, so that there is no space for other social groups (e.g. migrants, diasporic communities). Benedict Anderson (1993) perceives in his book on the “Imagined Communities” cultural systems such as nation-states as identity spaces in which identity positions are pre-defined. In this view, the nation is an “imagined community” that differentiates itself from other communities and whose members assume the existence of norms, values and attributes that bind them together. Thus, the imagined community of “Europe” is based on its description as a space in which democracy, human rights and liberty have been realized as paramount goods.

In a society dominated by media cultural resources are to a large extent media-induced and mediated. In this way, mass media are both an engine and an actor in the processes of self-making and being-made, in which people become citizens. The making and self-making of citizens comes with the demarcation of external and internal boundaries, that at the same time defines a national identity and determines who does and who does not belong to it. Saskia Sassen (2006) has stressed that contemporary citizenship is at least partially constituted by the practices of those that are excluded from it. Furthermore, she pointed out that citizenship is always a somewhat open project due to the tension between the legal and the normative aspects of citizenship. Seyla Benhabib (2008) has discussed the terms of political membership arguing that the boundaries established by nation-states are no longer an adequate basis for determining the rules of belonging. But at the same time Western European states such as Austria seem obsessed with exactly this task – with the construction of boundaries that distinguish legitimate citizens from “the others”, from foreigners and migrants. At this point in our discussion it becomes obvious that the two concepts are connected. The construction of borders and spaces of identity by media is linked to issues of *cultural citizenship*.

The media constructs *spaces of identity* in which people are positioned and can position themselves with more or less ease as Europeans, women, Austrians, Catholics and so forth. Such spaces of identities are based on attributions that refer to territorial, religious, moral and/or cultural markers of identities and are constructed and delineated along the dimensions of gender, class and race/ethnicity (see Yuval-Davis, 1997; Balibar & Wallerstein, 1990). Dualistic descriptions are generated whereby one’s own identity (e.g. “we Austrians”, “we Germans”) is separated from the foreign “other” that is consequently excluded in the construct of citizenship. This way, a number of specific characteristics determine who resides inside and outside the imaginative space designated as Austria, and who among those residing within Austria truly “belongs” and who will forever remain a “foreigner”. Our case study addresses the issue of which identities are produced, reproduced, modified or rejected by the current debate on citizenship and migration in Austrian newspapers. The concepts of media-constructed *spaces of identity* and *cultural citizenship* thus, help us to analyse the complex interconnections of different markers of citizenship in the media’s coverage of migration. The media create *spaces of identity* in which identities occur and cultural markers of citizenship are located. They negotiate and determine boundaries of citizenship that exclude or include identities in the imaginative space designated as “Austria”.

A note on Austria’s migration laws

The Austrian legislation on citizenship follows the principle of consanguinity, i.e. the nationality of a newborn child is determined by the nationality of its parents,

respectively its mother. The granting of citizenship in all other cases is closely linked to the legislation governing the migration to Austria. In general, over the last decade these rules and regulations have become less permissive and more exclusive. The reasons for displaced persons and refugees to be granted permanent residency have become much stricter in recent years. It is not uncommon that people are expelled after having lived five to ten years in Austria. Also, once they have been granted residency, many conditions have to be met before an application for citizenship can be filed. Among others, the minimum requirements include:

- 10-years of continuous residency in Austria,
- proof of sufficient income,
- a positive attitude towards the Austrian Republic,
- proficiency in German,
- a good understanding of what is termed the Austrian “democratic order” and a sound knowledge of the history of Austria and the province of residency.

In 2006 a controversial test of citizenship was introduced that applicants have to pass in order to satisfy the last two requirements. This underscores the greater emphasis put on cultural factors for determining boundaries of belonging in more recent years. Critics have pointed out, that quite a few questions in the test seem rather arbitrary in their definition of what constitutes a body of essential knowledge pertaining to the history and culture of Austria. Without doubt, many Austrian citizens would fail the test. When all preconditions are met, citizenship CAN be conferred on a discretionary basis, IF the attitude of the applicant is satisfactory with regard to the general well-being of the Austrian nation, confirms to the public interest and is satisfactory as regards to the extent of integration into the society. Of course, this leaves a wide scope of interpretation to the authorities. While the number of accepted naturalization requests had increased around the turn of the millennium with a peak of 45,000 in 2003, it fell sharply since 2004 to a low of 7,978 in 2009 (Statistik Austria 2010).

