

MASTERARBEIT / MASTER'S THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Master's Thesis Title

Protest and Social Media

“Is Social Media a core of social movements?”

An analysis and comparison of left-wing social movements

in Austria

verfasst von / submitted by

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angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts (MA) Wien, 2020 / Vienna, 2020

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt
/degree programme code as it appears on
the student record sheet:
Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme as it appears on
the student record sheet:
Betreut von / Supervisor:
Mitbetreut von / Co-Supervisor:

UA 066 589

Masterstudium Internationale Entwicklung

Univ.-Prof. Dr. Antje Daniel

- Danksagung

Mein Dank gilt zu allererst meiner Familie und Freunden, welche mich immer unterstützt haben und viel Geduld bewiesen haben. Für die freundliche und kompetente Betreuung möchte ich meiner Betreuerin, Univ.-Prof. Dr. Antje Daniel danken. Allen, die an dieser Masterarbeit mitgewirkt haben danke ich für ihre Zeit und Mühen; für die durchgeführten Interviews danke ich MMag. Monica Salzer und MMag. Madgalena, Baran-Szoltys. Für die Ermutigung zum Schreiben dieser Arbeit und die Unterstützung während der Entwicklung der Konzepte und Ideen danke ich ao. Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Friedrich Edelmayer, MAS.

- Abstract

Social media is not only a place to communicate with family and close friends but also a place for political discussions and to mobilise people for a concrete purpose. Social movements are being mobilised by the means of social media. In the case of recent social movements such as the 2011 Egyptian revolution, Iceland's Kitchenware Revolution, and Occupy Wall Street Movement, they are all mobilised by distributing and promoting information on social media. This information shared on social media such as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram successfully mobilised autonomous individuals who were just behind the screen in the past. In this paper, the use of social media is examined with the focus on three social movement organisations in Vienna, Austria. The organisations examined are "Donnerstagsdemonstration", "OMAS GEGEN RECHTS" and "Frauenvolksbegehren".

Social Media ist heutzutage nicht nur ein Platz um mit Familie und Freunden zu kommunizieren, sondern auch ein Ort für politische Diskussion und um Menschen für ein Ziel zu mobilisieren. Soziale Bewegungen werden mittlerweile mit Hilfe von Social Media mobilisiert. Zum Beispiel wurden sozialen Bewegungen wie die ägyptische Revolution in 2011, Islands Kitchenware Revolution und Occupy Wall Street alle mit verteilten Information aus sozialen Netzwerken mobilisiert. Diese Informationen, geteilt über Netzwerke wie Facebook, Twitter und Instagram konnten Nutzer, die in der Vergangenheit nur hinter dem Bildschirm waren, erfolgreich mobilisieren. In dieser Arbeit wird die Nutzung von Social Media mit dem Fokus auf 3 Organisationen in Österreich untersucht. Die untersuchten Organisationen sind: "Donnerstagsdemonstration", "OMAS GEGEN RECHTS" und "Frauenvolksbegehren"

- Appendix-

-	Introduction	S.1
-	Research questions	S.3
-	Structure	S.4
-	Resources	S.5

1. Political Background in Austria

1.1	FPÖ (Freiheitliche Partei Österreich)	S.6
1.2	ÖVP (Österreichische Volkspartei)	S.9
1.3	Donnerstagsdemonstration in 2000	S.11
1.3.1	The first seven days of Donnerstagsdemonstration	S.11
1.3.2	SMOs and Media Outreach	S.14

2. SMOs in Austria, under the claim of “Gutes Leben für alle“

2.1	Donnerstagsdemonstration in 2018	S.16
2.2	Frauenvolksbegehren	S.17
2.3	OMAS GEGEN RECHTS	S.21

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1	Social Movement theory	S.25
3.1.1	The emergence of social movement	S.25
3.1.2	Resource Mobilisation Theory	S.28
3.2	Protest and Social Media	S.30
3.2.1	Protest in Social Media Networking	S.32

3.2.2 The use of social media	S.35
3.2.3 Media advertisement	S.37
4. Access to the field/Sampling strategy	S.39
5. Methodology	
5.1 Qualitative Methods- Literature reviews	S.41
5.2 Qualitative Methods- Expert Interview Analysis	S.42
5.2.1 First cycle coding	S.43
5.2.2 Second cycle coding	S.43
6. Coding and Action by Analysis	
6.1 Code mapping	S.44
6.2 Ethical questions	S.45
6.3 Challenges	S.46
7. Result Analysis – code: Right-wing movement	
7.1 “Anxiety”	S.47
7.2 “Life affected by politics”	S.48
8.Result Analysis – code: Difficulty	
8.1 “Lacking people”	S.48
8.2 “Cannot please everyone”	S.51
8.3 “Cannot reach everyone”	S.53
8.4 “Slacktivism”	S.54

9. Result Analysis- code: Funding

9.1 “Working for free” S.55

9.2 “Social media as a place for information” S:58

10. Result Analysis – Visibility and persistency

10.1 “Social media Usage” S.59

10.2 “Social media visibility” S.62

10.3 “Street visibility” S.64

10.4 “Old means of visibility” S.66

10.5 “Persistency” S.67

11. Result Analysis – Mobilisation

11.1 “Social media as a tool for mobilisation” S.69

11.2 “E-mails/WhatsApp’s” S.72

11.3 “Challenges” S.73

12. Result Analysis – Further perspectives

12.1 “Social media for politicised communities” S.74

12.2 “Working with political parties” S.75

12.3 “SMOs characteristics” S.77

13. Methods reflection and the role of the researcher S.79

- Conclusion S.81

-References

-Transcript

- Introduction

From Occupy Wall Street to Iceland's Kitchenware Revolution, social media was and continues to be a critical tool to mobilise social movements. Internet social media networks such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram connect individuals and communities behind the screen into the streets to support and spark political change. For example, the biggest grassroots movement in Israeli history was launched online as a spontaneous movement (Castells,2012:3).

In Castells' "Network of outrage and hope, social movement in the internet age", social movements emerge out of the hope for a better future, it helps to create community by networking and socialised communication. The roots of social movements are in the fundamental justice of all societies especially those confronted by human aspiration of injustice. (Castells,2012:12) Castells research on social movements found also that humans create meaning by interacting within their "natural" and "social" environments through communication. However, this establishes a power relationship between the SMO's social media manager, users, and the social media network's programmers. This notion of "switched power" identifies who controls and negotiates different social media networks: "If power is exercised by programming and switching networks, then counter-power (D-demo, OMAS and other SMOs), the deliberate attempt to change power relationships, is enacted by reprogramming networks dominant switches while switching networks of resistance and social change." (Castells,2012:9) Castells likened social movements as the levers of social change. These demands stem from a crisis of living conditions that makes everyday life insufferable for most people. (Castells,2012:218)

(Add transitions) The movements analysed in this paper share similar protest claims, they have sprung up from political uncertainty in Austria and the fear of a return to radical right-wing politics. Austria has a historical and political trauma from World War II and the rise of the leadership of Nazi party, which the country joined in 1942.

One of the largest social movements in Austria, Donnerstagsdemonstration, was born out of the indignation against the first SW/BL government formed in 2000 under Wolfgang Schüssel and Jörg Haider. (Salzer,2019:27) On the election of the federal president in May 2016, the Green-party candidate Alexander Van der Bellen ran as an independent candidate against Norbert Hofer (FPÖ). Van der Bellen won the vote with 50.3 percent, but the FPÖ insinuated a new "counter" election in December 2016. The latter resulted in Van der Bellen winning with 53.8 percent of

the vote. Resistance against of the turquoise (ÖVP) - blue federal government of Kurz / Strache in 2017 progressed slowly with civil society organizations. (Salzer,2019:28) These series of events are valuable to understand Austrian history and civics: it revealed that civil society in Austria was vulnerable after hundreds of years of Habsburg monarchy, an uncertain first republic, Austrofascism, and National Socialism. (Salzer,2019:29)

The documentation centre of Austrian resistance concluded that the FPÖ can be described as right-wing extremist due to its in-depth coverage with the party's vision and strategy. (Salzer,2019:22) Since 2018, the Donnerstagsdemonstration protested every week in Austria against the right-wing FPÖ/ÖVP government. The socio-political uncertainty spreading across Europe has a relation to the end of the Cold War and the fall of the iron curtain. Fear against the new freedom of movement alongside fear against increasing outward labour migration, which aggravated social inequality and brought entire parts of East European young and labour-capable citizens. Prior to the migrant crisis in 2015, the fear of alienation and the “Other” existed in Austria and in many parts of Europe, which was further fuelled by political forces. (Salzer,2019:20)

The leaked “Ibiza Affairs” video (2017) released online in May 2019 further exposed the political scandal of the FPÖ and spread instantly on media. In the recording, Heinz Strache, the soon to be nominated vice-chancellor, was recorded incognito in an hour-long discussion with a niece of a Russian oligarch. (Salzer,2019:17)

The Austrian government overturned a vote of “no confidence” in the National Council on May 27th, 2019. As a result, President Sebastian Kurz lost his office for the first time up until the following National Council elections in autumn 2019. In the interim period of lost Kurz’s presidency, an interim government was established under Brigitte Bierlein, a former constitutional judge and the first female president in Austrian history. (Salzer,2019:15)

- Research questions

This thesis is based on the research question of how social movements are mobilised by using internet/social media. Secondly, in which context is internet and social media utilized to efficiently develop activities and actions of social movements?.

In order to deeper understanding of = these movements' development and relationship with social media, the following research questions .

1) Castells stated that the programmers and the switchers – those who are in charge of social media – are the key players of social movements. Is it this true? Is social media central to protest movements? (Answered by all thesis interviews)

2) How are social movements mobilised in accordance with internet and social media? How are social media channel(s) organised and operated? What are the strengths these channel(s)? (Answered in an interview with a social media manager)

3) How is social media used and developed in other social movement organisations in Austria? What is the major difference between each SMO and how they interact with each other? (Answered by representative interview)

According to Castells, those who oversee SNS hold the power to spread and prevent protest mobilisation on social media. In global social movements sparked by social media coverage from the 2011 Arab Spring revolutions to the Kitchenware Revolution in Iceland, these movements' key figures and “switchers” are central to SMOs and protest. Analysing three SMOs in Austria will allow me to examine the case and find out how current social movements are organised and mobilised.

The second point will help me to understand how the recent social movement has been organised, developed and operated by using social media or internet sources (i.e. website, field news). What is the most suitable source for mobilising social movements? How does the internet make mobilisation and all other necessary organisation such as logistics and marketing more efficient?

The last point will be used to understand how the Internet could be used to expand connections, raising donors. Through comparing a few SMOs in Austria, I will better understand the means of internet/SMS for these movements. For example, Donnerstagsdemonstration was the first demonstration against SW/BL coalition, which is also protested by the OMAS GEGEN RECHTS and Frauenvolksbegehren SMOs. Each of these organisations are working on to make

their claim change the constitution or help the Austrian society to achieve true equality against gender discrimination or racism. Through analysing how these SMOs interactions and support each other, this research will help us to understand the different claims and goals of each SMO and how they use social media and Internet to reach the most.

- Structure

In this master thesis, I will try to find out how effectively/ineffectively the protest is being mobilised by using the Internet and social media through the Donnerstagsdemonstration in Vienna. The next section will be about the political instability in Austria since the 1980's. In addition, I will analyse how the most long-lasting and massive demonstration in Austria were mobilised followed by when and how they started to use social media for mobilisation. The three main focuses on this paper besides answering the research questions are as below:

- (a) to record the historical trajectory of political instability in Austria, which led to one of the largest and long-lasting social movements in Austria, (i.e. Donnerstagsdemonstration).
- (b) to figure out how protests are organised utilizing social media as a communication source, and its positioning in the process of organising the demonstration
- (c) to find out how other institution in Austria used social media and internet to mobilise and develop their agenda, comparing the Donnerstagsdemonstration uses on social media/internet to other two organisations with similar agendas. (i.e. Frauenvolksbegehren and OMAS GEGEN RECHTS)

The first chapter will introduce about FPÖ and ÖVP. This chapter explains how both parties have developed until they have agreed on the coalition in 2000, while also introducing how the first Donnerstagsdemonstration was presented in 2000. This chapter also presented the history of the first Donnerstagsdemonstration had started in 2000 against the embedded political instability and xenophobia in Austrian political representation .

In the second chapter, I will introduce the three SMOs and the comparison. The explanation of how the Donnerstagsdemonstration started again in 2018 was kept short since their claims have been explained in the first chapter. The positioning of Frauenvolksbegehren and OMAS GEGEN RECHTS is clarified in this chapter to understand this thesis' qualitative research methodology and findings.

The third chapter is dedicated to explaining the theoretical frameworks. The main theoretical framework of this study is the resource mobilisation theory and developed the theory with the theory of the use of social media on social movements in the current times. From these theoretical frameworks and the results of the qualitative research, it can be explained that the social media can be counted as resources as a mean of mobilisation facilities.

From the fourth chapter onwards are all dedicated to the qualitative research findings. The analysed data from my qualitative research, is presented in this chapter, which includes expert/semi-structured interviews with three Austrian SMOs (Donnerstagsdemonstration, Frauenvolksbegehren and OMAS GEGEN RECHTS), an interview analysis, coding and its methods. The results of qualitative research are presented starting from each SMOs opinion about the right-wing politics, and also their challenges and tactics of resource mobilisations. The answers to the research questions were provided mainly in the chapter 10 and 11 with the analysis of how each SMO uses social media as a mobilisation tool and its positioning, also if it is the most important resource for the current social movement organisations.

- Resources

A wide variety of sources have been used for this paper. For the analysis of political background of Austria, the varied literatures about ÖVP and FPÖ are chosen for the literature reviews. The following section introduced the first Donnerstagsdemonstration in response against the SW/BL coalition. I have cited mostly the “Wiener Wanderstag” which described the demonstration in 2000 vividly. From this source, we could see how the demonstration escalated and what kind of resources were used to accelerate the demonstration. I also cited Schneeberger (2002) which concisely described the demonstration in 2000.

I hope these initial parts of this paper will help the non-German readers to understand the ongoing political instability in Austria, which has a continuous instability after the country’s discontent with immigrants started in the 1990s, which led the radical right-wing politics in Austria first in 2000, and again in 2017 and additionally, the work of Austrian social movement organisations (Donnerstagsdemonstration, OMAS GEGEN RECHTS and Frauenvolksbegehren).

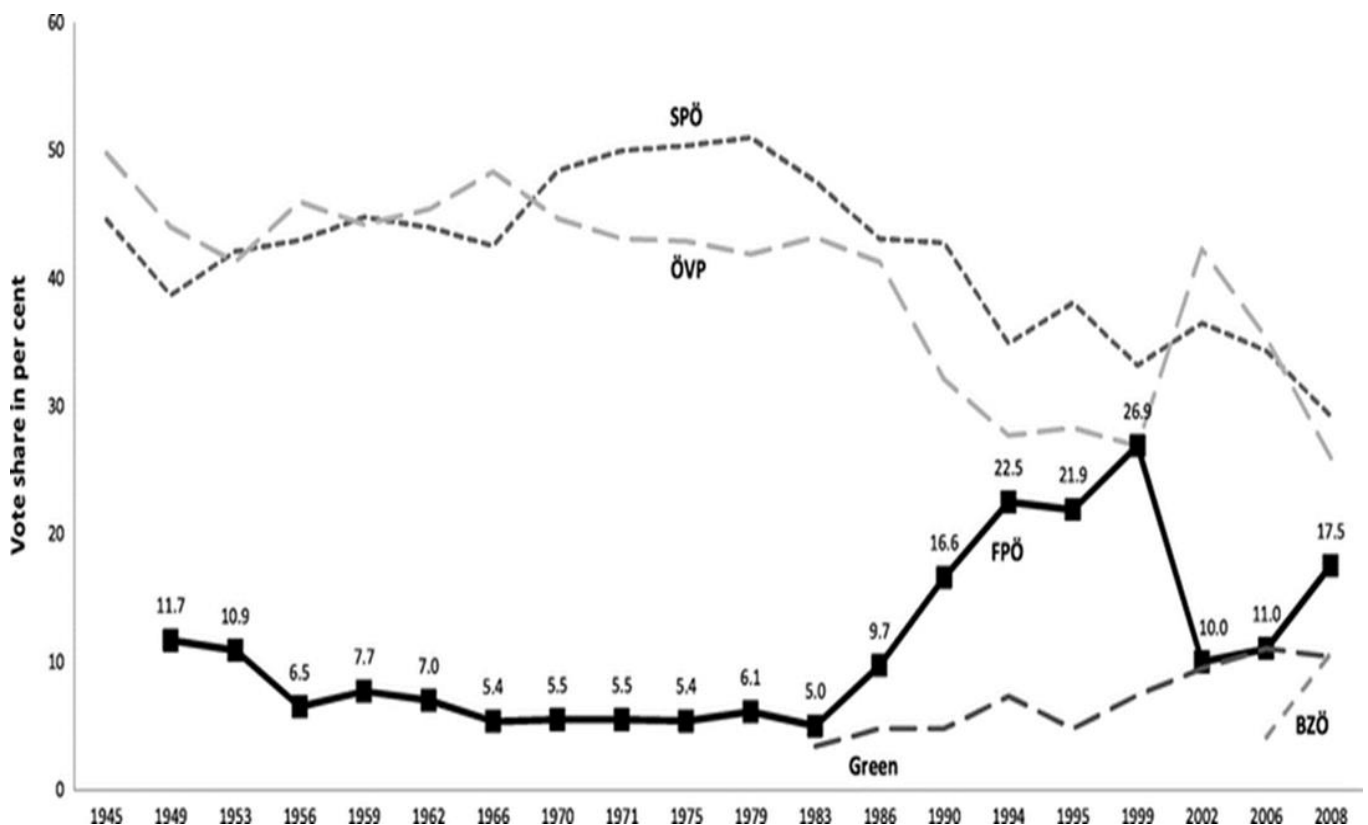
1. Political Background in Austria – being extreme right?

1.1 FPÖ (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs)

The FPÖ is known as one of the most radical right-wing party in Europe. FPÖ was known for its economic liberalism and its stand for pan-German nationalism until Jörg Haider, who has been a revisionist with reference to Nazi-German history, and who is a law-and-order populist nationalist who often appeals to base sentiments of fear and security (Jonson,2000:3), took leadership in 1986. Under Haider's administration, FPÖ has never received a lower voter percentage than 9.7 percent. By 1999, it achieved the vote of 26.9 percent. FPÖ recorded the vote of less than 15 percent in 2002 and 2006. (Aichholzer, Kritzinger, Wagner, Zeglovits, 2014:117)

As we can see on the Table 1 below, SPÖ and ÖVP were the two main parties in Austria after the Second World War. When Haider became a party head in 1986, the record share of FPÖ votes was 9.7 percent and after 4 years in 1990, the vote increased to 16.6 percent. After Haider's administration, FPÖ used the political discontent and the issues on immigration after the foundation of EU and kept increasing its record share of the vote. In 1999, FPÖ reached the share of 26.9 percent, which was as much as that of ÖVP, which led these two parties to agree on a coalition administration to beat SPÖ's record share of the vote. (vgl,2014:116)

Table 1: Election Results in Austria since 1945, (vgl, 2014:116)



In the middle of the 1980s, Haider's FPÖ performed a conscious strategy to attract the working class. Before Haider, the FPÖ voters included the highly educated citizen and self-employed working class. Aichholzer stated that "there is cross-national evidence to support for radical right parties is more prevalent among manual workers, low-income service professionals and small business owners." (Aichholzer, Kritzinder, Wagner, Zeglovits, 2014:118)

A survey of the Austrian National Election Study (AUTNES) conducted in October 2015 shows that more than 65 percent of the population was disappointed with the work of the government. This generated a situation very fitting to the radical-right wing party FPÖ and its antiimmigration and anti-elitist discourses. The FPÖ has increased the vote and it has resulted in that The FPÖ has been ranked as the most popular party in Austria with the vote share over 30 percent from mid-2015 until mid-2017. (Bodlos, Plescia, 2018:1355)

There were also members of society who felt like not catching up with the immense globalisation process, and they felt as "globalisation losers". The FPÖ managed to attain these votes, attracting and turning insecure urban citizens into their secure supporters. The supporters of FPÖ differ from those of ÖVP. If anything, they are closer to those of SPÖ, which are working-class (and lower-income groups than ÖVP). (vgl, 2014:118)

Aichholzer states that "compared to ÖVP supporters, FPÖ and SPÖ supporters will work in lower-skilled occupational groups, have a lower level of education, be more secular and live mostly in urban areas." (vgl, 2014:119) The FPÖ stress three main propagandas: (a) Eurosceptic, (b) anti-Muslim sentiments, and (c) Interventionist economic and social policies targeted at blue-collar voters and welfare state recipients. They are "Eurosceptic" because, in Aichholzer's word, "Radical right parties are often against European integration because it threatens the nation-state(...) since EU is elite-led, undemocratic project." (Aichholzer, Kritzinder, Wagner, Zeglovits, 2014:120) Supporters of FPÖ are against immigrants coming to Austria and hoping for more supports to the "native" Austrian citizens and less social support to recent immigrants. FPÖ expresses it as "anti-Muslimism". (vgl, 2014:119-121)

In the early 1990s, Austria had a major arrival of foreign immigrants and asylum seekers. (Bale, Peterson, Luther, Sitter, Krouwel, 2010:419) As I mentioned above, this anxiety was used politically by FPÖ, which linked the immigration issue to the crime and EU association. FPÖ took the nation's concerns and pressure to protect the Austrian labour market, which SPÖ was not able to pick up. SPÖ member of parliament voted for "an integration package" in 1997 and

“the naturalisation act” in 1998 under the new chairman, Viktor Klima, who was a replacement of famous Franz Vranitzky (i.e. Austrian Prime Minister from 1986 to 1997).

The FPÖ successfully took over the position of SPÖ by covering the (lower) labour classes concerns and frustrations:” This new legislation restricts new immigration, introduced successive residence consolidation for already-in foreigners, raised income and language obstacles for citizenship.” (Aichholzer, Kritzinder, Wagner, Zeglovits, 2010:419)

In 2015, the number of asylum application peaked and made Austria one of the countries in the EU with the highest number of asylum applications. The FPÖ immediately brought up the issue. The FPÖ claim against the immigration has been quite high (i.e. 1999-2013:6.7 percent) but it has peaked in 2017 (13.4 percent). (Bodlos,Plescica, 2018:1357) The presidential elections in 2016 showed the disastrous situation of SPÖ/ÖVP coalition. Since 1945, the Austrian president has been chosen from one of the two main parties (i.e SPÖ/ÖVP). Although in April 2016, the chosen candidates for the presidential election were Nobert Hofer from the FPÖ and former Green Party leader Alexander Van der Bellen competed in the election in May 2016 and in the repeated election in December 2016. (Bodlos,Plescica, 2018:1355)

The recent placards from FPÖ were stated the propaganda such as “Die Islamisierung gehört gestoppt” or “Daheim statt Islam.” The Facebook propaganda from FPÖ since 2017 stressed their opposition to “Islamisierung/ Muslimism”, especially posted often by Heinz-Christian Strache, who was the chairman of FPÖ from April 2005 until May 2019. The below was posted on his official Facebook on 17, September 2017:

- “Ein Vergleich macht sicher! ÖVP-Kurz sagt: "Der Islam gehört zu Österreich. Wir brauchen mehr Willkommenskultur. Der durchschnittliche Zuwanderer ist intelligenter als der Österreicher".FPÖ-HC Strache sagt: Nein, der Islam gehört nicht zu Österreich. Und wir wollen keine Islamisierung Österreichs. Anmerkung: Es wird immer wieder fälschlich behauptet, der Islam sei als Religion bereits seit 1912 anerkannt. Nein, der hanafitische Ritus wurde damals anerkannt, ausdrücklich nicht der Islam!“ (Strache, 17, September, 2017)

There were also statements such as “Der Islam ist kein Teil von Österreich, Wie sind ein christlich geprägtes Land und wollen das auch bleiben.“ (i.e. “ Islam is not a part of Austria, as we are formed as Christian country, we want to keep it as such.”) on the page of FPÖ’s official media account.

1.2 ÖVP (Österreichische Volkspartei)

The year 1999 was a crucial year for the ÖVP. Janson stated that “the coalition of SPÖ and ÖVP government failed to agree on a budget for the year 2000” and they could not continue operating on the fundamental provisional arrangements. Austria had a considerable deficit problem in 1999, which was not brought up for discussion before the election of 1999, and Austria had to meet a certain budgetary standards or to pursue a concrete deficit management, related to the “convergence criteria” imposed due to the introduction of the euro. The result of the election in 1999 showed the ÖVP only in the third place, behind Jörg Haider’s FPÖ. (Johnson,2000:3-4)

After the ÖVP’s disastrous election in 1999, the ÖVP abandoned the strategy to isolate FPÖ and shifted to build an ÖVP/FPÖ government: “The ÖVPs shift to an all-out adopt strategy was reinforced by the “integration contact” in 2003 from the government and its 2003 tightening of the asylum regime. These measures were tougher than those the SPÖ would had approved in the preceding coalition.” (Bale, Peterson, Luther, Sitter, Krouwel, 2010:419) The story behind this coalition was the ÖVP failing to agree on a coalition with the SPÖ. The ÖVP did engage in serious negotiation with the SPÖ and the party leader Wolfgang Schüssel was willing to conclude an agreement. However, the Rudolf Nürnberger refused the coalition with the ÖVP leadin the SPÖ trade unionists, which left the ÖVP with no alternative choice but starting the negotiations with the FPÖ. (Verlag,2004:246)

As aforementioned in the former chapter, two main parties in Austria have not been in a good position for a long time and the coalition with SPÖ went unworkable in 2017. In May 2017, the ÖVP leader admitted conflicts with the coalition partner and resigned. The position was succeeded by Sebastian Kurz, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs. Kurz and his tema developed a new party logo, party label (i.e. The New People’s Party) and party colour (turquoise instead of black) to create a new image of the ÖVP. This change in party image and leadership helped them for an impressive rise in the polls. (Bodlos,Plescia, 2018:1355)

At that time in Europe, like other countries, the immigration related to the topics of asylum seekers and border control was a major and most controversial issue of Austrian politics since 2015. In the table below, the dashed lines show the percentage of respondents mentioning immigration as the most important problem facing the country. The table shows a drastic increase after the immigration crisis in Europe in 2015. The number of asylum applications per year peaked in 2015 and this made Austria one of the countries in the EU with the highest number of asylum applications. From this Table, we can see that most parties increased the

attention to the immigration topics. The ÖVP mentioned immigration in press release more (7.6 percent), which is almost five times as much as the average from 1999-2013 (1.6 percent).

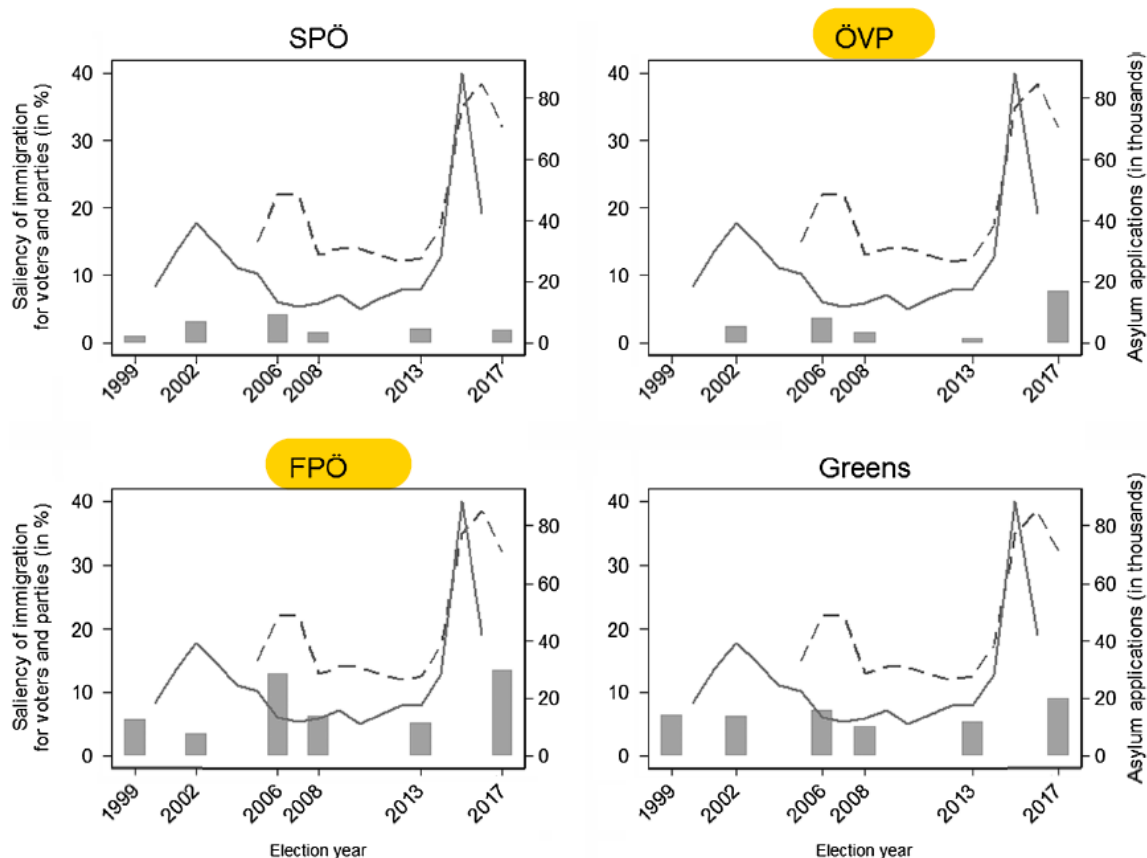


Table2: The saliency of immigration in Austria², (Bodlos,Plescia, 2018:1356)

Kurz increased his popularity by taking the ownership of the immigration issue, which were in hand of the FPÖ, and by adapting many of the FPÖ's policy during the election campaign. His campaign included outlines to close Islamic kindergartens, to cut off social transfer to the distinguished refugees. The FPÖ party leader Heinz Christian Strache has not made any critical statements against the ÖVP regarding the emulation of the policies. Alternatively, the party published an "economic party platform" which suggested the chance of coalition with the ÖVP with the stress of the FPÖ being the "pioneer" to the immigration issues. (Bodlos,Plescia, 2018:1356-1357)

² Dashed line as the percentage of respondents mentioning immigration as the most important issue for Austria (left y-axes), (Bodlos,Plescia, 2018:1356)

As the result of this election, for the first time since 2002, the ÖVP achieved to be the biggest party in Austria with a vote share of 31.5 percent and agree on a coalition with the FPÖ. With the FPÖ's vote share of 26 percent, the coalition reached a majority of 57.4 percent, securing the largest vote share for the center-right and radical-right wing parties in Austria. (Bodlos,Plescia, 2018:1358)

1.3 Donnerstagsdemonstration in 2000

On February in 2000, the coalition of the SPÖ (Sozialdemokratischen Partei Österreichs) and ÖVP ended up in failure and initiated the new coalition of the ÖVP and FPÖ started. As Schneeberg stated the social movement against the coalition was sparsely covered on newspapers, so as the political change. The first protest this new government was a spontaneous and modest protest in front of the ÖVP central party on the February 2000. Ten people came to the ÖVP office and followed by 30 more protestors demonstrating in front of the party headquarters.

