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„Cancel Culture Chronicles: Exploring Cancel-Culture,
Newspaper, and the White Elephant in the Room“

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*On my honour as a student of the Diplomatische Akademie Wien, I submit this work in good faith
and pledge that I have neither given nor received unauthorized assistance on it.*

Matthias Mersich

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Abstract

This study examines the phenomenon of Cancel Culture, which originated from the online practices of Black Twitter and has sparked a contentious debate following the footsteps to that of political correctness. While discussions on various forms of ongoing structural discrimination have gained prominence in recent years, opponents of these debates have adopted a new narrative since approximately 2018: Cancel Culture. This narrative portrays Cancel Culture as a form of identity politics that attacks culture, democracy, and freedom, perpetuated by a radical minority (referred to as "woke") that allegedly tyrannizes the majority. The aim of this research is to explore how the critique of identity politics is used to further the identity politics of the Dominanzkultur. The study focuses on the development, contextualization, and utilization of this narrative by media outlets and political parties in German-speaking Europe. A mixed-methods approach was employed, utilizing discourse analysis of online articles on Cancel Culture and their comments from six newspapers. The sample includes one right-leaning and one left-leaning newspaper from Austria, Germany, and Switzerland, allowing for a comparison of discourses across different German-speaking countries and political affiliations. Through this research, it becomes evident how Cancel Culture, generally, is instrumentalized in discussing various topics, including gender and race, ultimately reinforcing the Dominanzkultur.

Keywords: Cancel Culture, identity politics, media, Dominanzkultur, whiteness

Diese Arbeit untersucht das Phänomen der *Cancel Culture*, das aus den Online-Praktiken von Schwarzen Twitter-User:innen entstand und eine umstrittene Debatte ausgelöst, die in die Fußstapfen der *Politischen Korrektheit* getreten ist. Während die Diskussionen über verschiedene Formen anhaltender struktureller Diskriminierung in den letzten Jahren an Bedeutung gewonnen haben, haben die Gegner:innen dieser Debatten seit etwa 2018 ein neues Narrativ angenommen: Cancel Culture. Dieses Narrativ stellt Cancel Culture als einen identitätspolitischen Angriff auf Kultur, Demokratie und Freiheit dar, der von einer radikalen Minderheit (die als "woke" bezeichnet wird) verübt wird und dadurch die Mehrheit tyrannisiert. Ziel dieser Studie ist es zu untersuchen, wie die Kritik an der Identitätspolitik genutzt wird, um die Dominanzkultur zu fördern. Die Studie konzentriert sich auf die Entwicklung, Kontextualisierung und Nutzung dieses Narrativs durch Medien und politische Parteien im deutschsprachigen Europa. Es wurde

ein Mixed-Methods-Ansatz angewandt, bei dem eine Diskursanalyse von Online-Artikeln zum Thema Cancel Culture und deren Kommentaren aus sechs Zeitungen durchgeführt wurde. Die Stichprobe umfasst jeweils eine politisch rechte und eine politisch linke Zeitung aus Österreich, Deutschland und der Schweiz, was einen Vergleich der Diskurse in verschiedenen deutschsprachigen Ländern und politischen Zugehörigkeiten ermöglicht. Anhand dieser Untersuchung wird deutlich, wie Cancel Culture im Allgemeinen für die Diskussion verschiedener Themen, einschließlich Gender und Race, instrumentalisiert wird, was letztlich die Dominanzkultur stärkt.

Keywords: Cancel Culture, Identitätspolitik, Medien, Dominanzkultur, whiteness

Preface

“Welche Studenten beschäftigen sich mit CANCEL CULTURE. ?

Möglicherweise Wichtigtuer die feststellen müssen, dass sie das Studienziel nicht erreichen können und auf diese Art und Weise Bestätigung suchen? (z.B. Grünen Politiker)

Oder Studenten die erkennen müssen, dass man mit dem eingeschlagenen Studienzweig später keine Möglichkeit hat seinen Lebensunterhalt zu sichern?

Naturwissenschaftler werden wohl eher nicht sein.“ (Gartner, 2022)

Thank you for the questions you raised in your comment Mr. Gartner! You see, I am a student that engages with Cancel Culture. Funny enough, I am indeed completing my studies by doing research on this topic. As you already stated, I am no student of natural science, even though I would be highly interested in how natural scientists approach the phenomenon of Cancel Culture. I am studying this phenomenon from a social science perspective to understand why it is so outraging for Mr. Gartner and so many others. Why do people care about it?

Why do I care about it? I belong to the Austrian ethnic minority of *Burgenlandkroat:innen*. I am mostly read as White due to my family history of assimilation (e.g., Germanizing our Last Name or abandoning the Croatian language). However, this resulted in intergenerational trauma and questions of belonging, especially when my whiteness was questioned. Generally, however, I am privileged by mostly belonging to the Dominanzkultur, e.g., being Austrian, Christian, male, a native German speaker, etc. I am convinced that we as a society need to work through whiteness and the Dominanzkultur to create a more equitable society. This is why I do deal with Cancel Culture academically. I care.

1. Introduction

Seven years ago, the institution I am now studying at hosted a conference about *Politische Korrektheit*. In 2016, leading scholars and politicians met to discuss the phenomenon of political correctness, marking the debate around it as highly influential for international cooperation and communication (Dippelreiter & Dippelreiter, 2017). In her opening speech the former deputy director Susanne Keppler-Schlesinger (2017) stated that the addressed issues are also relevant for the students of the Diplomatic Academy: “*Diese Fragen stellen sich wohl auch unter diesem Dach: Im aktuellen akademischen Jahr leben, diskutieren und studieren hier 184 junge Menschen aus der ganzen Welt*“ (p. 19). Following in these footsteps, this thesis is engaging with the interlinked debate of Cancel Culture.

Since then, several movements have dwelled on topics frequently subject to debates on political correctness, such as race or gender. Black Lives Matter and related initiatives in diverse countries that are acting toward racial equality raised awareness regarding the continuing discrimination many people worldwide face due to the maintenance of a global system of racial ordering. As the names of those organizations signal (e.g., Black Voices), they mainly focus on how black and people of Color experience racism and how this discrimination can and should be overcome.¹ However, acts and actions related to those movements (e.g., #RhodesMustFall) led to broader discussions on issues of racism in many countries throughout the last decade. Additionally, the MeToo movement and rising awareness regarding LGBTQ+ rights add to the intensified debate on identity politics. These movements inspire this thesis which dismantles the problem of continuing structural discrimination by analyzing the center of power: Whiteness/Dominanzkultur.²

This center of power has detected a threat to its very existence in the form of the so-called Cancel Culture (CC), which is seen as an attack on culture and freedom by a radical minority that tyrannizes the majority, for example, the Austrian philosopher Konrad Paul Liessmann (2022) stated lately. However, politicians like Donald Trump (Dale, 2020) and Vladimir Putin (Sauer, 2022) also warn against this phenomenon and use the narrative to pursue their goals. CC is broadly discussed in the media, from social media to traditional print media, and the discourse

¹ c.f. Black Voices Volksbegehren in Austria.

² If in this thesis “White“ is written with a capital “W“ it refers to the social construct of whiteness and not the objective skin color of a person.

seems not to stop. As Adrian Daub (2022) points out, this broad “alliance“ against CC is only possible because people believe they are all discussing the same thing. Meanwhile, the concept is contextualized and interpreted according to the different situations, making it a meme or discourse tool that can be applied as people wish.

However, Cancel Culture in German-speaking Europe has not yet been researched in detail from the perspective of CWS/Dominanzkultur. Studying this subject, therefore, contributes to debates about structural racism, sexism, and other forms of discrimination and deconstructs the system of dominance. Focusing on how the culture of dominance is reaffirmed unveils patterns of self-proclaimed (color-)blindness, thereby opening possibilities to critically question racial/cultural hegemony.

The central hypothesis is that by criticizing the identity politics that CC supports, people construct and reinforce their own identities in rejection of the issues addressed by the narrative of CC. Hence, I aim to analyze and discuss the endorsement and (re-) construction of the Dominanzkultur through the moral panic regarding Cancel Culture. In this research, Dominanzkultur acts as the independent variable that influences the dependent variables of the moral panic of Cancel Culture. Hence, my research question is: How does the debate about cancel culture endorse and construct the Dominanzkultur?

To answer the research question, Cancel Culture is analyzed through a combination of Critical Whiteness Studies (CWS) and the concept of Dominanzkultur, which will be elaborated on thoroughly later. However, this scholarship not only provides the theoretical framework for this thesis but also:

“[...] has an activist dimension, as part of an overall intellectual project of anti-racism, [...]. It builds on the work of black thinkers, concurring that there can be no racial justice without attention to white supremacy and the contributions of white people to its historical and current structures of domination“ (Hunter & van der Westhuizen, 2022, pp. 3–4).

These anti-racist components of CWS cannot be ignored and are inherent in this thesis.

The empirical part of this thesis analyzes articles from six newspapers addressing CC and their comment sections. The regional focus is on German-speaking Europe, with two newspapers from Switzerland, Germany, and Austria. Through this research, I want to show how the moral panic of CC connects different parts of society that would otherwise not feature many shared opinions. The construction and reaffirmation of the Dominanzkultur do not only happen in groups that are outside of the mainstream discourse but are part of it. I argue that even though the discourses in the different groups may not interact with each other directly, they still serve the same purpose of maintaining the White culture of dominance. However, I will also address the differences in the narrative and language.

Regarding the structure of my thesis, I first dwell on the theoretical background sounding the research, which includes a literature review and the exploration of my theoretical concept, in chapter 2, *Theoretical Background*. Consequently, I will explain and justify methodological considerations in chapter 3. In chapter 4, *Analysis/Results*, I then display findings and relate them to existing scholarship. My conclusion, further to summarizing findings, expands on limitations, further research and the societal relevance of this work.

2. Theoretical Background

In order to provide an exhaustive comprehension of the subject of this research, the following chapter explores vital prior scholarship and theories and concepts used. After first reviewing relevant literature in section 2.1, I will explain my theoretical framework in section 2.2.

2.1 Literature review

2.1.1 Racism and Whiteness in German-speaking countries

As Araba Evelyn Johnston-Arthur already argued in 2014, racism in Austria is often perceived as a problem of class that is reproduced by the lower classes and not as an inherent part of the society. Moreover, since Austria did not have colonies, it is often perceived as a neutral power in discussions about colonialism and present-day racism as a novelty. However, as Johnston-Arthur (2014) points out, Austria is embedded in the European colonial system of thought and shares the same patterns. Moreover, the shared history of Austria and Germany led to different discourses about racism, where race is almost always connected to nazism and antisemitism. As a result, racism is broadly considered an issue of the past by Germans and Austrians (Hund, 2017).

Nevertheless, the persistence of racism in Austria significantly impacts many people in Austria, as the yearly reports of Zivilcourage und Anti-Rassismus-Arbeit (ZARA) point out. Similar things can be said about Switzerland, where systemic racism was recently addressed by UN human rights experts, which found that especially people of African descent experience racial discrimination (OHCHR, 2022).

However, the forms of racism differ from those in the USA. As Gudrun Harrer (2010) pointed out, while forms of racism such as antisemitism are frowned upon by mainstream media in Austria, Islamophobia is widespread and socially acceptable, making it present in the media. This is also reflected by more recent research, such as by Benjamin Opratko (2019), who analyzes Islamophobia in Austria as historicist racism. In his paper, the author mainly focuses on the construction of the Other rather than analyzing the construction of the Self. Therefore, shifting the focus to the construction of the Self would open up new research opportunities.

Shona Hunter and Christi van der Westhuizen (2022) point out that research about whiteness tends to be dominated by the US, Britain, and other Anglophile countries. As such, the latter study discusses how whiteness was employed by Donald Trump, in the United Kingdom to

secure the support of the working class or by Bolsonaro in terms of colorblindness to deny the existence of racism in Brazil (Mitchell, 2022; Mondon et al., 2019).

More intersectional approaches that try to analyze (White) cultures of dominance are, for example, brought forth by Ashley A. Mattheis (2022). The author discusses the reproduction of whiteness in social media by analyzing how the so-called *#Trad culture* encourages women to pursue traditional (binary) gender roles and mobilizes (White) femininity to support dominant systems of race, gender, and class. Members of *#Trad* mainly identify “[...] as white, culturally ‘Western’, and Christian“ (Mattheis, 2022, p. 92). However, this ideology is also connected to other far-right ideologies such as the conspiracy narratives of White Genocide and Great Replacement (Mattheis, 2022). Connecting these findings to the subject of this study, several parallels appear. In fact, the discourse about Cancel Culture (CC) addresses similar aspects as issues prominently discussed by the far-right.

2.1.2 Cancel Culture from a historical perspective.

The origins of CC as a moral panic and its transition from the USA over the Atlantic to Europe have been studied by Adrian Daub (2022). He explains that the panic of being canceled made Cancel Culture far more prominent than initially intended: as an ironic joke among Leftist groups. The author shows how CC replicates the same political correctness (PC) debates that already erupted in the 1990s. Moreover, he illustrates how this discourse was led and instrumentalized by the political right and consequently adopted in Europe without contextualization. However, noticeably, Daub does not analyze the media discourse in German-speaking Europe in detail.

Connecting the political correctness debate with the CC debate also draws attention to other texts, especially theses submitted at the University of Vienna, which have been written about the political correctness debate. For example, Aleksandra Kosla's (2014), who did linguistic research on the influence of political correctness on the written discourse. The author shows that the debate on political correctness, to a certain degree, influenced the use of discriminatory language between the 1960s and the 2000s. Similarly, Ulrike Kramer (2006) studied the impact of PC on dictionaries.

As mentioned above, the phenomenon of CC has not been researched exhaustively in the context of its political impact. However, the discourse about or against PC has been analyzed by several scholars. For one, authors such as Auer (2000) analyze the right-wing discourse on PC and especially points out which narratives are used. Furthermore, the PC discourse in British print media has been studied by Eva-Maria Auer (2004) who explores the history of the PC debate and displays how it was replicated in the media. This discourse was also analyzed by Matthias Dusini and Thomas Edlinger (2012), which to a certain degree, can be seen as the precursor of Daub's (2022) book, as the targeted similar issues.

Contrariwise, the books that warn against PC are numerous. In 1995, Michael Behrens and Robert von Rimscha described PC as an imminent danger to democracy in Germany. Similar arguments can be found more than 25 years later in *Jahrmarkt der Befindlichkeiten* by Bernd Ahrbeck (2022) and *Die Wokeness Illusion* published by Alexander Marguier and Ben Krischke (2023).

Examining the authors of this small exemplary sample reflecting scholarship on PC both from a critical leftist as well as critical rightist perspective, a gender imbalance appears; while men predominantly warn against PC, women study the phenomenon.

Other publications that try to grasp the entirety of the PC discourse are the collections of essays published by Maria and Michael Dippelreiter (2017) and Annika Domainko, Tobias Heyl et al. (2023), in which the scholar examine existing literature.

Through this literature review on Whiteness in Austria, CC, and PC, it became evident how aspects connected to Anglo-American examinations of Whiteness online align with discourses regarding the CC and PC debate. Further, I provided an overview of CC's history and how it has been found to replicate discourses connected to PC. However, no scholarship on CC's discourse in Austria could be found. PC, however, has been studied in the case of Austria and from several perspectives that also provide insights into CC's impact. Summing up, several research gaps, especially regarding the examination of CC in German-speaking media, appeared.

2.2 Theoretical framework

After having reviewed the scholarship on whiteness in Austria, CC, and PC, I will now explain concepts vital for this research in the next step. More in detail, in what follows, I will explore the concepts of Whiteness and Dominanzkultur, Cancel Culture, and ideology politics.

2.2.1 Whiteness and Dominanzkultur

First, I will dwell on the concept of whiteness and Dominanzkultur, more specifically, its origins and relevance when studying CC.