While acquiring Austrian citizenship has become much more difficult in recent years, there is a general and far-reaching exception to this rule. The council of ministers is allowed to grant the rights of citizenship to people who have accomplished “extraordinary achievements” in the realms of science, economy, art or sports or can be expected to do so in the future. In these cases none of the conditions mentioned above needs to be met. In 2009 less than 100 persons were granted citizenship on these grounds. The government also can confer dual citizenship rights, if this is in the interest of both countries involved, although in general the law prohibits dual citizenship.

Four Case Studies

The entitlement to stay within the Austrian borders and to acquire Austrian citizenship as an ongoing discursive process is revealed clearly with regards to specific persons and cases. We have looked on the media coverage regarding four persons that all invoked a lively public debate on migration policies and the entitlement to citizenship. The debate in the case of Arigona Zogaj and her family focused on the legal terms of illegal immigrants receiving green cards and being granted permanent residency in Austria. The court case against Mona S. shows how an Austrian citizen is symbolically deprived of her citizenship rights due to her “improper behaviour”. On the other hand, the granting of citizenship rights to the famous Russian opera singer Anna Netrebko and to the Oscar-winning German actor Christoph Waltz reveals some of the terms of citizenship and of the characteristics, where the media classify a person as a “good foreigner” and a “desirable and authentic citizen”.

Arigona Zogaj

Arigona Zogaj, then eight years old, and her family settled in an upper Austrian town after fleeing from civil war in the Kosovo in September 2002. Since that time a sometimes fierce and shifting public debate on their rights to residency erupted. Residents and civil rights activists launched several campaigns on behalf of the Zogaj-family. Nevertheless, in 2009 the government ordered the family’s removal after their application for permanent asylum was definitely rejected. Thus, in July 2010 the 18-year-old Arigona Zogaj and her family had to return to the Kosovo. Our analysis starts with the media coverage on the delivery of the expulsion order to Arigona Zogaj on the 12th of November 2009, a debate that ended on the 14th of December that year. Thus, our sample includes 53 articles (*Kronen Zeitung* 32, *Der Standard* 13, *Salzburger Nachrichten* 8).

The case caused massive controversy: Arigona Zogaj is fluent in German, but hardly speaks the language of the country she was born in. She successfully visited school in Austria, could be described as socially well integrated and intended to become a nurse – a profession in dire demand in Austria. She also attempted suicide, when first confronted with the eviction order. The Austrian tabloids took up her case due to the girl’s telegenic looks. Thus, Arigona Zogaj became the most visible of the many well-integrated foreigners living in Austria who have to wait many years for the final decision on their application for permanent asylum, ever more often resulting in their eviction from the country.

The *Salzburger Nachrichten* (e.g. 11/13/2009, 11/23/2009) and *Der Standard* (e.g. 11/13/2009, 11/14|15/2009, 11/17/2009) each carries several articles about the Asylum procedure and the legal issues involved. On the other hand, the *Kronen Zeitung* focused overwhelmingly on the person Arigona Zogaj. Her photograph accompanies most of the articles, but beyond this Arigona Zogaj does not have a

chance to voice her own opinion and plead her own case. In many articles she is condemned on the grounds that her family had entered Austria illegally (e.g. *Kronen Zeitung* 11/12/2009, 11/13/2009, 11/18/2009). Questions of citizenship are addressed in a direct and often racist manner in the *Krone's* letters to the editor, which are an important means of reinforcing the editorial opinion of the tabloid. In several of these the demand for asylum was judged as an instrument to blackmail the Austrian state (e.g. *Kronen Zeitung* 11/18/2009, 11/20/2009, 11/21/2009). In the opinion of some letter writers, Arigona Zogaj presumably displayed an improper and almost violent behavior when she railed against the eviction order and kicked against a closet. The assumed inability of her mother to keep the family together is also addressed as an indicator that the Zogajs depart from Austrian norms. These cultural factors are used to mark Arigona Zogaj as a foreigner not belonging to the community of Austrian residents.