Until the failure of Schwarze/Blaue coalition, the protest was noted as “against-SW/BL coalition” protest. Even though the protest against coalition became relatively weak after all, the protest of Donnerstagsdemonstration in Vienna was formed and practiced as “Widerstand gegen ÖVP/FPÖ, which means: “Resistance against the ÖVP/FPÖ coalition”. (Schneeberger,2003:3)

1.3.1 The first seven days of Donnerstagsdemonstration

On February 2nd, the platform called “Demokratische Offensive (Democratic Offensive) was founded, which was assembled from SOS fellow men, the republican club and 20,000 people had participated in the demonstration. After the official final protest, with this demonstration a few thousand people were moving on around the street, disturbing and blocking the traffic, which was the crucial feature of the demonstration. (Schneeberger,2003:15)

On the protest's next day, according to the magazine “Tatblatt”, “Alarmdrum” against racism the protest was marched in front of the ÖVP headquarter with around 5,000 protestors . These initial protests were underestimated by the country's most prominent political groups. The activist initiators of the protest were from the beginning also extra-parliamentary initiatives, NGOs and political groups especially from Trotzki spectrum. (Schneeberger,2003:16)

The opposition to racism and xenophobia was a central theme for the Donnerstagsdemonstration, even when the direction of this protest was not clear and the movement's organisation were still chaotic. Since the SW/BL coalition had started, local newspapers were reporting the cost-cutting and social-political economising. Nevertheless, the displeasure and anger from the majority of the protest -participants and supporters were focused against racism, right-wing extremism, and prospect of the country with an FPÖ-led government. The majority of the initial protestors were from the educated middle class. These protestors , according to Schneeberger, were understood as “besorgte Bürger” (worried citizen), and those people were such as intellectuals, students and artists, and they also came from the socially privileged class. These communities felt threatened from the social reformation which was about to happen. There was also another perspective which was very active from the radical left. (Schneeberger,2003:16-17)

The social composition, the societal position and the results from anger and worries from the demonstration were a very decisive factor of the orientation of this protest movement. On the second protest day, nearly 500 demonstrators gathered without significant resistance in front of the Burgtheater in Vienna. The reaction of the public was positive and almost no one left the theatre due to the protest. The reaction was so positive that there were people who did “standing ovations” as well. (Schneeberger,2003:17) As we can understand from this event, the Donnerstagsdemonstration was performed without violence and successfully attained the attention and potential participants.

On the third day, there was a ceremony to celebrate the succession of the new prime minister. At noon , 10,000 people gathered in front of the Prime Minister's office to show the discontent against the succession and the new government. The protest was performed by making loud noises, whistles, throwing paint bombs and rotten fruit. The demonstration continued and in the subsequent days, 5,000 people protested along the Winer Ringstraße, Vienna's central street throughout the Stadtpark and city center. On this day, there was the first major debate with the police, which had been operated to patrol the demonstration. (Schneeberger,2003:17) The protest was set up in in front of the social ministry of FPÖ and was dismantled by the police. Although there were no arrests, the tension between the SMO and police erupted after the third day of the demonstration. The protest in front of the FPÖ headquarter was escalated, the police used the water cannon against the demonstration participants – the first time in the second republic period. This violence provoked discussions about and the movement was split. In

order to avoid any violence, the demonstration from Democratic Offensive which was planned for the next day was cancelled. (Schneeberger,2003:18)

There was no fixed time schedule for the weekly Thursday protest at this point as 2018, in which the demonstration protests every Thursday, always starting at 18:00 pm, although in the beginning in 2000, people demonstrated every day to show the strong opposition to the coalition. On the 5th of February, a few thousand people demonstrated in the city despite the reality and presence police force. Against the occupation of the social ministry. The occupation of the Burgtheater widen the movement's acceptance as a symbolic act, the occupation of the social ministry could have been seen as a protest against the social-political government, although it was seen as a spontaneous action of a demonstration by a single group. (Schneeberger,2003:18-19) On the 6th of February, the demonstration established its organisational structure. Left-wing groups but also well-known groups such as KPÖ and the Greens, alongside the social student union established the "action community against SW/BL" to organise the further demonstrations. They used the attracting mode of expression,. the Donnerstagsdemonstration happened spontaneously without top-down leadership and systemic organisation (Schneeberger,2003:18-19) For instance, someone from the protest had to organise to connect with the media for Kurt Wendt, the member of the communist party and Wiener Szenewirt to become the action platform's spokesperson. Apart from emergent media coverage of the social movement, Schneeberger pointed out, it is conspicuous that this movement's anti-authority structure finds the democratic processes such as voting action committee unnecessary. Schneeberger questions if, under the lack of structure and the anti-authority organization, the greatest possible freedom of individuals and the pluralism should be guaranteed. (Schneeberger,2003:20)

The Donnerstagsdemonstration in 2018 corresponds with this freedom, the movement does use actual votes as a mean for change in comparison to other SMOs such as Frauenvolksbegehren and OMAS. In 2000, before the demonstration was established, the demonstration was more anomalistic compared to its current practices . The missing democratic fundamentals proved they are less transparent. This structure was one of many examples of the neoliberal ideology, which propagates the enemy position for their own use and the enemy could infiltrate. The action committee of the Donnerstagsdemonstration set up a strong basis to support more organized everyday demonstrations and eventually a large scale protest on February 12th, less than two weeks after the initial protest . This demonstration surrounded a prominent live broadcasted media discussion between ÖVP and FPÖ politicians in a first

district café. . The show was moved to the ORF's centre, in order to avoid the protest crowds. This do not circumvent the protests: on the same day thousands of people walked from the city centre to the ORF headquarters to keep protesting behind the weekly discussion. (Schneeberger,2003:20)

By February 7th, 5,000 people gathered in protest the government. This time the demonstration route was set in the working-class districts (Arbeitsbezirk Favoriten). The movement's signature style of setting and walking a route as protesting was conducted for the first time at this point. The purpose of choosing and position the protest in working class district such as Favoriten was to show the opposition against. The FPÖ gained many votes with the policy against the foreigners but also with the program against until-now-ruling parties. Many demonstrators saw this as "showing-off forces" in the foreigner unfriendly districts in Vienna. (Schneeberger,2003:21)

1.3.2 SMOs and Media Outreach

In Austrian press coverage, the Donnerstagdemo's walking protest was recognised as a new type of protest independent from concrete goals. Nonetheless, fractions existed from the beginning alongside the protest racism and xenophobia, especially emphasising the danger of the expected job-cuts, tried to put the protest movement as broadly as possible, addressed and stimulated workers with the need for traditional action such as strikes. From this perspective, the targeted demonstrations in the suburbs of Vienna could have conveyed a message, namely the orientation towards specific social sections and an expansion of the social movement. It would not only have addressed Austrian workers but also those who were most affected by racism, xenophobia and neoliberalism, who were mostly immigrants – the majority of residents of suburbs and not in the inner city, although those people were not a part of the movement from the beginning. However, due to the widespread rejection of all forms of political organisation, coupled with the euphoria over the spontaneous protest, it is not surprising that old-fashioned political concepts could not prevail. (Schneeberger,2003:21-22)

It is therefore not surprising that all attempts to create action and structures have been interpreted as a conquest of the protest movement itself. The demonstration continued, and on the 8th of February, between 5,000 to 10,000 people against the government demonstrated at a first parliament meeting. On the 9th of February, at Ballhausplatz, an embassy of "concerned citizens" was opened. The embassy was one of many civil-social protest initiatives which were

formed due to the coalition. In contrast to other initiatives, this proved to be persistent. The initiatives wanted to be at the disposal of those who did not feel represented by the new government. To keep the self-image of the protests, this initiative also included a symbolic message and the appropriation of public space as an act of resistance. This strategy has been combined with an artistic focus to offer additional space for a forum for visual and performing resistance activities. (Schneeberger,2003:22)

On February 10th and 11th, only 1,000 people attended the demonstration, which were coordinated with the police for the first time. On the next day between 10,000 to 20,000 people came to the grand announcement and once again registered nearly 10 km demonstration from Westbahnhof to the Karl Marx Hof . The action committee of the protest provided a folder service and organised trucks for political speeches to be announced . In addition, a truck with DJs was organised for the first time for this demonstration. This action was the beginning of the group “Volkstanz (Folk Dance)”, which has its roots in the Viennese club scene and tried to establish the new protest - culture under the motto of “sound-politization”. Schneeberger stated that the genesis of this formation shows clearly how cultural forms, for example, culture in the movement developed gradually, but gained the attention of the media. (Schneeberger,2003:25)

Volkstanz as activism and a cultural movement describes the genesis of the Donnerstagsdemonstration. This gave rise to “the idea of introducing a new form of demonstration culture” through music and sound to address cultural emotional needs of the movement. (Schneeberger,2003:25-26)

The *Volkstanz audience and artists* had not been politically active with the protest , but were impressed by the dynamism and combat readiness of the first spontaneous protests . (Schneeberger,2003:26)

2. SMOs in Austria, under the claim of „Gutes Leben für alle“

2.1 Donnerstagsdemonstration in 2018

There remain few academic articles and works on the Donnerstagsdemonstration in 2018, however the protest movement is heavily reported by local newspapers. Austrian journalist Michael Mandlik reported the Donnerstagsdemonstration in 2018, stating racism reproaching against police and opinions of police about this recent demonstration.

The Protest had taken place from 4th October 2018 to 3rd October in 2019. Until the coalition has been resolved due to the FPÖ scandal of “Ibiza affairs”, the protest took place 4 to 5 times per month. The demonstration route was announced on social media such as Twitter, Instagram and Facebook, showing the protest route on Google maps with an approximate time plan. The Donnerstagsdemonstration in 2018 was held with the slogan “Klappe auf (open up)”. Peter Filzmaier describes the Donnerstagsdemonstration as a symbol of democratic participation in the interview with Mandlik, but also stated the demonstration has been more embraced with more opportunities for participation than a few years ago. The demonstration was staged in diverse ways such as setting a small stage in front of Hotel am Stephansplatz and a Viennese “rapper” T-Ser making a speech against racial profiling in Vienna. (Mandlik,2018)

The protest also brought up several social concerns such as the “voluntary” 60-hour week of the black and blue government. On 22nd November in 2018, the demo was planned to protest the increased working hours. On the official website of Donnerstagsdemonstration, it is stated that:

“We will thematize how sexism and racism shape the working day. Which and whose work is recognized and which and which is not even seen. Who concedes a lot and who gets little or nothing. How (wage) dependency makes you afraid of change and how you divide us apart with the eternal fairy tale of achievement. Why work does not protect many from poverty and less paid work would do everyone good.”

The new demonstration had a fixed meeting point at Heldenplatz and the meeting time was set to around 18:00 to 18:30 in order to accommodate diverse potential participants.

2.2 Frauenvolksbegehren

This chapter introduces the fundamental background of Frauenvolksbegehren as and their “9 Vorderungen (9 Claims)”. It is necessary to understand their claims in comparison to the other two organizations. Frauenvolksbeheren was founded in Autumn 2016 to help achieve equal opportunities for both genders and fighting against poverty.

After a year of organisational procedures, the organisation became official approved and founded in 2017, By the following year , half million people in Austria supported the organisation. They have nine main agendas for social changes and 500,000 people signed for the organisation for their protest topics to be addressed in the parliament. The organisation is as of 2019 still actively protesting, their goal is to collect one million signatures to make a referendum to change the Austrian law. Castells stated that the social movements are prompted by political institutions managing society. The Frauenvolksbegehren works very closely with political parties and politicians to gain support. Also, by protesting and addressing issues on social media and other channels, it allows people to take matters into their own hands and engage in collective actions outside of the institutions. This allows people to defend their demands and change the rulers, even the rules shaping their lives. (Castells,2012:218) Frauenvolksbegehren has nine major claims, which include similar claims to Donnerstagsdemonstration. Analysing these 9 claims clarifies the problematic social situation in Austria, as the Donnerstagsdemonstration both in 2000 and in 2018 represents a voiceless citizen who do/did not feel represented by the government.

The first claim “Macht teilen” (Power distribution) is based on the fact women in Austria are not represented enough considering their share of the population. One of the focuses is to achieve the equality of election lists and representatives at community, rural and federal levels for women and men. The agenda tries to provide equal power for both genders. The strength of female gender is not used enough in real society. This is especially true in the domestic private sector, where the share of men on executive boards and supervisory boards remains unchanged at 90 percent.

The second claim is to distribute wealth evenly to every citizen. According to the 2016 court of auditor’s income report, women in Austria’s private sector earn between 57 to 85 % of what man earns on average, depending on the industry. There is only one industry where women earn at least 99 percent of the income of men in full-year and full-time employment basis, for "other services" it is only 64%. The income gap is a fact, and not just because women often only work part-time due to care and support, but also includes women without caring responsibilities.

Considering the almost 80 percent speaker of the Donnerstagsdemonstration are intentionally women, this claim gives high potential benefits for Frauenvolksbegehren to work with the Donnerstagsdemonstration.

The third claim is the “distribution of labour”, in particular for women with unpaid family and household work. Women face a precarious struggle between working overtime, which is subsidised by the state, while others can barely sustain themselves financially from their income. Fair and family-friendly employment conditions can hardly be argued officially. Their tactical vision is to reduce working hours to 30 hours per week with variable pay and compensation.

The fourth claim is to fight against poverty. In Austria, there are around 180,000 single parents with children under the age of 25. In the majority of cases, women take on the sole responsibility to educate them. Mothers and their children have the highest risk of poverty in Austria. The government provides little alimony to families paid over a longer period. The unequal disbursement of alimony can currently be stopped immediately by order of the court. The clarification of these claims often takes several months with 70,000 affected children receiving little to no support. In addition, the maintenance claim exists only up to the age of 18 years. If adolescents want to study after that, they would theoretically have to sue a parent in court. To tackle these social issues properly, the government should guarantee the right to keep the alimony or similar kinds of support. Furthermore, the weak social support for children and families highlight the need for politicians and legislation to find better solutions for its most vulnerable communities.

The fifth claim is for free, qualitatively supervisory care for each child until the 14th year of living independently from the residence and the status of parents. The compatibility of the care institution with full-time support for parents. For children under the age of three, quality childcare and kindergartens are lacking in Austria, especially in rural areas. Taking care of children is still more regarded as a “female job”, they often only work part-time or not at all. Women have a significantly lower lifetime income and ultimately lower pensions than men. Frauenvolksbegehren tries to solve this social issue, nationwide expansion of state childcare is a key goal of gender equality. Every child has a right to benefit regardless of where they live and how much their parents earn.

The sixth claim “Vielfalt leben (live in diversity)” covers media content and education. Media content and education is shaped by images and ideas that represent people in a stereotype. Although it has been brought up as an issue and discussed, little has changed. They fight for

dignified representations of women. In comparison, men are portrayed as athletic, professionally successful, politically active and dominant. There is an occasional homosexual actor or character in television series and mainstream media, however, people outside the gender binary and/or sexual orientation are rarely represented. This topic is also often brought up on their Instagram by citing the sentence said in the media or giving constructed critics about how the issue is spoken in the media with a picture related to the issue. Prohibition of advertising, marketing strategies and other commercial media content, which represent people in disability, stereotypes and sexual features. Prohibition of the sexualised presentation of underaged person, the prohibition of gender discriminatory and stereotype displays in children and youth media, especially in schools and childcare institutions.

The seventh claim is the right for an abortion. Austria has one of the highest rates of abortion in Europe. There is a need for two measures to prevent unwanted pregnancies, more and better information on the body, sex and contraception. According to Frauenvolksbegehren 's official website, sexual health and education include:

- *“...age-appropriate, informal sex education offers in schools, the extension of counselling centres and more time with specialists. On the other hand, there is no easier access to effective contraceptives. Contraceptives are expensive, so they should be free as in other EU countries. Pregnancy tests and contraceptives that require a medical examination and care are therefore to be taken over by the health insurance companies. Any women who are unintentionally pregnant must also have the option of free abortion in all public hospitals - no matter where she lives in Austria.”*

The eighth claim focuses on violence, including psychological violence or "psych-terrorism" such as sleep deprivation, control, seizure of means of communication, threats, humiliation or deprivation of money or food. Austria was one of the first countries in Europe to implement the legal expansion of protection against violence. On January 1st, 2016, the penal action improved with the so-called "Po-Grapsch-Paragrafen". According to the estimation, up to 200 million euros are missing throughout Austria. Therefore, there are too few shelters for women and violence prevention. The goal for this claim is “the fundamental expansion of state financed and legally secured, easily accessible free advisory offices for all violence against women and children., extending cooperation between authorities’ courts and protection centres, reinforced sensitisation programs in schools, the court and the police and prevention programs”.

The last claim is for the protection of social minorities such as lesbian, gay, bisexual, intersex, queer or transgender people. These communities are one of the most vulnerable in conservative societies with policies offers no rights for a free, self-determined life. In the case of immigrants, these communities face exile from their homeland, human trafficking, genital mutilation or the death penalty.

The legal anchorage of women and gender is a specific motive for fleeing under UNHCR directives and gender-based principles of migration law via the UN Women's legal convention and Istanbul convention. To solve these issues, awareness-raising for civil servants or accommodation supervisors is needed on specific grounds for flight. As we can see above, demands for fair opportunities and gender equality have been not implemented by the parliament. Frauenvolksbegehren mobilised to lead for true socio-economic-political equality in Austria. The organization is very active negotiating in policy institutions as well as on social media such as Twitters and Instagram.

2.3 Omas gegen Rechts

The organisation OMAS GEGEN RECHTS was founded in April 2018, they were invited to the first general assembly in March 2019. (Salzer,2019:114)

The OMAS GEGEN RECHTS founder, Monica Salzer stated her own opinion and concerns about the extreme right wing politics in her book “Warum wir für die Zukunft unserer Enkel kämpfen“, citing an example of what Sebastian Kurz has done politically since his inauguration will have far-reaching consequences.

As aforementioned in the chapter 1 (Political Background in Austria), FPÖ and right-wing government was proclaimed for the first time in Austria after World War II. OMAS GEGEN RECHTS was founded to protest against the SW/BL coalition and its extreme right-wing politics. OMAS GEGEN RECHTS emerged in a short phase of development with a small group of people behind the movement . OMAS GEGEN RECHTS quickly became popular for its unique hat and original song as a symbol. Their song “Lied for OMAS” (Song for Grandma) was composed by Fanya de Stella-Palikruschewa.(Salzer,2019:30)

The first seven women and founders OMAS GEGEN RECHTS gathered in front of the Café Landman in Vienna on the 17th December 2017, a day before the new government was founded. The group joined the protest march alongside thousands of students along the blocked Ringstraße. This protest attracted international media such as “New York Times”, “Le Monde”, and BBC. This media coverage turned “OMAS GEGEN RECHTS” into a small grassroots movement into a “viral” social movement .

The television series “Thema” on ORF followed with the first TV report about OMAS. From this point, OMAS experienced a wave of media interest, which has not subsided until today and a valuable contribution to the reputation of OMAS GEGEN RECHTS. OMAS has been engaged in actions, demonstrations, appearances, interviews, debates, litigation and internal meetings for almost two years. OMAS GEGEN RECHTS founded in Vienna, Austria has become an unmistakable voice within civil society. On the 13th of January 2018, OMAS were invited to the “Neujahrsempfang” (i.e. new year's reception) of the new federal government of Austria alongside trade unions and civil society groups. They also initiated “OMAS GEGEN RECHTS” in Germany and planning a group in Switzerland.(e.g. Recently, the Swiss "grandmothers Revolution", which presents itself as a "think Tank, Network and Platform of the current grandmother's generation", caught attention.) (Salzer,2019:32-33)

In many cases, OMAS work closely with political actors. They are committed against the extreme right, regardless of their party preference or engagement. In Germany, their political positioning was debated at an OMAS group. In order to be taken seriously as a civil society group, this explicit positioning to all parties was central importance to OMAS GEGEN RECHTS. (Salzer,2019:93)

Political and women connected to different political parties brings knowledge about democratic processes. Salzer stated that they refined their stances by interacting with women in politics. Therefore, "independence" from political parties does not mean a devaluation of political work, but a limitation. (Salzer,2019:94)

The social networking tools such as Facebook, Twitter that OMAS GEGEN RECHTS uses are also available to right-wing extremists as well. They critique the right-wing who often publish propaganda and fake news about the group. Furthermore, it is also reported that there will be fake videos, which will hardly recognize more than fake. (Salzer,2019:103)

OMAS GEGEN RECHTS are and have been engaged in refugee's rights in Europe. Since the immigration crisis in 2015, OMAS GEGEN RECHTS has been fighting against the laws that turn refugees into second-class citizens. (Salzer,2019:104) And also, one of the OMAS claims is to assemble again what SW/BL has built up in Austria (Salzer,2019:110) Salzer stated: "With incredible consistency and passion, we work hard to make our concerns public. because advocating something is contagious, especially when it comes to democracy" (Salzer,2019:113)

The OMAS participate in demonstrations (including Donnerstagsdemonstration), market visits, city walks and organise educational events. The group also gains positive reactions from their weekly market. The OMAS took part in nearly one hundred events and have turned which made OMAS GEGEN RECHTS popular all over Austria. (Salzer,2019:113) "One of the main focuses of the first two years of our existence in 2018 was certainly the constitution and the establishment of diverse groups through meetings in guesthouses, Cafes, school, and universities. Many grandmothers have managed to network with other organizations on the spot and develop their connections." (Salzer,2019:114) OMAS Vorarlberg and Tyrol connect with each other on Facebook, but their initiatives are mostly on their own. The Vorerlberger OMAS has organized the "13-10" demo (against nationalism and the right of self-defence under the platform "*Uns rechts!*" with several civil society organizations. This movement stands for solidarity, cultural diversity, a humanitarian asylum system, and democratic dialogue. Many German and Swiss participants meet in Bregenz. In Hohenems, in the context of the "Lichtermeers", foreigners and asylum rights were demonstrated in 2018. The OMAS took part

in the "Bodensee peace march (Bodensee-Friedenmarch) " on Easter Monday. They are also represented in the "OMAS GEGEN RECHTS Germany Alliance (Deutschland-Bündnis)" on Facebook. In Bregenz and Dornbirn, the demonstration is protested on Sunday against the political right. As the Donnerstagsdemonstration was founded in Innsbruck, women volunteered and launched a small group of Tyrolean OMAS in February 2018 . (Salzer,2019:119)

OMAS is founded and operated by people older than other SMOs in Austria, although they use SNS (especially Facebook) very effectively for connection and expansion of their activities. The Hamburg group of OMAS has been active since February 2018. According to the publication "NAGEL" by Dörte Schnell and Andrea Herzog, the group was founded quickly: "At the beginning, there were four of us, now our Facebook group has more than 125 members, of which circa 30 actively go to demos."(Salzer,2019:123) In Berlin, Mrs. Getrund Graf joined as a networker. Since mid-2018, the Berlin OMAS are present and active in Berlin. The locations include Alexanderplatz on the demonstration against the right-wing populism, every Sunday in the Gendarmenmarkt, or Invalidenpark to support the youth-led "Friday for Future"⁴ movement. A global strike on 15 March 2019 gathered more than one million strikers. Around 2200 strikes were organised in 125 countries. On 24 May 2019, the second global strike took place, in which 1600 events across 150 countries drew hundreds of thousands of protesters. The events were timed to coincide with the 2019 European Parliament election. (Salzer,2019:123)

From a local café , a group of about 200 women organized and travelled in smaller groups and always attracting media attention. It also goes to the political party of the land as a source of inspiration for OMAS group in Potsdam, Chemnitz, Halle and in Erfurt, in order to face the legal backlash in the east. In the meantime, 100 OMA- groups have formed grassroots initiatives. In Germany various cultural cohesion developed but the arguments are the same as those of the Austrian OMAS: they fight for the true democracy. (Salzer,2019:124) Many Facebook groups and several websites were created in Germany, such as OMAS GEGEN RECHTS of the North. (Salzer,2019:125)

⁴ Friday for Future movement is the movement, is an international movement of school students who take time off from class to participate in demonstrations to demand action to prevent further global warming and climate change. Publicity and widespread organising began after Swedish schoolgirl Greta Thunberg staged a protest in August 2018 outside the Swedish Riksdag (the Swedish parliament), holding a sign "Skolstrejk för klimatet" "School strike for the climate".

The German OMAS have diverse supporters and solidarities , OMAS cooperated especially well with demonstrations such as “Seebrücke” #unteilbar. These social movements in Germany fight against discrimination, impoverishment, racism, sexism, disenfranchisement and nationalism. The OMAS also supported and marched in "Stopp den Hass (Stop the Hate)“ movement in Berlin as a counterdemonstration to the march of the AfD⁵ they carried their signs. (Salzer,2019:125)

OMAS keeps widening their activities and on April 2019, the Austrian OMAS was spotted on “New York Times”. The article has sparked an international attention. Women from the all over the world wanted to reach OMAS for what we do. The USA till New Zealand, from Canada till Australia, from Italy over France and to Spain, all are interested in OMAS GEGEN RECHTS. This gave me the impetus to expand our communication towards international networking.” On March 2019, Salzer founded the GRAMMIES AGAINST RIGHT WING PARTIES IN EUROPE on Facebook. The first English version of their Facebook page. It was quickly followed, but the language barrier was there from the beginning. Salzer stated “We mostly communicate in English but for those who cannot, the translation programs on the internet is used for help.” (Salzer,2019:126)

The OMAS fight against the right in Austria and Europe, especially post-“Ibiza affair” and the election of right-wing representation in European parliament. The right-wing populists and right-wing extremists remain against OMAS and continue to work to undermine the freedom of the media. A positive effect was the joint statement of 21 editors of Austrian print media, in which it was urged not to let this process forgotten, because “those who ignore the border between journalism and politic endanger the foundations of democracy”. (Salzer,2019:129)

⁵ AfD: Since 2013, the "AfD" (alternative for Germany) exists. Initially considered a conservative party of economists and euro-skeptics, the party now increasingly stands for a national-conservative and right-wing populist course. In this context, the AfD is also often mentioned a lack of distance to right-wing extremists, which is reinforced by internal party scandals from time to time. The leaders of the party are currently Alexander Gauland and Jörg Meuthen. (Available at: <https://kurier.at/themen/afd>)

3.Theoretical Framework

3.1 Social Movement theory

The main theoretical framework of this study is the Resource Mobilisation Theory. The theory clarifies that the importance of the use of resources, especially labour and money for SMOs. This theory helps us to understand the struggles and challenges the Austrian SMOs have been facing and how they are trying to use social media for the more effective mobilisations. In addition to the RMT theory, the new theory regarding the use of Social Media by Castells, and by Valenzuela pointing out that social media as a new force of resource mobilisation, are chosen to clarify the results of the qualitative research. The use of social media is not only as a resource mobilisation but also as a place functioning as a media advertisement in the 21st century. The following section will firstly introduce the main discussion of the social movement theory, which is a general theory regarding the emergence of social movements. The chapters continue to explain the resource mobilisation theory and the theory of Social Media, which are central for this thesis.

3.1.1 The Emergence of Social Movement

In this section, the main points of the social movement theory are explained, which are collective behaviour approach, the mass society approach and relative deprivation, in order to understand the further theoretical approaches in the social movement theory. McAdam (1988) suggested that the social movement study in the 1970s had confronted a few of theoretical perspectives and empirical focuses. These three theories, which explain how social movements emerges at an initial level, are the collective behaviour approach, the mass society approach and relative deprivation. (McAdam,1998:695-696) Social movements are not a political party or a group which has a regular access to political elites. It is also not an unorganised trend without any goals. One of the characteristics of social movements is that they share a defined collective identity. Also, they are aligned against the clearly identified opponents, and are connected by solid but informal networks in most cases. (Christiansen, 2009:2)

The collective behaviour approach has its heavy focus on the emergence of collective behaviour in social movements. The mass society approach was derived from discussion about the rise of authorisation and totalitarian regimes. The study put its significant importance on personal psychology or micro-social relations in order to understand the mass movements and also on a macro sociological analysis of the relation between elites and the mass society. Relative

deprivation represented the third perspective on social movements. This approach connects the activism to the perception of people that “one group is in a deprived, disadvantageous position and in grievances and isolation from certain groups in the society. (McAdam,1998:696)

Diani (2006) explains the emergence and development of social movements in 4 stages, which are 1. Emergence, 2. Coalescence, 3. Bureaucratisation, and 4. Decline and suggested these are the life cycle of social movements. The first stage of social movements is its “emergence”. In this stage, social movements are in a primary position or no organisation. This stage is taken as a widespread of discontent. Potential movement participants are discontent with some political or social condition although they have not yet taken any actions against their grievances. This widespread of discontent and grievances are a factor to form a collective identity and to lead a collective action. (Christiansen, 2009:2) An example of this stage, cited by Christiansen (2009) is the early 1950s for the Civil Right Movement in the United States. There was a long-lasting discontent atmosphere in the South among the African American population. (In this case of the civil right movement, the SMOs such as NAACP, which characterised the movement, worked also as an agitator.) However, the crucial triggers for the movement were the Brown v. the Board of Education Supreme court decision (1954), which imposed a legal ban on the segregation in public schools, and the arrest of Rosa Parks in Montgomery, Alabama for refusing to giving up on her bus seat to a white man, which breached the segregation laws. With these incidents the American Civil Right Movement had been proceeded to the next stage of “coalescence”. (Christiansen, 2009:3)

In the stage of “coalescence”, social movements overcome obstacles and challenges which have not been overcome before. Christiansen explained about this stage in a life cycle of social movements that “people in a community may complain to each other about a general injustice, but they do not come together to act on those complaints.” When this solidarity occurs to those who share the similar grievances and the collective identity, the social movement progress to the next level. When this collective action occurs, it is no longer just a general sense of discontent and unease, but it developed to what the discontent and unease is about and who is in charge of it. In the American Civil Rights Movement, after the emergence of the movement, it started pronounced, and outstanding campaigns highlighting the predicament of African Americans in the segregated South. These includes the Montgomery Bus Boycott and lunch counter sit-ins, which black students sit down at the segregated counter. At this point, the prominent leaders emerged such as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr and after many years of demonstrations, the movement led by a strong leadership became a prominent political force.

(Christiansen, 2009:3) The third stage is known as bureaucratisation or formalisation. In this stage, social movements raised the awareness successfully and it is required to protest with systematic strategies. SMOs will come to rely on work forces with special knowledge that run the day to day operations of the organisation and pursue their goals. Social movements in this stage no longer depend on mass protest rallies or inspirational leaders to progress towards their goals. The work relies on trained staff to conduct the everyday operation and the management of organisations. The last stage is called “decline” although it does not mean “failure” of social movements. There are four ways how social movements could decline. 1. Repression, 2 Co-optation, 3. Success and 4. Failure. Repression occurs when authorities act for the authorities themselves and utilise means to control or destroy social movements. Co-optation occurs when the movement leaders associate with authorities. This means that a leader of SMO is asked to work for the organisation which can make changes from the inside, instead of pursuing these values on their own or being integrated into the other organisation holding their own values. The social movement also could turn into failure if they cannot handle the rapid expansion, which could be considered as the success. (Christiansen, 2009:3-4) As we can see from the life cycle of social movements, it is important for social movements to be persistent and have a secure workforce and goals. Considering the theoretical perspectives aforementioned, in the next chapter, the macro and micro conditions required for social movements are analysed.