Generally, this paper adopts the decolonial definition of the global system as global coloniality. This theory states that while the era of formal colonialism largely ended, the global dependencies and power disparities are still in place (Hunter & van der Westhuizen, 2022). This system establishes “[...] hierarchical racial ordering, which works to systemically exclude people racialised as outside of whiteness (as black, brown, yellow, red, minority ethnic, and so on) from material and cultural resources“ (Hunter & van der Westhuizen, 2022, p. 137). Thus, the racialization of people distributes power and shapes the global system. Regarding the racialization of people, however, it is essential to point out the constructivist nature, as Hunter and van der Westhuizen state: “[...] there is no such thing as white people, but there are people racialised as white [...]“ (Hunter & van der Westhuizen, 2022, p. 2). This, of course, also holds for any other sort of racialization. One theory specifically targeting the constructedness of race is Critical Race Theory.

While most approaches in the realm of Critical Race Theory focus on the marginalized groups targeted by racism, building on the works of authors such as W.E.B Du Bois or Frantz Fanon, Toni Morrison (Hunter & van der Westhuizen, 2022) argued for studying the subject of racism, not its object. Thereby she sparked research in the direction of Critical Whiteness Studies (CWS). However, CWS does not represent a field on its own but rather encompasses multiple approaches to understanding whiteness (Hunter & van der Westhuizen, 2022), therefore providing a variety of tools available to study whiteness.

Adding to those approaches, whiteness does not only act in racialized terms but “[...] draws on normative centres of power, such as patriarchal masculinity and heteronormativity, it also draws on kindred ideologies with correspondingly oppressive aims to reinforce itself“ (Hunter et al., 2022, p. 77). This signifies two things: First, any holistic analysis of whiteness necessarily must include an intersectional approach. Intersectionality, here, refers to Crenshaw’s (1989) scholarly framework that highlights the ways in which multiple forms of discrimination intersect and impact individuals' lived experiences.

Secondly, whiteness is reinforced by similar ideologies like CC, as also explored in chapter 2.1.1, which is the research focus of this thesis.

However, it is necessary to acknowledge that such approaches do not directly apply to German-speaking countries, as pointed out by Helga Amesberger and Brigitte Halbmayer (2005). The researchers criticize the necessary racializing nature of CWS that is better applicable to the context of the USA. Moreover, any enforced replication of racial conceptions should be avoided. Therefore, a combination of CWS with the concept of Dominanzkultur by Birgit Rommelspacher is proposed. Rommelspacher (1995) applies an inclusive concept of culture, in which the interconnectedness of different structural and historical circumstances are considered:

“[...] und zwar das Ensemble gesellschaftlicher Praxen und gemeinsam geteilter Bedeutungen, in denen die aktuelle Verfasstheit der Gesellschaft, insbesondere ihre ökonomischen und politischen Strukturen, und ihre Geschichte zum Ausdruck kommen. Sie bestimmt das Verhalten, die Einstellungen und Gefühle aller, die in dieser Gesellschaft leben, und vermittelt so zwischen den gesellschaftlichen und individuellen Strukturen“ (ibid. p. 22).

Moreover, she argues that economic superiority compared to southern or eastern countries defines the self-perception of the people living in Germany, which is an asymmetry that reinforces cultural hegemony and patriarchal structures. These centers of power, however, also get threatened once one of the axes of power is questioned or challenged (ibid.). Therefore, Rommelspacher (1995) argues that the different dimensions of power are interrelated with each other – the dominance of a particular group is disguised under the cloak of normality and maintained through segregation.

However, as Gray (2022) points out, it is important to situate the term culture, as in Dominanzkultur, as the primary vehicle for the ideas of the European Alt-Right. Therefore, Amesberger (2016) argues that using the term culture of dominance is problematic and proclaims the use of *Dominanzkomplex*. However, since this term did not spark comparative research, this thesis uses Dominanzkultur while also taking on the CWS scholarship. Moreover, as Daub (2022) points out, the cultural aspects of CC are directly connected to the right-wing narrative of *cultural Marxism*. Promoted by Jordan Peterson, the theory reentered the mainstream in 2016 and explains gender ideology and identity politics as cultural subversions by Marxists. Hence, culture plays an integral part in studying CC.

2.2.2 Cancel Culture as a Concept

Second, whereas the origins of CC and scholarship around it and in connection to PC have been addressed in chapter 2.1.2, I now want to explain how I also use Cancel Culture as an essential concept in my theoretical framework.

The debate about CC can be seen as an ideology to reinforce the normative centers of power. The origins of what is nowadays called Cancel Culture lie in the digital discursive accountability practice of *canceling*. This practice of canceling stems from queer communities of color in the USA and gained broad public attention through its use in the Black Twitter meta-network of the social media platform (Clark, 2020). Black media scholar Meredith D. Clark (2020) defines canceling as:

“[...] an expression of agency, a choice to withdraw one’s attention from someone or something whose values, (in)action, or speech are so offensive, one no longer wishes to grace them with their presence, time, and money“ (p. 88).

Hence it is a proactive practice to change one’s attention and not a form of banishment, meaning that the people who are canceling change their practice rather than forcing the canceled subject to action.

Clark (2020) points out that canceling initially is a last resort for seeking justice from “[...] celebrities, brands, and otherwise out-of-reach figures [...]“ (p. 89). Moreover, it is embedded in a set of other practices, such as reading or calling out. However, she also states that this original use did not stop (White) outside observers from developing their own perceptions:

“Politicians, pundits, celebrities, academics, and everyday people alike have narrativized being canceled into a moral panic akin to actual harm, adding a neologic twist on the origin of the practice by associating it with an unfounded fear of censorship and silencing“ (p. 89).

Clark (2020) argues: “Thus framing these unruly discourses ‘cancel culture’ has found utility among those who wish to quash any attempts to critique their social position“ (p. 90). By pointing to the Tumblr blog *Your Fave is Problematic*, Daub (2023) also addresses an element that was lost in the translation processes of CC. This blog was started by Liat Kaplan and is

deemed the precursor to the CC debate by Daub. The commentators in this blog discussed the problematic sides of their idols. The fans, therefore, had a very close relation to the subjects of their admiration when they started what Clark (2020) calls *withdrawal of attention*. Daub (2023) argues that often on the side of the people accused of canceling, a close relationship with the canceled person exists, while the people criticizing CC defend the *victim* just for combating CC.

Therefore, this paper is not focusing on the practice of canceling but on how White hegemonic discourses construct the regime of a CC. Moreover, Clark (2020) also refers to the concept of moral panic. The latter is defined as:

“[...] *an episode, often triggered by alarming media stories and reinforced by reactive laws and public policy, of exaggerated or misdirected public concern, anxiety, fear, or anger over a perceived threat to social order* [...]” (Krinsky, 2013, p. 1).

In the context of this study, this is to say that CC is perceived as a challenge to the prevalent discourse hegemony and is therefore framed in a negative light. As Johnston-Arthur already pointed out in 2014, once critique about racist practices is voiced, it is interpreted as a *Political Correctness-Hysteria* (Johnston-Arthur, 2014).

This, as explored in chapter 2.1.2 is also the relation and characterization that Adrian Daub (2022) pursues in his book *Cancel Culture Transfer: Wie eine moralische Panik die Welt erfasst*. He demonstrates that CC is displayed as a quarrel between different groups in society; however, most of the time, it is a discussion about the Others, which are displayed as the *woke Leftists*. This discussion underwent three transitions, which must be considered to conceptualize and analyze the narrative. First is its transition from its place of origin, the sphere of social media (discussed above), to traditional media outlets. Thereby, it transitioned from a terminology used in a Twitter bubble to a phenomenon discussed in the mainstream. Second, its transition over the Atlantic from the USA to Europe, where it was contextualized as a phenomenon from abroad that started to spread as well in Europe, must be considered. This is also symbolized by not translating Cancel Culture but using the English word to describe the phenomenon. Moreover, Daub argues that CC arrived simultaneously in European traditional and social media from 2019 onward. Third, the politicization of CC and its usage by political parties forms the last transition the discussion underwent.

Further, Daub (2022) points out that the primary vehicle of the debate and arguments are often very vague anecdotes that lack details. Moreover, CC is seen as causing a societal split by focusing on identity politics. However, Daub also argues that criticizing CC also functions as identity politics.

2.2.3 Identity politics

Third, identity politics form an essential concept when scholarly examining CC, as found by Daub (2022). Because of this, this concept is essential to this thesis and also requires to be briefly discussed.

Daub (2022) shows how identity politics is a rather broad concept that is much used but seldom defined. Citing the first thinkers that wrote about identity politics in a modern sense, the Combahee River Collective, a group of black lesbian feminists in Boston, Daub argues that discussions about CC and identity politics follow a strategy of ignorance and non-reading. These and other thinkers pursued identity politics to dismantle hierarchical structures and discrimination. However, the critics of identity politics translated identity politics into self-portrayal and as a means to split and fragment society. Further, Brian Duignan (2022) describes identity politics in his article in the Encyclopaedia Britannica as an action by a group of people “[...] with the goal of rectifying injustices suffered by group members because of differences or conflicts between their particular identity (or misconceptions of their particular identity) and the dominant identity (or identities) of a larger society.” In this interpretation, a minority that suffered discrimination due to race, ethnicity, culture, religion, gender, or other markers wants to strive for more equality.

However, as Ashley Jardina (2019) points out, members of the majority also pursue their identity politics. This is especially the case when the latter feel like they are becoming a minority, which in Europe was primarily triggered by the refugee crisis in 2015. Moreover, the author demonstrates that White identity politics, contrary to the predominant reading, plays a role and is present in people's minds. For example, white racial solidarity was employed by Donald Trump as a campaigning strategy. Hence, identity politics also serve to maintain the culture of dominance, forming a vital third concept for this research's theoretical framework.

3. Methodology

In order to answer my initially posed research question *How does the debate about cancel culture endorse and construct the Dominanzkultur?*, I will use a combination of quantitative and qualitative discourse analysis. Thereby, a broad range of sources can be analyzed to get insights into the spectrum of the debate.

3.1 Location and time period

This thesis focuses on the debates about CC in German-speaking Europe, meaning the countries of Switzerland, Austria, and Germany, which have not yet been studied in detail. I am therefore analyzing articles from the online versions of six newspapers (2 per country) and their comment sections. However, since the German-speaking media landscape is interlinked across countries, there are also, for example, authors from Austria writing for German newspapers. Moreover, when it comes to the comments, their place of origin cannot be traced back. Even though these connections and similarities in the narratives exist, the CC debate is deeply regionalized (Daub, 2022), with some more extensive debates which are discussed across country borders, such as the *Winnetou Debate*, which will be explained in more detail in chapter 4.2.1. Still, most issues or CC anecdotes are discussed in a regional setting, making them more proximate (ibid.).

Regarding the timeframe of this thesis, as Adrian Daub (2022) points out, CC made its way into US mainstream media in 2018 and arrived in the German-speaking media in 2019. Hence, the tenure from 2018/2019 to the present serves as the general timeframe for this thesis.

3.2 Sample

The selection of the newspapers follows two significant criteria: accessibility and participation. First, the articles should be freely available on the Internet. This guarantees accessibility and open discussions, meaning no paywall restricts people from accessing the articles and contributing to the discussions. Moreover, this also allows for more comparability among the newspapers since some of them (Der Standard, taz) have no paywall systems in place. In contrast, the others have some sort of paywall system that restrict the number of accesses per month (Neue Zürcher Zeitung) or only makes some of the articles available for free, or readers have to pay to access the rest (Tages-Anzeiger, Die Welt, Kronen Zeitung). Second, the newspaper should allow people to comment on the articles. Thereby, the interest in the issues is

not regulated by the newspaper but can organically and spontaneously evolve from the interests of the readership. Second, the potential newspapers should represent a broad spectrum of opinions, so one more right-leaning and one left-leaning newspaper were selected per country. The categorization was done based on the euro|topics press review by the Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung.³ The number of visits is also taken from the same source. This led to the sample displayed in Table 1.

However, these eligibility criteria also led to difficulties in selecting the newspaper. For example, the pendant to *Der Standard* in Austria would have been *Die Presse*. However, *Die Presse* does not enable comments for all of its articles, which means that for this corpus, there would have been no comments available. Hence, I decided to use *Kronen Zeitung* instead, as, in comparison to the other newspapers, the populist element in Krone is more relevant, which also has to be acknowledged in the research.

Newspaper	Political Spectrum	Visits	Comments	Country	Words Articles	Words Comments
Neue Zürcher Zeitung (NZZ)	Liberal-conservative	10.000.000 - 20.000.000	1350	Switzerland	36.456	82.419
Tages-Anzeiger (TA)	Centre-left	10.000.000-20.000.000	1654	Switzerland	23.285	87.682
Die Welt (DW)	Conservative	100.000.000 – 150.000.000	4066	Germany	22.624	116.018
taz, die tageszeitung (taz)	Left-wing	5.000.000 – 10.000.000	934	Germany	24.508	65.108
Kronen Zeitung (Krone)	Between social democratic, conservative, but often right-wing populist	40.000.000 – 50.000.000	3913	Austria	16.561	81.234
Der Standard (DS)	Centre-left	30.000.000 – 40.000.000	14586	Austria	25.688	491.317
		195.000.000–290.000.000	26.503		149.122	923.778

Table 1: Selected Newspapers

³ <https://www.eurotopics.net/en/>.

There are two characteristics to enable comparability of the articles: topicality and internal categorization. Generally, the 30 newest articles, by 25.04.2023, were selected for all six newspapers. However, the search criteria within the newspapers varied. For example, the importance of the Cancel Culture debate for some newspapers is underlined by the establishment of “Cancel Culture“ as a subcategory or topic on the homepage of the newspapers (NZZ, Die Welt, taz). Where this is the case, the three newest, freely accessible articles in this category were selected. This guaranteed that those articles were selected which the newspapers directly linked to the CC debate, thereby establishing an editorial concept or *Blattlinie*.

Regarding the other newspapers (TA, DS, Krone), the respective homepages have been searched for articles containing “Cancel Culture“. The 30 newest, open-accessible examples were selected for Tages-Anzeiger and Der Standard. However, the Homepage of the Kronen Zeitung has a more restrictive access policy, which is why I was only able to locate 16 articles containing “Cancel Culture “. Yet, since the CC debate can be seen as the successor to the debate on Political Correctness as mentioned above, the missing articles were substituted by the 14 newest articles containing “politisch korrekt“ (politically correct).

Moreover, a different genre of articles is present in the corpus of Die Welt, which features four satirical articles. This sort of making fun of the debate was already present in the earlier PC debate to ridicule PC (Auer, 2004). However, as Nina Degele (2020) highlights, humor in the PC debate also is an essential tool for communicating racism. Referring to Degele (2020), making fun of CC, therefore, also leads to a victim-offender reversal and reinforces solidarity and speech codes among CC opponents.

3.3 Data analysis method

Hence, the entire source corpus of this thesis contains 180 articles with 26.503 comments. Thereby, the entire corpus is composed of a total of 1,072,900 words. The adjoint comments were taken in their entirety. As a result, some articles featured 0 comments, while others sparked an intense discussion with more than 1000 comments. The number of comments automatically highlights the especially controversial issues of debate. As observable in Table 1, Der Standard (DS), by far, features the most comments, while the comments of taz roughly only have one-seventh of the words of DS. Moreover, the articles of Kronen Zeitung have significantly fewer words than the other articles. This also signifies another form of journalism. These factors make the corpora different from each other and contribute to their discourses.

By including the comments in the analysis, this thesis does not only study the online versions of traditional media but also their role as platforms. These websites, therefore, have a dual function, resulting in a total of 12 corpora that will be put in relation to each other. The different groups where Cancel Culture is being discussed feature different elements and take over diverse aspects of the CC debate in the USA. This is also directly related to the audience and users of the medium, which is also indicated by the overall amount of comments each newspaper documents. Moreover, the language that is used and how it is transferred from one discourse to the other will be studied. These differences will be this thesis' subject of analysis.

This thesis uses *Sketch Engine*, a text analysis tool, to decipher the prominent properties of each corpus.⁴ Before engaging with the content analysis of the corpora, this thesis is going to explore who actually writes the articles and comments. This is important to better understand the perspective of the authors. Regarding the analysis of the content of the corpora, the corpora are first studied using the n-gram tool, which lists the frequency of three and four-word sequences. This quantitative analysis shows which topics are discussed most and gives a first impression of the content. Second, the corpora are analyzed to filter the ten most frequent nouns. Thereby, the issues of discussion can be further compiled. Third, the four most used nouns are scanned regarding their collocations. This combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis allows the context to be deciphered.