The high media attention of the case can be explained by its cross-reference to Europe's evolving debate on migration. When articles in our sample discuss the case in the context of European migration policies different aspects of the case are mentioned, such as Arigona Zogaj's proficiency of the German language and her successful integration into the Austrian society (e.g. *Der Standard* 11/13/2009). Such reasoning is somewhat double-faced since it emphasizes the obligations of immigrants to integrate themselves and to prove their value to the state. In this way, duties instead of rights move to the forefront of the migration debate. In addition, in accordance with the green card policy introduced in several European countries usefulness and adaptability become markers of citizenship. Although Arigona Zogaj lived over eight years in Austria and went to a local school, voices that address human rights and human dignity are rare.

In sum, the articles show lines of exclusion and processes of "othering". A migrant entering illegally into Austria is relegated to the position of the "other" and excluded from the right to be a citizen and the right to communicate. Where the boundaries of the symbolic community lie, which identities belong to it, and which do not are negotiated in these articles. If Arigona Zogaj is positioned as not belonging to the Austrian nation the crossing of the border is taken as a marker of otherness. Otherwise the fluency in the German language, success at school and a respectable job are used as signs of worthwhile residency.

Mona S.

On the 9th of October 2008 Mona S., an Austrian citizen, was released from a more than one year detention for supporting her husband's alleged activities for Al Qaida. Since the court verdict was successfully challenged a second trial began in November. The court reached its verdict on February 13th, 2009. Our sample of newspaper articles covers this period and comprises 19 articles and the accompanying photographs of Mona S.' veiled appearance (*Kronen Zeitung* 9, *Salzburger Nachrichten* 6, *Der Standard* 4).

The terrorist process involving Mona S. and her husband had the full attention of the Austrian press. The publicity was further increased when Mona S. insisted on wearing a *niqab* (a veil covering the face, but leaving the eyes free) during the trial. As a consequence the judge banned her from the court on the grounds of “improper behaviour”. The *Salzburger Nachrichten* (11/18/2008) and *Der Standard* (11/17/2008) each carry an article by a lawyer questioning the democratic legitimacy of excluding Mona S. from her own trial and raising doubts whether a certain style or item of clothing can justify a verdict of improper behaviour. It is interesting to note that human rights, but not citizenship rights are discussed in these essays.

In all three newspapers many of the articles on the trial were accompanied by a photograph of Mona S. In this way she stays symbolically present at the proceedings, even though she has been excluded from the court room. Beyond this, Mona S. remains not only voiceless like Arigona Zogaj, but also anonymous. She is termed “the veiled woman” (“die Schleierfrau” in *Kronen Zeitung* 10/16/2008) or the “wearer of the Burka” (“Burka-Trägerin” in *Salzburger Nachrichten* 11/18/2008) and thus assigned the role of an absolute foreigner and total stranger. Only once is she quoted indirectly in all three papers (*Kronen Zeitung* 11/14/2008, *Der Standard* 11/13/2008, *Salzburger Nachrichten* 11/13/2008), when she bad-mouthed the judge after her dismissal, although she later apologized for her rude language. *Der Standard* (11/13/2008) is the only paper that provides the reader with at least some background information on the accused and reveals the essential fact that Mona S., the child of immigrants, is an Austrian citizen.