The emergence of social movements can be analysed with both macro and micro focus. McAdam (1988) suggested that the American scholarships before the 1970s focused on micro condition than European scholarships. European social theorists located the fundamentals of collective action in broad social, demographic, economic and political processes. The archetypal version of the macro form of analysis was the Marxist one, which focuses on the most importance of developing the industrial and economic contradictions to drive workers into a collective action. The competing version of this type of analysis focused also on the importance of urbanisation, industrialisation and bureaucratisation in generating the necessary condition for the collective action. (McAdam, McCarthy, Zald, 1988:698) In macro conditions, social movements are often seen as “politics by other means” and as only means to claim for changes for powerless and challenging collective groups. One important to understand the macro condition for the emergence of social movements is the structure of political opportunities. It is said that these challenging groups try to influence on the politics to be more or less vulnerable. It is also mentioned by McAdam that “by structure of political opportunities, we refer to the receptivity or the vulnerability of the political system to organised protest by a given challenging group.” (McAdam, 1988: 699)

The micro theory suggests that the participants inclusion occurs in 2 separate process. No movement would be taken place if there are no individuals included. The two process for the emergence of social movements in micro conditions are the movement emergence and individual recruitment. In the former times, the researchers suggested the link between the individual participation in the movement and the individual characteristics of movement activists. The most motivation accounted for the participation in the movement is considered either political or religious. Also, the particular psychological state of individuals could lead them into the participation. McAdam (1988) stated that “activism grows out of strong attitudinal support for the values and goals of the movement.” The movement participants are often from marginal, alienated members of the society and the lacked sense of community in their life drive them into the participation in the collective action. (McAdam, McCarthy, Zald, 1988:704-705) In this section, the emergence of social movements and the main theories of social movements are analysed. In the following section, the applied theory for this paper, i.e. the resource mobilisation theory, has been introduced.

3.1.2 Resource Mobilisation Theory

Resource Mobilisation Theory argued that the formation of SMOs and the ability of the SMOs to mobilise resources such as labour and money from potential supporters are the crucial factors in movement mobilisation. (Golhasani, Hosseinirad,2016:1) The theory suggested that the mobilisation works greater when the members of SMO are integrated into the networks dense and at the higher level. It is also suggested that solidarity incentives for participation are more powerful and the chances of ideological intimacy and the development of a collective identity are increased with the strong networking. Also, this contributes to the higher likelihood of cognitive liberation and political efficacy. The power of human resource impacts the tactics available to the SMOs and the mobilisations. The more successfully SMO manages their resources, the longer and the greater the chances would be for SMOs to develop and sustain over time. (Golhasani, Hosseinirad,2016:2)

It is encouraged and favoured to have a formal social movement organisational structure because organisations normally need a management, legal and counting mechanism to operate the detailed regulations and to make sure that they are complying with the social rules. As Golhasani suggested, “it is obvious that the more money is available to an organisation, the more personnel will be hired.” And this would contribute to the securement of human resources. (Golhasani, Hosseinirad,2016:3) Social movement organisations will handle and survive

external and internal conflicts more effectively and maintain funding, survive periods of movement decline and respond quickly to political opportunities with a structured distribution of all the resources. (Golhasani, Hosseinirad,2016:3-4)

McCarthy suggested that “the heavy focus on the psychological state of the mass of potential movement supporters with a collective identity”, which is one of the most important work from SMOs to include the unconscious supporters into the movements. SMOs must utilise their limited resources (especially, labour and money, also includes facilities and legitimacy) perfectly and effectively to maximise the mobilisation potential. (McCarthy,Zald,1977:1215-1216) MacCarthy clarified:

- Social movements deliver collective goods, few individuals will “on their own” bear the cost of working to obtain them. Explaining collective behaviour requires detailed attention the selection of incentives, cost-reducing mechanisms or structures, and career benefits that lead to collective behaviour. (McCarthy,Zald,1977:1216)

It is also suggested the aggression of resources (especially money and labour) is crucial for the movement. The resource aggression limits and minimises the activity of SMO. In resource mobilisation theory, social movements may or may not be based on the grievances. Individuals or organisations may provide major sources of supports. Supporters corresponds to those who provide money, facilities and labour. Society provides the infrastructure for SMO to utilise. This means that the communication media and expense, access to institutional centres, occupational structures and growth. (McCarthy,Zald,1977:1216) Each SMO has targeted goals and preferred changes they are working on. Such goals differ in each SMO, to be broad or narrow but they are the characterises of SMOs. The SMOs must own resources to achieve their goals. (McCarthy,Zald,1977:1220) Further points are explained by MacCarthy and Jenkins:

- Although similar organisations vary tremendously in the efficiency with which they translate resources into action, the amount of activity directed toward goals accomplishment is crudely a function of the resources controlled by an organisation. (McCarthy,Zald,1977:1221)
- Mobilisation is the process by which a group secures collective control over the resources needed for collective action. The major issues are the resources controlled by the group to mobilisation efforts, the process by which the group pools resources and directs these towards social change, and the extent to which outsiders increase the pool of resources. (Jenkins,1983:533)

Freeman (1979) distinguished the tangible assets such as money, facilities and intangible assets as means of communication or human assets which build the central basement for movements. Intangible assets include both specialised resources such as legal skills, and in the recent movements such as IT and graphic design skills, and unspecialised labour of supporters. (Jenkins,1983:533)

As aforementioned, the power resources play a crucial role on successful mobilisations. In the age of the Internet, social media plays a tremendous role to increase the collective identity and the mobilisation efficiency. In the following sections, the use of social media for the social movements are explained with the theory by Valenzuela and Castells.

3.2 Protest and Social Media

In this chapter, the general theory regarding the intensive use of social media in the context of organising, mobilising social movements is clarified. It is stated and clarified that the social media resources such as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram are utilised for many social movements to mobilise people and spread messages, giving a chance to develop the collective action. The use of social media has been connected to the spread of political protest around the world. With social media resources, it is possible to access real-time accounts of protest behaviour archived by microblogging or simply documented on social media websites. For social movement organisers, social media is an efficient tool for the transmission of information regarding upcoming events and political developments, and it is also assisting the organisation of protest activities. The networked population is gaining greater accesses to information and it increases the opportunities for potential participants to engage in collective action. (Poell, 2017:2-4, Jost,2018:3) Social media use could affect the political behaviour by changing the amount and the quality of information exposed to the citizen. Social media also makes it easier to attain information about the schedule of social movements and to solve collective action problems. (Jost,2018:8) As it is understood above, there are two main means of social media which affect the participation: informational and motivational. The main use of social media is “spreading information”, which is attributed to an efficient and precise mobilisation tool and which is also an effective tool for distributing information about their activities and goals to potential participants and a society.

One of the strengths of social media is its speed of information distribution. This digital trace of social media activities is such as “retweets” or “share”, “hashtags” and “screen names”. Hashtags are used as the digital analogues of handheld signs on street demonstrations. i.e. #Occupywallstreet, and #Blacklivesmatter are some symbolic examples. (Freelon,2018:994)

Poell (2018) suggested that “some of the key features of connective leaderships in a social media environment can be identified by examining the interactions between administrators and users of the Egyptian “Kullena Khaled Said (i.e. We are all Khaled Said) Facebook page. The pages were developed in a close collaboration with journalist and activists to protest the murder of Khaled Said, who was beaten to death by Egyptian security forces. This page received 250,000 likes during its first three months and developed the collective identity sharing the same grievances as Khaled Said against the Mubarak regime. (Poell,2018:3-5) As we can see in the chart below, the number of Facebook users in Austria is ranked the most in these 2 years. Compared to other social media platforms such as Instagram and Twitter, Facebook is the most popular platform for individuals.

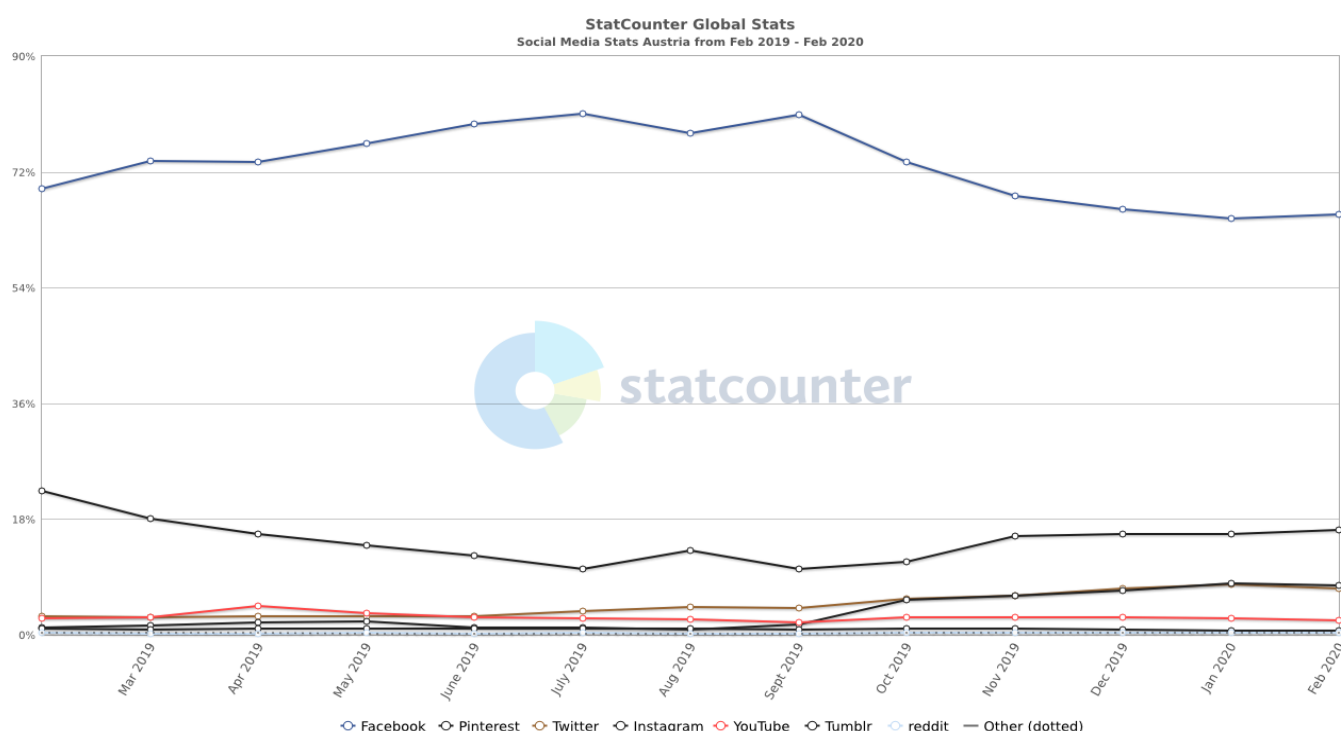


Table 3. Social Media Statistics in Austria (Globalstats,2020)

Poell (2018) also pointed out that “the mass adaption of hashtag such as #wearethe99percent in the Occupy protest, the transformation of “lady in red dress” picture and other similar protest sharing practices are effectively “manifestations” of collective identity”. Milan (2015) claimed

that this kind of process occur in social media, they generate “collective narratives” which perform very well in point of “bridging” personal viewpoints and “building”, “reproducing” communication-based social capital. (Poell,2018:7) Social media platforms allow activists to document protest events in real time and share their emotions about the events. This instantaneity is a great strength of social media in protest mobilisation and communication, which allows the instant online recording and communication about upcoming events, as well as the urgency of languages which individuals could use on social media platform. (Poell,2018:9-10)

Major social media platform such as Facebook, Twitter and Youtube can personalise and expand the user experience by following or friending other users or accounts. Social media allow users to create their own communication space by hash tagging or liking a certain account such as “Kullena Khaled Said” on Facebook. Additionally, social media platforms have an algorithm to select for each use the content that would meet their interests and serve as customised media. This customised service lead users to particular types of connection, content and advertisements. At the same time, social platforms are found to promote “virality”, by liking the contents and sharing them, also by retweeting in order to quickly share the contents with other users. These user signals are processed by platform algorithms which provides many user engagements, in the form of topics and relevant content. Social media is also a useful to promote “viral” communication and build long-term public attention for specific topics. (Poell,2018:11) In the following sections, the importance of social media use in social movements is explained more in detail. Social media is an efficient and crucial resource for social movements in the 21st century, which allows SMOs to mobilise individuals and also to share the information and their opinions in real time in order to develop the collective identity.

3.2.1 Protest in Social Media Networking

In this section, the use of social media for SMOs (i.e. for the purpose of information and mobilisation) is analysed in detail. The theoretical framework by Valenzuela also introduced in the later part of this section, suggesting that the high chance of social media used by the younger generation for the political changes and protest.

How SMOs communicates with potential participants is crucially important to create collective action. They will provide the space for potential participants and public bystanders who have not to find themselves in the movement to connect and be informed. Costs and accessibility of

communication technology could influence how they mobilise and react to the mobilisation appeals. However, as states by Snow via Benford, “recent technological innovation in communication have important effects on how the SMO tries to mobilise the movement, and how they attract the unconscious potential participants. (Snow, Benford,1998:722) As it is proven in the qualitative research, all the three SMOs in Austria use social media to raise the awareness of potential participants. Snow and Benford stated as below:

- “In most cases, movement cannot count on routine access to the media nor editorial sympathy (...). Instead, they must exploit the “normal procedures” of these media in order to gain unpaid access as means of relaying their message to a mass public.” (Snow, Benford,1998:723)

In Valenzuela’s *The Social Media Basis of Youth Protest Behaviour*”, the role of social media use relates to youth protest behaviour as a means of political change. The movement analysed in this paper was the case of Chile and data collected in 2010, the year Facebook, one of the very first global SNS platform became widespread worldwide. Although set in a different socio-political context, Valenzuela’s findings share similar conditions and outcomes as the Donnerstagsdemonstration in Austria. (Valenzuela, Arriagada, Scherman,2012:300)

The use of SNS platforms for the youth has been divined to two main purposes: informational or entertainment and it is moderated by the individual’s political psychology and background. (Valenzuela, Arriagada, Scherman,2012:300) Valenzuela stated: “By enacting individuals’ offline network online, social media can facilitate access to a large number of contacts, thereby enabling social movements to reach critical mass. Social media can also promote personal and group identity construction, key antecedents of political behaviour by allowing multiple channels for interpersonal feedback, peer acceptance and reinforcement of group norms. And also, social media could serve as an information hub. ”Facebook users have ‘News field’ to monitor their personal contacts and at the same time to be tuned for the new updates to know what is going on with other users without seeing them in person. These services also allow users to create and join groups based on their common interests. Therefore, users have higher potential to receive the mobilising information they might not be able to obtain elsewhere and to engage in political protest.” (Valenzuela,2013:922)

Social media also helps to build a trusting relationship among members, which increases the possibility for users to participate in political activities via social media. Expression is also

useful to political protest and other forms of political activities to be a pioneer of informal political discussion. In the earlier work before social media emergence, it is proven that “when people talk about public affairs, they are more likely to mobilise and engage in political activities”. By conversation, people not only exchange information but also obtain a helpful framework of information to process certain information. All processes which could be done on social media platform such as dealing with issues, elaborating arguments, and reflecting on acquired information are such a great form of political information. (Valenzuela,2013:924) Informal political discussion can lower the cost of learning and motivate individuals to join social and political issues more often. Thus, opinion expression on social media can encourage online political talk, which is proven by researches that interpersonal discussion is similarly conducted as political engagement. The discussion on social media is more focused on the debate results than face-to-face discussions. Considering this case, it can be said that social media is such an effective tool of mobilisation and increasing the awareness of political issues to unconscious potential participants. (Valenzuela,2013:924)

Valenzuela states that there is a close link between opinion expression and protest behaviour. The interesting case of Twitter is that the platform has been specialised for users to share their private and political life together more efficiently by making public users’ personal political expressions. (Valenzuela,2013:924)

On the other hand, political advertisement on Twitter has been prohibited since 2019: “Twitter globally prohibits the promotion of political content. We have made this decision based on our belief that political message reach should be earned, not bought”.

- “Ads that contain references to political content, including appeals for votes, solicitations of financial support, and advocacy for or against any of the above-listed types of political content, are prohibited under this policy.”
- “We also do not allow ads of any type by candidates, political parties, or elected or appointed government officials.”

Social media enables one to have, in Valenzuela’s word, “otherwise disengaged users” join for political and social causes; thus increasing the chance for mobilisation both online and offline. “This explanation focuses on the possibility of finding mobilising information on social media platforms, either by direct exposure to messages and profiles of social movements, NGOs and other interest groups, or indirectly through incidental exposure. “(Valenzuela,2013:925)

The mobilising information comes in three forms: (a) identification (names and contact information needed to know to engage in political action), (b) location (time and place of a protest activity), (c) tactics (explicit and implicit instructions for how citizens can get involved). Social media provides and encourages all three types of mobilising information in comparison to other types of media. For instance, websites suffer from one-way communication, which only their claims put on websites speak for themselves with norms of bias. News media have limited capacity to spread mobilising information, as those kinds of information on media are transmitted with journalistic operations lacking the neutrality. Valenzuela stated that social media, on the other hand, are free from norms of objectivity and were built around personal connections and obviously political purpose. (Valenzuela,2013:925)

3.2.2 The Use of Social Media

In this section, the theoretical concept by Castells, which suggests that a sense of fear, a feeling of overcoming fear is a key element for the conscious collective behaviour and a booster for the collective action.

Castells stated the important point that: “All institutional system reflects power relations, as well as the limits to these power relations as negotiated by an endless historical process of conflict (...). The actual configuration of the state and other institutions that regulate people’s lives depends on this constant interaction between power and counterpower.” (Castells,2012:5) Castells also stated that “throughout history, social movements have been and continue to be, the levers of social change.” The social movements occur usually from a crisis of living conditions that are not fair and unbearable to most people and they are driven by a mistrust to the political institutions. (Castells,2012:218)

OMAS GEGEN RECHTS, Donnerstagsdemonstration and Frauenvolksbegehren are the social movement organisations, which are against the right-wing extreme government. Donnerstagsdemonstration has been set a routine of protesting on every Thursday, and other two organisations, OMAS and Frauenvolksbegehren, have been participating in Donnerstagsdemonstration since the first street demonstration. When the authority of rulers, which is in charge with the public affairs is drawn into a crisis, people try to tackle the problems by themselves, to take actions and to engage in collective actions outside the predetermined institutional channels in order to protect their demands and also to change the authority and politics shaping their lives. Social movements are mostly and historically triggered by emotions

generated from events that help protesters overcome fear and claim against the powers. The emotion triggers social movements is anger. Castells stated that “fear is overcome by sharing and identifying with others in a process of communicative action.” And when anger takes over fear, people could behave in a risk-taking way. As aforementioned, for example, OMAS GEGEN RECHTS risks themselves with assaults by the right-wing groups. The representative of Frauenvolksbegehren has been also targeted by the right-wing for the protective remarks she put on mass-media for asylum seekers in Austria. (Castells,2012:218-219)

Castells also stated that “enthusiastic networked individuals, having overcome fear, are transformed into a conscious collective actor”. Social media shape the process of mobilisation, also “horizontal networks of interactive, multidirectional communications on the Internet”. The important thing is that social movements are established in urban space through street demonstrations, but their ongoing existence is occurring in the free space of the internet. In this internet place, a formal leadership, command, control centre are not needed. This structure of social media maximises chances of participation in the movement. (Castells,2012:220-221)

The social movements nowadays start on the internet social networks, and they function by occupying the urban space. OMAS GEGEN RECHTS has been founded on Facebook, and Donnerstagsdemonstration was also marketed widely on their official website, which was created at no charge by an organisational member of the movement. Castells stated that “the space of the movement is always made of an interaction between the space of flows on the Internet and wireless communication networks.” And he named this hybrid of cyber and urban space as “the space of autonomy”. This space of autonomy is the new form of a space for networked social movements. In the age of the Internet, the social movements are local but also global as they are connected throughout the world by networks. This point has been proven by OMAS GEGEN RECHTS successfully expanded their agendas and activities to Germany, Switzerland and to the USA without being there in person to protest. (Castells,2012:222-223)

The network in the Internet and in the urban space creates “togetherness”. This can be seen from the statements from the statements of Donnerstagsdemonstration and Frauenvolksbegehren that they have a very strong and supportive community on Facebook and Instagram. Togetherness is a key issue for social movements because it will help people overcome anxiety and fear and discover the future hope. Togetherness is a work in progress in the movements, a starting point and the source of empowerment. (Castells,2012:225)

3.2.3 Media advertisement

It is stated that “Most movements need the media, but the media seldom need the movements.” (Van de Donk, Loader, Nixon, Rucht, Hrsg, 2004:30) The movement will be unknown for a large audience without the use of the media. Thus, with the right use of the media, the movement can expand and reach the right audience and potential participants. As a result, Nixon pointed out, some movements tolerate their actions in order to meet the media’s requirements. (vgl.2004:30) “Too many issues are of potential interest for the media, and usually too many groups compete within a given issue domain to secure media attention for each actor involved.” (vgl,2004:31)

SNS has started as a platform for personal friendships or chatting but has evolved into the political sphere. SNS have become places for marketing, e-commerce, education, cultural creativity, media, and socio-political activism: social media is connecting all dimensions of our lives. This trend of sharing is significant for society. (Castells,2012:232) Bodlos stated that “posters and advertisements in print media are the most expensive tolls in Austrian election campaigns so that internet tool such as social media and online advertisement became an established means of campaigning. The election campaign in 2013 has been heavily relied on online tools. All major parties and their top candidates actively operated on Facebook and parties used Youtube by releasing more than 500 videos in six campaign weeks.” (Bodlos,Plescia, 2018:1358)

- “The digital social networks based on the Internet and wireless platforms are decisive tools for mobilising, for organising, for deliberating, for coordinating and for deciding. The role of the Internet goes beyond instrumentality. It creates the conditions for a form of shared practice that allows a leaderless movement to survive, deliberate, coordinate and expand. It protects the movement against the repression of their liberated physical spaces by maintaining communication among the people within the movement and with society at large in the long march of social change that is required to overcome institutionalised domination.” (Castells,2012:220)

SMOs in Vienna such as OMAS GEGEN RECHTS, Frauenvolksbegehren share the same/similar messages, they would rather be active on their own than merge with each other. There are four reactions to frustrating experiences coming from the media, named by Nixon as quadruple “A”: Abstention, Attack, Adaptation, and Alternatives.

- Abstention means resigning because of negative experiences with the media.
- Attack: negative and aggressive reactions to the media.
- Adaptation means the movement accepts how the media works, its own criteria to have more positive effects. The more established movement groups manage to apply this strategy. (vgl,2004:32)
- Alternative means, the movement tries to make an alternative media for themselves to make up for a lack of interest and bias which the established media might be able to bring into. (vgl,2004:32)

We cannot ignore how the relationship between social movements and the media changed over time, as well as the structural and technical changes within SMOs. (vgl,2004:32) Taking the European labour movements in the 19th century as an example, Rucht explained that the major newspapers were no longer a place for particular political issues but a “pluralistic” place open for different views on important matters within the medium. (vgl,2004:33) Other important structural changes are the rise of televisions and radios, which increased the audiences dramatically and its adherence to paid advertisements. These changes affected clearly social movements to reach a broader audience. (vgl,2004:33)

On one hand, mass media diversifies and more open to different kind of political actors. However, the dependency on paid advertisement from big firms pressures the media to report particular issues in a favourable and beneficial way for others and their causes. (vgl,2004:33)

By using SNS, we can reach diverse audiences to attract and involve them in SMOs. It is necessary to understand the use of the internet and social media in social movements. The movements have been first represented with such analogue aids as brochures, leaflets and newsletters to attract people in- or outside the movements. Afterward radio and television, newspapers covered major movement activities. (Rucht,2004:18) Understanding the use of the Internet by social movements and its implications for the citizen mobilisation and SMO formation will be helpful to understand the current social movements in Austria.

Rucht mentioned that ICTs are a recent phenomenon but also have changed rapidly in the past two decades. (Rucht,2004:20) The crucial point of ICTs is the centrality of communication. The movement only has limited financial resources and using ICTs can cut the organisational, logistics, mobilisation costs and also be used as a marketing spot. This streamlines the management processes more effective and cost-wise. Rucht mentioned that we can speculate the quality of SMOs activities and features, and to what extent ICTs are used, by examining the SMOs websites. (Rucht,2004:29) In these platforms, we can get information about issues, ideology, networks and organisations, strategies and forms of activities. (Rucht,2004:29-32)

He also stressed that the ICTs are used especially by two kinds of movement structures: (a) informal networks with a large geographical reach, (b) big, powerful and more centralised social movement organisations. (Rucht,2004:32)

The Donnerstagsdemonstration movement was represented by mass-media in 2000, but by 2018, Donnerstagsdemonstration is rarely on TV but on social media such as Facebook (<https://www.facebook.com/WiederDonnerstag/>) and Twitter (<https://twitter.com/immerdonnerstag>). 21st century social movements in and out of the West are stirred by social media, which are defined as “Twitter revolutions” or “Facebook revolution” such as the Arab Spring revolutions. (Passini,2012:300) The Donnerstagsdemonstration SMO also has their own website as a platform. (<https://wiederdonnerstag.at/>) “New” and “recent” social movements are generally a result of the financial crisis affecting the world of work and the hopes of the younger generations. These generations are the main user of social media. Passini notes that protest such as the 2011 protests in Egypt and Tunisia used by communication platforms such as Facebook with more than 6 million people and combined with different social networking services played a massive role in the protest. (Passini,2012:302)

3. Access to the field/Sampling strategy

I have contacted all three organisations from their official websites to connect with active participants in each organisation. This process of gaining contact was underestimated when approaching the interviewees. The process of getting in touch with the “right contacts” for the interview could take months. In my interviews with each organisation, SMO representatives work voluntarily for the SMO while working full-time jobs except for OMAS. . In an interview from Donnerstagsdemonstration, an interviewee stated that it took time for her to reply back to

set the interview date. She shared the interview request within the group and asked for volunteers, but no one had time to sit 30 minutes for the interview.

On the other case, an interviewee from Frauenvolksbegehren also stated that:

“We are collaborating with lots of different organisations, with d-demo, with magazines and sometimes it is hard to be diplomatic because then they start to say that “You have time on the website and this but not this, and this” and somehow it became complicated. And sometime this is very problematic question when we had this “eintragungswoche” lots of people came and sign then we got comments like “why have you come to – to do this, why haven’t you done this and that -?” We have only 10-20 people at that time and we could not do everything. No one is paying for that either, we are activists who are working for free. At the moment, there was only person who was employed by Frauenvolksbegehren and it was Lena Jäger, the project leader and all other people were doing this for free.” (Interviewee1.2)

Organizers of SMOs have limited time, they are focusing only on answering to the media for more attention and marketing. The interview with the executive from OMAS GEGEN RECHTS was conducted on the phone while she was on the train for a conference. When one wants to get a few interviews from the same organisation, it should be clearly written on the first contact that a few interviewees are needed for the research. Since it is common for these SMOs to be asked for the academic expert interviews (which is irrelevant to their general marketing cause), they might conduct an interview with another interviewer, think that the interview has been conducted and they no longer reply to the researchers.

5. Methodology

5.1 Qualitative Methods- Literature Reviews

First of all, the political background in Austria has been analysed to understand that how Austria had fallen into the right-wing politics, focusing on the period until the first SW/BL coalition and the second SW/BL coalition in 2017. In order to understand the political situation in Austria, academic literatures analysing the politics and the policies of the FPÖ and the ÖVP have been reviewed.

In addition, a short review regarding the first Austrian protest against the right-wing government in 2000, the Donnerstagsdemonstration has been documented to get an idea of how the demonstration had been developed into the current style. The current three social movements in Austria, which are the main focus on this paper and which are mostly against the new right-wing coalition and their goals, political opinions and activities have been clarified

in order to understand the qualitative research, interview analysis in a better way. They share the similar goals, although opinions of each SMO slightly differ from each other.

5.2 Qualitative Methods- Expert Interview Analysis

Semi- structured Interviews were pursued by three major social movement organisations based in Vienna, Austria: Donnerstagsdemonstration, Frauenvolksbegehren, and OMAS GEGEN RECHTS.

All three organisations are active on social media platforms such as Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter. Semi-structured interviews have been prepared during the observation within the period of September 2019 to January 2020. Two to three interviews were conducted with each organisation; one interview with an executive board member is pursued with all the organisations. Interviewees are listed below:

Interviewee 1.1: Frauenvolksbegehren, Social Media manager

Interviewee 1.2: Frauenvolksbegehren, Executive board member

Interviewee 1.3: Frauenvolksbegehren, an activist

Interviewee 2.1: Donnerstagsdemonstration, Executive board member

Interviewee 2.2: Donnerstagsdemonstration, an activist

Interviewee 2.3: Donnerstagsdemonstration, an activist/mobilisation manager

Interviewee 3.1: OMAS GEGEN RECHTS, an activist

Interviewee 3.2: OMAS GEGEN RECHTS, Executive board member

Interviewee 3.3: OMAS GEGEN RECHTS, an administration member

The core ten questions were posed to answer the research question.

- If you ever participated in the other social movements in the past, what is the most unique about your organisation? /Wenn Sie in der Vergangenheit jemals an anderen sozialen Bewegungen teilgenommen haben, was ist einzigartig an dieser Organisation?
- Do you think using social media helps mobilise/organise the demo in a better way? In what context is it inefficient? /Denken Sie, dass die Verwendung von sozialen Medien

dazu beiträgt, die Demo besser zu mobilisieren / zu organisieren? In welchem Kontext ist es ineffizient?

- How do you think that Internet and Social Media help to raise the awareness of potential participants? How do you bring the unconscious (new participants) citizen into your movement? /Wie tragen Ihrer Meinung nach Internet und soziale Medien dazu bei, potenzielle Teilnehmer für sich zu sensibilisieren? Wie bringen Sie neue Teilnehmer in Ihre Bewegung mit denen sie noch kaum Kontakt hatten?
- How is your protest movement being mobilised using internet and social media? Where online do you put the mobilisation info? / Wie wird Ihre Protestbewegung mit Hilfe von Internet und Social Media mobilisiert? Wo stellen Sie die Mobilisierungsinformationen online zur Verfügung? (FB, Instagram, Instastories und mehr?)
- How each social media channel is organised and operated, and what kind of strength does each channel have? / Wie ist jeder Social-Media-Kanal organisiert und betrieben und welche Stärke hat jeder Kanal?
- How does your organisation perceive Donnerstagsdemonstration and other SMOs?/ Wie nimmt Ihre Organisation Donnerstagsdemonstration und andere SMOs wahr?
- How do you use Social Media for fund-raising and promotion? /Wie nutzt du Social Media für Spendenaktionen und Promotion?
- What is your opinion about working with politicians/parties to achieve your goal? Is there any string attached? / Wie beurteilen Sie die Zusammenarbeit mit Politikern / Parteien, um Ihr Ziel zu erreichen? Gibt es dabei einen Nachteil?
- Do you cooperate with activists for social media activisties? / Arbeiten Sie mit Aktivisten für Social Media Aktivitäten zusammen?
- Do you think Social Media is the core of protest movement? (One theory said the programmers and the switchers, those who are in charge of social media are the key player of the social movements. To what context do you agree or disagree?) /Denken Sie, dass Social Media der Kern der Protestbewegung ist? (Eine Theorie besagt, dass die Programmierer und die Vermittler, die für soziale Medien zuständig sind, die Hauptakteure der sozialen Bewegungen sind. In welchem Kontext stimmen Sie zu oder stimmen nicht zu?)