⁴ <https://www.sketchengine.eu>.

4. Analysis /Results

As examined in the prior chapter, I will display findings in the following. To allow for readability, I structured this chapter intelligibly and according to themes and tools applied during the data analysis process. Consequently, I will address the findings regarding the actors involved in section 4.1, and, more exhaustively, findings regarding the content in chapter 4.2.

4.1 The writers

“Die Kritik der Identitätspolitik ist in vielen Fällen schlicht Identitätspolitik für Leute die Jürgen heißen“ (Daub, 2022, p. 257).

In his book, Adrian Daub (2022) argues that the people debating about CC as identity politics and thereby fueling the debate and moral panic are pursuing their identity politics. They criticize others like migrants or Muslims for their inability to adjust to “Western“ values such as tolerance but apply these values unreflected to themselves. Thereby they are themselves part of the danger they warn against. Who are these “Jürgens“ in the chosen sample?

Hence, before analyzing the content of the texts, this first part discusses the authors of the articles and postings. As with the actual content of the articles, studying their authors reveals certain aspects, such as who is talking. Is it a more or less homogenous group? Is there an echo chamber effect? What are the differences between the newspapers? These questions are also posted to the commentators, even though it cannot be detected if they used their actual names. Therefore, the results are not as expressive and must be treated more carefully.

4.1.1 The authors

To quantitatively analyze the articles' authors, the list was run through the Gender Balance Assessment Tool (GBAT) created by Jane L. Sumner. This tool evaluates the probabilistic gender of each given name and the probabilistic race of the author based on their surname.⁵ Table 2 displays the results of this analysis.

Regarding gender, this tool only allows for a binary categorization and does not account for people not associating themselves with a binary gender order. However, I could not find a non-

⁵ Sumner Jane L. (2022), Gender Balance Assessment Tool (GBAT) <https://jlsumner.shinyapps.io/syllabustool/> (accessed: 5.05.2023).

The tool uses the gender prediction algorithm from: Mullen L (2021). gender: Predict Gender from Names Using Historical Data. R package version 0.6.0 <https://github.com/lmullen/gender>. It uses the race prediction algorithm from: Kaplan Jacob (2021). predictrace: Predict the Race and Gender of a Given Name Using Census and Social Security Administration Data. R package version 2.0.0. <https://github.com/jacobkap/predictrace>.

binary journalist in the list of sources, which means that this shortcoming is of minor significance for this study. For race, it must be underlined that the race prediction algorithm is based on US-based data. Hence, surnames that are not as common in the US are listed as “unknown. “ Therefore, the results must be handled carefully. Nevertheless, despite its shortcomings, I argue that this tool can give an impression of the breakdown of the authors.

Newspaper	NZZ	Tages-Anzeiger	Die Welt	taz	Der Standard	Kronen Zeitung
Gender	21.43% Women, 78.57% Men, and 0% Unknown	32.26% Women, 67.74% Men, and 0% Unknown	18.18% Women, 63.64% Men, and 18.18% Unknown	43.33% Women, 53.33% Men, and 3.33% Unknown	35.71% Women, 60.71% Men, and 3.57% Unknown	18.52% Women, 81.48% Men, and 0% Unknown
Race	0% American Indian, 3.57% Asian, 0% Black, 0% Hispanic, 64.29% White, and 32.14% Unknown	0% American Indian, 0% Asian, 0% Black, 0% Hispanic, 70.97% White, and 29.03% Unknown	0% American Indian, 0% Asian, 0% Black, 0% Hispanic, 77.27% White, and 22.73% Unknown	0% American Indian, 3.33% Asian, 3.33% Black, 3.33% Hispanic, 56.67% White, and 33.33% Unknown	0% American Indian, 3.57% Asian, 0% Black, 0% Hispanic, 53.57% White, and 42.86% Unknown	0% American Indian, 0% Asian, 0% Black, 0% Hispanic, 55.56% White, and 44.44% Unknown

Table 2: Newspaper authors, with gender- and race-balance using GBAT

As Table 2 shows, there is a significant imbalance between female and male writers. However, in some cases, there is a relatively high number for “unknown“ (Die Welt, 18.18%), which is partially explained by a higher percentage of articles not attributed to a single person but, for example, to the editorial office. Still, this shows significant differences between the newspapers. The more female authors there are, the more politically left the newspaper, with Die Welt (18.18%) on one side of the spectrum and taz (43.33%) on the other. As observable in Table 6, “Frau“ is the 5th most used noun in the articles of Die Welt, while “Mann“ is the 5th most used noun in taz. This points to the issue that authors are mainly concerned about the other, and through this other, they develop and reinforce the self.

Regarding race, the statistics are not as expressive. This is mainly due to the high number of “Unknown“ (Kronen Zeitung 44.44%). However, the relatively high number of “White “ for Die Welt (77.27%) and Tages-Anzeiger (70.97%) and the low number of other ethnicities (0% for Kronen Zeitung, Die Welt, and Tages–Anzeiger) show that it can be assumed that the majority of authors are White. Thereby, a White majority discusses, for example, Native Americans in the form of Winnetou (4th most frequently used noun for Die Welt and 9th for Kronen Zeitung, as

observable in Table 6). As a result, it can be summarized that the majority of authors are White men, which is more present the more politically right the newspaper.

This data emphasizes the claim of Clark (2020) that the phenomenon of CC “[...] was subsequently seized upon by outside observers, particularly journalists with an outsized ability to amplify the(ir own) white gaze“ (p. 89). This *white gaze* was described by Medina (2018) as: “a racialized way of seeing that proceeds through the carefully cultivated refusal to see and acknowledge certain things and the suppression of other ways of seeing and experiencing the world“ (p. 248). By referring to W.E.B. Du Bois, Medina (2018) points out that this perspective on the world embraces an ignorance of the experiences of racially oppressed groups. Hence, the journalists in the corpora are prone to look at the topics with a white gaze. Daub (2022) also contributes the eruption of the CC panic to this white gaze on the black echo chamber.

4.1.2 The commentators

Due to the different regulations regarding creating user profiles for newspapers, there is less comparability. Still, some patterns can be detected. To make these visible, the most used given names have been listed where applicable. This was especially the case for the NZZ, Tages-Anzeiger, and Die Welt, where most users use given names, initials, or given names with initials. Commentators of taz, Der Standard, and Kronen Zeitung tend to use made-up names. Since not every newspaper indicates whether profiles have been deleted or just the comments, indications of removed users have been excluded. Hence, the most frequent commentators and most frequently used words of the user tags have been listed in Table 3.

Newspaper	NZZ	Tages-Anzeiger	Die Welt	taz	Der Standard	Kronen Zeitung
1st	Franco	Thomas	Thomas	Lowandorder	Mr.	krawoe
2nd	Wolfgang	Peter	Michael	Rudolf	friedfrieda	matriach
3rd	Thomas	Martin	Stefan	Jim	Whisker	ArminSacher
4th	Peter	Hans	Peter	Andreas	Markus	woodward
5th	Klaus Peter	Daniel	Frank	Ruby	mauserte	ausprinzip

Table 3: Most frequent words of the user tags

As can be seen in Table 3, given names that are predominantly read as men dominate the table, with 20 out of 30 and Mr. also pointing towards users who identify as men. Moreover, “Herr“ is

more often used than “Frau“ in the comment sections of the NZZ and the Tages-Anzeiger, as observable in Table 7, where last names are also more commonly used. This leads to the conclusion that commentators were more frequently addressing men. Hence, it can be assumed that the majority of commentators are men. Nevertheless, in 5 out of 6 comment sections, “Frau“ (Table 7) features among the ten most frequently used words. Even though, as mentioned above, this also includes addresses, “Frau“ is still more present than “Herr“ or “Mann.“

Combining these findings with the results of the analysis of the authors of the articles leads to the assumption that a men-dominated commentator's section and authorship discusses a minority of women.

4.2 The content

As mentioned above, the discourse analysis follows a three-step approach. The first step analyzes 3-4 Word-N-grams of the articles and comment sections. This quantitative step maps the dominant issues and topoi that are observable in the corpora and therefore is the ideal starting point.

Second, the ten most frequently used nouns for the articles and the comments are listed. This step shows, in more detail, what people are specifically talking about, which is especially relevant for the comment section since many phrases are present that are just part of general language use. In the final step, the four most frequently used words are analyzed via the Word Sketch tool of Sketch Engine. This answers the question of how people are talking about it.

4.2.1 N-Grams 3–4-grams

N-grams allow for a broader mapping of the topics present in the corpora. The variety of topics is broad. However, there are certain observable tendencies, like localization. Nevertheless, especially in the comments, there is also a bundle of phrases that are just part of regular speech.

Newspaper	NZZ	Tagesanzeiger	Die Welt	taz	Der Standard	Kronen Zeitung
1st	In den USA	New York Times	Der Universität Hamburg	in der Vergangenheit	Konrad Paul Liessmann	geht es um
2nd	den sozialen Netzwerken	den sozialen Medien	den sozialen Medien	auf der Bühne	in den USA	Hetze und Diskriminierung
3rd	in der Schweiz	in den sozialen Medien	der junge Häuptling Winnetou	Was in der Vergangenheit	Das ist eine	aber am Ende

Newspaper	NZZ	Tagesanzeiger	Die Welt	taz	Der Standard	Kronen Zeitung
4th	in den sozialen Netzwerken	der cancel Culture	in den sozialen Medien	in der Öffentlichkeit	Gewalt gegen Frauen	kommt als nächstes
5th	in den sozialen	in der Ukraine	in den USA	in der Zukunft durch	In der Gesellschaft	In den USA
6th	an den Universitäten	über Cancel Culture	die Universität Hamburg	in der tat	rund um die	Man kann sich
7th	auch in den	der New york times	und das ist	schon scheiße war	dass sich die	in den letzten
8th	Die gesplattene Gesellschaft	in der Vergangenheit	aus dem Programm	in den USA	es geht um	Welt am Sonntage
9th	an der Humboldt-Universität	in der Schweiz	der kulturellen Aneignung	Bodensatzbe reiter einer neuen Rechten	nach wie vor	Gab es einen
10th	nicht nur in	J. K. Rowling	in den vergangen	wenn es um	wenn man die	dass sie sich

Table 4: 3–4-grams, word of the Articles

Newspaper	NZZ (NZZc)	Tagesanzeiger (TAc)	Die Welt (DWc)	taz (tazc)	Der Standard (DSc)	Kronen Zeitung (Kc)
1st	in der Schweiz	In den USA	sich über die	in der taz	in den USA	Recht hat er
2nd	In den USA	In der Schweiz	alles richtig gemacht	geht es um	wenn man sich	In der Ukraine
3rd	der Cancel Culture	und das ist	Der Ravensburger Verlag	Für mich ist	Mohr im Hemd	keine anderen Sorgen
4th	Cancel Culture ist	so oder so	In den USA	bei den Grünen	Das ist ja	keine anderen Probleme
5th	Die Cancel Culture	nicht zu tun	In der DDR	In der DDR	Das ist ein	Was ist mit
6th	dass man sich	in diesem Fall	Ich finde es	sich in der	Das ist eine	Nicht mehr lange
7th	Vielen Dank für	in der EU	von Karl May	das ist doch	zu tun hat	Nicht mehr kaufen
8th	und das ist	es geht um	Die Cancel Culture	so ist es	meiner Meinung nach	von einer Minderheit
9th	auch in der	in den letzten	In diesem Land	aus der Zeit	dass es nicht	zu tun haben
10th	in der NZZ	zu tun haben	In der Lage	und das ist	aber das ist	in der EU

Table 5: 3–4-grams, word of the Comments

Cancel Culture

The common topic of the corpora, CC, is predominately discussed in Swiss corpora. While TA exhibits the use of CC in two phrases, the analysis of the comments of the NZZ displays it thrice. Besides, only DW's comments feature CC as part of the most used phrases.⁶ Moreover, with the phrase “der kulturellen Aneignung“ (cultural appropriation), the corpus of DW also points to a related concept interlinked with CC. This also signifies that CC does not explicitly need to be mentioned to discuss the same phenomenon. Moreover, this points to CC's function as a meme transporting differing messages.

Geographic localization

More present than CC are indications of location. Generally, the analysis of the corpora by the n-gram tool shows a significant outward-looking geographic focus. Nine corpora⁷ display “In den USA“ (in the USA) among the ten most used phrases, with three even ranking it first. The influence of the USA was already very present in the PC discourse (cf. Behrens et al., 1995). As Daub (2022) points out, the reference to the CC panic in the USA serves the purpose of legitimizing CC texts in Europe.

Two corpora (TA, Kc) exhibit a specific focus on Ukraine (“in der Ukraine“). Thereby, they relate the phenomenon of CC to broader geopolitical issues. In between is the phrase “in der EU“ (in der EU), both discussed in the fora of TA and Krone. Hence, it is both present in and outside of the EU.

The inner perspective is especially important for the Swiss newspapers and their comment sections, which all display the phrase “in der Schweiz“ (in Switzerland). In comparison, the comments of DW and taz do not discuss Germany, but both feature “In der DDR“ (In the GDR) in fifth rank. They historicize their perspective on Germany and mark the importance of history for the CC debate. Moreover, this dimension seems more critical for the comments than for the newspapers.

Media and Culture

Furthermore, also non-geographic locations play an important role. Different media are specially mentioned. References to social media are frequent in NZZ, TA, and DW.⁸ These articles thereby

⁶ der cancel Culture (TA, NZZc), über Cancel Culture (TA), Cancel Culture ist (NZZc), Die Cancel Culture (NZZc, DWc)

⁷ NZZ, DW, taz, DS, K, NZZc, TAc, DWc, DSc.

⁸ in den sozialen Netzwerken (NZZ), in den sozialen Medien (TA, DW), den sozialen Medien (DW).

put more emphasis on the origins of the CC debate. However, this focus on social media in conservative newspapers also points to Daub's (2022) thesis that the CC panic is also a fear of the power of social media and especially the marginalized groups using them.

At the same time, forms of traditional media are present in the corpora. The New York Times is even mentioned more frequently in the articles of TA than social media. Therefore, a closer connection of TA to the origins of the panic, which was significantly influenced by the New York Times (Daub, 2020), can be attributed.

For commentators of the taz, the taz itself is the main reference point, while for the commentators of NZZ, the reference to their newspaper is less present. Nevertheless, these two examples point toward the formation of media echo chambers.

For Krone, "Welt am Sonntage [sic!]", the Sunday edition of Die Welt, is a vital reference point, while for the commentators of DW itself, "Der Ravensburger Verlag" is in the eye of the CC debate. Ravensburger is, of course, connected to the other hot topic in DW, which is addressed in the phrases "der junge Häuptling Winnetou" (the young chieftain Winnetou) and "von Karl May." This shows that the CC debate in DW is very much connected and embedded in the Winnetou debate. As David Hugendick (2022) elaborates in his article, what started as a small instance in the summer of 2022 quickly inflated into a prominent cultural debate. What happened was that the Ravensburger Verlag published two children's books that should accompany the new movie *Der junge Häuptling Winnetou*. However, due to protests, the publisher decided to withdraw the two books. However, in the public, this action was perceived as a ban on all Winnetou stories. Hereupon, the books written by Karl May, which are full of stereotypes about Native Americans, received support from multiple politicians, even though there were never any concert plans about prohibiting them (Hugendick, 2022). However, similar issues have already been present in the PC debate, as Daub (2022) points out. Nevertheless, they are always presented as something acute. This points to what Daub (2022) calls constitutive amnesia.

Another author of the CC debate, J. K. Rowling, is present in the corpus of TA. As Daub (2023) explains, the transphobic comments of the author of Harry Potter caused many fans to reevaluate their beloved fantasy story and its author. It prompted fans to disinvest in their *Fave* and critically analyze, for example, what the body form of a character implies for its personality. Moreover, Rowling was also mentioned as a victim of Cancel Culture by Russian President Vladimir Putin in 2022 (Sauer, 2022). Thereby, this anecdote was also politicized.