In the *Kronen Zeitung*, no such information is provided. However, the question of citizenship is addressed in two letters to the editors (*Kronen Zeitung* 10/16/2008, 11/18/2008). In one of these Mona S.’ “outfit” is causally linked to her likely unemployment, her dependency on her husband and thus her presumed abuse of the Austrian social welfare system: “...It can undoubtedly be assumed that with her Outfit she is not pursuing any regular work and thus she is dependent on her husband. If he is unemployed, she is living of our taxpayers’ money... Such people don’t want to integrate. They should be stripped of their citizenship and should be sent back to the country of their grandfathers...” (*Kronen Zeitung* 11/18/2008). In both letters the veil is tied to an argument that denies capacity to act on her own will and forfeits her entitlement to citizenship.

It is striking that in the case of both women analysed, Arigona Zogaj as well as Mona S. are quoted solely when ranting and making comments against the state or the court as one of its institutions. Beyond this, they do not have their own voice in the media and remain the ones to be spoken about.

Anna Netrebko

The world-famous opera singer Anna Netrebko was awarded Austrian citizenship due to her extraordinary achievements for the Austrian Nation by the council of

ministers in 2006. She received her citizenship documents on the 2nd of August 2006, but the discussion went on for a much longer time period. Our sample includes 22 articles from March 21st 2006 until July 31st 2007 (*Der Standard* 12, *Salzburger Nachrichten* 5, *Kronen Zeitung* 5). Anna Netrebko had not taken up residency in Austria when the government granted her request for Austrian citizenship. Also, she did not meet several others of the legal conditions for naturalization.

In all three newspapers Anna Netrebko was quoted with a very pragmatic reason for her application for citizenship: Being a Russian citizen she could only spend a limited number of days in foreign countries and had to undergo some lengthy procedures in applying for visas in Europe. This, she claimed was very cumbersome and constituted an unacceptable hardship when performing in Austria. This reasoning led to a rather ironical article in *Der Standard* (03/21/2006), but was not commented on otherwise. *Der Standard* was also the only newspaper linking the general naturalization policy to the granting of citizenship rights to Anna Netrebko. The *Salzburger Nachrichten* rejoiced after the ceremony that took place in Salzburg and quoted the governor of Salzburg, Gabi Burgstaller, with the word: “Anna is now one of us” (08/02/2006) and “Anna is ‘our’ Netrebko” (07/26/2006). Here as well as in the *Kronen Zeitung* Anna Netrebko is linked to the city and its cultural heritage by a variety of linguistic means that ties the singer to the *Salzburg Festspiele* and to Mozart (e.g. *Salzburger Nachrichten* 07/27/2006, *Kronen Zeitung* 08/07/2006).

In all papers, the opera singer is termed a “superstar” or a “diva” (e.g. *Kronen Zeitung* 07/27/2006, 08/02/2006, *Salzburger Nachrichten* 05/19/2006, *Der Standard* 10/25|26/2006), but not in the sense of an eccentric being, but as a supernatural talent that transcends the people listening to her angel-like voice. The discourse on the exceptional achievement in the interest of Salzburg and the Austrian nation, however, is tamed and counteracted by two other lines of arguments. With very rare exceptions Anna Netrebko remains the Russian-Austrian singer, a Russian Austrian or Austrian Russian, always reminding the reader that she is not an Austrian citizen “by nature” (e.g. *Der Standard* 07/26/2006, *Salzburger Nachrichten* 07/27/2006, *Kronen Zeitung* 08/01/2006). All three papers dwell on the Russian origin of the singer and mention her “Russian soul” (*Der Standard* 03/21/2006), a German stereotype going back to the 19th century romanticism and referring to a presumably somewhat melancholic, but also exuberant and artistic Russian national character.