5.2.1 First cycle coding

In Vivo coding was picked for the first cycle coding for its clarity. As In Vivo coding requires the phase of participants sentence for coding, it is clearer for me to pick up the important messages within the transcript to not miss crucial points of each sentence. Saldana stated in his book “The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers” that In Vivo Coding is “appropriate for all qualitative studies, but particularly for beginning qualitative researchers learning how to code data, and studies that prioritise and honour the participants' voice.” (Saldana,2016:106)

5.2.2 Second cycle coding

- Focus Coding: Focused Coding is useful to categorise the data, as it follows In Vivo Coding, (Process and/or Initial Coding) as first cycle grounded theory coding methods. (Saldana,2016:240) This second cycle coding method is the most efficient method for such a big narrative transcript with much information which requires exact tabling of each categories.
- Axial Coding: Axial Coding will be used when the categorising with Focus Coding lacks the clarity or the information could be mapped out in the other way. The categories from Focus Coding can be used to map out the relative categories. As Saldana stated, “one of the ultimate goals from Axial Coding is to achieve saturation. When no new information seems to emerge during coding, that is, when no new properties, dimensions, conditions, actions/interactions or consequences are seen in data.” (Saldana,2016:248)

6. Coding and Action by Analysis

6.1 Code mapping

From In Vivo Coding, the codes below have been successfully collected.

Key-terms found from the code mapping include: right wing movement, against right-wing movement, not a competition, Visibility, showing the support, Frustration, Stay active, to be more presence, to be visible, be free, mobilise other people, lack of people, mobilising people, Invisibility, Social Media is important but not for all, social media is for activists, social media for politicised people, no energy, working for free.

As the coding goes on, the clear structure of work to organise social media for mobilisation and visibility, and their challenges have been revealed. The amount of work we are able to see on social media and the demonstrations on the street are the “visible” work of SMOs. Organizers have an overwhelming amount of “invisible” work to manage social media in order to protest on the streets. It is found from the interviews that people working for these organisations are all volunteers. Participants are quite frustrated and need focus on the management to make everything work. The codes are categorised to Difficulty, Funding, Right-wing movement, Visibility (Persistency), Mobilisation and all-important codes have been sorted out to these categories. To answer the research question, these five categories are used. To get deeper understandings, another chapter has been set to analyse the opinion of each organisation about these issues.

For the second cycle coding (Focus Coding), the transcripts and codes from In Vivo Coding are categorised to these initial groups. The codes categories are listed below for a review:

1. Right-wing movement
 - a. Anxiety
 - b. Life affected by politics
2. Difficulty
 - a. Lacking people
 - b. Cannot please everyone
 - c. Cannot reach everyone
 - d. Slacktivism

3. Funding

- a. Working for free
- b. Social media is a place for information but not for funding
- c. All money goes to equipment

4. Visibility

- a. Different use of social media
- b. visibility on streets
- c. visibility on social media
- d. visibility by old means
- e. importance of persistency

5. Mobilisation

- a. mobilising people by social media
- b. mobilising people by email
- c. difficulties/challenges

6. Other features (further perspectives mentioned in interviews)

- a. social media is for politized people, activists
- b. opinion about working with political parties
- c. Different goals

6.2 Ethical questions

To discuss ethical questions, the first thing which came into consideration was the anonymity interviewees' identities. Since all organisations stand for the left in a political context, there are very specific remarks against the current government and politics during interviews. Thus, the anonymity the individuals is required, since and three interviewees were picked carefully to represent the organisation. It gets more or less personal touch in comments when we interview individuals in person so that their identity is better to be protected.

The second was the fundamental reason for how I pick the interviewing organisations since there are so many social movement organisations active both on social media and on streets. Donnerstagsdemonstration was picked in the first place since it was the very first movement to show the opposition against the SW/BL coalition, which has been again a heated topic since a past few years, and also it was the first movement which was demonstrated in a unique way with music and protests walking over a specific route. The other organisations were thus chosen not only if they are active on social media but also if they somehow cooperate with Donnerstagsdemonstration and contribute to their mobilisation. By choosing organisations which carry similar claims, the analysis of how they use social media (i.e. some organisations

are more active on Facebook than Instagram and vice versa) will be more interesting than comparing some other movements with different claims.

6.3 Challenges

The most challenges while pursuing this qualitative analysis was the language. All three organisations Interviewees were native German speaker, and some words could not be translated to English during the interview. Dannecker pointed out that „selbst wenn die sprachkenntnisse nicht ausreichen, um die forschung ohne Hilfe von ÜbersetzerInnen durchzuführen, sind Grundkenntnisse der jeweiligen sprache in jedem fall von Bedeutung. (Even if the language skills are not sufficient to carry out the research without the help of translators, the basic knowledge of the respective language is always important) “ (Englert, Dannecker,2014:237) When one interviewee switched the language from German to English, it was not easy to follow the arguments without a help of translator. Hence, it is crucially important to learn the language in which the research is conducted.

The second challenge was to set up the interview appointment as it is in the chapter 4. Members of SMOs works voluntarily besides their fulltime jobs. Thus, it is quite difficult for them to find an available time for the interviews. Their priority for interviews is the interview with the media, to advertise their activities to wider audiences. The interviews for academic purpose must be pushed into other available time of their schedule such as lunch or supper time. In this case, the other interviewee who already had an interview with you can help you could work as a key person for you to open the door to the organisation, and it helps you to get an appointment. It is called the “snowball principle” - that is, the referral of new interview partners by already-interviewed interviewees. Englert and Dannecker stated that there is often contact with one or more key persons, which can assist the research and its importance. This key person often arranges contact with interview partners. (Englert, Dannecker,2014:253)

7. Result Analysis – code: Right-wing movement

7.1 “Anxiety”

In this chapter, I will analyse how the political situation in Austria lead the foundation of each SMO. As aforementioned in the former chapters, the political background in Austria deeply affects the formation of social movements in Austria, especially these three social movement organisations which are founded to protest against the right-wing politics in Austria.

The frustration for the right-wing politics was experienced by Monica Salzer as OMAS generation has been in a country that has opened up under Bruno Kreisky in the direction of tolerance and compassion, which is opposed to the period xenophobia. (Salzer,2019:130) The xenophobia trend in Europe started the immigrant since 2015, and the result of United States presidential election in 2016 had peaked the right-wing movements in Europe, leading that the ÖVP/FPÖ coalition in Europe in 2017. The foundation of democracy is threatened in Europe and also worldwide. (Salzer,2019:18) Frauenvolksbegehren was founded for the second time to fight for protecting the people who are affected by the right-wing politics. Interviewee 1.2 (i.e. an executive board member) stated:

- we were thinking that it has been 20 years since the first Frauenvolksbegehren, and lots of things has changed and lots of thing which are on Forderungen are realised so it is good to start it again. And it was a time for right-wing movement in Europe and also Donald Trump became a president, and lots of things were going on so we thought we should start it again. (Interviewee 1.2)

The Donnerstagsdemonstration was also founded for the second time with completely new members. The new team was organised with relatively young generation of around 20-25-year-old. Here we can also see that the Donnerstagsdemonstration was founded again by taking the old concept from the year of 2000,

- I think the most important aspects of D-demo for us is to be against the right-wing movements in Austria and against this regressive politics and lots of our activists are activists of the D-demo. (Interviewee 2.1)

- we have a great 20-25 years old organisation team, but it was more about political situation, which was similar after so many years, to see the country again to vote for the right wing party and it was more like, a couple of months everyone was blocked and in shock so I think we were like, we have the same political interests and saying “What should we do? What should everybody do?”, and you know how it is, we don’t know anymore “ah why isn’t it like we should do it similar to then (demo in 2000) and some said “why don’t we say it is Thursday again ?” so this is the idea, the idea is “es ist wieder Donnerstag” it is the same political situation so it is Thursday again. (Interviewee 2.1)

OMAS shared their opinion about the right-wing politics, which decreases the social care for the working-class people and making more profits to the politicians and farmers.

- one of the main goals during the last two years was fighting against the coalition, coalition between ÖVP/FPÖ which we think is a right-wing party. Even extremely right-wing people from this party have been ministers of the government so it is unacceptable. Also what ÖVP is doing is cutting the right of working people, and so social security is also cut down, they have this ideology, economy is only flushing if you cut down the social security and give lower wages to the people so that they can have the profits. That is not ok. That is not traditional in Austria. We don't want homeless on the street, we don't want old people going through the garbage bins because they cannot afford food, and things like that. We did not have it in Austria, and we don't want it in the future, it is very simple. So, we are watching what is going on, what the government is doing, if again the country goes to this direction, we will make our protest and demonstration against it. (Interviewee 3.3)

From these statements, we can understand that Austrian nation was also threatened by the right leaning politics and three SMOs are founded reacting to the same opponent. Even though their detailed goal was slightly differed, all these three organisations have a common agenda to protect people affected by the right-wing politics and build “a good life for everyone”.

7.2 “Life affected by politics”

A perspective of how the right-wing politics could change the nation's life was shared in the interview as well. the Donnerstagsdemonstration stated that they are giving a space for voiceless people, and people who are truly affected by the government. They make a speech on their stage so that their claims, which are not represented by the right-wing government were spotted during the demonstration. OMAS also stated their threatened feelings that is Austria will have a higher rate of the lowest wage jobs and workers, by decreasing the worker's right. It was stated in the interview, citing “Harz Vier” legislation in Germany, in which people have less periods with social care such as unemployment money and more pressure to look for a job in order to make a living. These are some of a concrete consequence which could happen as a result of the right leaning politics.

- Traditionally the ministry of social affairs was including the social security for unemployment people but now they put it out and put the ministry which has nothing to do with this. And they put Türkis minister, so we are suspicious that they want to take off the allowance for the unemployed people and put more pressure on these people. Make a reform and a model equals very much to Harz vier in Germany and this, the result of all of this, Germany has the highest numbers of low wages jobs in all Europe. This is the consequence of Harz Vier. 15 years ago they made this new system Harz Vier and after 6 months all people has to change to social aids if they have not got the jobs, so they are pressed into jobs which are very low wages and so they cannot afford living on this. They work 40 hours a week, but they cannot afford living on this, those people work 40h a week and they can hardly pay the rent for the apartment. And this is very common in Germany. We don't want it to happen in Austria, so we are looking for what is going on. (Interviewee 3.3)

8. Result Analysis – code: Difficulty

In the chapter of 8 and 9, the challenges that Austrian SMOs are facing have been analysed. It has been found out that SMOs have common challenges and difficulties using social media as a tool for mobilisation. It has been also discovered that there are not enough workers for these three SMOs and all the work have been done voluntarily. Thus, the social media, which is a useful and efficient tool to reach enormous audiences in a matter of a few seconds, works skilfully and productively for these Austrian SMOs. Especially in the chapter 8, the organisational difficulties, i.e. how they organise limited human resources and the frustration of using social media, i.e. how social media is used and what kind of disadvantages social media has had been clarified and analysed. It allows us to understand a hint of facts that social media is a huge promoter of social movements, but it is not a key player.

8.1 “Lacking people”

One of the most frequently heard challenges for all SMOs was lacking workers and their financial sources. All three SMOs were organised and operated by limited number of people who also have a full-time job beside of their contribution to the social movement. This difficulty affects directly the management and operation of the movement. In one interview, the interviewee 1.2 from Frauenvolksbegehren stated that

- Frauenvolksbegeren is quite successful considering organised only by volunteers and working only in their leisure time. We have only 10-20 people at that time and we could not do everything. No one is paying for that either, we are activists who are working for free. (Interviewee 1.2)

In the case of Frauenvolksbegehren, their work in the beginning was quite loaded and intense as it is shared in the interview.

- in May we have only two more months and then we would not need more money and more energy to organise these people but SW/BL government made it in Autumn in October, so we have to be active for 6 to 7 months so we get more money and we need more energy and more people and after summer people started to forget what was happening before summer, and yeah it was done being against us. (Interview 1.2)

From this interview we can see that for the social movement, it is required to react quickly to the controversial event, in this case, was Türkis/BL coalition in 2018. Donnerstagsdemonstration also shared their experience and the importance of staying active although the operation gets difficult.

- we hire no one. We spend no euro on anyone's work. But of course, if you want activists in our group, we had one for website so on, everything was done for free. So I would say everyone was working for any online media was online activists, having learned that before by other activists work or so, and I would say everyone was considered as activists. (Interviewee 2.1)

With limited number of workers and their tight schedule to reacting to the political event, it is required to have a good organisational management. Below chart explains how each SMO organise themselves.

OMAS	An administration team, Facebook team, a WhatsApp's group where they share the information and the mobilisation spontaneously
Frauenvolksbegehren	Clear task distribution, the management, finance and social media team
Donnerstagsdemonstration	Assign 2-3 people for each work and job-rotation

【Figure 6.1 a chart of showing organisational details of each SMO】

Since Frauenvolksbegehren's goal is to get enough signatures to change the legislation, and they have a specific period to work as an official "volksbegehren" (i.e. an official organisation form with which citizen can request the referendum in the parliament), the job distribution is more hierarchical and strictly distributed. In the case of Donnerstagsdemonstration, the job is rotated regardless a person in charge has a job experience or not. OMAS has also an administration team consist of only trusted members and those people oversee checking and inviting new members in. Both Frauenvolksbegehren and OMAS shared the difficult experience of staying active with limited financial resources and workers.

- We have lots of activists, but we also have lots of people, (working for) just for a month and leave, then new people come in, it is a very intensive job. Thinking of it is not like going somewhere but in the end, it is like 10 hours work per week at least you have to be available and everything. Everything is voluntary so it is a lot about how we organise the stuff. You have to organise the person who is very proactive and who has lots of connection and who contacts and knows lots of people, because normally we are like only 5 people who are doing lots of stuff and sometimes they do not have any more energy so it is important to mobilise other people, contacting and writing someone is very important. mobilise other people. (...) You need mobility on the street, you need social media, but you also have to do the finance stuff. You also have to do some writing and negotiating, and all these things are invisible. (Interviewee 1.2)
- We have a gathering with all members once in a month and there we make sure our plan and what we are up to, also like today, if there is a protest we should join, active member would post it on our group and Facebook saying that I am joining this demo, so please join as well- people can join, like today (There are 5-6 participants from OMAS), and it is mostly from our member and spontaneous. There are inactive members as well, they are not coming to the protest, they are busy with something else so they cannot be physically here, but they support us, for example, if we are attacked online, on Facebook and got negative outcomes, they are going to support us by giving a counter discussion or comments, this is how we work. (Interviewee 3.3)
- There are also lots of invisible work all the time, and also from organisation before Thursday we make sure everyone spoke, basically what was drawn, there was always a sketch of places and pictures and then we had a topic, we announce the roots and especially on a specific day we organise ourselves a structure which we follow and which we follow very strictly which is because A. make people understand where they get information, but it also helped us in this workload to fulfil. (Interviewee 2.1)

8.2 “Cannot please everyone”

The secondly most mentioned difficulty was the impossibility of reaching everyone. They must use their limited resources according to their priority. Frauenvolksbegehren shared their experience of cooperating with other organisations in order to make their work visible although it has become complicated since they must assign people strategically and effectively. It is not possible to distribute all the work to limited amount of people.

- We are collaborating with lots of different organisations, with d-demo, with magazines and sometimes it is hard to be diplomatic because then they start to say that “You have time on the website and this but not this, and this” and somehow it became complicated.(Interviewee 1.2)

The difficulty of sharing their opinion with public was also shared in the interview by OMAS and Frauenvolksbegehren:

- (...) our representative was answering interviews at vierundzwanzig (24) about violence against women, and she said it is not immigration problem because there were already violence against women before migration crisis in Europe, ah so question was- “Do you think violence against women situation got worse because of the refugees? “and she said “NO” “it is not like they brought problem here because it was already in Austria.” And this was only thing she said, then she got so many hates from right wing movement, she also said that she would go to the court with that, and she did a whole legal process because she got even death threat, she got so many hates in this case. (Interview 1.1)
- we are trying to keep out someone spying on us, well, it is not so ridiculous, the right-wing radical groups want to do harm, want to make us look ridiculous on social media. In the beginning was not so, Monica Salzer, the founder, she took everyone. Then we started to watch certain people, you know, dismissing them again. the professional spies are coming back with the different name and the different troops, then we are looking up the sites of the people, and there we can see only one picture or always the same picture or only recent pictures, then we throw them out again. It could be they are what do you call it- you have to be careful. They took a street shot of our members and put it on the right-wing websites or FB sites and there they made it ridiculous or said that we are radicals or things like that. So, this is well, dangerous. This is also dangerous for OMAS, OMAS is a closed group, if they put their picture, there is their names, it is easy to find out where she lives. (Interviewee 3.3)

From these interviews we can see that there are constantly in danger of being attacked by the right-wing movement. On social media, the opposition is used to attack these organisations and also specific members in the organisation. In the case of OMAS, the autonomy on social media makes it difficult to distinguish the individuals if they are truly participating the protest or it is something controversial to the organisation. Castells stated that the internet provides the organisational communication platform to translate the culture of freedom into autonomy. “Autonomy refers to the capacity of a social actor to become a subject by defining its action around projects constructed independently of the institutions of society, according to the values

and interests of the social actor. The transition from individuals to autonomy is operated through networking, which allows individuals actors to build their autonomy with likeminded people in the networks of their choice.” (Castells,2012:232) OMAS shared how they are coping with the autonomy of the social media by cross checking their identity and having a very strict evaluation for allowing a new member.

- well we try to get as much information as possible about this person, if there is their name, also if there is a group they are following, so we look through the name of the groups and if there is a suspicious group, I throw them out. I don’t know how the other admins are doing this, but I throw them out. And if I have some doubts, I do my own research on google. We try to cross-check as much as possible. (Interviewee 3.3)
- You need a recommendation from the current member at the moment because -, the right wing hates us and we do not want a fake member, we only want people who are as passionate as us, and who really care about what we are doing. So to be in Omas Forum (membership), yes someone in our group need to know that person well and prove that they are qualified member. If someone who doesn’t know anyone in our group wants to join, - she can always come and talk to us and we can see her idea and passion, then you can be a member. (Interviewee 3.1)

8.3 “Cannot reach everyone”

In the way of how social media works, it is not possible to reach everyone. Instagram has a system that the “posts” and “stories” only show up to the account you follow. Facebook offers to share them with wider audiences, since your “friends” can also see what you have shared, and vice versa. As a result of the qualitative research, it is found out that all three organisations count mostly on Facebook for mobilisations, although this lead excluding people who are not on Facebook or other social media.

- in the way social media is organised, even though lots of people were using it, you do not reach all the people. Because of the closed circle that embedded in social media. So to meet people you never would meet is to meet them physically on the street. The consistency of social life which social media doesn’t give you. (interviewee 2.1)
- yeah, I think it is a really hard part. Well you have to find, maybe like people who have lots of followers to share your stories or you have to pay. But we did not want to do that, because we did not have money because we were not funded by anyone. So, we kind of used our social connection to tell people to share or to invite to our events, or like “please tell people to like our page” so that is kind of. (Interviewee 2.3)
- I can say that we were not so good outside of these media. We have a newsletter group and Email groups, I mean you cannot send 5 emails for one demonstration, it is more obsessive. Social Media is easier, people can click it away. Email is more intrusive so, how do we reach people who were not on an email list? How do we reach people who are not on Facebook but

on our email list? It is the most difficult thing, and that's why we started flyers and posters, not posters but something to get more visibility on the street. not so good outside of SNS, (Interview 2.1)

Hence, it is still required to write individual emails to invite them and also to write and invite the media individually to reach those who are not using Internet and have never been in touch with the organisation.

- We are doing it on Facebook and Instagram, and they are a major thing, supported by so many people. We also write emails to all women's right organisations individually to invite them to the event. We also inform Frauenring- then they publish information about our event, and we also do sometimes APA, Austrian Press Agentur, there you can do something for example, someone writes article about something and everyone (media) has access to it so that they can share about us. We also write to the newspapers such as der standard, Kurier to invite them to the event. It is very important for us to get a media there. Although beside these, it is mostly organised social media. (Interviewee 1.1)

Besides social media it is required to reach the people who are not using social media or people without smartphones. It is a major challenge for the twenty-first century SMOs to reach people who are not using Internet nor social media. Here the importance of old means of media is shared in order to reach those people:

- To reach out potential people, we have first Instagram and also, we protest and do events, offline activities, then the best is if printed media or so reports about us, so that those who are not on social media can also know about our activities. On social media, people are often in their own bubbles. I think both are important. We get different people on Instagram than we get by protesting on the street. (Interviewee 1.1)

8.4 "Slacktivism"

The last interesting challenge which recent SMOs facing is "Slacktivism". Morozov has warned about "Slacktivism" activity that have no effect on real-life political outcomes. Facebook is one of the best examples of virtual types of activism. Valenzuela stated: "The most people who follow Greenpeace on Twitter or Facebook do not participate in offline demonstrations organised by it. It is safe to assume that Greenpeace's social media presence increases the odds of disseminating mobilising information to a larger share of users. And this information is a key to offline information." (Valenzuela,2013:925) The experience has been shared:

- On the other hand, the problem is people get too comfortable and then if they see there are so many people already on social media because they get it on live on social media, then people think oh, we don't need to go it is fine. If many people think that, of course less people show up, like "oh, it is cold today so I just listen to the podcast it is fine", so the protest could be more passive because the people are not showing up. (Interviewee 2.2)
- it has lost momentum, like oh, I can watch the videos and pictures so I don't need to come because I can see everything online, so we don't need to be there. And I think when we didn't have it, people would show up because they would miss out of the experience. (Interviewee 2.3)

It is a pitfall of using social media. Although it is used to mobilise people, in some cases it is ended up comforting some people not to participate in an actual demonstration.

9 Result Analysis- code: Funding

In this chapter, so as the chapter 8, the challenges that Austrian SMOs are facing have been featured and analysed with the focus on financial causes of each Austrian SMO. Donation is one important source for SMOs to develop their activities and demonstrations.

9.1 "Working for free"

The hypothesis was in order to raise enough money to organise such huge demonstrations and stay active on social media all the time, and there must have been a consecutive donor, who donates for the organisations regularly. The interview proved it all wrong. Interviewee 1.2 from Frauenvolksbegehren stated:

- Everything is voluntary so it is a lot about how we organise the stuff. (...) We have only 10-20 people at that time and we could not do everything. No one is paying for that either, we are activists who are working for free. (...) Frauenvolksbegehren is quite successful considering organised only by volunteers and working only in their leisure time. (Interviewee 1.2)

OMAS and Donnerstagsdemonstration also mentioned they have never used social media for fund-raising. Donnerstagsdemonstration stated:

- We hire no one. We spend no euro on anyone's work. But of course, if you want activists in our group, we had one for website so on, everything was done for free. So I would say everyone was working for any online media was online activists, having learned that before by other activists work or so, and I would say everyone was considered as activists. (Interviewee 2.1)
- we were lucky because we have the best graphic designer. And she is a friend of ours and she just did it for free. All of our layouts and websites, and social media platforms. And there were lots of situations things cost a lot, but we were just lucky to know lots of people who do it for

free for us. Like that was also kind of their “donation” to us. Not monetarised but the work is so valuable. (Interviewee 2.3)

Donnerstagsdemonstration stated that they have never done fund-raising. However, they are receiving enough money for the trucks and equipment needed for the demonstration by selling small goods such as T-shirts and Hats, so as OMAS.

- Well, it was kind of fund raising, because you are not allowed to “sell” stuff without having a license. So, it is like “for donation, you get one T-shirt” so we did that, and we also got amount like 50€ or 20€ from individuals, to our bank account we put on our website. So, there were people donating for us, without us even asking them specifically. (Interviewee 2.3)

All three organisations have a bank account number written on their website so that people can donate anytime, other than that they have not used internet for cloud-funding or asking for donation. They see social media as a place for informing and a place for mobilising people but not a place for getting donors. Also, from the interview it can be seen that there are only limited people are working since it is totally volunteer work in spite of the fact that it is at least 10 hour per week work. Only Frauenvolksbegehren did the cloud-funding in the very beginning of their foundation:

- And it started quite small and there was this cloud funding, which we gained – I think 250,000 euro and we started to be bigger and bigger and in May 2018, we had this Unterstützungserklärungswoche, which is like, you have to have 100,000 signs to get this eintragungswoche and we had much more within this week. (Interviewee 1.2)

Although after this, they have not tried cloud funding, but they organised some unique events for “fund-raising”. As it is shared below, they invited the supportive musicians to play for free and all the ticket sales were donated to the organisation.

- We had for example “sommerfest”, about a year ago, there were so many musicians participated and people had to buy 50 euro ticket, but it was a fund raising, charity event, so we got funding from this event, they played for us, all money went to our organisation. (Interviewee 1.1)

The other organisations are also not into getting the funding. They make enough money for them to mobilise and they are not in need for more financial sources. It is stated by the Donnerstagsdemonstration:

- We did not have any funding, so it was more like people helping us out, with speakers and microphones so they just gave it to us because they just show the solidarity. And then videos were made with phones so super easy and low quality, also all for free. When we went online, there were lots of people who said, OK this is really cool, we will donate a little bit of money, which is a little amount but most money we got from these T-shirts. We are not using social

media for getting money, websites and everything we all did it for free. All the work has to be done for free. (Interviewee 2.1)

- Cloud funding, we officially never did it. We did not have Cloud Funding it was just to see in the beginning to see who were interested in donating because when we had t-shirts and something people can share; people always donate via website. It was very nice way of saying that “ah I will take this t-shirt for my child,” and they donate. It was very effective (Interviewee2.1)

OMAS also shared their opinion about getting funded. She insisted that they are not a social organisation which distribute the donation to the people in need, but their goal is to protest against the right-wing politics. They have enough funding by the membership fee, and this covers the trips some OMAS make for the organisation and other financial sources.

- No I will tell you the reason, we don't want to be a kind of social organisation, giving some sort of social aids or so to some specific individuals yes? We want to be a political group we are not supporting people who are in need. So we are not asking for money to do certain things. Till now we have never done it. We have donation, enough to finance for instance, the trips Monica Salzer made to Germany, the last source is she wrote a book and that's a best seller, so a part of this book goes to the OMAS. (Interviewee 3.3)

In all three organisations, people who works there are a volunteer. This means that people at Frauenvolksbegehren, Donnerstagsdemonstration and OMAS GEGEN RECHTS are working without any pecuniary consideration, besides their full or half time jobs. Each organisation stated that all the donation are going to pay for the equipment, in the case of Donnerstagsdemonstration, for the trucks and other instruments, and all the other work such as holding speeches, organising the mobilisation, informing the police for stopping the traffic are done for free by the members.

- We are not funded at all. Basically, all of us work for free. All initiatives are – we needed money for truck, mini truck, music equipment, sounds installation in the beginning we work a lot to get a quality bed, to make people understand what was been sent. So, we needed money besides all technicians work for free entirely. No one earned anything all the money went to equipment. (Interviewee2.1)
- We are not cloud funded. We asked once on social media for equipment or a car, so we ask people out on social media. (Interviewee 2.2)

9.2 **“Social media as a place for information”**

In the interview, it has been clarified that the SMOs take social media as a place for mobilisation and sharing their activities and raising awareness but not a place for getting a donation. Surprisingly, none of three SMOs have raised funding using social media for their activities. They sell some goods at their events and use the donation for all the needs. Frauenvolksbegehren shared their opinion about fundraising by social media as below.

- we haven't raised money on social media so far, I know this function on FB where you can raise money, but we haven't done it so far. It is the place to share our activities and not to get the funding. (Interviewee 1.2)
- Fundraising is also difficult, the most effective way to increase donors, to raise money is via social media. But it is very hard to reach out other people who are not in our bubbles. We are thinking about doing fundraising, now we get money from selling our goods. (Interviewee 1.1)

OMAS stated in the interview also that social media is a place to raise issues and talk about the latest issues, and also where they put mobilisation information and information about their activity, but not a place for raising money since they do have enough funding by membership fees and other small sources of income. An administration member of OMAS shared her opinion as below, that social media is a place for sharing the information, informing people what is going on with the right leaning politics.

- well in our groups, daily there is a very active group, it is not a core group with admin and so but wider groups are active, and these groups are very active, has lots of connection with sources, they put these on FB, lots of OMAS are reading but not actively posting on FB. But they really think it is important to share the information, what the right wing is doing, what is going on and so on. (Interviewee 3.3)
- if we want to have objective information about or some topic I don't go on Facebook but I go on google and check what we have, who is writing what or what other media writing about this topic, the very good tool for this is actually YouTube, they have lots of medias about scientists who talk about several topics, philosophy or economics or social topics, about history and so on. As for donation, we funded as official association and we have members paying members. So, this is kind of the base of our budget we have, and also, we can also pay as a donation to our organisation. (Interviewee3.3)

10 Result Analysis – Visibility and persistency

In this chapter, the online and offline activities of each Austrian SMO has been analysed. This chapter also features on how social media is used and developed in Austrian SMOs, how each social media channel are organised and operated. Also, the different use of each social media platforms (i.e. Facebook, Instagram, Twitter) have been analysed. We can understand that how social media is used to raise visibility, and the reason why the key for successful social movements are the “persistency” which means to be physically on the streets for demonstrations.

10.1 “Social Media Usage”

The question regarding the contribution of social media to the development of the demonstration and mobilisation will be answered by analysing how SMOs use social media.

All three organisations stated that social media is crucial for organising the demonstration nowadays, although it is not possible to reach all people with it.

- We have now a basic group and we organise it within this basic group, or we call people for mobilisation. Then we also post these events on social media, so it became more visible. We don't have 10,000 groups for each event collected using social media, but we have a core group to mobilise all events. (Interviewee1.2)
- Without Facebook it would be very difficult to found this group. Therefore, I went to Facebook and this was very easy. I am not a big fan of Facebook but for this use, Facebook is very good to bring people together. Some OMAS are not on Facebook but now we have a homepage and twitter, Instagram so we can connect. (interviewee 3.2)

Regarding social media raising the awareness of the potential participants, it was agreed by all three organisations that it does raise the awareness and social media is an efficient tool for informing. Interviewee 1.2 and 3.2 shared their opinions:

- I do think social media helps to raise awareness a lot. We got lots of participants because of social media also activists and participants for it. So, this is our core. It is also important every one of us (from Frauenvolksbegehren) share the events and inform with others besides organising. It is very important to have this community management. (...) We normally use Facebook and Instagram for similar purpose. To make our goal visible and be present but Twitter is more like an information channel which is more visible for journalists or people in the media. (Interviewee1.2)

As for the strength that each social media has, we could see the different opinion but mostly agreed on **Twitter is the fastest place** for information, so it is not an adequate place for mobilisation but also more for political elites and discussion. Facebook is a most used platform for mobilisation, all three organisations put the mobilisation information first on Facebook to reach most people. Instagram is regarded as a most closed bubble within the three SNS platforms. This is related to the way how Instagram works, which means that potential participants must be following a similar account in order to see the SMO account as a recommendation, since the post and stories are only appeared on a news field of followers. On the other hand, Facebook still has the system of your “friends” being able to see what you shared and what you liked casually.