Both *Winnetou* and *Harry Potter* are youth or young adult literature. Therefore, these books are predominantly present in the memories of the authors that discuss them regarding CC. Daub

(2023) in this regard writes about a “[...] hermeneutische Nostalgie, die sich eine Zeit zurückwünscht - eine höchstwahrscheinlich fiktive -, in der estimate Aspekte von Werken, Personen, Diskursen nicht als rassistisch, sexistisch usw. ins Auge sprang [...]“ (p. 125). Hence, children's books are especially prominent in the CC discourse since they remind people of an 'easier' time without having to care about racism, sexism etc.

DS features another protagonist of the CC debate, the Austrian philosopher Konrad Paul Liessmann. Due to his 70th birthday, DS published some articles, including an interview about him. Liessmann (2023) describes CC as a strive for power by assuming a morally higher ground. However, other than DS and its comments, Liessmann is only mentioned five times in the corpus of taz as a criticizer of CC. This signifies that Liessmann is predominately discussed in a very regional context.

Moreover, the comments of Der Standard show that culinary issues are very much a point of discussion, especially for Austrians. The frequent mention of the old-fashioned and racist name “Mohr im Hemd“ for a specific Austrian desert exhibits this. This is also indicated by the numerous comments to the article *Warum Toast und Pizza Hawaii auf einmal rassistisch sein sollen*, which is the highest number in the whole corpora. Claude Fischler has already addressed the connection between food and identity in the 1988 article *Food, Self and Identity*. By debating about “Mohr im Hemd,“ the commentators are not simply debating food choices; they are arguing about identity issues.

With the phrase “auf der Bühne“ (on the stage), the articles of taz also point to another arena of the CC debate. These results demonstrate the importance of culture as an arena for CC and underline Daub's (2022) hypothesis that the CC debate is more focused on issues of culture than politics, compared to the debate in the USA.

Politics

Indeed, politics are only directly addressed by the taz and its comments. The articles frequently feature the phrase “Bodensatzbereiter einer neuen Rechten“ (preparer for a new right), while the comments focus more on happenings in the green party (“bei den Grünen“). They thereby address both sides of the political spectrum.

Academia

For the two right-leaning newspapers, NZZ and DW, academia is very relevant in the debate. For NZZ, the Humboldt University in Berlin is the focus of attention, while for DW, the University

of Hamburg sparks controversy and sets the stage for CC anecdotes. Thereby, they focus on universities located in different locations than the newspapers' editorial offices. This replicates the narrative of the US-American campus as a distant place where CC happens (Daub, 2022).

Society

DS and taz are more general and locate the debates in the broader society. DS uses the phrase “In der Gesellschaft“ (in the society), and taz writes about “in der Öffentlichkeit“ (in public). Thereby, they imply that the CC debate is not happening in a specific place but is part of the discussions going on in the whole society. NZZ, in comparison, frequently uses the phrase “Die gesplittene Gesellschaft“ (the divided society). The phrase “von einer Minderheit“ (by a minority) in the comments of Kronen Zeitung implies that minorities also play an important role. Hence, the two leftist newspapers talk about CC concerning everybody, while NZZ already sees a split in society and Kc is concerned about the role of minorities.

Temporality

Questions of time are mainly present in the articles of taz, which both frequently use the phrase “in der Vergangenheit“ (in the past) and “in der Zukunft durch“ (in the future by). Thereby, the discourse is oriented both towards the past and the future.

The comments of Kronen Zeitung also hint at the future with the phrase “Nicht mehr lange“ (not much longer) and indicate that there is only a little time left until the CC debate triggers something.

Violence

Violence is also present in the n-grams of especially the Austrian newspapers. Kronen Zeitung frequently uses the phrase “Hetze und Diskriminierung“ (agitation and discrimination), while Der Standard writes about “Gewalt gegen Frauen“ (violence against women). Both topics will be addressed later.

4.2.2 Wordlist/ Top 10 Nouns

Tables 6 and 7 show the ten most used nouns in the articles and the comment section. The relevance of these nouns was checked by looking at their concordance and thereby eliminating words that were not part of the actual article but of the text surrounding it, like an indication of its length, etc. Moreover, since CC is written as “Cancel-Culture“ and “Cancel Culture, “ both

versions have been included and summed up to display the relevance correctly. The table has been created using the Wordlist tool of Sketch Engine. Thereby, “noun“ acted as the search criteria, and absolute frequency was the factor of hierarchization.

Newspaper	NZZ	Tages-Anzeiger	Die Welt	taz	Der Standard	Kronen Zeitung
1st	Cancel-Culture	Jahr	Jahr	Mensch	Cancel-Culture/ Cancel Culture	Mensch
2nd	Universität	Cancel Culture/ Cancel-Culture	Universität	Jahr	Jahr	Jahr
3rd	Jahr	Trump	Film	Cancel Culture	Mensch	Song
4th	Buch	Twitter	Winnetou	Recht	ORF	Album
5th	Gesellschaft	Bild	Frau	Mann	Frau	Band
6th	Mensch	Frau	Zeit	Buch	Film	Zeit
7th	Frage	Welt	Kritik	Figur	Liessmann	Text
8th	Fall	Mensch	Hamburg	Thema	Wort	Cancel Culture
9th	USA	Zeit	Mann	Debatte	Welt	Winnetou
10th	Professor	Medium	Werk	Twitter	Diskussion	Ding

Table 6: Most frequent nouns per newspaper articles

Newspaper	NZZ	Tages-Anzeiger	Die Welt	taz	Der Standard	Kronen Zeitung
1st	Cancel Culture/ Cancel-Culture	Trump	Mensch	Mensch	Frau	Russe
2nd	Mensch	Jahr	Buch	Cancel Culture/ Cancel-Culture	Mensch	Russland
3rd	Herr	Mensch	Zeit	Frau	Mann	Mensch
4th	Kommentar	Herr	Deutschland	Karl May	Thema	Removed-user
5th	Frau	Meinung	Meinung	Jahr	Meinung	Putin
6th	Artikel	Recht	Frau	Zeit	Problem	Österreich
7th	Zeit	Thomas	Verlag	LOWANDOR DER	Leute	Welt
8th	Meinung	Frau	Minderheit	Kind	Kind	Problem

Newspaper	NZZ	Tages-Anzeiger	Die Welt	taz	Der Standard	Kronen Zeitung
9th	Jahr	Partei	Jahr	Debatte	Jahr	Land
10th	Gesellschaft	Cancel Culture/ Cancel-Culture	Kind	Artikel	Artikel	Wort

Table 7: Most frequent nouns per newspaper comments

Analyzing the tables allows for groupings of specific nouns. These groups will be discussed in the following.

Cancel Culture

CC is frequently present in every newspaper except for Die Welt. Contrarily, only half of the comment sections feature “Cancel Culture/ Cancel-Culture“ among the ten most used nouns (NZZ, Tages-Anzeiger, and taz). Even the comments of Der Standard, where CC was the most used noun in the articles, are not among the top 10 nouns in the comment section. This shows that texts can be directly linked to the CC debate, but they do not need to discuss CC. The comments of Der Standard demonstrate that other nouns such as “Frau“ or “Mann“ and thereby the topic of gender are more discussed than actual CC, even though these debates happen in the cause of the CC debate.

Geography/Localization

Geographically speaking, the corpus shows that the CC debate can be localized in very different places, even though it is not as present in all of the texts. The articles of the NZZ mainly focus on the USA. Moreover, “Trump“ as the most used noun in the comments of the TA and the 3rd most used noun in the articles also demonstrates a prominent focus on the USA.

In comparison, Die Welt predominantly writes about Germany, mainly focusing on the city of Hamburg. This is also reflected by the comments which also discuss happenings in Germany. Moreover, the city of Hamburg is frequently mentioned. As the n-gram analysis has shown, the city of Hamburg, especially its university, assumes a similar role in the CC discourse as the US campus (Daub, 2022). Thereby, Die Welt adopts a more or less inward view that can, to a certain degree, also be diagnosed in the comment section of the taz through the predominant occurrence of “Karl May.“

A more global perspective is present through the word “Welt“ in the articles of Tages-Anzeiger and Der Standard.

While the articles of the Kronen Zeitung are not geographically heavy, the comments are vividly discussing Russia, Austria, but also “Welt“ and “Land.“

Hence, the CC debate can be localized in as contrary countries as Russia and the USA. Therefore, it is predominantly seen as a global phenomenon mostly related to the outside. However, this analysis shows that right-leaning newspapers like Die Welt and Kronen Zeitung tend to focus on CC within the country and adopt a more inward perspective.

Media and Culture

While all the newspapers address media somehow, the comments focus on the newspapers and their articles.

The media protagonists encompass more or less the whole spectrum. While TA discusses the role of media as a whole (“Medium“) and pictures (“Bild“), the comments of Die Welt center on the role of publishing houses (“Verlag“). Der Standard writes about the Austrian public broadcaster ORF. TA and taz underline the importance of social media by writing about Twitter. The left-leaning newspapers thereby address the newer media.

The division between “Buch“ and “Film“ is similar, with NZZ, taz, and the comments of Die Welt discussing the first and Die Welt and der Standard discussing the latter.

Both the articles and the comments of Kronen Zeitung are outliers. While the articles focus on music (“Song,“ “Album, “ and “Text“), the comments exhibit “Wort.“ This points to the significance the use of words has for the CC debate and how these debates are part of identity politics, as Gerster and Nürnberger (2021) described.

Culture is central to the corpora. Most prominently, the articles of Die Welt and Kronen Zeitung discuss the fictional character of the Native American “Winnetou.“ While those two right-leaning newspapers discuss the content, the author and creator of Winnetou, Karl May, is mentioned in the comments of the leftist taz. These occurrences reflect the media coverage of the so-called *Winnetou debate* and show how White authors discuss Native Americans (Hugendick, 2022).

Moreover, the articles of Krone talk about music (“Band“), and Der Standard writes about the opinion of Konrad Paul Liessmann on the occasion of the 70th birthday of the Austrian philosopher. These examples again show the regionalization of the CC debate, with most of the issues touched upon directly concerning the local communities.

Politics

Politics, in comparison, only play a minor role. Some discuss intentional politics, like the articles and comments of the TA with “Trump“ or the comments of the Kronen Zeitung with “Russe“ and “Putin.“ Additionally, the comments of the TA also debate political parties and “Recht,“ which can mean both rights to and the political right-wing.

Society

The comments of NZZ (“Gesellschaft“) and Der Standard (“Leute“) talk about society as a whole, while the comments of Die Welt zoom in on “Minderheit.“ By discussing a minority, the commentators of Die Welt adopt the narrative of the *dictatorship of a loud (woke) minority* that forces the majority of society to adapt (Gerster et al., 2021).

Academia

As Daub (2022) already describes, the articles of the NZZ focus on universities and the “Professor“ present there. The main focal point for the NZZ, therefore, is academia. However, the NZZ is not alone; the articles of Die Welt also feature “Universität“ as the second most frequently used noun, while it is absent from all other newspapers and their comments. Therefore as mentioned in the n-gram analysis, it seems that these two right-leaning newspapers adopt the US discourse of the Republican party, as explained by Daub (2022).

Temporality

Table. 6 exhibits that “Jahr“ (year) is among the top 3 nouns in the articles of each newspaper, indicating that temporality plays a vital role in the CC debate. This is further supported by the presence of “Zeit“ (time) in Tages-Anzeiger, Die Welt, and Kronen Zeitung.

Similar conclusions can also be drawn from the comment section, with 5 out of 6 featuring “Jahr“ among the ten most used nouns. Moreover, the word “Zeit“ is also represented in the NZZ, Die Welt, and taz.

The authors use relatively flexible variables by writing about “Jahr“ and “Zeit“ to indicate time. These are not as precise as months etc., indicating that the measuring of time is more abstract.

People

Except for the articles of Die Welt, all the other corpora share “Mensch“ among the ten most frequently used nouns. Hence, the discourse is human-centered, focusing on and discussing what people do.

However, Die Welt writes about “Frau“ and “Mann“ and thereby points to another critical dimension of the discourse of CC: gender. Eight of 12 corpora have “Frau“ among their top 10 nouns. In comparison, only five feature “Mann“ or “Herr.“ It must be stated that both “Frau“ and “Herr“ are also used as a form of address. As shown by the analysis of the authors, the majority of the writers can be assumed to be male. This again demonstrates that the male majority writes about a female minority.

What is also interesting is the frequent use of “Kind“ in the comments of Die Welt, taz, and Der Standard. This again points to a projection of the discourse onto the not represented group.

Behavior in comments/speech

Lastly, I want to discuss the nouns concerning the commentaries themselves and the language used therein. Generally, the Austrian commentaries describe the discourse or CC as a “Problem“ (Der Standard, Kronen Zeitung). The commentators in the taz write about a “Debatte,“ and the ones of Der Standard more broadly about a “Thema.“

Four of six commentary sections (NZZ, TA, Die Welt, Der Standard) feature “Meinung,“ so opinions are shared and discussed, as the fora should do. “Kommentar“ in the NZZ suggests that many commentaries directly relate to the other postings. However, the occurrence of “Artikel“ in the NZZ, taz, and Der Standard also suggests that commentators in these fora, to a higher degree, reacted to the actual content of the articles.

Finally, the commentators are also represented, with a single profile (“LOWANDORDER“) being prominent in taz and the commentators named Thomas in the TA. Meanwhile, Kronen Zeitung has a high number of “removed-user.“ However, this has little comparability to other newspapers since the others do not mark removed profiles. Nevertheless, this shows that CC is a topic that provokes opinions and statements that causes the newspapers or the authors to remove the profiles. Moreover, the frequent occurrence of the same or similar names also indicates an echo chamber effect.

4.2.3 Word Sketches

The analysis of the newspaper articles shows that the three most frequently used words are: “Jahr,” present in 6 out of 6, and “Cancel Culture/Cancel-Culture“ and “Mensch, “ each being present in 5 out of 6 top ten nouns.

The comments show a similar pattern, with “Mensch“ being present in the comment sections of 6 out of 6 newspapers and “Jahr“ and “Frau“ being present in 5 out of 6.

Hence, the Word Sketches are conducted on “Cancel-Culture/Cancel Culture,“ “Jahr,“ “Mensch,“ and “Frau.“

For each category, a maximum of ten results have been included. Except for the “Jahr “ Tables, the results are sorted by score, meaning the strongest collocates will be displayed at the top. This is because the words used with “Jahr“ are very similar, leading to the same results for concordance but different outcomes for frequency. Different categories of analysis have been used in order to condense the results.

4.2.3.1 Word Sketch of Cancel-Culture/Cancel Culture

Since the common signifier of the corpora is CC, a journalistic approach has been chosen to analyze what the articles and comments state about CC. The different issues are, therefore, addressed by asking journalistic questions. All categories have been included that feature in four or more corpora.