We were even more surprised by another discourse we found both in the national quality paper *Der Standard* and in the tabloid *Kronen Zeitung* with clearly sexual connotations. In the tabloid one of the articles begins with: “A Netrebko entirely without ostensible sex” and attests “la bella Anna” to be “the unofficial Pin-up-Girl of the Salzburg Festspiele” (*Kronen Zeitung* 07/27/2006). The subtitle to the picture showing Anna Netrebko as the maid Susanna during the *Salzburg Festspiele* reads: “Charisma instead of sex” (*Kronen Zeitung* 07/27/2006). The

opera singer Harald Serafin is asked in an interview by the tabloid what he would do, if he was given a night with Netrebko as a present (*Kronen Zeitung* 08/02/2006) Also referring to the part of the maid Susanna *Der Standard* (07/26/2006) on his title page carries the headline: “Österreichische Edelzofe”, which is a pun carrying a very strong connotation of a classy hustler or noble prostitute. The subtitle of the photograph suggests that Netrebko is a whore to Austria, providing a guarantee for profit. In another article of *Der Standard* (10/28|29/2006) she is called an “opera-pin-up” in a somewhat shady “cultural glitter world” (“Kulturglitzerwelt”).

In this way, the hailing of Anna Netrebko’s Austrian citizenship remains tentative. In the eyes of the media she is depicted as an undoubtedly great singer and Salzburg can benefit from her talent. Also, she has her own voice in the articles much more frequently than Mona S. or Arigona Zogaj. But at the same time she always remains present as a woman of Russian identity and is portrayed as a somewhat loose character. Clearly, there are fractures in her public portrayal. She does not represent an ideal and exemplary citizen; her belonging to the Austrian nation remains in question.

Christoph Waltz

Christoph Waltz is an actor, who has received international acclaim for his portrayal of SS Colonel Hans Landa in the 2009 film *Inglourious Basterds*, for which he won the *Oscar* for Best Actor in a Supporting Role. Waltz was celebrated distinctively as an Austrian hero until a debate about his citizenship arose in August 2010. Our sample traces the development of the debates on Waltz’ citizenship from the beginning of August 2010 to its closure marked by the receipt of the Austrian citizenship on the 24th of August 2010. It includes six articles of the tabloid *Kronen Zeitung*, four articles each of the *Salzburger Nachrichten* and of *Der Standard*.

"Waltz is not our [Austrian] citizen," the daily *Österreich* told its readers, opening a debate on the actor’s national affiliation (*Österreich* 08/08/2010). Born in Vienna, where he also went to school and studied drama, Christoph Waltz nevertheless holds a German passport like his father following the rule of consanguinity. Due to the public agitation, the actor received the Austrian citizenship already one month after the *Österreich* had publicized the shocking news following a fast-track procedure. He was granted dual citizenship in Austria and Germany.

In the weeks prior to his naturalization the newspapers characterized Christoph Waltz as “Vienna-born” or as “in fact Austrian”, thus avoiding to refer to his (German) citizenship (e.g. *Kronen Zeitung* 08/24/2010). Only *Der Standard* (08/20/2010) carries an ironical comment on this reporting. Termed the “pride of the nation” in the *Kronen Zeitung* (08/24/2010) the Oscar-winner is constructed

as an exemplary Austrian citizen. While Mona S. is symbolically excluded from citizenship, Christoph Waltz is symbolically included. The tabloid never marks him as foreigner or stranger. After the citizenship rights were granted to him, the actor voices his irritation about the whole discussion in an article in the *Kronen Zeitung* (08/21/2010) and calls his German passport a "judicial banality", considering himself a "natural Austrian citizen": born in Vienna, school attendance in the Austrian capital and later a member of a famous Austrian theatre company.

It is interesting to note, that the rule of consanguinity that lies at the heart of the turbulences is not discussed or questioned in the articles. In striking contrast to the media coverage on the Zogaj family, where the *Kronen Zeitung* persists on a strictly legal procedure, the press reporting in this case uniformly uses cultural dimensions such as an exclusive education, a prolonged residency in Austria, a propinquity to high culture as well as success in the cultural realm as indicators to allocate to Christoph Waltz a natural place in the Austrian community and to mark him as a desirable and all in all perfect example of a citizen.