- The best we cannot say, because Facebook is also communicating with people and many hate speeches and so on. Facebook should be better. Facebook for communication. (Interviewee3.2)
- I think it was Facebook to be honest. We tried to use Facebook, Instagram and Twitter to share the same information, but Facebook has the event features, so we don't really have that on Instagram, I think that was the most useful tool for us. Because you can schedule when and where. on Instagram, we do the map of where it starts and end, and share it, so we are also big on Instagram. Also, the thing is, FB is a different social group. Instagram is more for younger people, so I think we really try to use both to reach different age group. So, we use both. But I think the most likes and high rates we got on Facebook. (Interviewee 2.3)
- We have the most followers on Facebook, there we have almost doubled as much as Instagram, but we do the most on Instagram. In Instagram community-, yeah, we have the most on Instagram. Twitter is the least important at the moment, we connect and share the most on Instagram, but also on Facebook. So, **Instagram is the most effective tool. Hmm, maybe we should not say that Facebook is less effective than Instagram, but Instagram is the most active channel where you feel the community- people always respond**, share and repost but on Facebook you don't feel this community. Facebook seems to be for a bit older audience and also for whole Austria, but Instagram is especially for Vienna. (Interviewee 1.1)
- We normally use Facebook and Instagram for similar purpose. To make our goal visible and be present but Twitter is more like an information channel which is more visible for journalists or people in the media. (Interviewee 1.2)

Due to the way Instagram works, you can only acquire people who are already following similar accounts. Thus, it ended up having only core supporters or only “like-minded” followers there and losing a chance to reach other possible supporters. The age of followers also differs by each platform. People who are on Instagram are relatively young, mainly up to 30-year-old, and Facebook is used mostly by over 30-year-old. There are still many people who are not using any social media, so that these people must be reached by emails or by call.

- More people are on Instagram nowadays than Facebook and you can post videos and pictures and you know the power if picture is sometimes stronger than texts, Instagram is more, you can work with Instagram more. But if you have an event, you have these event section on Facebook and it is connected to Instagram. So, the core is to use both altogether (Interviewee 1.2)
- I think every channel has different purposes. FB is very communicative, lots of people leave comments, and start discussions, and Instagram is more for uploading pictures and information is very very quick, Twitter is even faster but also highly political. Of course we wanted to have discussion on social media but our main focus was the discussion happening in the demonstration, SNS is for mobilising people to go to the demonstration, but of course people can see and watch the videos on SNS because we put it there, what we spoke and discussed on the demo, so I think there are different level of participation, people can read, people can comment and the next stop will be to go to the demonstration. (Interviewee 2.1)
- I think in general; audiences are very different. Facebook is for much older people who discuss a lot, Instagram is more for fast pictures and sharing, and Twitter is for taking political stand and comments on actuality, also it goes off very fast. Twitter is also for political elites, people who have jobs on politics, Facebook everyone can discuss. I also only look at twitter but not comment, Twitter is also faster than FB. If something happens, on Twitter, people are already talking about it but on Facebook it takes much longer. (Interviewee 2.1)
- D-demo uses Facebook because of the demo every Thursday, Twitter is not suitable for mobilisation, if you post it, it is gone pretty fast, so Instagram or FB are better. (Interviewee 2.2)

Instagram:	Limited bubbles, mainly with core fans, power of pictures
Facebook:	Open for discussion, open for everyone, most communicative place
Twitter:	Interactive, informative, more political, strictly watched by the governments

【Figure 11.1 a table “the feature of each SNS platform”】

Donnerstagsdemonstration assigned most people in social media account, which is 2 workers per account. Frauenvolksbegeren assign 2 people for Facebook and Instagram, and one for Twitter. Since “Stories”, which is a short video post expiring within 24 hours, are very intensive work, one person is solidly responsible for Insta-story and the other is responsible for the picture posts. OMAS GEGEN RECHTS was delegating social media works to students, although basically one OMA is still managing all the social media accounts.

- When we started the demonstration, we had 2 people per platform. But when it is too complicated, we have a group chat on WhatsApp's and if something is urgent, we made it like everyone can post about that issue. Everyone had a password so that everyone could use the account. But we meet once a week and we assign duties for that week, for example we are also filming for the insta-stories, like "ok this week you are doing Instagram, this week you are doing Facebook". It was like yeah-, everyone did everything. Even the oldest members of our organising group started to learn how to use Instagram. (Interviewee 2.3)

OMAS GEGEN RECHTS	2 students + 1 OMA
Frauenvolksbegehren	2-3 people for all SNS accounts
Donnerstagsdemonstration	2 people per account

【Figure 11.2 a table "how many people are assigned for social media management " 】

10.2 **"Social media visibility"**

Each SMO shared their opinion about social media. Frauenvolksbegehren stated that for them, it is also a place to raise an issue which affects some specific people in a negative way, but which was not discussed in public. They use social media to make these controversial but untouched issues visible on social media.

- Frauenvolksbegehren has become an organisation but it is expected to always to take a stand on things, like something happens and lots of people are counting on Frauenvolksbegehren to comment about it. I think it is the same as Donnerstagsdemonstration, they also have a stand, but the difference was the Frauenvolksbegehren does not have a fixed meeting point like D-demo has, so every time something happened, we could discuss it at the demo every week, we could correct the topics and discuss it together at the demo. Frauenvolksbegehren did it right away, and they also must use social media for it. (Interviewee 1.3)

It is also stated that they make a specific social media account for more controversial topic. In the case of Frauenvolksbegehren, one of their claims, (the right for abortion) has been attained more attention in Austria, so that they have created an Instagram account solely claiming for their 7th claim. Here again due to the strength of Facebook, which makes it possible to "like" the posts and "share" them, this claim caught an extra attention by audiences and Frauenvolksbegehren could develop the issue to be more spotted and shared. Social media is also a tool to make some invisible claims more visible and to get reactions to their work and develop their activities.

- we did with keinen millimetre, in the beginning period we reached the politician and we paid social (media) to reach wider audience. Otherwise we also wrote on Facebook differently, because we believe that there are older audience on Facebook so we post different things on Facebook than Instagram. Some posts have really good reactions on Facebook and they are liked and shared well but there are not negative – but not well reacted cases and these could be also posted on Instagram. And we try to post on Instagram from 04:00 PM to 09:00 PM because there are most people online and stories posts hit well if it goes off in these periods. (Interviewee 1.1)
- also (some people) marked us and reposted it. Also, we know so many people in feminist field, so they can also mark us so that we get to share more about us to the world. (Interviewee 1.1)

Responding to the current events is also important in social media, since it is a place with fastest information flow.

- We create the content every day. We plan posts during the campaign, like these topics should be uploaded but we don't set it off. It is very timely, so we check first everyday what is going on in the world today and we create the post. It is important for us to react to current topics. So we have a content meeting to pick a topic, we also do quotes and something in between, but when we do not have a certain topic, we will see the current events, what is going on and create a content. (Interviewee 1.1)

Social media is used for mobilisation and for raising awareness by picking up current topics and controversial issues related to their claims. Also, the visibility of social media is the reason why the social media is utilised and suitable for the social movement organisations.

- We have now a basic group and we organise it within this basic group, or we call people for mobilisation. Then we also post these events on social media, so it became more visible. We don't have 10,000 groups for each event collected using social media, but we have a core group to mobilise all events. (Interviewee 2.1)
- I do think social media helps to raise awareness a lot. We got lots of participants because of social media also activists and participants for it. So, this is our core. It is also important every one of us (from Frauenvolksbegehren) share the events and inform with others besides organising. It is very important to have this community management. (Interviewee 1.2)

Donnerstagsdemonstration mentioned the importance of being on social media and its power to mobilise people. For the very first movement in 2018, they successfully mobilised 20,000 people, which was double as much as their Facebook followers at that time.

- I think nowadays, well it always depends on how important it is to the society as a whole, since social media has become so important, for us and also for the political discourses, politicians also use social media and wants to have lots of likes and high rates and so on. So, I think because of these situations, it has become important for social movements to be present on these platforms. (Interviewee 2.3)

- Because then it seems bigger, like for example, our demonstration site has 10,000 likes but only twice we were successful to mobilise 20,000 people. All other demos were around 4,000-5,000. But since our social media rates are so high, I think people thought or put more importance to our issues because they thought lots of people are supporting us. I think it is also important to be there physically, to be together at the same place and share emotions and so. But also, just to be recognised, you have to have social media, I think. When we demonstrate every week, there were people coming, there were lots of fluctuation, always the same people every week, you could see like different issues reaching different communities so we had their support, but they did not show up every time, only came when someone from their community was speaking and so. (Interviewee 2.3)

10.3 **“Street Visibility”**

It was repeatedly mentioned in the interviews that the most important thing is for the social movements is to protest on the streets to show their claims to the society and also make their claims visible for all kind of people. Social media is a core of the social movement, but it is not the most important core, but yet it is a huge bonus. All SMOs shared their experience of going on a street and getting positive feedbacks. OMAS has their “market day” where OMAS visit the market and talk to people and give out the flyers every week.

- We made a post and mobilised the people whether they liked it or not, we posted about specific activities to make it bigger. By social media activities we got lots of young supporters and we got this target group but also the most important thing for our work was going on a street and talking to people because we get lots of signatures from those who are not using social media (...) so from my experience, we got lots of activists who came from social media activities, they invited their friends to the event or shared the event or we have something on Instagram so lots of people joined because of these activists, they are in the age of between 20-40.(Interviewee 1.2)
- We also do, we call it “Market days” on Friday and on Saturday, many people are going to the market, naschmarkt and several market in Vienna and there we give our fliers and wow it was a big success. So at least we reached the people who are not FB or who are not on Instagram. (Interviewee 3.3)
- And if we go with buttons on the streets or go our tram or so, people ask us or say “hallo, it is great what you are doing” and so on, so we get the feedback like that from the people. And mostly positive feedback. It has never happened to me that I got someone well yelling on me or being aggressive or so. Some people stare and look away or they make positive statements. We have small group which are active, and during summer we went to parts and we talk to people. We made an information sheet and we talked to them so that they can ask questions and so on. We really got good political discussion. Also during the winter time now we will start again things like that and we have a creative group they plan events on the streets, last summer we made statements from right wing moves and we put our papers and then we ask our people on the street or we asked what they think is the right wing thinking or opinion, and they wrote it down Interview in public. (Interviewee 3.3)

Frauenvolksbegehren shared about their opinion about the visibility being on the street. The reason why they attend the Donnerstagsdemonstration is also for the visibility, and to show the support.

- Frauenvolksbegehren to be a part of the d-demo and there was a core team who went to demo every Thursday and being provocative, making some signs and showing also our goals, and 5-12 people went there every Thursday. It is not like complete organisations we are more like working together, also some of us are invited to attend at the talks of D-demo. (Interviewee 2.1)
- (By attending D-demo) I think it is about the visibility. Other thing is to show the support for D-demo and also to show that lots of people are not agreed with the government, what they are doing. (Interviewee 2.1)

The Donnerstagsdemonstration shared their experience as well: they have 70 percent female speakers on the demonstration and the half of all speakers have a migration background on purpose for the visibility, to include those who are not represented or supported by the right-wing politics.

- we always have 70 percent female speakers and minimum 50 percent with migration backgrounds so we really make sure it is an affirmative action and it is very powerful so many amazing people are classically speaking or visible. (Interviewee 2.1)

There is another visibility created by SMOs. Frauenvolksbegehren tries to be visible also in the parliament since their goal is to change the legislation. The Donnerstagsdemonstration plays music between speeches for more attention and inclusion of all kinds of people.

- it is always important to use only techno. It was a nice concept because it made people empowered, like I will take it on the street and dance my frustration off. We had a lot of people who were sincerely affected by the government. Even for some instance people without papers or with papers, feeling deportation constantly, and you can see they in the end were being on the stage, in the stage they feel safe and be visible while you are being invisible all the time, it is also an important thing for a way of, ah- rhetorical way. (Interviewee 2.1)
- this September (September 2019), we started the big protest in front of the parliament, and we gained lots of visibility from the media, it was even on ZIP, ZWEI. So, we have many journalists who we work with but it is also our goal to get into different media. (Interviewee 1.2)
- We had one or two parties where we invited people after the demonstration, but in general we started the demo 1800 in the evening and then we have speeches and then we play a bit of music and we went through the cities and we have music between. Then we stop somewhere, and we have speeches again. this party between, making techno music is also protesting. (Interviewee 2.2)

10.4 “Old means of visibility”

The old sources such as flyers and newspapers, and other media have been also regarded as important means for raising awareness.

- Also for example, 20 years ago, when you have to tell people “let’s go to the demo” so, if you don’t wanna pay and if you don’t want to fall in the rubble of the advertisement, you still have to use your social connections. (Interviewee 2.3)
- Because in the 70s there were maybe only newspapers and alternative prints so on, and they printed out the flyers and be visible. Actually, we noticed that we did not do enough flyers. It is very important to do old means, if you only rely on social media you will be missing lots of people. (Interviewee 2.1)

【Flyer 1: An example of a flyer by Frauenvolksbegehren】

25.11. - Internationaler Widerstandstag gegen Gewalt an Frauen

Komm/t zur

Frauendemo

Mo. 25.11., 16.30h

für Frauen, Lesben, Migrantinnen

Treffpunkt: Broda-Platz (Westbhf.)

gegen Frauenmorde
gegen Vergewaltigungen
gegen Kriminalisierung von Abtreibung
gegen jede Form sexistischer und rassistischer Gewalt
gegen Gewalt an Frauen durch Staat, Polizei und Militär
gegen imperialistische Kriege, Kapitalismus und Patriarchat

Jeden Tag werden weltweit 137 Frauen durch männliche (Ex)Partner oder Familienangehörige ermordet. Und täglich sterben weltweit 129 Frauen an verweigerter medizinischer Versorgung aufgrund kriminalisierter Abtreibungen.

2018 wurden in Österreich 41 Frauen ermordet, 2019 bereits 18 Frauen. Von diesen Femiziden sind zusätzlich auch Kinder direkt betroffen, wie in Kottlingbrunn und auch solidarische Angehörige und Bekannte, wie in Kitzbühl. Der Hintergrund von Femiziden ist patriarchales Besitz- und Herrschaftsdenken, denn die kapitalistische patriarchale Weltordnung verwehrt den Frauen ein eigenständiges Leben.

Diese Frauen kämpfen um ihre Freiheit. Wir werden sie nicht vergessen. Wir kämpfen weiter.

Wir erfahren alltäglich sexistische und rassistische Übergriffe und Gewalt. In Österreich ist u.a. fast jede 3. Frau mit sexueller Gewalt von (zumeist bekannten) Männern konfrontiert.

Weltweit kämpfen Frauen gegen Ausbeutung und Unterdrückung, gegen Patriarchat und Kapitalismus – u.a. in Chile, Mexiko, Bolivien, Nigeria, Libanon, Republik Südafrika. Und aktuell findet ein imperialistischer Krieg gegen die Frauenrevolution in Rojava statt – durch das türkische Militär und nationalistisch-religiöse Soldner – und unterstützt durch Waffenlieferungen und Gelder von EU, USA, Russland u.a. Kämpfen wir gemeinsam mit den kurdischen Frauen für die Freiheit aller Frauen.

Frauen verteidigen Rojava!

Frauen - gehen wir gemeinsam auf die Straße - für feministischen Widerstand und feministische Solidarität - hier und weltweit.

Es rufen auf: Frauenstreik, Yeni kadın, SKB, Avesta-kurdische Frauen in Österreich, ADKH, KOMintern, FZ-autonomes feministisches FrauenLesbenMigrantinnenZentrum, WENDO-feministische Selbstverteidigung, Rotes Frauenkomitee, u.a.m.

Veranstaltungen

Sa 23.11.2019, 14h
Flughafen Schwechat
Demo gegen Abschiebungen
Treffpunkt für eine feministische Vernetzung: 12h Cafe Westend (Westbhf) und dann gemeinsam mit dem Bus

Mo 25.11.2019, 13.30h
Minoritenplatz vorm Bundeskanzleramt
Kundgebung: Schau nicht weg!
Für 1 von 5 Frauen ist das Zuhause der gefährlichste Ort
One Billion Rising Austria (OBRA) zeigt eine Neuaufnahme von der künstlerischen Intervention STAND-IN. Im Anschluss werden Betroffene und Vertreter_innen verschiedener Opferschutzinstitutionen sprechen.

Mo 25.11.2019, ab 16.30h
Broda-Platz (Westbhf)
Frauendemo zum 25.11.

Mo 25.11.2019, 20h
FZ-Bar, FZ, 1090 Währingerstr. 59/6;
Für Frauen
IN DOOR-Veranstaltung zur 25.11.
„Amazonen - Über die Pionierinnen der Genderngerechtigkeit“
20:00-Offenes Buffet: Lateinamerikanischer Essen auf Spende-Basis
20:30 - Kurze Statement über die Amazonen in spanischer und deutscher Sprache

Fr 29.11.2019, 19h
VHS 10, Ada-Christen-Gasse 28
Theaterstück „Zabel“ 6 Frauen. 1 Theaterstück!
Türkisch mit Deutschem Untertitel.

Sa/So 30.11./1.12.2019
FZ, 1090 Währingerstr. 59/6;
Für Frauen
WENDO-feministische Selbstverteidigung
Grundkurs - gegen Sexismus handeln
Anmeldung: wendo.wien@gmx.at

So 8. 12.2019, 15h
EKH, Wielandg
Informationsabend von Frauen- und -organisationen zu den Schwerpunkten: **Selbstverteidigung gegen Gewalt an Frauen; Auswirkungen von Rassismus und Faschismus auf Frauen; Angriffe auf die Frauenrevolution in Rojava.**

Der 25.11. - Internationaler Tag gegen Gewalt an Frauen wurde 1981 bei einem autonomen Frauentreffen lateinamerikanischer und karibischer Feministinnen initiiert – im Gedenken an die Folter und Ermordung der drei Schwestern Patricia, Minerva und Maria Teresa Mirabal am 25.11.1960 durch den dominikanischen Geheimdienst.

16 Tage gegen Gewalt - Am 25. 11. starten die 16 Tage gegen Gewalt an Frauen und Mädchen. Im Kampagnenzeitraum zwischen dem Internationalen Tag gegen Gewalt an Frauen und dem Internationalen Tag für Menschenrechte finden auf der ganzen Welt Aktionen statt. Veranstaltungen im Rahmen der 16 Tage findet ihr unter:
<https://www.aof.at/index.php/component/events/month/calendar/2019/11/01/>

Since social media is only open to those who use it, in order not to miss out other audiences, the current SMOs still must distribute the flyers, and also, they are eager to be picked up by paper-based media. Their experiences were shared as below:

- one thing is meanwhile, many many media and newspapers are making photos and doing interviews so in last years, Monica made so many interviews yes? Always repeating the stories and our goals. So, people can read it on the paper. (Interviewee 3.3)
- Ok, so usually when there was something going on, politics or our special agenda or new projects, press conference and we invite journalist to write about it. We have lots of journalists to cooperate with, so they are somehow writing something about us. But in the end, it is like, we have to be very visible to be inside of the media. (Interviewee 1.1)

10.5 **“Persistency”**

The most important thing for social movements is going on the streets and its persistency. Social media helps to achieve this goal but going on a street consistently whether there is a large number of participants or not. The Donnerstagsdemonstration stated:

- The most important thing is persistency. We discussed this so many times, If we go every Thursday, whether it is rainy or not, cold or not. If you then start worrying about the numbers, you really become totally freaked out about the number outputs but no, it is very important that it was steady, it was always there and it is dedicated to the people either it is 1000 or 2000, it would be also awful to say everyone has to come every Thursday. (Interviewee 2.1)
- Persistency. it is a very obvious one. Less obvious one is we really changed the political culture of speaking like this totally effective quota, we really made sure 70 percent women and 50 percent of migrant background people to come into foreground, who do not have the stage, Persistency result change. (Interviewee 2.1)

They did not need a social media since the concept of “every Thursday” was so established. OMAS also stated that they regard their “Market day” very seriously and they visit some markets in Vienna very Friday and Saturday to engage with people. Frauenvolksbegehren shared their experience and the difficulty of staying active for a long time as below:

- almost half a million people signed, and we went to parliament for discussion four times but nothing of our claims became real, became laws, so in the end it was a bit disappointing being denied, designated. It is not only the questions about policy change, but it is about stay active and educate people and show them there are other way of things than which are going on now. And then it could be laws, or reality. You can’t stop even though it (laws) has not been changed. (Interviewee 1.2)

- Frauenvolksbegehren has this focused goal to go to a parliament and to change this very complex society. So, this is not just one strike saying we are for this or we are against this, which is easier to sell somehow but we have this complex way to see the society and complex way of changing it. It was very hard to communicate somehow. So, this is I think something extraordinary for us, but we still did it. (Interviewee 1.2)
- Besides these the most challenge is to stay active and not to lose hope and energy while doing this 2 year of activist work. I think it is easy to have small goals and stay active for short term, 2-3 months to achieve it but it is quite difficult to be active almost for 2 years. You have to mobilise the people and you have to stay focused on the goals, groups and social media and you always have to find a person who is responsible for each task. (Interviewee 1.2)

Donnerstagsdemonstration stated that the most important thing for social movement is to be a persistency. They had established the demonstration on every Thursday, and it resulted in the successful mobilisation without social media. They have built a strong collective identity so that people outside of the organisation started to help them with some of tasks. The demonstration place has become a place for like-minded people to meet up and share their experiences as well.

- We post regularly and on Facebook, we can also see how many people are coming, but the thing is, our demo was, in the beginning on Facebook lots of people said “going” or “interested” but then in the middle of the year, there were not so many “interested” on FB but they just came, you know because, at some point, every Thursday was so established and they knew they don’t have to press “interested” but they just look up the location and came. It was interesting how social media performed less in the middle term, but the people were the same, or the even more because it was so established. (Interviewee 2.2)
- But also, what was beautiful was, people started to organise by themselves. Like the one with yellow best, the security, there were people who came every week and they just started their own WhatsApp’s chat, and organise themselves for some things, like “OK, we have people for next week, so you don’t need to worry-“, so yeah it is so nice. They just contacted us and said, yeah, “We can do this every week.” And also, in winter people would serve tea and it was also self-organised, people brought a carriage and served tea. Yeah it was so nice, and it is the things which won’t happen on social media. It is a special kind of feeling (Interviewee 2.3)

11 Result Analysis – Mobilisation

In this chapter, the fundamental research question “Is social media a core of social movements?” has been answered and the main use of social media have been clarified. The main purpose of using social media is to mobilise more people to the streets so that they can share the “collective identities” and “collective issues” physically and emotionally together. Also, how each SMO uses each social media platform for mobilisation, and their preference of social media have been analysed.

11.1 “Social media as a tool for mobilisation”

They use social media for the visibility of their claims and activities. Also, their main focus is mobilisation when they use social media. As aforementioned, social media is a tool to mobilise people efficiently. It has been clear by interviews that sharing between “friends” after seeing the mobilisation posts has been an important mean for SMOs to mobilise people. That information is posted mostly on Facebook and on Instagram, but it is expected that not only people who saw the post will participate.

OMAS GEGEN RECHTS who constantly participates in Donnerstagsdemonstration, also use social media for mobilisation cause. It is stated in the interview that they can’t imagine that how people have done the mobilisation before the age of the Internet.

- Social media is a very good media to mobilise. Information goes very fast. (Interviewee 3.3)
- the first thing when the group was founded, we had Facebook, that was the first, then we had Twitter, January 2018 we launched the website. And we are using all these platforms now, parallel. Because there are many OMAS who are not member of FB so they avoid FB and but they are going to be informed. We have WhatsApp’s group too but (if we post mobilisation info) on FB we get more people. The main members are on FB. We have to cross contact on FB. (Interviewee 3.3)

Donnerstagsdemonstration also use social media for mobilisation, and it is the main means for them for the mobilisation. They do have other concerns that they are not so good at mobilising people besides using social media, which have people who do not use Internet/Social media or who do not have smartphones left out of the community. They also have most people assigned for social media accounts and tasks are distributed in detail.

- I wouldn't say (Social Media) is better. Just different. I think you can reach more people with the issues. And since newspapers and the media today do not write so much about the demo, even though it is quite big, I think they don't put so much importance into them. But they got so huge in social media and it shows that people are interested in our issues and things we are talking about. So, it is kind more bottom up, you use social media, -well, you have algorithm though, if you don't wanna pay, but you can use social media without having to connections to the newspaper. But it is easier to mobilise or reach more people, it was more like knowing friends and calling people before. So, it has gotten easier. (Interviewee 2.3)
- yes, we use social media for mobilisation, we use Instagram and twitter, we are also very disciplined during the demonstration. We are 20 people in the management constantly working for keeping things going, communicating with the police, and others are on twitter, others are instagraming, others are Facebooking, others are taking pictures and videos Social media for mobilisation. (Interviewee 2.1)
- In general, social media is not our main focus but our bonus, but the main thing is the demonstration every Thursday, but it really helps to mobilise so that people can join and to be recognisable, people know how D-demo looks, our Instagram, so it is more accessible. Because they just come to the page and know "where it is taken place today, ah there, ok" so it really helps. Also, we post a podcast of the speeches afterwards so that people can hear and follow it after the demo, which is super nice. (Interviewee 2.2)

Social media is the best tool for mobilisation since the information goes very fast and it reaches a great number of audiences and potential participants in a matter of a few minutes. Here it is again insisted that social media is for "mobilisation" but the most important thing is not the number of the followers but those who show up and participate in the demonstration.

- In Frauenvolksbegehren there are so many ways of mobilising, the goal was not only to mobilise people and go to the demonstration, but the goal was to get signs for the referendum, taking and sending pictures, and being active online. their goal is changing the law. (Interviewee 1.3)

The preference of social media platform each SMO does not correspond. Frauenvolksbegehren shared their opinion about Instagram and Facebook.

- More people are on Instagram nowadays than Facebook and you can post videos and pictures and you know the power if picture is sometimes stronger than texts, Instagram is more, you can work with Instagram more. But if you have an event, you have these event section on Facebook and it is connected to Instagram. So, the core is to use both altogether. (Interviewee 1.1)

Since it was expected for Frauenvolksbegehren to quickly react on issues oppressing socially vulnerable people, they also take their Instagram activities very seriously. In the interview it is mentioned that they have core fans and a great supportive community on Instagram, so that it is a special platform for them to share wider and more controversial issues with audiences.

- The most important thing is if there is an event or issue, we are very fast to react to it. We make a post with a statement regarding women's right and post it and so on. And people who searched, saw it – share it and that's how we get more members. Because if we post something sharable and if people who saw it, think it is cool, they share it in their stories and the post is spread to more people and we also do it for champagne or if we are doing something specific topic no one is speaking about-, people repost our post. (Interviewee 1.1)

To include people who are not users of social media, they write emails, or they also invite media to make articles about them so that those people could be passively reachable.

- For events, we use Facebook, we post it on Twitter and Instagram that we have a Facebook event but yeah, we do it on Facebook. There we can see who is coming, who is not coming, also participants can write email to us, so it is sure. (Interviewee 1.1)
- The most successful one was with media, it was spotted on so many newspapers and on TV, it was the second week of January this year, and there were not so many participants but there were so many media, we did something to create a photo, but it was shown on any media, it was not an event where people must be mobilised, we played a performance in open space and so many media came and did live recording and share it so on. We invited the media for this event. It is very important for us that media picks it up and share it- that is how we got to be known. Ah also, there was ah-, Frauenvolksbegehren discussed in the parliament, and it was discussed twice. At first, it was discussed in a really small room where only a few people got a place there, and there we got a reaction, this is a thing, so it needs to be discussed in a bigger room with more people. We managed to mobilise so many people to this event and people who participated in this event take a video or pictures and share it often on social media so that our activities got spread widely and we got a huge reaction on social media. (Interviewee 1.1)

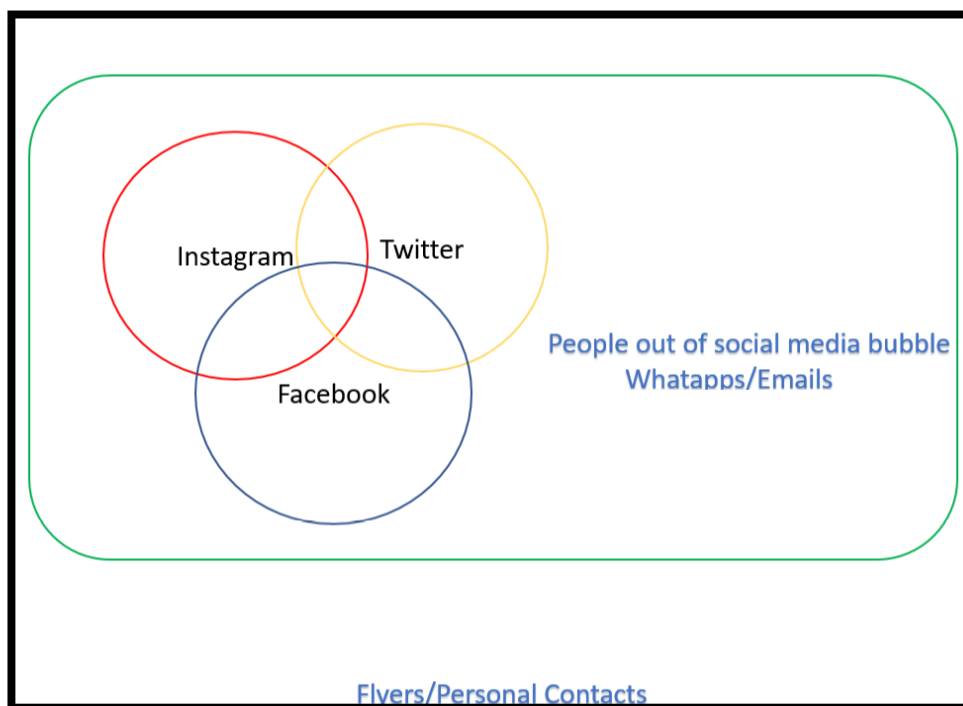
They also invite celebrities or famous figures for mobilisation, taking videos and making posts about it on social media.