Newspaper	NZZ (Cancel- Culture)	Tagesanzeige r (Combination of Cancel- Culture and Culture)	Die Welt (Culture)	taz (Culture)	Der Standard (Cancel- Culture)	Kronen Zeitung (Culture)
modifiers of X	akademisch vermeintlich heutig	sogenannt	gelebt	angeblich von links ausgehend gnadenlos vermeintlich sogenannt	zeitgenössisch sogenannt unselig link links	laut ausufernd sogenannt heutig
verbs with X as subject	spielen übergreifen kämpfen breiten bringen entpuppen zielen bewegen legen enden	schwappen canceln meinen machen	entgegenstehen beschäftigen	zielen gerieren erweisen beherrschen lassen geben	landen passen kommen	-

Newspaper	NZZ (Cancel- Culture)	Tagesanzei- ger (Combination of Cancel- Culture and Culture)	Die Welt (Culture)	taz (Culture)	Der Standard (Cancel- Culture)	Kronen Zeitung (Culture)
nouns with X as dative object	Altar Tilgungswut Getöse Interesse Kritiker Universität Beispiel	Übel	-	-	Faser Thema	Geschichtsbewusstsein
nouns with X as genitive object	Phänomen Fehlen Umriss Altar Verstärker Getöse Tilgungswut Vorreiter Regulierung Cousin	Übel	-	-	Faser Phänomen Freund Vertreter	-
nouns with X as accusative object	Fehlen Camouflage Verstärker Gerechtigkeit Problem Form	Phänomen Mensch	Gut	Kampagne	Unschuld Phänomen Neuauflage Posting	-
X and/or	Kritik Auschwitz Bührle- Sammlung Gender Gender- Ideologie Identitätspolitik	Umtrieb Wokeness Kunst- Boykotten	Political Correctness	Identitätspolitik Ausnahmefall Wokeness Wokeness	Wokeness Woke PC Christenverfolgung Aneignung Klimakleber Transgender Geschlecht	Auswuchs
prepositions with X as object	namens von gegen über für auf bei mit zu an	über von unter zu in um für	mit von	mit von	vor um über gegen von	gegen bei mit
X in noun	Weise Kalter Krieg USA	China Messezirkus Schweiz	-	Literaturrunde Niederlande Schutz	-	Österreich
X zu noun	Wort	Gegenpol Gastkommentar	Opfer	-	-	-
X mit noun	Auschwitz Feuer Methode	-	-	Abrechnung	Karacho	-
X an noun	Bühne Lärmschutzwand Tag ETH	-	-	Uni	-	-

Newspaper	NZZ (Cancel-Culture)	Tagesanzeiger (Combination of Cancel-Culture and Culture)	Die Welt (Culture)	taz (Culture)	Der Standard (Cancel-Culture)	Kronen Zeitung (Culture)
noun von X	Form Type Vergleich Beispiel Fall	Verdacht Fall	-	-	Kandidatin	-

Table 8: Word Sketch Articles “Cancel Culture/Cancel-Culture“

Newspaper	NZZ (Cancel-Culture and Culture)	Tagesanzeiger Combination of Cancel-Culture and Culture	Die Welt Culture Cancel-Culture	taz Culture Cancel-Culture	Der Standard (Cancel-Culture)	Kronen Zeitung (Culture)
modifiers of X	woke akzeptiert konterminiert tätlich dummlich gelebt sogenannt massiv einzig links/links	erbärmlich gering westlich angeblich link links wirklich	unselig unverständlich h unsäglich interessant aktuell woke	rechtsextrem real existierend entsprechend sogenannt hart absurd link links recht rechts ganz	erledigt ultimativ kontrovers sogenannt exakt angeblich böse woke link links	verwerflich anti-demokratisch
verbs with X as subject	entziehen stammen füßen verfassen verunmöglich hen befassen nachgeben ziehen ausgehen fallen	haben weisen betreiben liegen machen geben	propagieren zerstören ablehnen cancelt erinnern treffen stellen gehen	aufregen taugen verstehen sprechen reichen gehen geben	vorwerfen existieren stammen verleihen geframt wiegeln mitmachen verhindern warnen zielen	abstellen kennen tragen
nouns with X as dative object	Gutmenschentum Extremist Reaktion Idee Leben	Problematik Redaktion Interesselosigkeit	-	-	Ordnung	Leute
nouns with X as genitive object	Cousin Ansatz Opfer	Ideologie Interesselosigkeit	Türe Gericht Freund	Falle	Befürwortung	-

Newspaper	NZZ (Cancel-Culture and Culture)	Tagesanzeiger r Combination of Cancel-Culture and Culture	Die Welt Culture Cancel-Culture	taz Culture Cancel-Culture	Der Standard (Cancel-Culture)	Kronen Zeitung (Culture)
nouns with X as accusative object	Gerechtigkeit Kultur Sitte Opfer Mittel Zeug Spezialist Zusammenhang Gesinnung Arroganz Kritik	Bedrohung Diskussion Ideologe Mensch	Türe Gespür Gut	Falle Vorfall Auswuchs Vorwurf Phänomen Thema	Befürwortung Fortsetzung Relevanz Phänomen	-
X and/or	Präsentismus Wort Woke Bild Aktivismus Zensur Faden BLM Boykott Wokeness	Kritik Wokeness Identitätspolitik Einwanderung Wokeismus Social Justice Warrior Gendern Korrektheit	Political Correctness Business Vordenker Wokeness LGBT Schwachsinn Aktivist	Zensur Denkverbot Identitätspolitik Shitstorms	Wokeness Shitstorm Sendungseifer Verbot Streitigkeit PC Bücherverbrennung Drama Zensur Fundamentalismus	Genderwahn Identitätspolitik Kontaktschuld Inquisition
prepositions with X as object	bezüglich gegen innerhalb per über an mit bei durch	durch mit von für zu	gegen durch von aus bei mit auf zu	gegen über unter als von bei auf an für mit	bzgl. seitens neben über gegen vor an auf mit von bei	mit
X in noun	Wohlstandsv erwahrlosun g Umfeld Sprache Alltag Schweiz	Reinkultur Reinstform	Ordnung Psychologie Richtung Auge	Wissenschafts bereich Politik	Mitte	Russland
X zu noun	Feld Entlassung Opfer	-	-	-	Gesetz	-
X mit noun	Sicherheit Logik Sichtweise	-	Gründlichkeit	-	Blockade Bücherverbrennung Kritik	-
X an noun	-	Leben Uni	Orwell	-	-	-

Newspaper	NZZ (Cancel- Culture and Culture)	Tagesanzeig er Combination of Cancel- Culture and Culture	Die Welt Culture Cancel- Culture	taz Culture Cancel- Culture	Der Standard (Cancel- Culture)	Kronen Zeitung (Culture)
noun von X	-	Beispiel	Nase Gruppe	Teil Fall Opfer Art Form	Aspekt Opfer	-

Table 9: Word Sketch Commentaries “Cancel Culture/Cancel-Culture“

Who are the protagonists?

Generally, there is a group that is seen as the practitioners of CC and the group of victims. The articles of Standard talk about friends and representatives but also candidates (for victims?) of CC. Moreover, they write about “Klimakleber“ (activists who glue themselves to objects, etc., to raise awareness for climate change) and “Transgender.“ Hence, the protagonists are parts of minorities that challenge the hegemonic discourse and order regarding the dominant system of consumption and gender.

NZZ mentions critics, highlighting CC as a debate. TA generally writes about humans, while Die Welt is the only newspaper discussing victims. In comparison, the comments of NZZ, taz, and DS all write about victims, with NZZc even attributing violence (“tätlich“) as an inherent feature of CC. This shows that victimization is a substantial feature of the CC debate across the political spectrum. Daub (2022) points out that this victim culture is deeply embedded in the Christian victim narrative. In these anecdotes, the powerful appear as the real victims, even if they are just confronted with contrary opinions.

Generally, the discourse in the comments is more heated. TA (“Mensch“) and Krone (“Leute“) use a more general language. However, TA comments also discuss ideologists and Social Justice Warriors, while NZZ comments make mention of extremists and specialists. To describe this assembly of characters, the comments of DW draw the picture of a court and refer to George Orwell. This shows that the comment sections of the right-leaning newspaper adopt a more radical language to describe the protagonists. Daub (2022) describes this feeling of being put on trial as an imaginative ability. The author highlights that this is an old topos that was especially used by Reaganism. Thereby, the victim becomes the Self and the wrongdoer the unknown Other. As Daub (2022) points out, while numerous persons are identified or identify themselves as victims of CC, there are no famous proponents of it.

What is Cancel Culture?

Generally, CC is described as something negative. It is seen as a problem, an evil, or combined with negative attributes.⁹ The remarkable exception is DW and its comments which see possibilities for something good in CC.

Another feature is the loudness of CC. It is described as “Getöse“ (roar, NZZ), appears with “Karacho“ (hell for leather, DS), or is just “laut“ (loud, Krone). However, for readers and commentators of DW, it is still unintelligible. This characteristic is also pointed out by Gerster et al. (2021). The authors show that once a CC anecdote starts to spread, they cause a great stir, but the factual happenings only play a marginal role. The facts are drowned in the resonance of opinions.

The CC debate is loaded with emotions like anger (“Tilgungswut“ NZZ), controversial (DSc), abject (TAc), or generally featherbrained (“dummlich“ NZZc). The comments of taz describe it as absurd and thereby relativize the importance of the whole debate. Daub (2022) describes this as “[...] projektive Hysterisierung des Diskurses der anderen“ (p. 257). Hence, the critiques or arguments of the Other are ridiculed by only talking about the tone of their statements.

CC is perceived as something political. Half of the sample characterized it as coming from the political left (taz, DS, NZZc, TAc, tazc, DSc). In contrast, only the comments of the taz and, thereby, the most left-leaning newspaper, at the same time, also talk about a right-wing and even right-wing extremist CC. Finally, the comments of Krone define CC as overall anti-democratic.

Does Cancel Culture Exist?

To this question, the corpora provide different answers. Three newspapers describe it as a phenomenon (NZZ, TA, DS). More than half of the corpora (TA, taz, DS, Krone, NZZc, tazc, DSc) use the adjective “sogenannt“ (so-called) to describe CC. This signifies several things. First of all, the novelty of the CC debate, meaning not everybody is familiar with the phrase. However, this also means that the authors are not entirely sure what CC exactly is. This uncertainty and doubt are moreover also demonstrated by the use of “angeblich“ (alleged) by the left-leaning newspapers and their comment sections (taz, TAc, DSc). NZZ and taz also use “vermeintlich“ (perceived). In comparison, the more right-leaning newspaper and the comments (DW, NZZc) are more particular about the existence of CC and write about a lived CC. The outlier in this pattern is the comment section of the taz which also mentions an actual and

⁹ NZZ, TA, DS, NZZc, TAc, DWc, DSc, Kc.

existent CC. However, in light of it also being the only corpus talking about right-wing CC, this could also be addressed to other forms of CC, highlighting the flexibility of the concept of CC again. As Daub (2022) argues, this framing allows CC to adopt different meanings and, for example, elements of the PC debate of the 1990s without having to provide a clear definition of what CC is. CC becomes a meme that everybody uses without explaining what it signifies.

Where does CC take place?

The scenery for CC is very diverse. Nevertheless, the university appears as the dominant place. However, only three corpora (NZZ, taz, TAc) explicitly feature it. NZZ even further specifies by pointing to the ETH (Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule) Zürich, thereby localizing the discourse geographically in Switzerland. Even though the university's role was underlined in the n-gram analysis, this result points in a different direction. The mentioning of the ETH signifies the presence of both an outward and an inward perspective in NZZ.

Second, culture is very present from a general discussion (NZZc) over institutions of the cultural sphere (“Bühne“ NZZ, “Literaturreise“ taz, “Redaktion“ TAc, “Messezirkus“ TA) to language, pictures, and words (NZZc). However, as elaborated above, culture only plays a minor role compared to politics. Hence, Daub’s (2022) hypothesis that CC, in comparison to the USA in Europe, is more centered on issues of culture is not as clear. These results show that the focus instead lies on issues of politics.

Finally, there is a variety of other arenas. DS refers to postings, signaling the importance of the online sphere for CC. The comments of DS discuss that CC takes place in the middle, meaning it concerns society as a whole. Moreover, tazc discuss CC in economy and politics, while DWc argue about CC in psychology.

Geographically, the discourse is more focused on the outside, yet it ranges from the USA (NZZ) over China (TA), Netherlands (taz) to Russia (Kc). Hence a clear focus on the USA, as stated by Daub (2022), cannot be detected in this case. Moreover, three corpora explicitly localize CC in their own country, Switzerland (TA, NZZc) and Austria (Krone). The comments of the TA more generally value CC as Western. This again shows that especially the Swiss corpora are more inward-looking.

How does CC work?

An element present in at least half of the corpora is the characteristic of transition. CC is perceived as something that comes (DS) or originates (NZZc, DSc) from a specific location and

moved (NZZ), spilled over (TA), or spread (NZZ). However, it also has to be analyzed more closely to understand the real meaning (“entpuppen“ NZZ, “erweisen“ taz). Thereby, CC can be seen as a cousin (NZZ, NZZc), as an excrescence (“Auswuchs“ Krone, tazc), or a remake (“Neuaufgabe“ DS). However, CC also is described as pursuing a goal (“zielen“ NZZ, taz).

Right-leaning newspapers associate aggression with it and discuss its destructive potential (“zerstören“ DWc) or fight (“kämpfen“ NZZ). As a result DW (“entgegenstehen“), DWc (ablehnen) and Kc (“abstellen“) also argue for working against CC. The prepositions also reflect this conflictual element, with seven corpora featuring against (“gegen“).¹⁰ Most of this language is used in the comments; however, in the case of NZZ and DW, they also spill over into the media. The spillover of violent language from online fora to the media in the course of the PC debate has already been addressed by Degele (2020). The author also points out that there are signifiers that show that through violence in the internet, violence in the offline world increases.

Four corpora adopt historical/religious examples to signify how CC works. NZZ writes about the altar (“Altar“) of CC where sacrifices are made. This can more specifically be the burning of books, as the comments of DS discuss (“Bücherverbrennung“). The comments of Krone compare CC with the Inquisition, while DS draws parallels to the persecution of Christians (“Christenverfolgung“). The role of history for CC is also further underlined by Krone (“Geschichtsbewusstsein“). This again reflects the Christian victim narrative that Daub (2022) mentions.

Predominantly left-leaning corpora characterize CC as a critique (“Kritik“ NZZ, NZZc, TAc, DSc) or as a form of prohibition (“Denkverbot“ tazc, “Verbot“ DSc). Moreover, CC is described as taking the form of a general boycott (“Boykott“ NZZc, “Kunst-Boykotten“ TA), censorship (“Zensur“ NZZc, tazc, DSc), or a shitstorm (tazc, DSc). Finally, this can also mean the sacking of somebody (“Entlassung“ NZZc). These predominately left corpora are closer to the initial meaning of CC. At the same time, DW and Krone do not assert these issues with CC.

However, the absence of the corpora of DW and Krone also signifies that they do not deal with the origins of CC and even show that this linkage is not necessary to use the rhetoric of the CC debate. Moreover, they use it to discuss other issues, such as gender (NZZ, DS, TAc) and LGBT (DWc). This seems to be a crucial issue for right-leaning newspapers and their comments, which talk about gender ideology (NZZ) or gender madness (“Genderwahn“ Kronec) and thereby discredit activism in this direction. This focus on gender in the CC debate by the political right is

¹⁰ NZZ, DS, Krone, NZZc, DWc, tazc and DSc.

also inherent in the PC debate (Degele, 2020). Moreover, as Degele (2020) shows, framing feminism as “genderism“ signals a shift from a political to a cultural struggle. The branding of the political right is directed against the scientific construct of gender, which challenges the cornerstones of the culture of dominance.

Why does CC exist?

Most corpora show that CC is seen as embedded into a broader net of debates and does not exist on its own. One comment of Kronen Zeitung also attributes a “Kontaktschuld“ to the CC-debate. This signifies that there is a broad spectrum of topics addressed by CC. If people engage with one of them, they are automatically part of the CC debate.

The link to the Political Correctness debate is present in the articles and comments of both Die Welt and Der Standard, as well as in TAc. Moreover, justice (“Gerechtigkeit“) plays a significant part in the articles and comments of NZZ.

However, the most dominant topic is Wokeness or Woke. Interestingly, it is mentioned in the articles by all the left-leaning newspapers (TA, taz, DS) and the comment sections of two of them (TAc, DSc) but only appears in the right-leaning newspapers in their comment sections (NZZc, DWc). A particularity of the comments of Tages-Anzeiger is the use of the term “Wokeismus,“ which is used in French instead of Cancel-Culture (Daub, 2022). This demonstrates the fusion of the discourses in Switzerland and the interchangeability of the terms. However, this exemption also shows that generally, there is little attention to the debate in France, meaning the debates in German-speaking media form their own echo chamber.

Identity politics are mentioned by five corpora (“Identitätspolitik“ NZZ, taz, TAc, tazc, Kc). TAc also constructs a connection to migration (“Einwanderung“).