A brief conclusion

The concept of media-constructed spaces of identity helped us to analyse the complex interconnections of different markers of citizenship in the media's coverage of migration. The shifting combinations of these discourses account for different meanings of the migrant persons in different contexts. In the media debates proficiency in the German language, a successful school attendance in Austria, a proper behaviour in public, a good family life, a Christian religious affiliation, fashionable clothes, success and involvement in high culture can function as markers of citizenship. However, these are not fixed, but invoked and evaluated in quite different combinations and with regards to different groups. While, e.g., the „normal“ migrant needs a proficiency in German, this is not necessarily requested in the case of stars like Anna Netrebko or sports stars. Also, years of residency in the case of Christoph Waltz are put forth to demonstrate that he is a quasi-Austrian citizen in the *Kronen Zeitung*, while the same paper explicitly rejects this reasoning in the case of the Zogaj-family. Thus, markers of identity are to a certain extent variable and relational, nevertheless such attributions determine who resides inside and outside the symbolic space designated as Austria.

In our study the media coverage of the migrant woman Arigona Zogaj and the veiled woman Mona S. are utilized as a means to constantly redefine cultural and normative constructs of the Austrian nation. Those who are positioned outside do not fulfill the legal requirements, violated their civic duties or displayed an unseemly conduct towards the authorities and this is linked to reject their claims to residency or citizenship. Arigona Zogaj had to leave Austria, while Mona S. was symbolically excluded from citizenship. Both remained voiceless in the debate,

save for their brief rantings against their exclusion from Austria or banishment from court respectively. Christoph Waltz on the other hand was symbolically included in the Austrian nation and, moreover, could plead his own case. Legal issues in this case were treated as unnecessary bureaucratic formality. When this is compared to the debate pertaining to Anna Netrebko, a gender dimension comes into focus with the perfect citizen being male. Quite different from the serious actor Waltz, Netrebko is primarily a female entertainer, whose art people are entitled to enjoy. However, while in the granting of citizenship to Waltz his being Austrian is simply legalized, Netrebko is sexualized and always remains primarily a Russian citizen. Being young as well as telegenic and aspiring to choose a typically female profession as a nurse, serve as arguments for granting Arigona Zogaj's appeal for permanent residency. Mona S., however, who indeed is an Austrian citizen, is not portrayed as an individual possessing rights to freedom of opinion and expression as well as of religion, but appears to be totally dependent on her husband. Race and ethnicity also come into play here, since the Western-European male, excelling in the United States' *Oscar* contest, is set against the females from Kosovo, from Russia and from the Arabic world, to which the "veiled woman" Mona S. is symbolically transported. Also, the articles reveal a class-related focus on outfit and improper behaviour set against glamour and participation in high culture. Cultural attributes serve to mask or at least to blur the importance of structural dimensions as determinants of social hierarchies. Gender, ethnicity and class are linked in a complex way to determine the places of identity attributed to the four different people, whose cases we examined.

Only *Der Standard* links the different cases to the general practices of migration policies and questions the legitimacy of both, the current rules and regulations as well as the far-reaching exceptions that the government can decree. But the difference in the arguments put forth by the quality national paper when compared to the tabloid is not universal. The sexualisation of Anna Netrebko is visible in the commentaries of both dailies. It is not present in the local paper that takes a middle-road between the personalization that characterizes the coverage of all four cases in the tabloid and the focus on legislation, procedures and rules in the national paper. Within all of these debates markers of cultural citizenship are of prime importance. They are instrumental in shifting the debate from the rights of citizenship and residency to the obligation to be part of the culture. This constitutes an ambivalent demand impossible to satisfy given the fact, that they are symbolically excluded by exactly the same attributes.

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Authors

Elisabeth Klaus is Professor for Communication at the University of Salzburg and Head of the Department of Communication Studies. Her main fields of research are Gender Studies, Popular Culture and Theories of the Public Sphere.

Ricarda Drüeke is research assistant and PhD student at the Department of Communication Studies at the University of Salzburg. Her research interests are Online Communication, Spatial Theory and Media as well as Theories of the Public Sphere.

Both authors are currently engaged in a project about the negotiations of citizenship in the Austrian press.

Email : elisabeth.klaus@sbg.ac.at, ricarda.drueeke@sbg.ac.at