- I would say our very first Donnerstagsdemonstration mobilisation was successful because we had to do it out of nothing. So it was very very demanding because we had to ask a lot of celebrities, actors, singers and general people who are active or who want to get active and we created videos, and everything, we did a lot of facebook posting, so that was definitely – ah our biggest mobilisation, it was out of nowhere, - we became very big, very fast actually. We used political celebrities, singers who are left as well. (Interviewee 2.2)

11.2 “Emails/WhatsApp’s”

One of the main tools to reach out those who are not on social media is emails and WhatsApp’s. Frauenvolksbegehren and OMAS have their own OMAS group and there they discuss if they participate in other demonstrations. (i.e. Donnerstagsdemonstration and others)

- Yeah we write in our groups, so that everyone from our organisation accounts knows and it will be if we have something very important which we have to be there, we are also doing the calling asking “Please come” or “Could you come -?” and lots of people are coming. Mobilising people, writing people. (Interviewee 1.2)
- on WhatsApp’s called FFD, we were discussing there who will attend the demo and who will buy signs etc and we usually meet a few hours before and we prepare the signs and everything and then we will go to the demo. (Interviewee 1.2)
- but normally we have Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and also our member Forum, so that we share protest information mainly on Facebook and in our WhatsApp’s group and whoever has time, will join. For example, joining the d-demo today was my idea, and I posted in our Forum group. Tomorrow is the same, we also share that we are participating in d-demo on our SNS channel (Instagram, Facebook etc) but mainly on Facebook. (Interviewee 3.3)



【Figure 12.2 a diagram of social media audiences overlap】

11.3 “Challenges”

The difficulty of mobilising people on social media is to evaluate the number of participants. Facebook offers a great source to organise an event, where they can invite people and see if they are “participating” or not, or “interested” to come. This is a great way to see the scale of the event beforehand so that they can organise the event efficiently. However, this could be a demerit of using social media for mobilisation. Frauenvolksbegehren shared their experience:

- The difficult thing is, it is not possible to control how many people are coming and so on, there was a case more people came than planned so we needed bigger space, or on opposite, less people came because they said they would come on SNS feed but they did it for support or promotion, but some do not show up, it is usual. Once we had an event, it was actually a very successful event, there were so many people said they would be coming so that it would not have been possible to do the event, because we could not book any bigger place and it would be too much people for this room, but in reality only good amount of people participated so that we could fit in the rented place, and also we had a few seats left so that more people could have come actually. We think that some people did not come because on Facebook saying that there were so many, too many people are coming. But yeah, this is always one difficult thing. (Interviewee 1.1)

Donnerstagsdemonstration stated:

- I think everyone knows that you cannot expect the number of people for example on Facebook to come but we would say the minimum people who said that they “come” on Facebook we had more people on the street. For example, if there are 3000 people coming on Facebook, we got more. I think it is a mix between people bringing friends and calling each to say are you going to the demo and where is the location. (Interviewee 2.1)

12 Result Analysis – Further perspectives

In the chapter 13, the further perspectives collected in the interviews have been analysed. These perspectives help us to understand the stance of Austrian SMOs in working with political actors and speaking out political factors on social media. It has been found out that social media is most useful for politicised individuals and communities. Also, the different characteristics of each Austrian SMO have been clarified in this chapter.

12.1 “Social media for politicised communities”

Valenzuela stated, “Having stronger interests in political matters can also increase the chance of being motivated to join protests.” (Valenzuela, Arriagada, Scherman,2012:305) And “there is plenty of evidence in both developed and developing countries suggesting that people who engage in civic and political activities, including protest behaviour, are frequent users of social media.” (Valenzuela,2013:921) Social media improves collective action such as providing mobilising information and news not available in other media, facilitating the coordination of demonstrations, allowing users to join political causes, and creating opportunities to exchange opinions with other people. (Valenzuela,2013:921) In the interviews, it is often mentioned that social media is for politicised people. In an interview it is stated that:

- I would say if you have no political interest, social media is nothing. So basically, social media is one tool or instrument, which is democratic because you can implement it relatively fast, out of blue, you can be there. But I don't see that in social media there is more protest power than times without social media. What we need is politicised people. (Interviewee2.1)
- I am actually not sure on one hand, social media people just repeat everything but of course it is powerful, social media is in general very powerful, I know some people who are politicised only because of the social media. Instagram, who I am now working with. Instagram has lots of influence so as other social media, it is not what I stand for, but it has lots of power in general. (Interviewee 2.2)
- so from my experience, we got lots of activists who came from social media activities, they invited their friends to the event or shared the event or we have something on Instagram so lots of people joined because of these activists, they are in the age of between 20-40.(Interviewee 1.2)

From this perspective, it can be said that social media is for activists, who raise an issue and try to make a difference on social media. In Valenzuela's word, “From a social perspective, individuals are more likely to be recruited into political activities, including protest activities, if they are members of groups such as unions, NGOs, and professional organisations.” Since these organisations can provide an intuitional contextual support of political actioned

“Individuals material, psychological, and social resources have been shown to be strongly associated with protest behaviour. Members of dominant groups are more likely to participate in protests because they have more time and perhaps greater communicative and organisational abilities. “(Valenzuela, Arriagada, Scherman,2012:305-306)

- There was a case with “true fruits”-, true fruits was doing a marketing, super sexist and racist, and Christian Berger was the first one who criticised it in the media, because it is one of our claims, the media should not be sexist or racist-, and whenever they repost it they marked Frauenvolksbegehren or Cristian Berger, so there we got so many new followers and supports because people were outraged about it. (Interviewee 1.1)
- So, I think (social media) is for the activists, it might be true but for signatures it is not. It is important to go on a street and talk to people. (Interviewee 1.2)
- I think it is one way of being active, if it is a shift from offline activism to online activism, I would be against it but I personally think it is one way of being active. But I think in general it is a good thing because online world is so big, but with Donnerstag, we have not worked with activist particular, as we work with them online but there was no focus on it. (Interviewee 2.2)

12.2 **“Working with political parties”**

Frauenvolksbegehren	OMAS	Donnerstagsdemonstration
For working with political parties	Politically independent (but members can spontaneously work for the parties)	Politically independent

【Figure 13.2 A table of showing the stance of each SMO working with political parties】

There are different opinion about working with political parties. On their official websites, it is stated their “Parteiuabhängig” (Independent from political parties), although each SMO has a unique opinion about working with politicians. Frauenvolksbegehren stated:

- I think it is good to work with a party because they really have a power to change something and if you want to change something, you should discuss, you should communicate with people, we also should be close to other parties so it is kind of a process. (Interviewee 1.2)
- We need political parties because we want these claims to be realised. (Interviewee 1.1)
- I think we really have strong community. Half a million people signed us. We really do have a good connection with political parties, because they cannot ignore us since half a million people signed us. We can put pressures on them. Even Frauenministerin (Minister for Women) of ÖVP said “We cannot go over you.” And I think that’s it. (Interviewee 1.1)

Since the goal of Frauenvolksbegehren is changing the legislation, they are more open to work with political parties who share the value with the organisation. However, they do not have a specific party to work with, and in this sense, they are “independent from any parties”.

- Frauenvolksbegehren had lots of politicians who supported the organisation but Frauenvolksbegehren did not support any party. (Interviewee 1.3)
- We invite them for a talk to discuss certain issues, also we are in contact with Frauenministerin. The current one is doing a project with us. We have to talk to politicians to keep and raise the issues, they do not come to us. We reach them by writing them, also Lena has a wide and good connection with political actors, but Christian does reach out, and like cooperate with them. We do it again soon since there will be a new government. (Interviewee 1.1)

As for OMAS, the commitment to civil society should always distance itself from the ruling and also from its parliamentary opposition. Each member of OMAS GEGEN RECHTS has her own political party preference. Some members are for the Green Party and some members are supporting NEOS, and it is completely free which party to support. (Salzer,2019:93) In the interview the story is shared that they try to talk with politicians and they also tried to discuss with the right-wing parties but it did not end well. Also there are members who used to vote for conservative parties.

- well we tried to but the right-wing politicians, they did not answer us, they did not answer the letters and so. Meanwhile it has changed a little, for instance, in upper Austria and Linz, the group there they have a very active leader and she wrote letters protesting against certain things to the chief of the region, landeshauptmann, and this he started answering letters. This is kind of something new. But on the social democratic side, the left side, we have a lot of members of green politicians ja? They are just OMA members, also a lot from SPÖ because we are a left organisation. We are not conservative right. But in the beginning Susanne Schöl, the second funder of the movements, she was invited to the interview and one of the first one was the leader of the SPÖ. But we are not all SPÖ or Green party, we have lots of OMAS who used to vote for the conservative parties too and another principal is we are strictly non-party politics. OMAS per se is not a political party connected. (Interviewee 3.3)

the Donnerstagsdemonstration shared their opinion about working with politicians with a clear statement of being independent from the parties and the demonstration is a place for the voiceless people to speak up and mobilise people who support it.

- In our demo we did not do that. But for instance the demo after Kurz government was stepped out, there was a coalition of different demos all together, social democrats, the greens, then we always collaborate, the d-demo was already there, not for politicians who have the stage to speak up but for those who do not have the stage. how many speeches do you hear in the demo? – 6. That is what we found out- politicians should speak in any space but not in this kind of fragile, minimum space we wanted to make for those who are not speaking up. (Interviewee 2.1)

- Donnerstagsdemo do not work with politicians, not at all, it has nothing to do with political party. In d-demo organisation, we are like 30 people and some of us, 2-3 are now organising a political party, but it was not connected to Donnerstag at all. Some people associated with d-demo, but the party has nothing to do with D-demo. We are 100 percent independent; we are not behind any party. (Interviewee 2.2)

They shared their view in the interview below. They are not working with political parties, but they are also highly political but aiming at overall influences.

- I would not say actually, it is just differently political, what we always did was criticising the government, but at the same time, every speech gives different solution, there are lots of really poor people speaking there who are highly political also, the view of donnerstag is also highly political, experiencing racism or sexism, and you can talk about it because you experienced it and it is very very powerful, and very very political but we are not going to the parliament like Frauenvolksbegehren and we are not intended to, so we are just differently political. We are more for overall influence. (Interviewee 2.2)

12.3 **“SMO characteristics”**

From the Interview analysis, it is clear that Frauenvolksbegehren has a specific purpose for their mobilisation and activities, which is to get signatures to sign up for the referendum. They have a limited period to collect the signatures so that their tasks are assigned very a more precisely and work in a concentrated way. Donnerstagsdemonstration has a wider and open work environment where people rotate their work and take time to learn.

- But in the end, when we did this Vorderung, there are very intensive demand for antiabortion, so we founded keinenmillimeter, to be more presence. In the end, the combination of these nine agendas are the most important thing about Frauenvolksbegehren and this is what distinguish us from different groups, like you have to do it all to change something. (Interviewee 1.1)
- Frauenvolksbegehren is very much like an organisation, which is very important for Frauenvolksbegehren. And I could easily get in and help and give them benefits I have, but it is also hierarchical. There is a high team which has organisational structure and sometimes harder and easier, because it is clear this is what I can do and this is what I cannot do, which is very important for Frauenvolksbegehren, because it is one year thing or one and half year thing until the referendum. So, it was different. (Interviewee 1.3)
- So it is super non-hierarchical, everyone did everything and we also rotate it, so I did it like social media once, and then I sold T-shirts another time and I made a speech other time and I also organise a car so I learn different things, it is also participative, without experience we learn by doing it, and there is a lot of trust from the others, so it was very very nice. We can also see if we do some things inefficient way, we can switch it. It is very nice to change for good all the time. Also considering social media, at fist there are two people doing social media, and how we did social media was very similar all the time, so we decided to do social media little differently, so we are not too perfect and we are not business, and also our concept was not be too much serious about it,- we are not start-ups or business. (Interview 2.2)

Salzer stated that “The beginning of OMAS GEGEN RECHTS was associated with a clear idea. I would like to be on the road with older women, who come from different cultures and are not a member of any political party. The member believes any religion; Muslim, Jewish or Christian, or atheist. We share a common commitment against the right-wing extremism and parliamentary democracy. “(Salzer,2019:92) OMAS is an organisation which is relatively left-wing, although they work as a neutral buffer between the left-wing radicals and the right-wing politics as well. The story about “black block” was written in Monica Salzer’s book, and it was also shared in the interview.

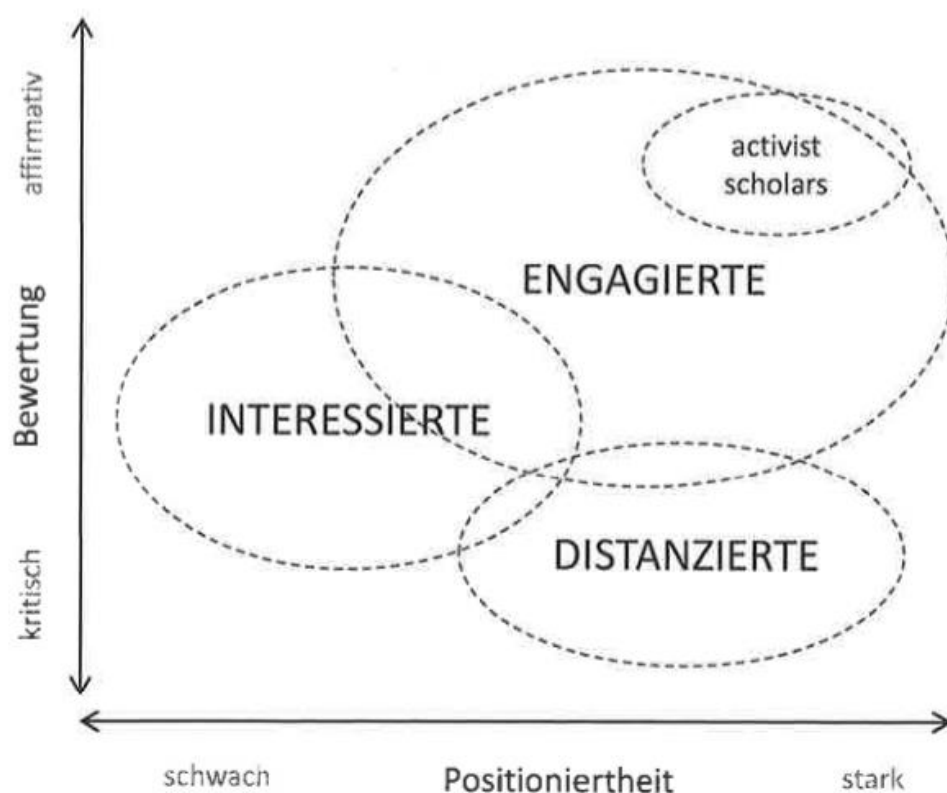
- There was a meeting of the management of the EU government, Austria was in charge, and it made a great high level meeting in Salzburg, and there was a big demonstration in Salzburg also radicals came from Germany, there was a leftist group they are called “black-block”, who always dress in black, they are young left activists, and they used to get aggressive against police, in Salzburg for instance, and police had a weird idea that they did not want a demonstration goes over the main bridge into the downtown Salzburg because there were lots of politicians from EU states were gathering so they stopped the whole thing, this was a place where a big street came up then the small streets were continuing so everything got stuck, there were thousands of people and people from the back were pushing so it always got closer and closer and there was one line of police men and there were three lines if you wanted to go through, police pushed you back with the shields and so on, and they the black block went to the front and tried to push through at this moment, some OMAS went to the lines of black block and then they went up between the police and black block, and they put up their hands and started to sing the OMA song, you could see that even the police men started smiling. All the aggression went down and they find a solution so the demonstration could go on. So, it could finish as it was planned, but it was very risky by the police to stop, so the OMAS had a certain role in this. (Interviewee 3.3)

Donnerstagsdemonstration also stated they would like to be seen as a shared place for connecting people. They create a place for visibility by organising demonstrations every week and give oppressed people and other left-wing organisations a place to speak up and share their experiences to build a strong community.

- I think, we never really wanted to see ourselves as an organisation but more of like just a collective people organising a platform for other people and organisations to meet and connect. I think that is really what happened. Because all the speakers who we invited were from other organisations, they met at our demonstration and kind of also the last time when you were there, there were people from Catalonia, Spain and Kurdish people and people from Iraq, met at our demonstration and they are organising now a film festival together. So, it is like a platform for different social struggles and movements to connect these struggles. Because if you are connected, you will be bigger and more visible. We never wanted to be one of these organisations we wanted to create the space where people can connect or feel solidarity. Because some speakers had never spoken anywhere before, and we just invited them, and they were so happy to feel there is a thousand of people and empower themselves. (Interviewee 2.3)

13. Methods reflection and the role of the researcher

The semi structure interview was recorded after the historical analysis about political instabilities in Austria. This was very important to understand the frustration and anxiety that activists are feeling to participate in the demonstrations. Without knowing these fundamental historical backgrounds, it would have not been possible to understand their accumulated frustration and pain properly especially as a researcher from non-EU origin. It was not easy to feel their frustration against the racism, gender inequality, although as the interview goes, the better understandings have been acquired.



【Table 4: Ullrich,2019:”Dimensionen des Feldes und Typen von ProtestforscherInnen“, S:30】

Ullrich (2019) mentioned that there are three types of protest researchers: the engaged, the interested, and the distanced. The “engaged”, literally they might also participate in a protest for the research purpose and also because of their own interest. The “interested” are those researchers pick the research objects not only by political and academic purpose but also by their own personal interests and affinity. (Ullrich,2019:31) The “distanced” are those who have some critics towards the protest besides their interests. (Ullrich,2019:33) The positioning of the researcher for this paper had started as the “interested” and moved to the “engaged” in order to obtain the deeper understandings.

As aforementioned, most of all people in these social movement organisations were working for free, only limited time was got for each interview normally in between their work schedule or a short free time between appointments. Semi-structured interview was very well performed during almost all interviews. The question was always on track and the conversation was not distracted to another topics.

- Conclusion

“Social Media is a bonus for modern social movements”

Social media is not only a place to communicate with family and close friends but also a forum for political discussions and a space to mobilise people for social change. As found in the qualitative analysis findings, social media is a tool to mobilise people by sharing their values, claims and their activities. However, social media and networked communication alone is not enough to successfully mobilise social movements. From my literature review and interviews with Austrian SMOs, it is the movement's actions – protesting, visibility, speaking up and fighting for political change – are the most important: social media is a bonus tool to efficiently organize and promote.

For Austrian SMOs (Donnerstagsdemonstration, OMAS GEGEN RECHTS and Frauenvolksbegehren), persistence and staying active online and off is core to build and grow social movements. Social media platforms are adapted by SMOs based on their strengths and SMOs' targets. For example, Facebook is the most used platform for mobilisation. Instagram is regarded as a space for targeting the SMOs main supporters; Twitter facilitates the most politicised discussion. All mobilisation information posted on these SNS platforms can be shared and spread to reach the most possible supporters. SMOs also include offline practices to reach out and promote their cause to those offline and not using social media through email, private invitations, and mobile What's app groups. SMOs also include offline promotion such as poster flyers and personal contact to include the widest possible demographics.

The three SMOs all share opposition to Austria's right-wing movement and legislation. Frauenvolksbegehren focuses to change legislation to protect socially vulnerable people. While, Donnerstagsdemonstration gives space for people to speak up and create change in society. OMAS GEGEN RECHTS play a neutral stand-in role between the left and right-wing. In comparison to the Donnerstagsdemonstration and Frauenvolksbegehren SMOs, OMAS GEGEN RECHTS's mediation role is irreplaceable to Austrian SMOs and their fight for justice against right-wing politics.

For social movements to grow and create change, social media is an efficient tool for mobilisation, but it is not central to SMOs. Social media can be utilized as a core tool to inform and drive communities from online spaces into the streets.

This outreach from social media networks are an especially beneficial resource for SMOs with little to no leadership structure. However, the means and resources of social media cannot compensate for the SMOs' tactics, risks, and invisible labour by the organizers to make these protests a reality. For organizers and protesters alike, being on the street in community is the most important factor to build social movements. This space to build community, express, and collective identity cannot be felt and replicated on the Internet screens of social media.

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List of Tables

- Table 1: Aichholzer,2004:” Election Results in Austria since 1945”, S:116
- Table2: Anita Bodlos, Carolina Plescia, 2018: “The saliency of immigration in Austria”, S:1356
- Table 3: Social Media Statistics in Austria (Globalstats,2020), Retrieved from: <https://gs.statcounter.com/social-media-stats/all/austria>, Last accessed: 03.04.2020.
- Table 4: Ullrich,2019:”Dimensionen des Feldes und Typen von ProtestforscherInnen“, S:30
- Figure 6.1: my own representation of organisational details of SMOs
- Figure 11.1: my own representation of the feature of SNS platforms
- Figure 11.2: my own representation of the staff assignment for social media management
- Figure 12.2: my own representation of social media audiences Venn diagram
- Figure 13.2: my own representation of the stance of each SMO on working with political parties

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Newspapers/Magazine

- KURIER
- DER STANDARD

Interview Transcripts

1.Frauenvolksbegehren

Interview1-1

Interviewer: Mari Kasahara (MK)

Interviewee: Anonymous, Frauenvolksbegehren social media team (FR)

Location: U6 Dresdner Straße

Date and time:15th November, 2019, 11:00

MK: How many people are working in the organisational/management field? (There is landesgruppe and Ansprecherin, in each city: Kärnten, Salzburg, Tirol, Vorarlberg, Oberösterreich, Steiermark x?) What is the structure of the organisation?

FR:In Vorstand, at the moment there are around 4 people. Normally there are 6-7 people working.

MK:are there people the representative from each region, such as Kärnten, Salzburg, Tirol?

FR: Ah- no, those are people in the management responsible for whole Austria, representing each factor, - for example a finance manager, a mobilisation manager, those people you can talk to – for example, if you have a problem with financial matters, you can talk to our finance representative. Ah, but there are people from another Region too. Those people are the representative of Frauenvolksbegehren, so most managers are also based in Wien, although there are two people based in other region. We wanted to put more from other region to the management although it was not so easy because, for example, finance is important, so someone responsible finance should be based in Vienna. And social media is also based in Vienna, for mobilisation, because most actions are happening in Vienna.

MK:What is the organisational structure of Frauenvolksbegehren?

FR: So we have the management, finance and social media team. I am and one more person is responsible for Social Media. I am responsible for stories and my colleague is responsible for picture posts. Facebook is also done by us. For twitter, we have another person fully in charge of Twitter, although most of our social media activities are on Instagram. Lena Jäger and Christian Berger both are the speaker of Frauenvolksbegehren in whole Austria. We have Frauenvolksbegehren Oberösterreich, Frauenvolksbegehren Steiermark and they have all different speaker, but person who speaks for whole Austria is only Lena Jäger and Christian Berger.

MK: So are you responsible Instagram?

FR:Yeah and do you know “keinen millimetre”? it is about the abortion rights in Austria. I am also responsible for this account.

MK:Is it a part of Frauenvolksbegehren? As I undersood, it is from one of these 9 projects you have,

FR:Yeah it is one project but more people engaged in it, so many organisations and people said “We should do something about it.” And our organisation was the one with a project. There are also political parties supporting this project, SPÖ, the Grünen and NEOS. This was actually re-reaction. There are so many organisations saying that we should strict abortion in Austria, so then we must react. The abortion is one of our claims, and so many organisations are for it so we founded keinen millimetre, which focus only on the abortion.

MK:Do you have more accounts than Frauenvolksbegehren and keinen millimetre?

FR: No we don't have- We only focus on these two accounts at the moment.

MK: How do you use SNS for fund raising, or marketing for your activities?

FR: Oh yeah- we wanted to make a video actually, so that we get more donation and we make a promotion in this video and so, but it became very complicated at this time because it was during the election period, and it was a political case, and to promote political matters, so it was super difficult to do that so we had to stop it. But we did with keinen millimetre, in the beginning period we reached the politician and we paid social (media) to reach wider audience. Otherwise we also wrote on Facebook differently, because we believe that there are older audience on Facebook so we post different things on Facebook than Instagram. Some posts have really good reactions on Facebook and they are liked and shared well but there are not negative – but not well reacted cases and these could be also posted on Instagram. And we try to post on Instagram from 04:00 PM to 09:00 PM because there are most people online and stories posts hit well if it goes off in these period.

MK: So you wanted to post a video for fundraising on Facebook but you didn't because it was the election period?

FR: Ah actually we wanted to do a video more for the election, hoping more people to see this video and see our activities, but it became super complicated because there are very strict rules to the political parties on Facebook during the election. And they thought we are a political party because we did have a political claim, and yeah, it got super difficult.

MK: Oh?

FR: Yeah there are different rules and it must be verified, and it is really complicated during the election period. If we had posted a video with a political claim, not only for the election but in any other time, it would have been easier.

MK: How do you think SNS can raise awareness of potential participants and increase the likelihood of success?

FR: The most important thing is if there is an event or issue, we are very fast to react to it. We make a post with a statement regarding women's right and post it and so on. And people who searched, saw it – share it and that's how we get more members. Because if we post something sharable and if people who saw it, think it is cool, they share it in their stories and the post is spread to more people and we also do it for champagne or if we are doing something specific topic no one is speaking about-, people repost our post. There was a case with "true fruits"-, true fruits was doing a marketing, super sexist and racist, and Christian Berger was the first one who criticised it in the media, because it is one of our claims, the media should not be sexist or racist-, and whenever they repost it they marked Frauenvolksbegehren or Cristian Berger, so there we got so many new followers and supports because people were outraged about it.

MK: So your representative spoke out online and by hash tagging you successfully raise the issue and awareness?

FR: Yeah exactly. They also marked us and reposted it. Also we know so many people in feminist field, so they can also mark us so that we get to share more about us to the world.

MK: Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, which channel is the most effective one?

FR: We have the most followers on Facebook, there we have almost doubled as much as Instagram, but we do the most on Instagram. In Instagram community-, yeah we have the most on Instagram. Twitter is the least important at the moment, we connect and share the most on Instagram, but also on Facebook. So Instagram is the most effective tool. Hmm, maybe we should not say that Facebook is less effective than Instagram, but Instagram is the most active channel where you feel the community-people always respond, share and repost but on Facebook you don't feel this community. Facebook seems to be for a bit older audience and also for whole Austria, but Instagram is especially for Vienna.

MK: Which one (Facebook or Instagram) do you use for mobilisation?

FR: For events, we use Facebook, we post it on Twitter and Instagram that we have a Facebook event but yeah we do it on Facebook. There we can see how is coming, who is not coming, also participants can write email to us so it is sure.

MK: What is the most challenge using SNS?

FR: The difficult thing is, it is not possible to control how many people are coming and so on, there was a case more people came than planned so we needed bigger space, or on opposite, less people came because they said they would come on SNS feed but they did it for support or promotion, but some do not show up, it is usual. Once we had an event, it was actually a very successful event, there were so many people said they would be coming so that it would not have been possible to do the event, because we could not book any bigger place and it would be too much people for this room, but in reality only good amount of people participated so that we could fit in the rented place, and also we had a few seats left so that more people could have come actually. We think that some people did not come because on Facebook saying that there were so many, too many people are coming. But yeah, this is always one difficult thing.

MK: other parts you cooperate with for example Activist of Vienna to solve problems?

FR: Yeah, So there are many organisations, private organisations which support feminism which are on Instagram so on, and they are always supporting us and trying to help us by participating in events and so on.

MK: Have you had any negative effects from SNS?

FR: Hates? Yeah, we have it on Facebook, there is one person who make critics about almost every post we make, he is very smart and gave us a good argument though and we do not have problem with it. He gave us good critics and recommendation, but he gave us these statements on Frauenvolksbegehren and keien millimetre, both of our Facebook posts. We will have issues when someone from our community does it, but mostly they don't. Since I am working here, we had only one case. We did a post about we ask every party, makes a statement about our organisation, like Kurz, Hofer, and there was also Peter Pilz, and he was known for being sexist, there was a case which is not clear if it is true, but he did a sexual assault, so we made a post with a critics about him in description saying we think it is not cool, and we had negative responds from our own community, we did not get it on Facebook but we got it on Instagram, so we immediately corrected it. We repost the changed picture with statements and it got better. Most people were ok with our post because we took a statement from every party but some feminists on Instagram did not agree with it, they said he was guilty about it so we should not have posted it. These things are difficult, and we must react and correct very quickly. Ah and once, our representative Lena Jäger was answering interviews at vierundzwanzig (24) about violence against women, and she said it is not immigration problem because there were already violence against women before migration crisis in Europe, ah so question was- "Do you think violence against women situation got worse because of the refugees?" and she said "NO" "it is not like they brought problem here because it was already in Austria." And this was only thing she said, then she got so many hates from right wing movement, she also said that she would go to the court with that, and she did a whole legal process because she got even death threat, she got so many hates in this case. But mostly there is no hate or negative effects, on Instagram almost none, and on Facebook there is this one guy but critics we get on Facebook from this guy is a good argument.

MK: you get more positive effects than negative effects?

FR: Yes, we had a few issues, but we apologized or corrected very quickly and surprisingly there are not a big problem so far.

MK: What was the most successful movement you organised?

FR: The most successful one was with media, it was spotted on so many newspapers and on TV, it was the second week of January this year, and there were not so many participants but there were so many media, we did something to create a photo, but it was shown on any media, it was not an event where people must be mobilised, we played a performance in open space and so many media came and did live recording and share it so on. We invited the media for this event. It is very important for us that media picks it up and share it- that is how we got to be known. Ah also, there was ah-, Frauenvolksbegehren discussed in the parliament, and it was discussed twice. At first, it was discussed in a really small room where only a few people got a place there, and there we got a reaction, this is a thing, so it needs to be discussed in a bigger room with more people. We managed to mobilise so many people to this event and people who participated in this event take a video or pictures and share it often on social media so that our activities got spread widely and we got a huge reaction on social media.

MK: You said there are a few people responsible for social media, so you do not hire any specialist or so for social media activities? Those who are in charge of social media studied it somewhere?

FR: No, me not but learnt by doing it. Lena used to work for cooperate and there she learnt how to run a campaign and so on, I think there are social media part also but we learn by ourselves a lot, because now we are also creating a video, - so you learn a lot by doing it.

MK: All contents are planned?

FR: We create the content every day. We plan posts during the campaign, like these topics should be uploaded but we don't set it off. It is very timely so we check first everyday what is going on in the world today and we create the post. It is important for us to react to current topics. So we have a content meeting to pick a topic, we also do quotes and something in between, but when we do not have a certain topic, we will see the current events, what is going on and create a content.

MK: For mobilisation, do you use SNS?

FR: We are doing it on Facebook and Instagram and they are a major thing, supported by so many people. We also write emails to all women's right organisations individually to invite them to the event. We also inform Frauenring- then they publish information about our event, and we also do sometimes APA, Austrian Press Agentur, there you can do something for example, someone writes article about something and everyone (media) has access to it so that they can share about us. We also write to the newspapers such as der standard, Kurier to invite them to the event. It is very important for us to get a media there. Although beside these, it is mostly organised social media.

MK: Do you ask other than APA for sharing your activities?

FR: No only APA in Austria.

MK: When you organise the talk, the movement and the event, who is responsible for the mobilisation?

FR: Yes, so besides we the management plan and organise the event, we ask for Activist of Vienna to find a location, book a place, moving equipment for the event. In other region, for example in Oberösterreich, there are another group of people who plan and organise the event. Activist of Vienna is not a part of Frauenvolksbegehren but we can ask them for help always and they are responsible for finding a location, carrying all things needed in the talk, and so. Once we had a huge media event, organised by only three people. There were people who helps with logistics and so on, but the event itself was planned and organised by three people.

MK: What is the most difficult challenge you face to achieve your goal?

FR: we have a very good connection with politicians because we lobby, like SPÖ, ÖVP, the Grüne are very supportive to us, they always do work with us, and Frauenrings also, for example. So, to be diplomatic is one of our challenges. We need political parties because we want these claims to be realised. Fundraising is also difficult, the most effective way to increase donors, raise money is via social media. But it is very hard to reach out other people who are not in our bubbles. We are thinking about doing fundraising, at the moment we get money from selling our goods, so-. To reach out potential people, we have first Instagram and also, we protest and do events, offline activities, then the best is if printed media or so reports about us, so that those who are not on social media can also know about our activities. On social media, people are often in their own bubbles. I think both are important. We get different people on Instagram than we get by protesting on the street.

MK: What is unique about your organisation?

FR: I think we really have strong community. Half a million people signed us. We really do have a good connection with political parties, because they can not ignore us since half a million people signed us. We can put pressures on them. Even Frauenministerin (Minister for Women) of ÖVP said “We can not go over you.” And I think that’s it.

MK: How effectively do you attain relationships with political actors? And sustain/expand connections?