The comments of NZZ are very actively discussing the reasons for CC. They describe it as an attitude (“Gesinnung“) or a form of activism (“Aktivismus“) like Black Lives Matter or do-gooders (“Gutmenschentum“) that is the result of arrogance (“Arroganz“) and squalidness (“Wohlstandsverwahrlosung“). Commentators of DS also attribute an eagerness to proselytize (“Sendungseifer“) and fundamentalism (“Fundamentalismus“) to Cancel Culture. In comparison, the comments of TA talk about indifference (“Interesselosigkeit“). Degele (2020) argues that: “Die Moralisierung all Diskreditierung der Gegner*innen ist eine grundlegende Funktion bei der Verwendung des Begriffs Gutmensch oder Political Correctness“ (p. 42). The description of CC as fundamentalism, for example, changes the discourse to a different level and avoids engaging with the topics it addresses.

What is the quality of CC?

As Daub (2022) mentioned, CC is most often narrated as an anecdote. This is also reflected by the corpora, which display examples (“Beispiele“ NZZ, TAc) or cases (“Fall“ NZZ, TA, taz). Nevertheless, there is also less certainty detectable; taz writes about an exceptional case (“Ausnahmefall“) while TA mentions a suspicion of CC (“Verdacht“). Interestingly taz, at the same time, also writes about a CC campaign (“Kampagne“ taz).

Moreover, some corpora also evaluate the quality of CC that is witnessed. TA comments discuss CC writ large (“Reinkultur,“ “Reinstform“), meaning there must also be some sort of less pure CC. Hence, they also mention real (“wirklich“) and lesser (“gering“) CC. DS comments even go one step further and mention minute (“exakt“) and ultimate (“ultimativ“) CC. This again shows that CC can be filled with meaning and interpreted differently.

What is the timely dimension of CC?

Only six corpora (NZZ, DS, Krone, NZZc, DWc, DSc) indicate a timely component of CC; this will be further elaborated upon in the next section by analyzing the Word sketch of “Jahr.“ Nevertheless, the attributes of CC already show some patterns. NZZ, DS, Krone, NZZc, and DWc accentuate the relevance and topicality of CC. Almost the same amount of corpora states that it is a continuation (DS, DSc) or that there were already prophets (DWc) or pioneers (NZZ) of it.

4.2.3.2 Word sketch of “Jahr“

Due to the similarities of the corpora, the tables are sorted according to frequency rather than score regarding concordance. Modifiers of Jahr and prepositions have been selected, as well as the verbs combined with the most frequently used prepositions. Moreover, the results are compared to the German Web 2020 (deTenTen) data to show similarities and differences. Furthermore, this also signifies which words are just part of the everyday language in use and which are exemptions.

Source	NZZ	Tagesanzei ger	Die Welt	taz	Der Standard	Kronen Zeitung	German Web 2020 (GW)
modifiers of X	letzt sechziger vergangen 1990er kommend fünfziger vorhanden achtziger siebziger dreissiger	vergangen letzt zwei selben knapp genau nah früh	vergangen letzt rund	letzt sechziger 1960er fünfziger neunziger genau vergangen nah ganz	letzt neu vorig nah erst wunderbar anstrengend bezeichnen d vergangen genau	letzt vergangen halb	letzt vergangen nah kommend neu halb erst ganz gut folgend
prepositions with X as object	in vor seit über aus für bis nach	seit in vor nach für innerhalb während aus über zu	in seit vor ab nach von mit	in seit vor binnen bis nach über aus an mit	in vor seit über für unter nach gegen aus von	seit in vor nach ab über bis aus an	in seit vor von nach für über aus mit bis
verb + seit X (dative)	warnen beobachten	angehören versuchen spielen stellen haben	überlegen arbeiten machen haben sein	nutzen kennen werden sein	stehen treten klingen sein	gehören zählen arbeiten geben sein	sein haben werden geben arbeiten leben stehen bestehen bieten machen
verb + in X (dative)	sein haben auszeichne n weitergehe n bejahen begleiten gelingen finden richten bleiben	dominieren schwören canceln sollen werden	sein werden fremdelte treffen triefen sterben entwickeln wollen haben	haben werden sein	werden geraten ernten treiben begleiten abreißen geraten raten gründen lassen sehen	werden zurückverfo lgen setzen wissen sein	werden sein haben können geben sollen kommen finden beginnen gründen
verb + vor X (dative)	formuliere n sehen kommen geben diskutieren sein haben	werden bringen sein	versteigern boykottiere n lösen bekommen	kommen werden	haben schicken geben sein	haben	haben sein werden beginnen geben kommen kaufen gründen machen sterben

Table 10: Word Sketch Articles “Jahr“

Newspaper	NZZ	Tagesanzei ger	Die Welt	taz	Der Standard	Kronen Zeitung	German Web 2020
modifiers of X	letzt 90er 70er 1930er nah	letzt 1930er nah	letzt vergangen 30er 70er nah	letzt 80er 90er 70er jung	letzt nah 80er 40er 60er ca lang	letzt hundert vergangen gut	letzt vergangen nah kommend neu halb erst ganz gut folgend
prepositions with X as object	vor in seit von nach um aus	in vor seit nach für von bis über auf während	vor in seit nach über von aus für	vor in seit von mit für	in vor seit von über nach pro für aus mit	vor seit in nach mit über	in seit vor von nach für über aus mit bis
verb + seit X (dative)	-	sein warnen	sein	sein	werden machen sein stehen	verfolgen fühlen werden	sein haben werden geben arbeiten leben stehen bestehen bieten machen
verb + in X (dative)	werden sein	werden haben sein	werden sein haben	sein werden	sein haben werden geben	sein	werden sein haben können geben sollen kommen finden beginnen gründen
verb + vor X (dative)	werden haben	haben sein	sein können werden haben denken machen geben	haben sein	sein geben haben	haben sein werden	haben sein werden beginnen geben kommen kaufen gründen machen sterben

Table 11: Word Sketch Commentaries “Jahr“

The most used modifiers of the newspaper are pretty much in line with the general use. All corpora feature “letzt“ (last) in combination with year, and ten of them even most often.

The second rank is more diversified. Still, eight corpora exhibit “vergangen“ (past). Interestingly, only four of them have it at first or second position. Moreover, while all the newspapers display it, it is only used in the comment sections of DW and Krone. This could signify that the past is more important in the right-leaning corpora.

In contrast, the use of “nah“ as in “nächstes“ (next) is slightly more frequent in the comment sections (NZZc, TAc, DWc, DSc vs. TA, taz, DS). However, NZZ also features “kommen“ (coming). Nevertheless, “nah“ is only exhibited in the articles of left-leaning newspapers, suggesting they are more oriented toward the future.

The articles of the three left-leaning newspapers also exhibit the word “genau“ (exact), meaning a more precise indication of the dates. This could indicate that these newspapers try to avoid the CC anecdote's abstractness, a characteristic of the CC debates, which Daub (2022) explained.

The general importance of the past is also demonstrated by the reference to decades of the 20th century by seven corpora (NZZ, taz, NZZc, TAc, DWc, tazc, DSc). This referencing seems more important in the comment sections, with 5 out of six featuring some sort of remark. The timespan ranges from the 1930s (NZZ, NZZc, TAc, DWc) to the 1990s (NZZ, taz, NZZc, tazc). In reaction to the above-mentioned perception of CC as a form of censorship, the reference to predominately right-leaning newspapers and their fora indicates that CC reminds people, who are predominantly against it, of the rise of fascism. This connection was also made in the course of the PC debate, by comparing the strive to use a more politically correct language to the censorship practices of the Nazi-regime, as done by Michael Dippelreiter (2017). Nevertheless, the other decades in between are also prominent, like the 1970s (NZZ, NZZc, DWc, tazc), 1980s (NZZ, tazc, DSc), or 1960s (NZZ, tazc, DSc), all of them mentioned by the NZZ and tazc.

The selected corpora are similar to the German Web regarding the most frequently used prepositions. The three most used words are “in“ (in), “seit“ (since), and “vor“ (before). However, their rank varies between the corpora. Most corpora (NZZ, DW, taz, DS, TAc, DSc) have “in“ in the first position, signaling they are more oriented toward the future. Moreover, these are more leftist newspapers and their comment sections. However, the same amount of corpora features “vor“ (NZZc, DWc, tazc, Kc) or “seit“ (TA, Krone) on the first rank. Hence, an equal majority of rightist newspapers/fora are more oriented toward the past. Furthermore, while most newspaper articles predominantly use “in,“ most comment sections use “vor.“ Meaning that especially the readers of the more conservative newspapers are more invested in the past.

Exemption here is again the comment section of the taz. An extreme example is the comment section of Kronen Zeitung, which ranks “in“ third place.

The verbs, in combination with the preposition “seit“ feature a couple of similarities but also some exceptions to the broader use of language. A specific is, for example the theme of observation (“verfolgen“ Kc, “beobachten“ NZZ) and caution (“warnen“ NZZ, TAc).

There is a broad variation of verbs used in connection with “in.“ The frequent use of “sein“ (to be) and “werden“ (to become) is in line with the general use of the German Web. However, there are significant differences between the corpora. Ten corpora exhibit “werden“¹¹ while nine feature “sein.“¹² Interestingly, the only corpora that do not use “sein“ are the three leftist newspapers. They avoid strict prognoses in the future and instead use “werden,“ which is more focused on the process than the result.

Combined with the preposition “vor,“ the frequency of words follows the overall distribution in the German Web data set. However, one inconsistency is the absence of the verb “beginnen“ (to begin), which ranks fourth in the German Web 2020 database. This could indicate that the phenomenon of CC cannot be tacked to a specific starting point.

4.2.3.3 Word Sketch “Mensch“ Newspaper articles

The word sketch of “Mensch“ has been sorted by score to display the most relevant words. A minimum point of six corpora featuring a category had to be reached to include them in tables 12 and 13. Again, the German Web 2020 corpus is used for guidance to show which words are unique to the CC debate and which are commonly used.

Newspaper	NZZ	Tages-Anzeiger	Die Welt	taz	Der Standard	Kronen Zeitung	German Web 2020
modifiers of X	unbrauchbar erwachsen ernst leidenschaftlich Tausend richtig ganz weit	zweitreich	vollwertig vernünftig nett jung schwarz	schwarz weiß vollwertig vorrangig gutbürgerlich wahrhaftig real indigen fein misogyn	nichtweiß lustig genderfluid transgeschlechtlich lesend überzeugend überdurchschnittlich tausend schwarz	übermächtig jung andere weiß laufend nicht-binär dargestellt geliebt benachteiligt introvertiert	jung behindert alt ander krank normal lebend rund gesund nett

¹¹ TA, DW, taz, DS, Krone, NZZc, TAc, DWc, tazc, DSc.

¹² NZZ, DW, Krone, NZZc, TAc, DWc, tazc, DSc, Kc.

Newspaper	NZZ	Tages-Anzeiger	Die Welt	taz	Der Standard	Kronen Zeitung	German Web 2020
verbs with X as subject	reifen einschlagen neigen lernen führen gehen bleiben	ausgrenzen quittieren	begeistern treffen bilden geben	unterteilen kennen akzeptieren leben zeigen kommen	lachen üben gehören brauchen	tragen entscheiden brauchen sehen kommen	leben sterben brauchen leiden wissen denken glauben fühlen arbeiten kommen
nouns with X as genitive object	Vergangenheit	-	Bürgerrecht sbewegung Widerstands symbol	Darstellung	Unsicherheit Reaktion Problem	Gleichstellung Menge Österreich	Leben Würde Bedürfnis Gesundheit Herz Natur Zahl Kopf Tod Seele
accusative objects of X	Humus Nizza Datensatz Trump Solidarität Gefühl Regime Gerechtigkeit Million	Cancel-Culture	-	NS-Zeit Öffentlichkeit	Hegemonie	-	Alter Million Gott Leidenschaft Herkunft Altersgruppe Milliarde Deutschland Glaube Erde
nouns with X as accusative object	Million Bewegung stier Redaktion Datensatz Trump Geschlecht Gegenüber Kopf Regime Gerechtigkeit	Verhalten	Struktur Geschlecht Fehler	Privilegium Stimme Darstellung	Schaden Problem Sicht Gehör Antwort	Chance Zeit Menge	Leben Million Bedürfnis Recht Würde Gesundheit Milliarde Angst Herz Möglichkeit
verbs with X as genitive object	kennen zeigen	-	-	erkennen	interessieren	abbilden führen	verbessern verändern beeinflussen leben erholen bestimmen machen fördern nehmen verstehen

Newspaper	NZZ	Tages-Anzeiger	Die Welt	taz	Der Standard	Kronen Zeitung	German Web 2020
verbs with X as accusative object	erstechen versöhnen verleiten herstellen töten behandeln verstehen halten geben	diskreditieren nachdenken verfehlen stimmen machen	begeistern treffen bilden geben	absprechen einschießen aushalten interessieren konkurrieren betreffen sehen lesen	lieben konfrontieren inhaftieren diktieren gefallen interviewen halten geben	gehen aufdrängen enttäuschen einladen akzeptieren sterben einfallen zeichnen brauchen geben	helfen töten kennen kennenlernen bewegen unterstützen treffen geben begleiten begeistern
prepositions with X as object	seit gegenüber unter um vor auf mit von	vor über für von	als mit zu	um mit für über als auf in	nach um für über mit an von	über als bei für aus auf an	für zwischen von bei gegenüber als vor mit um unter
X in + noun	Stück Kette Lage Gespräch	Dimension Saal Russland USA Deutschland	Widerspruch	Kategorie Suff Kontakt Deutschland	Übersee Machtposition	Landschaft Arroganz Geschichte	Land Deutschland Not Mittelpunkt Region Alter Stadt Leben Welt Lage
X mit + noun	Geschlecht sorglos Endlichkeit	Position	Sombrerohut	-	Uterus IQ Arbeit	Eloquenz Verbrechen	Behinderung Demenz Migrationshintergrund Beeinträchtigung Erkrankung Handicap Diabetes Einkommen Lernschwierigkeit Einschränkung
X zu + noun	Majestät	-	-	Wort	-	-	Mensch Opfer Gott Tod Nachdenken Haus Leben Glaube Zeit Lache

Newspaper	NZZ	Tages- Anzeiger	Die Welt	taz	Der Standard	Kronen Zeitung	German Web 2020
noun + von X	Gruppe	Tod	-	-	Verunglimpfung	-	Million Gruppe Leben Recht Tausend Gesundheit Integration Zahl Teilhabe Anzahl
X auf + noun	Erde	-	Wellenlänge	-	-	-	Welt Erde Straße Flucht Planet Suche Weg Raum Weise Mond
verb + von X (dative)	sprechen	-	-	-	-	-	machen nutzen werden geben erzählen können sein unterscheiden übertragen sehen
noun + für X	-	Beruf	-	Chance England	Sterilisation	Kultur Song	Werkstatt Hilfe Mensch Gefahr Angebot Einrichtung Folge Leben Arbeit Arbeitsplatz
verb + für X (accusative)	-	-	-	sein	-	wirken	sein bedeuten machen schaffen gelten eignen können bieten gehören werden

Newspaper	NZZ	Tages-Anzeiger	Die Welt	taz	Der Standard	Kronen Zeitung	German Web 2020
X aus + noun	-	-	Grauzone		-	-	Land Welt Kultur Region Nation Umfeld Fleisch Kulturkreis Schicht Stadt
verb + mit X (dative)	-	-	-	treffen	zusammenarbeiten haben	-	sprechen teilen umgehen arbeiten reden kommunizieren tun zusammenarbeiten machen unterhalten

Table 12: Word Sketch Articles “Mensch“

Newspaper	NZZ	Tages-Anzeiger	Die Welt	taz	Der Standard	Kronen Zeitung	German Web 2020
modifiers of X	jung einzeln neu grossteil gebildet böse echt ander gut	ander transident umgekehrt tatsächlich heutig	ander normal denkend jung intelligent ungeimpft idealistisch gestört farbig vernünftig	ander unterdrückt jung rassistisch gut	ander nicht-binär erwachsen normal schlimm jung dunkelhäutig gebildet schlecht trans	jung weiß klug normal unbedeutend denkend dunkelhäutig vernünftig intelligent dumm	jung behindert alt ander krank normal lebend rund gesund nett
verbs with X as subject	verlieren kennen wissen	kritisieren	lernen fragen denken brauchen geben	-	errichten glauben wissen brauchen geben	brauchen nehmen kommen	leben sterben brauchen leiden wissen denken glauben fühlen arbeiten kommen