FR: We invite them for a talk to discuss certain issues, also we are in contact with Frauenministerin. The current one is doing a project with us. We have to talk to politicians to keep and raise the issues, they do not come to us. We reach them by writing them, also Lena has a wide and good connection with political actors, but Christian does reach out, and like cooperate with them. We do it again soon since there will be a new government.

MK: How do you think other actors (musicians, influencers) to get supports?

FR: We had for example “sommerfest”, about a year ago, there were so many musicians participated and people had to buy 50 euro ticket, but it was a fund raising, charity event, so we got funding from this event, they played for us, all money went to our organisation. We have our official website, there people can donate, also on Facebook. Volksbegehren is social initiatives, when you have a claim and if you want these claims to be realised, you have two months where people can go to Magistrat and sign it. If you have 800,000 signatures, there must be a referendum. Over 500,000 signatures, so it must be discussed in the parliament. Volksbegehren is a very Austria way.

MK: Do you cooperate with Donnerstagsdemonstration?

FR: Yes, we do and Keinen millimetre went to donnerstagsdemo and talked there. We were a part of it.

MK: What context do you cooperate with Donnerstagsdemonstration (and what context not?)

FR: the whole year was backlash of women’s right, and we were against this backlash. We were always at donnerstagsdemonstration, because we are intersexual, themes were “affected migrant”. It is very hard for me to say, this was our organisations opinion about donnerstagsdemonstration, because some other people might have a different perspective. Actually, it was very hard for us to reach out to them. We wanted to take a part of it and be like one of those people, like mid-organisers but they did not allow us to be a part of it-, so there were difficulties. (They want to support them) Other parts of Austria, did cooperate with donnerstagsdemonstration but Vienna part it did not happen as Frauenvolksbegehren but Keinen millimetre did take a part. Lots of people at the moment tried to cooperate with Donnerstagsdemonstration.

MK: how did you mobilise for donnerstagsdemonstration?

FR: The logic is the same. We made our own posts that we were participating in Donnerstagsdemonstration, and post them on social media, mostly on Instagram and Twitter. Keinen millimetre was holding a speech and we organised also these speeches. We organised, for example, two women who did abortion to make a speech in Donnerstagsdemonstration.

(cut out: thank you and closing words)

Interview1-2

Interviewer: Mari Kasahara (MK)

Interviewee: Anonymous, Frauenvolksbegehren Executive Board member (FR)

Location: Café Oben (Urban-Loritz-Platz 2, 1070 Wien)

Date and time: 10 December, 2019, 16:00

FR. Hi I want to introduce you first with how I join the organisation. I wrote the email to Frauenvolksbegehren and then Nancy replied me, who is the project leader and an assistant of Lena Jäger, and then, she invited me, and after one month, I was like, doing everything. And then I became the lead of event team in Vienna, organising all the events in Vienna, we have quite a lot of them. We have lots of activists, but we also have lots of people, (working for) just for a month and leave, then new people come in, it is a very intensive job. Thinking of it is not like going somewhere but in the end, it is like 10 hours work per week at least you have to be available and everything. And since march this year, I am a part of the board and we are continuing our board, which is more in educational work, and we are preparing for a book coming next year, Christian Berger and I are editors, so (the book is about) how you can do activists, and a bit of history about Frauenvolksbegehren and the first one will tell you more about Neun Forderungen (nine claims) we have and it will be published next Autumn. It will be called Feministische Forderungen and how to do activism, or something like that. We have also authors outside of Austria (...) Not just from Austria. Frauenvolksbegehren started in 2017, with 50 initiators and those people are still active today somehow but some are not that active. I would say 5-6 people are working very intensively since 2017 till today and others are like switching.

MK. Frauenvolksbegehren in 2017 was the second one. What was the background that the organisation was founded again?

FR. It was back in 2017, we were thinking that it has been 20 years since the first Frauenvolksbegehren, and lots of things has changed and lots of thing which are on Forderungen are realised so it is good to start it again. And it was a time for right-wing movement in Europe and also Donald Trump became a president, and lots of things were going on so we thought we should start it again. And it started quite small and there was this cloud funding, which we gained – I think 250,000 euro and we started to be bigger and bigger and in May 2018, we had this Unterstützungserklärungswoche, which is like, you have to have 100,000 signs to get this eintragungwoche and we had much more within this week. Over 200,000, I think.

MK. What are the most important aspects of the D-demo for your organisation?(To what context could you possibly support D-demo?)

FR. So I think the most important aspects of D-demo for us is to be against the right wing movements in Austria and against this regressive politics and lots of our activists are activists of the D-demo, and also we are also in the team member that started the demonstration. Some people are working for both organisations. And it was very important for Frauenvolksbegehren to be a part of the d-demo and there was a core team who went to demo every Thursday and being provocative, making some signs and showing also our goals, and 5-12 people went there every Thursday. It is not like complete organisations we are more like working together, also some of us are invited to attend at the talks of D-demo.

MK. What success have you achieved by participating D-demo?

FR. I think it is about **the visibility**. Other thing is to show the support for D-demo and also to show that lots of people are not agreed with the government, what they are doing.

MK. Do you agree with all the messages communicated by d-demo?

FR. I think the basic concepts are right but basically in the feminist claims are like, even in Frauenvolksbegehren some people agree with it, some people disagree so it is not like everyone thinks the same. In the end the values of D-demo and Frauenvolksbegehren are the same and that is what we

are focusing on. So we could discuss something but we are working together because we have this common values and other things don't play such a big role.

MK. What events would make D-demo no longer necessary in your eyes?

FR. I think, If they started more progressive politics really, because during the SW/BL government, they actually changed lots of laws for women in a good way. So if they claim against these, D-demo wouldn't be important. Gewaltschutzpaket, the basic thing is about changing the laws that women, orphan can be anonymous, so if they go to the hospital, hospital must call the police and say their name, this will lead lots of women not to go to the hospital because they are afraid. There was lots of discussion about that on twitter, the feminist activists talked about that. And it was more about political agenda. It was changed being considered that it would be good for women, but in the end, as statistic shows it isn't, and lots of activists said not it is not.

MK. do you have hope to achieve policy change as a result of your participation in D-demo?

FR. It was a bit in general. We had this neun forderungen where more than – almost half a million people signed and we went to parliament for discussion four times but nothing of our claims became real, became laws, so in the end it was a bit disappointing being denied, designated. It is not only the questions about policy change, but it is about stay active and educate people and show them there are other way of things than which are going on now. And then it could be laws, or reality. You can't stop even though it (laws) has not been changed. (policy change did not happen)

MK. How do you access the future holding of D-demo after the new election?

FR: I think this demonstration will stop after Turkis/Grüne government. You can already see this now, there are much less demos after the government corrupted in May. In summer it was already once a month or so.

MK. When you join D-demo, do you have specific claim from your 9 claims in mind to be seen?

FR. Usually we go with all of our agenda. Because our philosophy is like, not like just one agenda can change everything, with all of 9 agendas the society could change. But in the end, when we did this Vorderung, there are very intensive demand for antiabortion, so we founded keinenmillimeter, **to be more presence**. In the end, the combination of these nine agendas are the most important thing about Frauenvolksbegehren and this is what distinguish us from different groups, like you have to do it all to change something.

MK. What is the representation of your organisation to D-demo?

FR. We protest there, and we also speak in the demo.

MK. Is there an agreed protocol that employees have to follow when representing your organisation at d-deo?

FR. no not really. Because we are like colleagues and fair in the group, so everyone has right to do whatever they want to do or present. We help these people to be visible and merchandise stuff, but everyone can do whatever he wants. He or she can represent Frauenvolksbegehren but they can also represent themselves as they want.

MK.How do you interact with the media?

FR. Frauenvolksbegehren solo or with D-demo?

MK. only Frauenvolksbeheren.

FR. Ok- so usually when there was something going on, politics or our special agenda or new projects, press conference and we invite journalist to write about it. We have lots of journalists to cooperate with so they are somehow write something about us. But in the end it is like, we have to be very visible to be inside of the media. When the Gewaltschutzpaket came, I think it was this September, we started the big protest in front of the parliament and **we gained lots of visibility** from the media, it

was even on ZIP, ZWEI. So we have many journalist who we work with but it is also our goal to get into different media.

MK.How was your organisation experienced any backlash for being involved in D-demo?

FR.No not at all.

MK.How do you organise to attend the demo?

FR. yeah usually we have a social media group on Whatapps called FFD, we were discussing there who will attend the demo and who will buy signs etc and we usually meet a few hours before and we prepare the signs and everything and then we will go to the demo. Everything is voluntary so it is a lot about how we organise the stuff. You have to organise the person who is very proactive and who has lots of connection and who contacts and knows lots of people, because normally we are like only 5 people who are doing lots of stuff and sometimes they do not have any more energy so it is **important to mobilise other people**, contacting and writing someone is very important.

MK. Do you advertise your meetings?

FR. Yeah we write in our groups, so that everyone from our organisation accounts knows and it will be if we have something very important which we have to be there, we are also doing the calling asking "Please come" or "Could you come -?" and lots of people are coming.

MK. The Frauenvolksbegehren is not directly connected to any political party, but independent. Was the resurgence of the Frauenvolksbegehren related to the Schwarz-Blau government coming into office in 2017?

FR. It was all about the atmosphere in the West in the Europe and also about the politics at that time. Afterwards it was an explosion. In the end it was not so good for us, if there would have been a different government, we had this erklärungswochen, unterschutzungserklärungssammlung, it was in March, I said before in May but it was March, for one month, and we hoped that we would get the eintragswoche in May because we have only two more months and then we would not need more money and more energy to organise these people but SW/BL government made it in Autumn in October, so we have to be active for 6 to 7 months so we get more money and we need more energy and more people and after summer people started to forget what was happening before summer, and **yeah it was done being against us**. I don't know this was too big in the media but yeah. So if we had social democratic government, we would have got even more the supporters.

MK. Why your participation in D-demo is not visible on your website? Is that on purpose?

FR. I don't think it is on purpose. We are collaborating with lots of different organisations, with d-demo, with magazines and sometimes it is hard to be diplomatic because then they start to say that "You have time on the website and this but not this, and this" and somehow it became complicated. And sometime this is very problematic question when we had this eintragungswochen lots of people came and sign then we got comments like "why have you come to – to do this, why haven't you done this and that -?" We have only 10-20 people at that time and we could not do everything. No one is paying for that either, we are activists who are working for free. At the moment, there was only person who was employed by Frauenvolksbegehren and it was Lena Jäger, the project leader and all other people were doing this for free. So I thought that this organisation would be big like holds 50 people for organising and marketing, but it was only around 10 people doing everything. Frauenvolksbegehren is quite successful considering organised only by volunteers and working only in their leisure time.

MK. Do you have anything uncovered by questions (regarding d-demo) ?

FR.I think it is just important to have a social movement, and I think that lots of people were active at Frauenvolksbegehren became active at D-demo. I also met these people. It is connecting I think the same. But D-demo is in a sense much bigger because they have more wider agendas and more people also attend because it is like a social event, you know, because they go with banns and they have a bit of a party there are artists and bands playing so it is almost like a concert, it is also well connected with social media so you can present themselves very well instead of working for

Frauenvolksbegehren, we also have nice events but it is more like educational basic political agendas so it is not always so entertaining. It is also easy to mobilise people against something not for something. Negative enemy unites people more. That threat connects people against. It connects with anxiety, fear and Angst that something will happen so then you are more mobilised to go for happy life. It is a bit negative, but it is true, Frauenvolksbegehren is for something. So it is a bit harder to mobilise sometimes.

MK. Do you think social media is a core for protest movement?

FR. I think social media is **important for kind of target group but not for all**. Lena works on Instagram but for twitter we have another person who is in charge during our most active time it was last autumn, there we had a social media group who are responsible for Facebook, for this and that, so we knew that it was very important. And we also had this people who were organising all these stuffs and we had a group which was connected to that. We made a post and mobilised the people whether they liked it or not, we posted about specific activities to make it bigger. BY social media activities we got lots of young supporters and we got this target group but also the most important thing for our work was going on a street and talking to people because we get lots of signatures from those who are not using social media. So I think for the activists, it might be true but for signatures it is not. It is important to go on a street and talk to people.

MK. You had an event organised by yourself ? I saw the protest last week on Heldenplatz

FR. Yeah it was a part of this Gewaltschutzpaket, it was last week.

MK. For these events, how do you use social media for mobilisation?

FR. We have now a basic group and we organise it within this basic group, or we call people for mobilisation. Then we also post these events on social media, **so it became more visible**. We don't have 10,000 groups for each events collected using social media, but we have a core group to mobilise all events

MK. How do you think Internet and social media helps to raise the awareness of potential (unconscious) participants?

FR. so from my experience, we got lots of activists who came from social media activities, they invited their friends to the event or shared the event or we have something on Instagram so lots of people joined because of these activists, they are in the age of between 20-40. But we had some activists also who didn't have social media. We had two old activists who are quite active until now, then they came to our organisation. They are connected with our WhatsApp group. But I don't think WhatsApp is a social media, it is a communication tool.

But I do think social media helps to raise awareness a lot. We got lots of participants because of social media also activists and participants for it. So, this is our core. It is also important every one of us (from FF) share the events and inform with others besides organising. It is very important to have this community management.

MK. How each social media channel is organised and operated, and what kind of strength does each social channel have?

FR. We normally use Facebook and Instagram for similar purpose. To make our goal visible and be present but Twitter is more like an information channel which is more visible for journalists or people in the media.

MK. Is there any concern when you put agenda online?

FR. There are times you are not allowed to post somethings, and for example there is **a limitation before election and political campaigns**, but in the end we always try to be careful with that so it does not make so much difference before and during elections.

MK. Have you got any negative complains?

FR. almost 2 years ago, it was put online then we got so many emails complaining, we formed a special team to answer these emails, by who were concerned, and it was a kind of a process started later, but it was a beginning. We reply and if we do not know we ask other activists what they think, and we answer them.

MK. Facebook or Instagram, which one is more efficient for mobilisation?

FR. I think both and you need both. More people are on Instagram nowadays than Facebook and you can post videos and pictures and you know the power if picture is sometimes stronger than texts, Instagram is more, you can work with Instagram more. But if you have an event, you have these event section on Facebook and it is connected to Instagram. So the core is to use both altogether.

MK. Do you use social media for fund raising and promotion?

FR. we haven't raised money on social media so far, I know this function on FB where you can raise money, but we haven't done it so far. It is the place to share our activities and not to get the funding.

MK. what is the most obstacle to achieve your goal?

FR. For our agenda, the most provocative or problematic was 30 stundenwoche and also abortion for free. These two were the hardest claims, which are seen as provocative by some people and which got lots of the oppositions. The easiest one was to have a kindergarten for all children, everyone loved that. Obviously, everyone needs it. Besides these the most challenge is to stay active and not to lose hope and energy while doing this 2 year of activist work. I think it is easy to have small goals and stay active for short term, 2-3 months to achieve it but it is quite difficult to be active almost for 2 years. You have to mobilise the people and you have to stay focused on the goals, groups and social media and you always have to find a person who is responsible for each task. You need mobility on the street, you need social media, but you also have to do the finance stuff. You also have to do some writing and negotiating, and all these things are invisible. To keep it intact is very difficult in fact. FF is very visible somehow on social media and people know it. And now almost more than one year after eintragungswoche it is still active.

MK. What is the most unique about FF compared to other demonstration?

FR. I think FF has this focused goal to go to a parliament and to change this very complex society. So, this is not just one strike saying we are for this or we are against this, which is easier to sell somehow but we have this complex way to see the society and complex way of changing it. It was very hard to communicate somehow. So, this is I think something extraordinary for us, but we still did it.

MK. What is your opinion about working with politicians to achieve your goals? Is there any string attached?

FR. I think it is good to work with a party because they really have a power to change something and if you want to change something, you should discuss, you should communicate with people, we also should be close to other parties so it is kind of a process. I am also sure there are strings attached but I am not sure which one. Until now there was nothing has bad influence on us. This is because we are from the beginning, independent from parties, we will do in the end what is right for us and is good for our values.

(cut out: thank you and closing comments)

Interview 1-3

Interviewer: Mari Kasahara (MK)

Interviewee: Anonymous, an activist from Frauenvolksbegehren (FR)

Location: Le Burger Mariahilferstraße (Mariahilfer Str. 114, 1070 Wien)

Date and time: 28, January 2020, 13:30

MK: What was the most successful mobilisation using social media?

FF: In general, we did a lot of campaigns, but it was very different campaigns, sometimes we did an interview within our team, sometimes with celebrities, sometimes we created the video of flash mobs but in different format. Then we post it to SNS, normally to insta-stories, there is often mobilisation on Instagram and Facebook.

MK: How did you get funded?

FV: We are not cloud funded. We asked once on social media for equipment or a car, so we ask people out on social media.

MK: If you ever participated in other social movements in Austria, what is unique about your organisation?

FV: FV is very much like an organisation, which is very important for FV. And I could easily get in and help and give them benefits I have, but it is also hierarchical. There is a high team which has organisational structure and sometimes harder and easier, because it is clear this is what I can do and this is what I cannot do, which is very important for FV, because it is one year thing or one and half year thing until the referendum. So, it was different.

MK: Do you think social media helps mobilisation?

FV: In Frauenvolksbegehren there are so many ways of mobilising, the goal was not only to mobilise people and go to the demonstration, but the goal was to get signs for the referendum, taking and sending pictures, and being active online. their goal is changing the law:

MK: FV is very very active on social media. How do you think social media raise awareness of potential participants?

FV: FV has become an organisation but it is expected to always to take a stand on things, like something happens and lots of people are counting on FV to comment about it. I think it is the same as Donnerstagsdemonstration, they also have a stand, but the difference was the FV does not have a fixed meeting point like D-demo has, so every time something happened, we could discuss it at the demo every week, we could correct the topics and discuss it together at the demo. FV did it right away, and they also must use social media for it.

MK: How is your protest movement being mobilised using internet and social media? Where online do you put the mobilisation info? (FB, Instagram, Instastories and more?)

FV: focus is on Instagram; I think but we use facebook too for mobilisation information.

MK: How each social media channel is organised and operated, and what kind of strength does each channel have?

FV: it depended on who was at the event, and who was present at the event. It changes quite often throughout the time. I think in general; audiences are very different. Facebook is for much older people who discuss a lot, Instagram is more for fast pictures and sharing, and Twitter is for taking political stand and comments on actuality, also it goes off very fast. Twitter is also for political elites, people who have jobs on politics, Facebook everyone can discuss. I also only look at twitter but not comment, Twitter is also faster than FB. If something happens, on Twitter, people are already talking about it but on Facebook it takes much longer.

MK: What is your opinion about working with politicians/parties to achieve your goal? Is there any string attached?

FV: FV had lots of politicians who supported the organisation but FV did not support any party.

MK: Do you cooperate with activists for social media activists? Like Christian Berger?

FV: Yeah, Christian Berger is an inspiring person, he did so much for Frauenvolksbegehren and other organisations. I loved working with him.

(some questions are cut off due to the time issue)

2. Donnerstagsdemonstration

Interview 2-1

Interviewer: Mari Kasahara (MK)

**Interviewee: Anonymous, Executive Board Member from
Donnerstagsdemonstration (DD)**

Location: Gastwirtschaft Schilling (Burggasse 102, 1070, Wien)

Date and time: 17 December 2019, 13:00

MK: What was the background to found D-demo in 2018, how you re-started? Is there anyone in your team from D-demo in 2000?

DD: No no, I mean, there are few of us who were old enough to be there, also then, but I would say one or two were even involved in the organisation then, like going to the demonstration on every Thursday but most of us were very young back then, we were children then, we have a great 20-25 years old organisation team, but it was more about political situation, which was similar after so many years, to see the country **again to vote for the right wing party** and it was more like, a couple of months every one was blocked and in shock so I think we were like, we have the same political interests and saying “What should we do? What should everybody do?”, and you know how it is, we don’t know anymore “ah why isn’t it like we should do it similar to then (demo in 2000) and some said “why don’t we say it is Thursday again ?” so this is the idea, the idea is “es ist wieder Donnerstag” it is the same political situation so it is Thursday again, yes?

MK: So you took the same concept and started again?

DD: Yeah, I think strategy changed also and the concept, it was much deeper, it wasn’t fixed truth but the situation was more like free, and we might wanted to have a different roots but no, people can be also activated along the roots and we wanted to be programmatic and roots connected to the topics. In 2000, it was really like every Thursday in Vienna, walking up very powerful, and this time was like, we cannot be exactly the same, the same topic we have discussed this issues with the topics linked to go to the special places you go to special places for politics where things has been decided.

MK: The moving ban was a new topic?

DD: the music was already there in 2000 but it was more stable, but I think techno became something specific to us, and it is something we are sometimes fighting against, like if you were old people, you don’t want to always listen to Techno, it is a powerful thing to go around the city, so we try to mix it and I found one enormously powerful demonstration was on second of November, you could not make techno so we had a classic music, very sad music but very loud and we walked with it, and it broke the pattern. so, it is always important to use only techno. It was a nice concept because it made people empowered, like I will take it on the street and dance my frustration off. We had a lot of people who were sincerely affected by the government. Even for some instance people without papers or with papers, feeling deportation constantly, and you can see they in the end were being on the stage, in the stage they feel safe and be visible while you are being invisible all the time, it is also an important thing for a way of, ah- rhetorical way.

MK: Which claim is the most important for you? (considering they stop/reduce the demo after coalition is off)

DD: Anti-racism, feminism, good life for everyone and no kind of discrimination. But we wanted to be a multi- claim, multi- voice initiative. This is why these topics were great. These are the endless topic; it is like why would you say these three topics are the most important? These are issues people are very much concerned and pretty much affect their lives.

MK: How is your protest movement being mobilised in accordance with internet and social media? Where online do you put the mobilisation info? (FB, Instagram, Instastories and more?)

DD: We call, write and everything, and it is obviously yes we use social media for mobilisation, we use Instagram and twitter, we are also very disciplined during the demonstration. We are 20 people in the management constantly working for keeping things going, communicating with the police, and others are on twitter, others are instagraming, others are facebooking, others are taking pictures and videos. There are also lots of invisible work all the time, and also from organisation before Thursday we make sure everyone spoke, basically what was drawn, there was always a sketch of places and pictures and then we had a topic, we announce the roots and especially on a specific day we organise ourselves a structure which we follow and which we follow very strictly which is because A. make people understand where they get an information, but it also helped us in this workload to fulfil. Actually, I can say that we were not so good outside of these media. We have a newsletter group and Email groups, I mean you cannot send 5 emails for one demonstration, it is more obsessive. Social Media is easier, people can click it away. Email is more intrusive so, how do we reach people who were not on a email list? How do we reach people who are not on Facebook but on our email list? It is the most difficult thing, and that's why we started flyers and posters, not posters but something to get more visibility on the street.

MK: How each social media channel is organised and operated, and what kind of strength does each channel have?

DD: Usually 2. We assign two people per account. I think each channel is a bit distinguished because – people older than us use Facebook and some are into Instagram, those who are used to it, they are more into Instagram. Maybe that's like 30-35-year-old are more into Facebook and younger that that are more into Instagram and so.

MK: how do you think twitter differ from these in your opinion?

DD: I use twitter the least, so I am not the best person to ask but it was more like, **Twitter is more interactive, other channels are more informing.**

MK: How each social media is operated by whom, do you have a social media marketing team in your organisation?

DD: We have but honestly we try to change tasks because it was also meant to be a group of lots of specialists and everyone in the organisation learn and does everything, it is more like a concept of ah not to become a kind of expert who does only this part. In March we organised a “FLINzer month” where we said ok the entire organisation is only, the only with FLINz, meaning Female, Lesbian, Intertrans or Non Wienerin, it was very important and very powerful also because everyone has to learn everything that was assigned for men so it was very refreshing because our goal was speakers, I don't know if you realise but we always have 70 percent female speakers and minimum 50 percent with migration backgrounds so we really make sure it is an affirmative action and it is very powerful so many amazing people are classically speaking or visible.

MK: How do you think that Internet and Social Media help to raise the awareness of potential participants? How do you bring the unconscious citizen into your movement?

DD: Sure, sure it is our means. But we still cannot reach some people, I mean people who were reached was people who use the media, those who do not use media are always difficult to reach out.

MK: Is there any concern when you put your agenda online? Have you got negative comments?

DD: Sure, we have negative comments from right-wing parties and constantly you can read in a news “the demonstration blocked the traffic”. A lot of concerns.

MK: Do you think using social media helps mobilise/organise the demo in a better way? In what context is it inefficient?

DD: Sure, but I think everyone knows that you cannot expect the number of people for example on Facebook to come but we would say the minimum people who said that they “come” on Facebook we

had more people on the street. For example, if there are 3000 people coming on Facebook, we got more. I think it is a mix between people bringing friends and calling each to say are you going to the demo and where is the location, I think it was absolutely half half and we were never bothered about, we were worried about the numbers. The most important thing is persistency. We discussed this so many times, If we go every Thursday, whether it is rainy or not, cold or not. If you then start worrying about the numbers, you really become totally freaked out about the number outputs but no, it is very important that it was steady, it was always there and it is dedicated to the people either it is 1000 or 2000, it would be also awful to say everyone has to come every Thursday, like why ? many people came, because every people were very empowering and supportive.

MK: Do you hire/cooperate with activists for social media activists?

DD: we hire no one. We spend no euro on anyone's work. But of course, if you want activists in our group, we had one for website so on, everything was done for free. So I would say everyone was working for any online media was online activists, having learned that before by other activists work or so, and I would say everyone was considered as activists.

MK: What is the most obstacle/challenge to achieve your goal?

DD: The challenge is that, but in the end none of us thought there was a challenge. If you do it so many times, it is a bit stressful to have a list of speakers together and tell the police on time, sometimes it was a challenge, police are very cooperative but they could actually not allow the roots when something else is planned or taken place there. So this was a bit difficult.

MK: Do you think Social Media is the core of protest movement? (One theory said the programmers and the switchers, those who are in charge of social media are the key player of the social movements. To what context do you agree or disagree?)

DD: I would say if you have no political interest, social media is nothing. So basically, social media is one tool or instrument, which is democratic because you can implement it relatively fast, out of blue, you can be there. But I don't see that in social media there is more protest power than times without social media. What we need is politicised people. I see it more like this. I don't see social media as the definition of "politicised". Because in the 70th there were maybe only newspapers and alternative prints so on, and they printed out the flyers and be visible. Actually, we noticed that we did not do enough flyers. It is very important to do old means, if you only rely on social media you will be missing lots of people. By the way, in the way social media is organised, even though lots of people were using it, you do not reach all the people. Because of the closed circle that embedded in social media. So to meet people you never would meet is to meet them physically on the street. The consistency of social life which social media doesn't give you.

MK: If you ever participated in the other social movements in the past, what is the most unique about Donnerstagsdemonstration?

DD: Persistency. it is a very obvious one. Less obvious one is we really changed the political culture of speaking like this totally effective quota, we really made sure 70 percent women and 50 percent of migrant background people to come into foreground, who do not have the stage, I am really happy that it was also the obvious thing.

MK: What is your opinion about working with politicians/parties to achieve your goal? Is there any string attached?

DD: What do you mean with work with?

MK: Like involve them in your demonstration.

DD: In our demo we did not do that. But for instance the demo after Kurz government was stepped out, there was a coalition of different demos all together, social democrats, the greens, then we always collaborate, the d-demo was already there, not for politicians who have the stage to speak up but for those who do not have the stage. how many speeches do you hear in the demo? – 6. That is what we

found out- politicians should speak in any space but not in this kind of fragile, minimum space we wanted to make for those who are not speaking up.

MK: How do you use Social Media for fund-raising and promotion?

DD: We are not funded at all. Basically, all of us work for free. All initiatives are – we needed money for truck, mini truck, music equipment, sounds installation in the beginning we work a lot to get a quality bed, to make people understand what was been sent. So we needed money besides all technicians work for free entirely. No one earned anything all the money went to equipment. In the beginning it was very tough, we only had this cloud funding structure not even publicly like some interested group donate for us. Then the continued strength to have equipment was our caps, t-shirts so on these were basically our amazing graphic designer who also worked for free entirely, she together with t-shirt maker, we decided to do caps and t-shirts and we also have people in the demonstration not to sell them, but – because we are not the company who sell things, but just take t-shirts and donate. These donations kept us continuously running.

MK: Do you do Cloud Funding too?

DD: Cloud Funding we officially never did it. We did not have Cloud Funding it was just to see in the beginning to see who were interested in donating because when we had t-shirts and something people can share; people always donate via website. It was very nice way of saying that “ah I will take this t-shirt for my child,” and they donate. It was very effective.

MK: How do you interact/cooperate with other SMOs?

DD: We work with institutions, NGOs, activists groups who were already deep in the field, of course some of us have expertise, for instance like me, obviously I work on public issues and housing space issues and so on but we work together, all of them. Our network is different. We are very heterogeneous group, fighting against right wing government but having different experts and different networks are very helpful. We have a meeting once or two months, we invited interested people and initiatives and we collect ideas. Those meetings are public, everyone can join. What we did not do was to work with political organisations. We were really interested in initiatives and bottom up people who support other people.

MK: lots of organisations want to work with you. Do you have to choose organisation you work with sometimes?

GG: yes, sometimes we have to have a boundary. If organisations are right wing or economical, they do not work with us. We are clearly left set up structure. We carefully look if it is not invading the unity that join the demonstration.

(cut out: thank you and closing words)

Interview 2-2

Interviewer: Mari Kasahara(MK)

Interviewee: Anonymous, an activist from Donnerstagsdemonstration (DD)

Location: Le Burger Mariahilferstraße (Mariahilfer Str. 114, 1070 Wien)

Date and time: 28, January 2020, 14:30

MK: What was the most successful mobilisation using social media?

DD: I would say our very first Donnerstagsdemo mobilisation was successful because we had to do it out of nothing. So it was very very demanding because we had to ask a lot of celebrities, actors, singers and general people who are active or who want to get active and we created videos, and everything, we did a lot of facebook posting, so that was definitely – ah our biggest mobilisation, it was out of nowhere, - we became very big, very fast actually. We used political celebrities, singers who are left as well.

MK: How did you get funded?

DD: We did not have any funding, so it was more like people helping us out, with speakers and microphones so they just gave it to us because they just show the solidarity. And then videos were made with phones so super easy and low quality, also all for free. When we went online, there were lots of people who said, OK this is really cool, we will donate a little bit of money, which is a little amount but most money we got from these T-shirts. We are not using social media for getting money, websites and everything we all did it for free. All the work has to be done for free.

MK: If you ever participated in other social movements in Austria, what is unique about your organisation?

DD: Donnerstagsdemonstration is different, there is no label by law like Frauenvolksbegehren. So it is super non-hierarchical, everyone did everything and we also rotate it, so I did it like social media once, and then I sold T-shirts another time and I made a speech other time and I also organise a car so I learn different things, it is also participative, without experience we learn by doing it, and there is a lot of trust from the others, so it was very very nice. We can also see if we do some things inefficient way, we can switch it. It is very nice to change for good all the time. Also considering social media, at first there are two people doing social media, and how we did social media was very similar all the time, so we decided to do social media little differently, so we are not too perfect and we are not business, and also our concept was not be too much serious about it, - we are not startups or business.

Also, we had one or two parties where we invited people after the demonstration, but in general we started the demo 1800 in the evening and then we have speeches and then we play a bit of music and we went through the cities and we have music between. Then we stop somewhere, and we have speeches again. This party between, making techno music is also protesting.