Newspaper	NZZ	Tages-Anzeiger	Die Welt	taz	Der Standard	Kronen Zeitung	German Web 2020
nouns with X as genitive object	Natur Kopf	Gesundheit	Verbrüderung Leben Gefühl	-	Mehrheit	Dummheit Zusammenhang	Leben Würde Bedürfnis Gesundheit Herz Natur Zahl Kopf Tod Seele
accusative objects of X	Angst	Gruppe	-	-	-	-	Alter Million Gott Leidenschaft t Herkunft Altersgruppe e Milliarde Deutschland d Glaube Erde
nouns with X as accusative object	Kopf Angst Freiheit	Gesundheit	Toleranz Leben	-	Wert Sprache Geschlecht	Hilfe Dummheit Zusammenhang	Leben Million Bedürfnis Recht Würde Gesundheit Milliarde Angst Herz Möglichkeit
verbs with X as genitive object	-	-	sprechen	-	-	ändern	verbessern verändern beeinflussen n leben erholen bestimmen machen fördern nehmen verstehen
verbs with X as accusative object	zwingen beherrschen	geben machen	geben beleidigen vorschreiben wünschen	kennen geben	lieben töten geben sehen	ausweisen bringen geben machen	helfen töten kennen kennenlernen n bewegen unterstützen treffen geben begleiten begeistern

Newspaper	NZZ	Tages-Anzeiger	Die Welt	taz	Der Standard	Kronen Zeitung	German Web 2020
prepositions with X as object	für bei von gegen zu als auf	von als für mit in gegen bei	für nach über von bei als mit in	zwischen für bei von auf um als mit zu in	für von als zwischen bei mit an über zu um	für von als bei auf zu mit	für zwischen von bei gegenüber als vor mit um unter
X in + noun	Wahn Zug Lage Amt Gruppe	Lager Lot Afrika Netz Würde Alltag Westen Deutschland Jahr	Afrika Verlagsposit ion Umfeld Entwicklun g Kenntnis Länder Partei Kultur Sprachen Lage	Viertel Lage Alltag Land Gesellschaft Deutschland	Europa Pflicht Eigenschaft Gruppe Hinsicht Belarus Donbass Individualis mus Menschenre chtskonvent ion Lebenssitua tion	Forum Familienna me Rampenlich t Film Alltag Staat Öffentlichk eit Ukraine	Land Deutschlan d Not Mittelpunkt Region Alter Stadt Leben Welt Lage
X mit + noun	Menschen verstand Grammatik Frage Gewalt	-	Meinung Handicap Magen- Darm- Erkrankung Familienna me Selbstwertg efühl Blick Wurzel Tätowierun g Zivilcourag e Hautfarbe	Herkunft Hautfarbe Hautpigmen tierung Politik Gerechtigke itssinn Meinung	Uterus Gebärmutter r Penis Hautfarbe Menstruatio nshintergru nd IQ Follower Gebärfähig keit DSD Erfahrungss chatz	Hausverstan d Info Hautfarbe Schwachsinn	Behinderun g Demenz Migrationsh intergrund Beeinträchti gung Erkrankung Handicap Diabetes Einkommen Lernschwie rigkeit Einschränk ung
X zu + noun	Einsicht Sauberman n Erledigung Mensch	Verstumme n Grausamkei t	Unmündigk eit Opfer	Opfer Wissenscha ft	Sparsamkeit Aggressivität Vernunft Recht Wort	Gesellschaft sgruppen Kultur Zeit	Mensch Opfer Gott Tod Nachdenke n Haus Leben Glaube Zeit Lache

Newspaper	NZZ	Tages-Anzeiger	Die Welt	taz	Der Standard	Kronen Zeitung	German Web 2020
noun + von X	Import Bodensatz Nachteil Zerstörung Feind Raum Zahl Minderheit	zehntausend e Sicherheit Klimawandel Frau Gesetz Welt Übelste Europa Art Anliegen	Generation Universalität Rationalität Spezies Million Empfindungen Gruppe Meinung	Lage Sterben Eigenwahrnehmung Zuwanderung Wille Anspruch Realität	Gruppe Genitalien Ansammlung Zahl Art Vertreibung Herabsetzung USRepräsentantenhaus Rezension Transzendenz Redebeitrag	Gruppe Wahrnehmung Rücksicht	Million Gruppe Leben Recht Tausend Gesundheit Integration Zahl Teilhabe Anzahl
X auf + noun	-	Spiel Gesellschaft	übelste Wellenlänge Studium	-	Erde Grund Landstrich y Metaebene Zuchtverfahren Umweg Hals Gewissen Augenhöhe	Globus Welt	Welt Erde Straße Flucht Planet Suche Weg Raum Weise Mond
verb + von X (dative)	besuchen geben sollen sein	trennen funktionieren verursachen vollbringen wahrnehmen ausschließen geben lassen machen werden	fallen/ gefallen beuten unterdrücken teilen können müssen haben sein	hineinversetzen benutzen haben sein werden	machen schaffen angeben aufhetzen wiederholen suchen untersuchen wünschen einfügen ablassen	leisten glauben werden	machen nutzen werden geben erzählen können sein unterscheiden übertragen sehen
noun + für X	Asyl Herausforderung	-	Diskussion Häuptling Bezeichnung	Aktivität Albtraum Wahrheit Ding	Sterilisation Energiepreisverteuerung Wohlwollen Irre Hilfe Fertigfutte Todesstrafe Gesicht Gegenteil Politik	Ausdruck Bezeichnung	Werkstatt Hilfe Mensch Gefahr Angebot Einrichtung Folge Leben Arbeit Arbeitsplatz

Newspaper	NZZ	Tages-Anzeiger	Die Welt	taz	Der Standard	Kronen Zeitung	German Web 2020
verb + für X (accusative)	gelten sein	sein	sein machen gelten geben haben	sein	raffen schweigen ablehnen unterstützen schaffen zählen wollen sein müssen sollen	-	sein bedeuten machen schaffen gelten eignen können bieten gehören werden
X aus + noun	Drittstaat Zeit	Verhältnis Europa	Rom Minderheit	Osten Nation Sicht Land	Subsahara- Afrika China Arizona Welt Grund	Afrika Arabien Deutschland Religion Land	Land Welt Kultur Region Nation Umfeld Fleisch Kulturkreis Schicht Stadt
verb + mit X (dative)	-	vertreten kennen sein	passieren schließen haben	kommunizieren können	teilen zusammenarbeiten gehen sprechen umgehen müssen wollen machen können haben	-	sprechen teilen umgehen arbeiten reden kommunizieren tun zusammenarbeiten machen unterhalten

Table 13: Word Sketch Commentaries “Mensch“

There is a wide variety of topics observable in this analysis. Hence, I organized the words into several categories to make them discussable and make patterns visible.

Quantity

First, the amount (“Zahl“) of humans plays an important role. Some indications of numbers are present in six corpora and the GW.¹³ Interestingly, the comment sections of NZZ and DW discuss the minority (“Minderheit“), while the fora of DSc (“Mehrheit“) and NZZ (“Grossteil“) discuss the majority of humans.

¹³ tausend (NZZ, DS), Million (GW, NZZ), Menge (Krone), Mehrheit (DSc), Grossteil (NZZc), Minderheit (NZZc, DWc), Zahl (GW, NZZc, DSc).

How are humans portrayed?

Along with the German Web, the commentary sections of DW, DS, and Krone discuss what a normal human is. Different qualities are attached to humans; for example, five corpora describe them as real and complete.¹⁴

Especially the more conservative corpora are drawing a more negative picture of humans. They are dumb (“dumm“ Kc), useless (“unbrauchbar“ NZZ), unhinged (“gestört“ DWc) or just evil (“böse“ NZZc). The comment section of DS adds bad (“schlimm,“ “schlecht“).

In comparison, three corpora follow the German Web and attach more positive adjectives to humans.¹⁵ Therefore, there sort of is a balance between positive and negative displays. Nevertheless, these descriptions mainly come from the right-leaning corpora.

Race and ethnicity

Contrary to the German Web, ethnicity, and race are discussed frequently in the corpora and present in eight.¹⁶ Skin color is one of the critical characteristics of humans in the corpora of DWc, tazc, DSc, and Kc. Ethnicity is also addressed in the articles. All in all, six corpora are discussing BIPoC (Black, Indigenous, and People of Color), while only three of which two are Krone and its comment section, are discussing White people. The comments of taz also discuss racist people. This division points to what Hunter van and der Westhuizen (2022) call “the invisibility consensus“ (p. 8). They refer to black thinkers, such as Fanon and Du Bois, that already addressed the invisibility of whiteness and the hypervisibility of racial others. This means that while White is seen as neutral, the racial other is made visible. However, understanding people's experiences outside of whiteness is met with social invisibilization (Hunter et al., 2022). Hence, even though the other is predominantly discussed in the corpora, this does not directly mean that the authors engage with the other's perspective. Moreover, the hyper-focus on the other is used to construct the neutral White self.

Gender and Sexuality

Another issue that is not really addressed in the German Web corpus but is very present in the selected corpora is gender. Even though NZZ and DW articles and DSc mention the “Geschlecht“ (sex or gender) of people, it is mainly the left-leaning newspapers and their

¹⁴ vollwertig (DW, taz), ganz (NZZ), richtig (NZZ), wahrhaftig (taz), real (taz), tatsächlich (TAc), echt (NZZc).

¹⁵ nett (GW, DW), gut (NZZc, tazc).

¹⁶ Hautfarbe (DWc, tazc, DSc, Kc), Hautpigmentierung (tazc), schwarz (DW, taz, DS), indigen (taz), nichtweiß (DS), farbig (DWc), dunkelhäutig (DSc, Kc), weiß (taz, Krone, Kc).

comment sections that explore these dimensions further. They are discussing gender identities of, for example, trans persons or the concept of gender fluidity.¹⁷ The exception here is Krone, which also mentions nonbinary (“nicht-binär“) people. This is also discussed in the commentaries of DS. Also, misogynist people are mentioned by taz.

Moreover, sexual characteristics are discussed. While the NZZ again remains rather broad, by just using “Geschlechtsorgan“ (genitals), especially the comments of Der Standard mainly explore bodily parts.¹⁸ Moreover, they are also the only corpus that discusses humans with a penis, but also about sterilization together with the articles of DS. This shows that especially FLINT* (Female, Lesbian, Intersex, Non-Binary, and Trans) are discussed in the corpora. In comparison, “heterosexuell“ is not mentioned once in combination with “Mensch“ in any of the corpora. The minority is at the center of attention. Degele (2020) argues that gender is essential to the PC debate because of its “[...] Rütteln an *einem*, vielleicht *dem* grundlegenden Sicherheits- und Normalitätsbestand im Denken und Fühlen, nämlich der Vorstellung einer naturgegebenen Ordnung zweier Geschlechter, die sich all heteronormative umschreiben loss [...]“ (p. 92). The topics addressed in Tables 12 and 13 question this “natural order.“ Therefore, gender is an essential topic in the CC debate.

Class

Mostly leftist newspapers and their fora also openly address humans' privileges (“Privilegium“ taz). The TA writes about the second-richest (“zweitreich“) human, while the taz writes about bourgeois (“gutbürgerlich“) humans. The fora of NZZ and DS discuss educated people, and Krone writes about disadvantaged (“benachteiligt“) humans.

Age

Regarding age, the corpora mainly discuss young people. Five of the seven corpora are more right-leaning, of which two are the only newspapers mentioning the youth.¹⁹ Only two corpora are explicitly stating they are discussing adults.²⁰ None of the selected corpora feature old, as the German Web does. Hence, the Youth is the main focal point of the CC debate. These findings

¹⁷ transgeschlechtlich (DS) transident (TAc) trans (DSc) genderfluid (DS).

¹⁸ Uterus (DS, DSc), Gebärmutter (DSc), Menstruationshintergrund (DSc), Gebärfähigkeit (DSc).

¹⁹ DW, Krone, NZZc, DWc, tazc, DSc, Kc

²⁰ NZZ, DSc.

support Daub's (2022) argument that the "Cancelers" are identified as the young. They are seen as the other, reinforcing the self, which distances itself from the youth.

Localization

There is a wide variety of geographic terms present in the corpora. Generally, as the corpus of German Web 2020 suggests, there is a dominant focus on countries.²¹ Mainly leftist newspapers and their comment sections focus on humans in Germany.²² They mainly focus on people in the West (TAc) or Europe (DSc). Nevertheless, they also mention humans in China (DSc), Belarus (DSc), Russia (TA), and the USA (TA). While (Subsahara) Africa is also mentioned in the comments of DS, TA, and Krone, Africa is the only geographic indication DW gives concerning humans.

Migration is mentioned by taz. Moreover, also the origin of people is discussed.²³ Meanwhile, the comments of NZZ discuss the import of humans and asylum. As Degele (2020) argues: "Technokratische und sterile Begriffe verschleiern Verantwortung [...]" (p. 138). Hence, by talking about the import of humans, the comments of NZZ do not address the responsibility but cache the issue and ridicule it.

Power, conflict, and violence

Especially the topics of power, conflict, and violence are represented in nine corpora.²⁴ Power is asserted through suppression (DWc, tazc), controlling (NZZc), detaining (DS), or expelling (Kc). Humans are also manipulated/or are manipulating others through seducing (NZZ) or inciting (DSc). There are forms of verbal violence like discrediting (TA) or insulting (DWc) but also forcing (NZZc or dictating (DS, DWc). Moreover, there is also physical violence like stabbing (NZZ), killing (NZZ, DSc), or just dying (Krone).

Looking at the nouns connected with these topics exhibits significant differences between the right-leaning and left-leaning corpora. While Krone and NZZc write about humans with crime (Krone) and violence (NZZc), the others mainly discuss the violence that humans experience. However, there is also a difference in quality. While Der Standard and its comments discuss the

²¹ Land (GW, tazc, Kc), in Länder (DWc, tazc), in Staat (Kc).

²² Deutschland (GW, TA, taz, TAc, tazc)

²³ Wurzel (DWc) Herkunft (tazc)

²⁴ erstechen (NZZ), töten (NZZ, DSc), sterben, (Krone), inhaftieren (DSdiktieren (DS), vorschreiben (DWc), verleiten (NZZ), beherrschen (NZZc ausweisen (Kcunterdrückt (tazc beuten (DWc unterdrücken (DWc) aufhetzen (DSc) diskreditieren (TA) beleidigen (DWc) zwingen (NZZc

displacement (“Vertreibung“ DSc), abatement (“Herabsetzung“ DSc), or denigration (“Verunglimpfung“ DS) of humans, the comments of NZZ discuss their disintegration (“Zerstörung“). Thereby, the comments of the NZZ detect something life-threatening in connection with CC. This dominance of violence in the PC debate, especially by the conservative side, was already pointed out by Auer (2000). Conformities in style can also be found in the CC debate.

Time

There are only so many indications when it comes to time. Only TAc features “heutig“ (contemporary) among the ten modifiers with the highest score. NZZc is even more future-oriented and discusses new (“neu“) humans.

However, some markers are present that again indicate the relevance of history and the past for the CC discourse. NZZ more generally talks about the past (“Vergangenheit“), Krone writes about humans in history (“Geschichte“), DW refers to the civil rights movement (“Bürgerrechtsbewegung“), and taz to the times of the NS regime (“NS-Zeit“).

Knowledge and Intelligence

Knowledge is another broadly discussed topic that is present in seven corpora.²⁵ Especially the right-leaning corpora display a more naturalistic understanding of knowledge. For DW and the comment sections of DW and Krone there are sensible (“vernünftig“), intelligent (DWc, Kc), thinking (“denkend“ DWc, Kc) and smart (“klug“ Kc) humans. Humans do have common sense (“Menschenverstand“ NZZc, “Hausverstand“ Kc), while in DS and its comments, they have IQ and a treasure trove of experience (“Erfahrungsschatz“ DSc). Hence, the right-leaning corpora tend to characterize intelligence as something given, a biological constant, while DSc points to knowledge as something that is acquired. However, while NZZc and DSc follow the trend in the GW and add that humans know something (“wissen“), NZZ and DWc state that humans learn. DWc also has the only reference to humans in academia (“Studium“). This again points to the role of academia.