MK: Do you think social media helps mobilisation?

DD: In general, social media is not our main focus but our bonus, but the main thing is the demonstration every Thursday, but it really helps to mobilise so that people can join and to be recognisable, people know how D-demo looks, our Instagram, so it is more accessible. Because they just come to the page and know "where it is taken place today, ah there, ok" so it really helps. Also, we post a podcast of the speeches afterwards so that people can hear and follow it after the demo, which is super nice. On the other hand, the problem is people get too comfortable and then if they see there are so many people already on social media because they get it online on social media, then people think oh, we don't need to go it is fine. If many people think that, of course less people show up, like "oh, it is cold today so I just listen to the podcast it is fine", so the protest could be more passive because the people are not showing up. So, it is like super powerful, but we are also big at demonstration and we have to be careful, because people get too comfortable. □ their goal is to make people visible

MK: How do you think social media raise awareness of potential participants?

DD: I think every channel has different purposes. FB is very communicative, lots of people leave comments, and start discussions, and Instagram is more for uploading pictures and information is very very quick, Twitter is even faster but also highly political. Of course we wanted to have discussion on social media but our main focus was the discussion happening in the demonstration, SNS is for mobilising people to go to the demonstration, but of course people can see and watch the videos on SNS because we put it there, what we spoke and discussed on the demo, so I think there are different level of participation, people can read, people can comment and the next step will be to go to the demonstration.

MK: Do you start a demo again?

DD: it is on ice now, but if the new government implements a new law or something, we could be back on the street.

MK: How is your protest movement being mobilised using internet and social media? Where online do you put the mobilisation info? (FB, Instagram, Instastories and more?)

DD: D-demo uses Facebook because of the demo every Thursday, Twitter is not suitable for mobilisation, if you post it, it is gone pretty fast, so Instagram or FB are better. We post regularly and

on Facebook, we can also see how many people are coming, but the thing is, our demo was, in the beginning on Facebook lots of people said “going” or “interested” but then in the middle of the year, there were not so many “interested” on FB but they just came, you know because, at some point, every Thursday was so established and they knew they don’t have to press “interested” but they just look up the location and came. It was interesting how social media performed less in the middle term, but the people were the same, or the even more because it was so established.

MK: How each social media channel is organised and operated, and what kind of strength does each channel have?

DD: It is rotated but for every event, we have one person for each account.

MK: How does your organisation perceive Donnerstagsdemonstration and other SMOs?

DD: Donnerstagsdemonstration is not an organisation so we don’t need to cooperate with other organisation, because in German we say “Wir sind kein Bündnis” (we are not an alliance) so we are not in cooperation with lots of organisations ourselves but we had lots of demo, because we know lots of topics but we are not experts, so we often cooperated with one focus of one subject, for example with a climate activist group, and with people who are against right wing party, it was a different collaboration. We had lots of people giving speeches from other organisations, we cooperate it with them.

MK: What is your opinion about working with politicians/parties to achieve your goal? Is there any string attached?

DD: Donnerstagsdemo do not work with politicians, Not at all, it has nothing to do with political party. In d-demo organisation, we are like 30 people and some of us, 2-3 are now organising a political party, but it was not connected to Donnerstag at all. Some people associated with d-demo, but the party has nothing to do with D-demo. We are 100 percent independent, we are not behind any party.

MK: D-demo is not at all political?

DD: I would not say actually, it is just differently political, what we always did was criticising the government, but at the same time, every speech gives different solution, there are lots of really poor people speaking there who are highly political also, the view of donnerstags is also highly political, experiencing racism or sexism, and you can talk about it because you experienced it and it is very very powerful, and very very political but we are not going to the parliament like Frauenvolksbegehren and we are not intended to, so we are just differently political. We are more for overall influence.

MK: Do you cooperate with activists for social media activists?

DD: this is just my personal opinion, but I think it is one way of being active, if it is a shift from offline activism to online activism, I would be against it but I personally think it is one way of being active. But I think in general it is a good thing because online world is so big, but with Donnerstag, we have not worked with activist particular, as we work with them online but there was no focus on it.

MK: Do you think Social Media is the core of protest movement? (One theory said the programmers and the switchers, those who are in charge of social media are the key player of the social movements. To what context do you agree or disagree?)

DD: I am actually not sure on one hand, social media people just repeat everything but of course it is powerful, social media is in general very powerful, I know some people who are politicised only because of the social media, Instagram, who I am now working with. Instagram has lots of influence so as other social media, it is not what I stand for, but it has lots of power in general.

Interview 2-3

Interviewer: Mari Kasahara (MK)

Interviewee: Anonymous, an activist from Donnerstagsdemonstration (DD)

Location: Le Burger Mariahilferstraße (Mariahilfer Str. 114, 1070 Wien)

Date and time: 09. February 2020, 12:00

MK: MK: What is your opinion about Slacktivism?

DD: I think nowadays, well it always depends on how important it is to the society as a whole, since social media has become so important, for us and also for the political discourses, politicians also use social media and wants to have lots of likes and high rates and so on. So I think because of these situation, it has become important for social movements to be present on these platforms. Because then it seems bigger, like for example, our demonstration site has 10,000 likes but only twice we were successful to mobilise 20,000 people. All other demos were around 4,000-5,000. But since our social media rates are so high, I think people thought or put more importance to our issues because they thought lots of people are supporting us. I think it is also important to be there physically, to be together at the same place and share emotions and so. But also, just to be recognised, you have to have social media, I think. When we demonstrate every week, there were people coming, there were lots of fluctuation, always the same people every week, you could see like different issues reaching different communities so we had their support, but they did not show up every time, only came when someone from their community was speaking and so.

MK: Do you think using social media helps mobilise/organise the demo in a better way?

DD: I wouldn't say better. Just different. I think you can reach more people with the issues. And since newspapers and the media today do not write so much about the demo, even though it is quite big, I think they don't put so much importance into them. But they got so huge in social media and it shows that people are interested in our issues and things we are talking about. So, it is kind more bottom up, you use social media, -well, you have algorism though, if you don't wanna pay, but you can use social media without having to connections to the newspaper. But it is easier to mobilise or reach more people, it was more like knowing friends and calling people before. So, it has gotten easier, but it has lost momentum, like oh, I can watch the videos and pictures so I don't need to come because I can see everything online, so we don't need to be there. And I think when we didn't have it, people would show up because they would miss out of the experience.

MK: How do you think Internet and social media help to raise awareness of potential participants, meaning people who are on social media but not in your bubble?

DD: yeah I think it is a really hard part. Well you have to find, maybe like people who have lots of followers to share your stories or you have to pay. But we did not want to do that, because we did not have money because we were not funded by anyone. So we kind of used our social connection to tell people to share or to invite to our events, or like "please tell people to like our page" so that is kind of. Also for example, 20 years ago, when you have to tell people "lets go to the demo" so, if you don't wanna pay and if you don't want to fall in the rubble of the advertisement, you still have to use your social connections.

MK: Where do you put the mobilisation information?

DD: I think it was Facebook to be honest. We tried to use Facebook, Instagram and Twitter to share the same information, but Facebook has the event features, so we don't really have that on Instagram, I think that was the most useful tool for us. Because you can schedule when and where. on Instagram, we do the map of where it starts and end, and share it, so we are also big on Instagram. Also, the thing is, FB is a different social group. Instagram is more for younger people, so I think we really try to use both to reach different age group. So, we use both. But I think the most likes and high rates we got on Facebook.

MK: How is each social media channel is organised and operated?

DD: When we started the demonstration, we had 2 people per platform. But when it is too complicated, we have a groupchat on whatapps and if something is urgent, we made it like everyone can post about that issue. Everyone had a password so that everyone could use the account. But we meet once a week and we assign duties for that week, for example we are also filming for the insta-stories, like "ok this week you are doing Instagram, this week you are doing Facebook". It was like yeah-, everyone did everything. Even the oldest members of our organising group started to learn how to use Instagram.

MK: Ah so the one I saw filming at the demonstration was from your organisation?

DD: Yes, but that demo you attended was a special one, and not all of us were assigned for that. So, there was less people and thus more work. But a year before, when the demo was every week, we would meet on every Monday, and organise for the Thursday, not the next Thursday but the one a week after. So, we discussed what topic we would present, every week we had a different topic. So, we thought about what people do we know and what topic we can talk about and who we contact, what kind of organisations or NGOs we can work with, so we brainstormed every Monday. But also, what was beautiful was, people started to organise by themselves. Like the one with yellow best, the security, there were people who came every week and they just started their own Whatapps chat, and organise themselves for some things, like “OK, we have people for next week, so you don’t need to worry-“, so yeah it is so nice. They just contacted us and said, yeah, “We can do this every week.” And also, in winter people would serve tea and it was also self-organised, people brought a carriage and served tea. Yeah it was so nice, and it is the things which won’t happen on social media. It is a special kind of feeling.

MK: How does D-demo perceive and cooperate with other organisations such as OMAS or Frauenvolksbegehren?

DD: I think, we never really wanted to see ourselves as an organisation but more of like just a collective people organising a platform for other people and organisations to meet and connect. I think that is really what happened. Because all the speakers who we invited were from other organisations, they met at our demonstration and kind of also the last time when you were there, there were people from Catalonia, Spain and Kurdish people and people from Iraq, met at our demonstration and they are organising now a film festival together. So, it is like a platform for different social struggles and movements to connect these struggles. Because if you are connected, you will be bigger and more visible. We never wanted to be one of these organisations we wanted to create the space where people can connect or feel solidarity. Because some speakers had never spoken anywhere before, and we just invited them and they were so happy to feel there is a thousand of people and empower themselves.

MK: How do you raise money? By selling goods?

DD: Well, it was kind of fund raising, because you are not allowed to “sell” stuff without having a license. So, it is like “for donation, you get one T-shirt” so we did that, and we also got amount like 50€ or 20€ from individuals, to our bank account we put on our website. So, there were people donating for us, without us even asking them specifically.

MK: I saw your website it looked very nice and professional, so I thought you have raised money for it too.

DD: Oh yeah but we were lucky because we have the best graphic designer. And she is a friend of ours and she just did it for free. All of our layouts and websites, and social media platforms. And there were lots of situations things cost a lot, but we were just lucky to know lots of people who do it for free for us. Like that was also kind of their “donation” to us. Not monetarised but the work is so valuable.

MK: What is your opinion about working with the political parties or politicians?

DD: when we started we set a guideline, for example like we want to have 70 percent women and 50 percent with people with migration background as a speaker, and also no connection with political parties. Because we wanted to be out of the people who organise NGOs and we did not want our demo to be a political advertisement for the left wing parties only because it was against the right wing, didn’t mean it was for the left wing. Of course, the conclusion people make out of the speeches and so, of course they wouldn’t vote for the right wing parties after listening to refugees but there were also politicians at the demo from the left wing party but we really didn’t want to let them speak because they already have a platform to speak. We really wanted to give that platform to the people who are not heard.

MK: Do you cooperate with activists for social media activities?

DD: We talked about it a lot because it bothered some of us. We have people in the team who are organising, they were known before, they had lots of followers on Instagram so on and they were active for a long time. But we didn’t want one face to represent us because we are a team of 20 people, and we didn’t want to be just one face and who should be visible are women and migrant

backgrounds. It was like we picked 8 people, 7 women and 1 man to speak to the media interviews and requests and be socially visible and so on. So, we didn't want social media to decide who is the face of the demo, but we decided it this way. We invite activists for speeches, but we have not decided who to be a face. For example, we had a rapper who was performing many times and people loved it so she also became a face, but it was ok, because she was representing it in the right way, the demo is not just us organising it, but also people who participate. Some people are yeah more visible.

MK: Do you think social media is a core of social movement?

DD: honestly, I don't think so. Because it is about the people, like you can't have the best algorithm and have no topics to mobilise people. Of course, advertisement works, and social media creates interests in people, but I think what is the different from social media protest to the social movement is the feeling. It is more than just likes and hearts but the all feeling together, something new, so I don't think you can feel it on social media, it is something that happens on the street. And if something happened and people feel touched by it, social media can organise them or algorithm can create the program to reach more people and interest them more but I don't think it is enough. I don't think you can transmit the emotion that we have on the streets on social media. So the key factor is not a social media but actual people. I don't think we had had that much impact on political discourse or agendas if we just created social media platforms and people liked it. It is like the most important thing is actual protest and it gets on social media and gets likes but it has to happened in the reality first and not online.

3. OMAS GEGEN RECHTS

Interview 3-1

Interviewer: Mari Kasahara(MK)

Interviewee: Anonymous, an activist from OMAS (OMA)

Location: Vienna State Opera(Opernring 2, 1010 Wien)

Date and time: 21 November 2019, 18:00

MK: You are founded on Facebook in 2017,

OMA: yes, actually Omas has been already founded and active since 2000, when the first SW/BL coalition occurred. We had a gathering and charity events for example at the church. Omas is non-political organization everyone can join no matter what your political relief is, neo-liberal, ultra-social, and so on. it does not matter. Omas is a unique figure but we protest – I am sure that you saw our agendas online but- we protest everything from anti-racism to climate-change, we protest for the future, for our children and grandchildren's future.

MK: You also participate in D-demo?

OMA: Yes, today we participate in d-demo, tomorrow we are participating to the demo to anti-discrimination. It is all spontaneous and we share it within our group and whoever wants to join- can join. We have a placard for protest and we Omas join the demo which is on our agenda.

MK: Do you also mobilize protest by yourself?

OMA: Yes, but normally we have Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and also our member Forum, so that we share protest information mainly on Facebook and in our Whatappsgroup and whoever has time, will join. For example, joining the d-demo today was my idea, and I posted in our Forumgroup. Tomorrow is the same, we also share that we are participating in d-demo on our SNS channel (Instagram, Facebook etc) but mainly on Facebook.

MK: Omas started in Austria but now you are also in Germany, how do you operate ?

OMA: Omas was founded by Monica Salzer and Susanne Scholl, and yes they are now also in Berlin, also in Italy and in Netherland, we are forming Omas, I am not so familiar with it so you should talk to Monica about it.

The unique point is, - Omas are always a good figure, kind, calm, comfortable to talk to-, so even the people who hesitates to talk or to join such events, they can always talk to us and they do.

MK: How do you get more members in your group?

OMA: You need a recommendation from the current member at the moment because -, the right wing hates us and we do not want a fake member, we only want people who are as passionate as us, and who really care about what we are doing. So to be in Omas Forum (membership), yes someone in our group need to know that person well and prove that they are qualified member. If someone who doesn't know anyone in our group wants to join, - she can always come and talk to us and we can see her idea and passion, then you can be a member.

MK: How do you decide which protest you join ?

OMA: We have a gathering with all members once in a month and there we make sure our plan and what we are up to, also like today, if there is a protest we should join, active member would post it on our group and Facebook saying that I am joining this demo, so please join as well- people can join, like today (There are 5-6 participants from OMAS), and it is mostly from our member and spontaneous. There are inactive members as well, they are not coming to the protest, they are busy with something else so they cannot be physically here, but they support us, for example, if we are attacked online, on Facebook and got negative outcomes, they are going to support us by giving a counter discussion or comments, this is how we work.

MK: Oh that's an interesting role play. Thank you so much for your time, the demo starts any soon.

Interview 3-2

Interviewer: Mari Kasahara(MK)

Interviewee: Anonymous, Executive Board Member from OMAS (OMA)

Location: By call

Date and time: 15 January, 13:00

MK: What was the background of funding your organisation?

OMA: Do you have our book? A lot mentioned there.

MK: Yes, political instability and to show the opposition against the government.

OMA: Yes, and look, you might not know the exact reason, what was the beginning, but it was my mothers funeral, and we buried my mother next day and there I saw many pictures of grandmothers, so I was very impressed by their lives.

MK: Do you think using social media helps mobilise/organise the demo in a better way?

OMA: Yes sure! Without Facebook it would be very difficult to found this group. Therefore, I went to Facebook and this was very easy. I am not a big fan of Facebook but for this use, Facebook is very good to bring people together. Some OMAS are not on Facebook but now we have a homepage and twitter, instagram so we can connect.

MK: Are you responsible for Twitter and Instagram too?

OMA: I am responsible for everything, haha because we founded ein "Verein", do you know "Verein"? this is so zu sagen, "official" union and therefore, I am the leader of this "Verein", and I am the founder of the group. The interesting thing is that, I was yesterday in Graz and Steiermark and there are so many political thinking there. Women who make many projects against nationalist. In history, we had already "Nazi" men, street men, - they fought against these Nazi men (people) but it was not so easy. Thus, this project we have.

MK: What is your opinion about working with politicians? You are party-independent?

OMA: Yes, we are independent. We don't work with parties together. We belong to (are) civil organisation.

MK: You are re

sponsible for all social media platform. How do you organise all SNS?

OMA: Now we have two students for this. One is responsible for sites; Facebook sites and mainly far right people are posting there so we need management.

MK: What kind of strength does each channel have?

OMA: The best we can not say, because Facebook is also communicating with people and many hate speeches and so on. Facebook should be better.

MK: So you think Facebook is more interactive and communicative than other platform like Instagram or Twitter?

OMA: hmm yes.

MK: Do you use social media for fund-raising?

OMA: Fund-raising? We did not.

MK: How do you think social media helps to raise the awareness of potential participants?

OMA: Yes! It helps. Internet is helping the right and left people haha.

MK: How do you think? I mean some people think it is better to go on a street than use social media.

OMA: yeah sure, we can communicate on internet, we have been a part of Donnerstagsdemonstration and this was very important that we have this information. Without internet, we have no chance to develop the movement, to go on a street, no chance. I don't know how people did it before Internet.

MK: Oh Ok, so you use social media to inform the movement as well, like you (OMAS) are protesting in Berlin next week etc?

OMA: Yes, look, I am 72. Others are also around my age; we all use internet. Older ones who are 80, 90 they use Internet too but not in this way.

MK: What is the most challenge to achieve your goal?

OMA: look, **it is not so easy to connect a real speech**. Because yesterday I was in Steiermark and Graz and I have learnt so much about these women there, and in March I will make a journey to Germany to Bonn, to Freiburg and so on, and it is so interesting what the groups there built up, and we are lucky to take our agenda, our believe. We have a community and we have something in common together. But, in the other cities Köln, in Berlin, all other cities are special. This is so interesting, so many different cultures for protesting, we made it together with the heads (hats) and songs, diese Silder, diese Taffel, wir haben aber dann doch ein eigene Kultur Gemeinschaft. Ja ? a very special culture of community it is very ähnlich, similar. Special and similar. This is very exciting. Look! We have more than hundred groups in Germany. You cannot believe.

MK: Are you also responsible for German groups?

OMA: No, no I am only responsible for Austrian groups. Not the special small groups but we have this "Verein" and public relations, these are in our hands. All 9 Bundeslander they are in the way of developing.

MK: How do you support, cooperate with other SMOs?

OMA: We make meetings, we connect each other next week as well. We make networking.

MK: With Donnerstagsdemonstration?

OMA: now it is not Donnerstagsdemo. A part of D-demo is making its own party. And the party is called "Links". This week or last week they made a first conference. They have their own party "links for Vienna". For the election in Vienna. It is very difficult now to demonstrate against SW/BL because SW/BL is anywhere. Now have SW/Grün or Türkis/Grün, these two parties and it is not easy. So, I don't think they can work more than 2 years. But we will see. Türkis party will be a dictator, they are making this way and I am sure they will continue it. We have Green/Turquoise.

MK: what is the most unique about OMAS compared to other SMOs?

OMA: (...) It was and is old ÖVP party. New Sebastian Kurz wants to go to ilibearal Demokratie. Now this is clear. He makes politics only for his right side, no other party can exist. This is very good because FPÖ has no chance, but he is also, I am sure, he is only a cancellor .. ah ich sage das in Deutsch, ich glaub nicht dass er alles umsetzen will, was er sagt. Er ist deklartions Kanzeller. Er sagt immer das und das er machen will alles scheitert an dem Gesetzen ja ? his proposals are, most of them are not possible, seine Vorschläge können nicht umgesetzt werden. Wenn es an dem grundrechten scheitert, wenn es an dem Menschenrechten scheitert, wenn es an der Verfassung scheitert, aso er macht seine Ankündigungspolitik, hat damit rechtenrand erwischt, rechtenrand abgedeckt, (...) das ist eine unglaubliche Frechheit. (...) Green people said, Sie müssen die sitzung unterbrechen weil die andere nicht gebildet genug (...).

(we talked about if Politics is politics or it is just public relations/corruption)

Interview 3-3

Interviewer: Mari Kasahara(MK)

Interviewee: Anonymous, an activist from OMAS (OMA)

Location: Café Hummel, (Josefstädter Str. 66, 1080 Wien)

Date and time: 28 January 2020, 16:00

MK: What was the most successful mobilisation using social media?

OMA: well yes, the first thing when the group was founded, we had Facebook, that was the first, then we had Twitter, January 2018 we launched the website. And we are using all these platforms now, parallel. Because there are many OMAS who are not member of FB so they avoid FB and but they are going to be informed. We have Whatappsgroup too but (if we post mobilisation info) on FB we get more people. The main members are on FB. We have to cross contact on FB.

MK: I heard that it is strict to be chosen as a member?

OMA: well, in the beginning it is not strict, now we are strict. For instance, I am an admin too so even today I looked into the applications, we are trying to keep out someone spying on us, well, it is not so ridiculous, the right wing radical groups want to do harm, want to make us look ridiculous on social media. In the beginning was not so, Monica Salzer, the founder, she took everyone. Then we started to watch certain people, you know, dismissing them again. the professional spies are coming back with the different name and the different troops, then we are looking up the sites of the people, and there we can see only one picture or always the same picture or only recent pictures, then we throw them out again. It could be they are what do you call it- you have to be careful. They took a street shot of our members and put it on the right-wing websites or FB sites and there they made it ridiculous or said that we are radicals or things like that. So, this is well, dangerous. This is also dangerous for OMAS, OMAS is a closed group, if they put their picture, there is their names, it is easy to find out where she lives.

MK: What happens if a person come to the demo spontaneously and ask you to join ?

OMA: well we try to get as much information as possible about this person, if there is their name, also if there is a group they are following, so we look through the name of the groups and if there is a suspicious group, I throw them out. I don't know how the other admins are doing this, but I throw them out. And if I have some doubts, I do my own research on google. We try to cross-check as much as possible.

MK: If you have participated in other social movement in Austria, what is most unique about OMAS?

OMA: well, we also have an international group "Grannies against the right-wing parties in Europe" and in Germany there are many many groups, and all the German groups are our follower, they all started after us in Vienna. Big groups in Germany, they all accepted our basic statement, and also have it on their website.

MK: Do you think using social media helps the mobilisation in a better way?

OMA: yes, that's a very good media to mobilise. Information goes very fast.

MK: where do you think is the best to put mobilisation info?

OMA: well there is not so many OMAS on instagram so FB. But I guess this depends on our age, we just manage to well handle FB and Instagram is much newer, and everything goes faster. For me personally I have an account on Twitter, but I don't use it. It makes me nervous, ah, what is coming next and so. You get crazy.

MK: How do you think the social media increase the awareness of the potential participants?

OMA: well in our groups, daily there is a very active group, it is not a core group with admin and so but wider groups are active, and these groups are very active, has lots of connection with sources, they put these on FB, lots of OMAS are reading but not actively posting on FB. But they really think it is important to share the information, what the right wing is doing, what is going on and so on.

MK: So, you think FB increase the awareness?

OMA: For instance, I hate to go to FB of FPÖ and so, but if there is some information valuable for our whole work, yes then other OMAS are posting about it, to be informed. What is going there and so on, but I personally do not go to these pages because it makes me sick. So, I am kind of participating, in this case, many of OMAS do this for instance, I go to English websites or papers there I copy articles and put it. Also, information about instances what OMAS in Germany are doing, now we have a group in Italy in southern Tirol and also in Switzerland. This is important.

MK: What is your fundamental goal?

OMA: one of the main goals during the last two years was fighting against the coalition, coalition between ÖVP/FPÖ which we think is a right-wing party. Even extremely right-wing people from this party have been ministers of the government so it is unacceptable. Also what ÖVP is doing is cutting the right of working people, and so social security is also cut down, they have this ideology, economy is only flushing if you cut down the social security and give lower wages to the people so that they can have the profits. That is not ok. That is not traditional in Austria. We don't want homeless on the street, we don't want old people going through the garbage bins because they can not afford food, and things like that. We did not have it in Austria, and we don't want it in the future, it is very simple. So, we are watching what is going on, what the government is doing, if again the country goes to this direction, we will make our protest and demonstration against it.

MK: Do you think Greens and ÖVP is better?

OMA: I don't think so. For the last few weeks we see so much green signs in this. Even the coalition treaty they made, all the economical important ministry are on the Türkis side and not on the Green side so the Green says "oh we want to do this" and then the financial minister say "no we don't have the money for this." Traditionally the ministry of social affairs was including the social security for unemployment people but now they put it out and put the ministry which has nothing to do with this. And they put Türkis minister so we are suspicious that they want to take off the allowance for the unemployed people and put more pressure on these people. Make a reform and a model equals very much to Harz vier in Germany and this, the result of all of this, Germany has the highest numbers of low wages jobs in all Europe. This is the consequence of Harz Vier. 15 years ago they made this new system Harz Vier and after 6 months all people has to change to social aids if they have not got the jobs, so they are pressed into jobs which are very low wages and so they can not afford living on this. They work 40 hours a week, but they can not afford living on this, those people works 40h a week and they can hardly pay the rent for the apartment. And this is very common in Germany. We don't want it to happen in Austria, so we are looking for what is going on.

MK: Where do you put mobilisation info?

OMA: Usually on FB and the website, probably on Twitter too. And we communicate on private group too.

MK: How do you bring the unconscious (new participants) citizen into your movement? You have to examine them carefully but, ...

OMA: one thing is meanwhile, many many media and newspapers are making photos and doing interviews so in last years Monica made so many interviews yes? Always repeating the stories and our

goals. So, people can read it on the paper. And if we go with out buttons on the streets or go our tram or so, people ask us or say “hallo, it is great what you are doing” and so on, so we get the feedback like that from the people. And mostly positive feedback. It has never happened to me that I got someone well yelling on me or being aggressive or so. Some people stare and look away or they make positive statements. We have small group which are active, and during summer we went to parts and we talk to people. We made an information sheet and we talked to them so that they can ask questions and so on. We really got good political discussion. Also during the winter time now we will start again things like that and we have a creative group they plan events on the streets, last summer we made statements from right wing moves and we put our papers and then we ask our people on the street or we asked what they think is the right wing thinking or opinion, and they wrote it down. We asked people and kids also, like what do you think of your grandmother? What is grandma doing and so on. We want to change the usual picture of people have on grandmother, they sit themselves home and knitting and so. But we are going on a street, we are loud, and we are speaking out of our opinion. This is something not so familiar for old women in our society. This is something new and we also got very positive feedback, We made it three times to Mariahilferstraße, ja? The whole movement of OMAS is a certain sample of older women who usually have been working and they manage the family and yes they are involved in all kinds of things and they usually have higher education so it is kind more common that they speak out about their opinion. But still main picture of old women is a quite and only looking after family and sitting at home. We also do, we call it “Market days” on Friday and on Saturday, many people are going to the market, naschmarkt and several market in Vienna and there we give our fliers and wow it was a big success.

MK: Do you think it was bigger success than FB?

OMA: hmm kind of. So at least we reached the people who are not FB or who are not on Instagram.

MK: How does your organisation perceive Donnerstagsdemonstration and other SMOs?

OMA: We cooperate with about 50 other cooperation, there is a group called, anti-fascist movement, and also womens group, one million rising group in Austria, we are cooperating and they give us information and we also participate in events they organise so, we always go.

MK:those organisations must have the same claims as you have?

OMA:this happens only once. But wow it would be possible, depends on the topic.

MK: How do you use Social Media for fund-raising and promotion?

OMA: if we want to have objective information about or some topic I don't go on Facebook but I go on google and check what we have, who is writing what or what other media writing about this topic, the very good tool for this is actually Youtube, they have lots of medias about scientists who talk about several topics, philosophy or economics or social topics, about history and so on. As for donation, we funded as official association and we have members paying members. So, this is kind of the base of our budget we have, and also, we can also pay as a donation to our organisation.

MK: are you making money with the Goods?

OMA: well not so much, we have some OMAS who like to knit, and we have 2 places in Vienna where you can buy hats.

MK: Have you done cloud funding?

OMA: No I will tell you the reason, we don't want to be a kind of social organisation, giving some sort of social aids or so to some specific individuals yes? We want to be a political group we are not supporting people who are in need. So we are not asking for money to do certain things. Till now we have never done it. We have donation, enough to finance for instance, the trips Monica Salzer made to Germany, the last source is she wrote a book and that's a best seller, so a part of this book goes to the OMAS.

MK:So you haven't done cloud funding but people can donate via your official website.

OMA: yes but it is necessary, we can change it too. So we are open.

MK: what is your opinion about working with politicians?

OMA: well we tried to but the right-wing politicians, they did not answer us, they did not answer the letters and so. Meanwhile it has changed a little, for instance, in upper Austria and Linz, the group there they have a very active leader and she wrote letters protesting against certain things to the chief of the region, landeshauptmann, and this he started answering letters. This is kind of something new. But on the social democratic side, the left side, we have a lot of members of green politicians ja? They are just OMA members, also a lot from SPÖ because we are a left organisation. We are not conservative right. But in the beginning Susanne Schöl, the second funder of the movements, she was invited to the interview and one of the first one was the leader of the SPÖ. But we are not all SPÖ or Green party, we have lots of OMAS who used to vote for the conservative parties too and another principal is we are strictly non-party politics. OMAS per se is not a political party connected.

MK: Do you think Social Media is the core of protest movement? (One theory said the programmers and the switchers, those who are in charge of social media are the key player of the social movements. To what context do you agree or disagree?)

OMA: probably not. As far as I know from the d-demo, the manager, the organiser of D-demo, they also took the financial risk or hire or they always the car or stage on this, who hired these things, we were not involved, we didn't pay for this. People donated, other organisations pay for this, they also had a website. So, they organised these things with this budget. (not automatically by SNS) our initial thing was on FB, it is kind of the most important things, within 3 weeks we had more 3500 people in the group so. It is important and if there is a further event it will be published on FB and then all the other media.

we are not a core of the protest, but OMA had other roles, we were passive fires. When there are demonstrations, when it gets more and more aggressive.

There was a meeting of the management of the EU government, Austria was in charge, and it made a great high level meeting in Salzburg, and there was a big demonstration in Salzburg also radicals came from Germany, there was a leftist group they are called "black-block", who always dress in black, they are young left activists, and they used to get aggressive against police, in Salzburg for instance, and police had a weird idea that they did not want a demonstration goes over the main bridge into the downtown Salzburg because there were lots of politicians from EU states were gathering so they stopped the whole thing, this was a place where a big street came up then the small streets were continuing so everything got stuck, there were thousands of people and people from the back were pushing so it always got closer and closer and there was one line of police men and there were three lines if you wanted to go through, police pushed you back with the shields and so on, and they the black block went to the front and tried to push through at this moment, some OMAS went to the lines of black block and then they went up between the police and black block, and they put up their hands and started to sing the OMA song, you could see that even the police men started smiling. All the aggression went down and they find a solution so the demonstration could go on. So, it could finish as it was planned, but it was very risky by the police to stop, so the OMAS had a certain role in this.