²⁵ NZZ, DW DS NZZc, DWc, DSc and Kc.

Prepositions

Regarding the prepositions, there are many similarities between the selected corpora and the broader German Web. “Für“ (for),²⁶ “von“ (from),²⁷ and “als“ (as)²⁸ are all equally represented. The exception is “mit“ (with) which is also featured in nine corpora and thereby overrepresented compared to the GW.²⁹ Hence, their attributes play the most important role in portraying humans in the CC. Furthermore, while the GW places the preposition “zwischen“ (between, among) in the second rank, it is only present in the comment sections of the two leftist newspapers, taz, and DS. Hence, the differences between humans are more highlighted than their similarities.

4.2.3.4 Word Sketch Frau

The word sketch of “Frau“ also has been sorted by score to display the most relevant words. As with “Mensch, “ a threshold of six corpora featuring a category had to be reached to include them in tables 14 and 15. The German Web 2020 corpus is displayed alongside the results for guidance.

Newspaper	NZZ (n=34)	Tages- Anzeiger (n=27)	Die Welt (n=31)	taz (n=23)	Der Standard (n=40)	Kronen Zeitung (n=11)	German Web 2020
modifiers of X	selbstbewusst jung	erst jung namenlos zeitgenössischer asiatischstämmig zierlich nackt stilisiert künstlerisch schwarz	klug	jung schwarz weiß	zierlich protestieren d Transfeindlich wenig geboren dutzend jung	hellhäutig speziell alt wirklich	jung schwanger geehrt lieb alt betroffen hübsch schön verheiratet stark
verbs with X as subject	betreten bekommen stehen	verschwinden sitzen zeigen	filmen identifizieren sitzen treten bleiben	erledigen trennen beschreiben berichten geben	besteigen fühlen leiden erfahren fahren gehen geben	tragen fragen	suchen sitzen sterben lieben tragen leiden arbeiten bekommen wissen fragen

²⁶ GW, TA, taz, DS, NNZc, TAc, DWc, tazc, DSc and Kc.

²⁷ GW, NZZ, TA, DS, NNZc, TAc, DWc, tazc, DSc and Kc.

²⁸ GW, DW, taz, Krone, NNZc, TAc, DWc, tazc, DSc and Kc.

²⁹ GW, NZZ, DW, taz, DS, TAc, DWc, tazc, DSc and Kc.

Newspaper	NZZ (n=34)	Tages- Anzeiger (n=27)	Die Welt (n=31)	taz (n=23)	Der Standard (n=40)	Kronen Zeitung (n=11)	German Web 2020
genitive objects of X	Meinung	-	-	-	Gegenwart	Bauer Leben	Alter Mann Merkel Welt Traum Altersgrupp e Rolle Sozialdienst Herkunft Arbeitsgem einschaft
nouns with X as genitive object	-	Tod Statue	Protest	Gesundheit Schutz Geschichte	-	Gleichberec htigung	Tod Rolle Prozent Leben % Recht Stellung Mann Körper Bild
nouns with X as dative object	Merkel Raum	Tod	-	-	Queerfemin ismus	Gleichberec htigung	Mann Merkel Tod Leben M. Rolle med. Dr. Körper Lehrerin
verbs with X as dative object	erzählen gründen	-	-	zerbrechen	fahren geben	-	verheiraten schlafen helfen sagen trennen schenken gebären scheiden erzählen sprechen
dative objects of X	Mouly Françoise	-	-	-	-	-	Dr. Prof. Maria Anna Merkel Elisabeth Mann Barbara Prozent Marie

Newspaper	NZZ (n=34)	Tages- Anzeiger (n=27)	Die Welt (n=31)	taz (n=23)	Der Standard (n=40)	Kronen Zeitung (n=11)	German Web 2020
nouns with X as accusative object	Leinwand Raum	Statue	Veränderun g	Gesundheit Schutz	Kategorie Jahr	Rastalocke	Mann Recht Kind Wesen Rolle Leben Jahr Stellung Tod Tag
verbs with X as genitive object	-	ansehen stehen	finden	abschaffen gefährden	-	-	verstehen erzählen heiraten leiden finden sehen gewinnen nehmen gehen sagen
verbs with X as accusative object	begleiten gewinnen	hinzufügen sehen schlagen zeigen	vermissen brauchen	schaden schlagen lachen	fragen töten	-	heiraten kennenlerne n lieben suchen vergewaltig en ansprechen kennen töten verlieben fragen
prepositions with X as object	zulasten gegenüber als mit von in	aus als bei mit von	gegenüber für von zu	gegenüber von mit	gegen versus als über für bei mit von	als	bei von für als gegen gegenüber mit zwischen vor um
X and/or	Minderheit Mädchen Gläubige Nicht- Binären Religion Schüler Diskrimini erung Schwarze	Mann Nicht- Weisse Katze	Mann Geliebte Frau Freundin Mutter Tochter	BPoC Mann Unterdrück ung Kind Queers Ausbeutung	Mensch Homosexue lle FlintaPerso n Lebensrealit ät Mann Umgang Kind	Fräulein	Mann Mädchen Kind Familie Jugend Senior Tochter Herr Sohn Mutter

Newspaper	NZZ (n=34)	Tages- Anzeiger (n=27)	Die Welt (n=31)	taz (n=23)	Der Standard (n=40)	Kronen Zeitung (n=11)	German Web 2020
X zu + noun	Schwangerschaftsgymnastik	-	Haus Teil	-	-	-	Frau Mann Haus Wort Boden Hilfe Orgasmus Tod Amt Fuß
X als + noun	-	-	-	-	Werkzeug	-	Mann Opfer Mutter Objekt Hexe Wesen Täterin Hausfrau Zielgruppe Frau
X in + noun	Netz Land	Zhao Senat	Vorstand Action Menopause Partei Cannes	Recht Deutschland	Aufzug Fach Iran Branche	Pelz	Alter Führungsposition Gesellschaft Kirche Beruf Politik Bett Leben Wechseljahr Deutschland
noun + von X	Äusserung Benachteiligung Million	Büste	Herabwürdigung Protest Rolle Problem Gleichberechtigung	Benachteiligung Geschichte	-	-	Gleichstellung Leitung Gleichberechtigung Anteil Diskriminierung Recht Mann Situation Gruppe Benachteiligung
verb + von X (dative)	vollbrechen haben	-	fordern	sein	kommen	-	bekommen trennen scheiden erzählen besetzen geleiten leiten handeln tragen werden lassen

Table 14: Word Sketch Articles “Frau“

Newspaper	NZZ (n=113)	Tages- Anzeiger (n=103)	Die Welt (n=138)	taz (n=107)	Der Standard (n=1536)	Kronen Zeitung (n=65)	German Web 2020
modifiers of X	echte nichttransf ormierte jung alt weiß	biologisch halbnackt bedroht hübsch bedenklich wert lieb jung neu jüdisch	jung intelligent toll vernünftig alt weiß gut großartig schwarze biologisch	jung siebenundse chzigjährig unverheirat et überführt privilegiert bewusst speziell heterosexue ll indigen	biologisch jung schwanger betroffen lesbisch schwarz trans weiß stark alt	erfolgreich später fertig dunkelhäuti g tausend arm grün jung	jung schwanger geehrt lieb alt betroffen hübsch schön verheiratet stark
verbs with X as subject	bezeichnen geben	denken erscheinen landen rufen ticken betreiben tragen fühlen gehen	gehen geben	übertreiben vorschlagen beschreiben fragen verteidigen finden kennen wissen stehen	morden brauchen sagen stehen machen	suchen tragen vergewaltig en ansprechen behaupten finden vorstellen sterben schauen	suchen sitzen sterben lieben tragen leiden arbeiten bekommen wissen fragen
genitive objects of X	-	Hexerei	-	Orient May	-	Bärbock	Alter Mann Merkel Welt Traum Altersgrupp e Rolle Sozialdienst Herkunft Arbeitsgem einschaft
nouns with X as genitive object	-	Mann Türe Diskriminie rung Regierungsr at Anstellung Warner Haltung Aussage	-	Schutz Benachteili gung Selbstverma rktung Rolle	Karikatur Recht Mehrheit	Großmutter Schröter Susanne Aussage Recht Meinung	Tod Rolle Prozent Leben % Recht Stellung Mann Körper Bild
nouns with X as dative object	Ackerman n Schenz Mann Stock	Binswanger Baerbock Meloni Anstellung Wagner Linie Weise	Merkel	Heinrich Heinrichs Wissler Netz Mann	Mückstein Queerfemin ismus	Haus Auto Schröter Tag Monat	Mann Merkel Tod Leben M. Rolle med. Dr. Körper Lehrerin

Newspaper	NZZ (n=113)	Tages- Anzeiger (n=103)	Die Welt (n=138)	taz (n=107)	Der Standard (n=1536)	Kronen Zeitung (n=65)	German Web 2020
verbs with X as dative object	-	verteilen errichten vollziehen riskieren	-	ausmachen dazugehöre n agieren bringen geben	-	aushalten führen helfen schreiben	verheiraten schlafen helfen sagen trennen schenken gebären scheiden erzählen sprechen
dative objects of X	Stock	Scheinerrun genschaft Auszeichnu ng Denkmal Ehe	-	Ideologie Cent Mann Recht	Mann	kabel1 Haushalt Auto Haus	Dr. Prof. Maria Anna Merkel Elisabeth Mann Barbara Prozent Marie
nouns with X as accusative object	-	Türe Stellenwert Baerbock Fliege Auszeichnu ng Ehe Scheinerrun genschaft Denkmal Versautheit Stunde	-	Schutz Ideologie Wagenknecht Ataman Benachteiligung Selbstvermarktung Cent Deutungshoheit Einlassung Verriß	Mann Kind Recht Frau Freiheit	Hose Aussage Freiheit Magister Kopftuch Haushalt Sängerin SELBE Serie Wahrheit	Mann Recht Kind Wesen Rolle Leben Jahr Stellung Tod Tag
verbs with X as genitive object	-	aufhalten führen öffnen	-	finde wissen verändern	-	ausschließen	verstehen erzählen heiraten leiden finden sehen gewinnen nehmen gehen sagen
verbs with X as accusative object	bevorzugen	zuhören beschuldigen wagen widersprechen schützen kennen geben	denken	bekriteln wehren zwingen fragen verwenden stehen verstehen	töten geben nennen sehen gehen	kochen gegendert befreien suchen sagen gehen geben	heiraten kennenlernen lieben suchen vergewaltigen ansprechen kennen töten verlieben fragen

Newspaper	NZZ (n=113)	Tages- Anzeiger (n=103)	Die Welt (n=138)	taz (n=107)	Der Standard (n=1536)	Kronen Zeitung (n=65)	German Web 2020
prepositions with X as object	unter von mit für an	pro zwischen als über von auf zu	als um von bei für auf	als von zwischen bei für	als gegen von für über bei an um gegenüber mit	als von gegen um bei mit	bei von für als gegen gegenüber mit zwischen vor um
X and/or	Mann Vielfalt Linke Ausländer	Mann Tampon- Werbung Minute Auto Grünenpolit ikerin Kanzlerkan didatin CS Linke Linker Weite Minderheit	Mann Homosexue lle Linke	Sozialismus Frau Mann Ausbeutung Unterdrück ung Antifaschist in	Mann Kind Mensch	Herr Mann Kind	Mann Mädchen Kind Familie Jugend Senior Tochter Herr Sohn Mutter
X zu + noun	-	-	Woken Haus	Standart	Mann Zwangsdien st Witz Job Ehre Fortpflanzu ng Vernunft Korruption Haus Gewalt	Zar	Frau Mann Haus Wort Boden Hilfe Orgasmus Tod Amt Fuß
X als + noun	Mann	Frau Mann	Faschistin Kriegerin	Mann	Mensch Mann Kriegserklä rung Bürgermeist erin Untertan Kitschschm ink- Zombies Püppchen Kritikerin Wissenscha fterin Adressatin	Sudetendeut sche	Mann Opfer Mutter Objekt Hexe Wesen Täterin Hausfrau Zielgruppe Frau

Newspaper	NZZ (n=113)	Tages- Anzeiger (n=103)	Die Welt (n=138)	taz (n=107)	Der Standard (n=1536)	Kronen Zeitung (n=65)	German Web 2020
X in + noun	Geschichte Ballonfahrt Artikel Bett Toilette Politik Wirtschaft	Sexpose Großstadt Medium	Sommer Tradition Politik	Causa Rolle Gesellschaft	Sprache Toilette Frequenz Männerdom äne Beziehung Gesellschaft Fall Frauenhafta nstadt AUT Maschinenb austudium	Küche Raum Bezirk Dirndl Situation	Alter Führungsposi tion Gesellschaft Kirche Beruf Politik Bett Leben Wechseljahr Deutschlan d
noun + von X	Durchmars ch Artikel Benachteil igung Antwort Interview Analyse Gleichbere chtigung	Sorte Intervention Ende Artikel	Regierungs zeit Ausbildung Kleidung Zukunft Absetzung Tatsache	Verdammer Unsinn Benachteil igung Gleichstell ung Vortrag Sprache Bemerkung Spruch Meinung Äußerung	Mann Gleichstell ung Gewalt Milliarde Bevorzugun g Parodie Inszenierun g Raum Anerkennun g Kriminalro man	Zufriedenhe it Musikstück Einkommen Text	Gleichstellu ng Leitung Gleichberec htigung Anteil Diskriminie rung Recht Mann Situation Gruppe Benachteil igung
verb + von X (dative)	durchsetze n sein	-	erwähnen fordern hören werden	dazugehöre n vollbrechen finden sein	vordringen bewerben wollen lesen sprechen haben werden zerschmette rn duschen diktieren	erhöhen aushalten schreiben	bekommen trennen scheiden erzählen besetzen geleiten leiten handeln tragen werden lassen

Table 15: Word Sketch Commentaries “Frau“

As with the word sketch of “Mensch“ the results have been structured in groups to enable a structured analysis and discussion.

Quantity

There are few regards to quantity. However, both NZZ and TAc write about women as a minority. Otherwise, there are just indications of the number of women³⁰, but not their quantitative relation to other groups, with the DSc, for example, discussing the majority of women and not women as a majority, as indicated by the genitive form of “Frau.“ However,

³⁰ Million (NZZ), Milliarde (DSc)

branding women as the minority also places them on the side of the “Cancellers“ in the CC debate. Moreover, NZZc discusses the diversity of women (“Vielfalt“) and thereby points out that women are not a homogenous group.

Gender and sexuality

Women as a gender identity are broadly discussed. Especially the right-leaning corpora debate about the quality of gender identity. Krone and NZZc write about real (“wirklich“ Krone, “echte“ NZZc), NZZc about non-transformed (“nichttransformiert“) and TAc, DWc and DSc about biological women. These modifiers are mainly addressed to trans-women, which are only explicitly addressed by DSc, while DS writes about trans-excluding (“Transfeindlich“) women. NZZ writes about non-binary women.

Leftist newspapers and their fora predominantly discuss sexual orientation with a focus on queerness. DSc discuss lesbian women, tazc heterosexual ones, while taz groups them with queers and DS and DWc with homosexuals. DS and DSc write about queerfeminism.

The dichotomy between men and women in the German Web is also found in ten corpora, as indicated by the dominant presence of “Mann“ in the category X and/or.³¹ Only DS and its comment section use woman interchangeably with human. As mentioned above, questioning the gender binary challenges the culture of dominance at its core (Degele, 2020). These results show how integrated the CC debate is in these questions. Moreover, the comparison with the word sketch of “Mensch“ this analysis shows that there are significant differences between humans and women.

Following the GW, the corpora address the discrimination that women experience.³² However, they also align with the German Web corpus and discuss the need for equality, with the right-leaning corpora of DW, NZZc and Krone using the word “Gleichberechtigung“ and the leftists ones of tazc and DSc using “Gleichstellung.“

Exclusively right newspapers write about traditional gender roles and thereby partially align with the GW, as in the case of DW for mother and daughter. DW also writes about the relations of women as “Geliebte“ (mistress) or “Freundin“ (girlfriend). Moreover, NZZ writes about girls, and Krone uses Miss (“Fräulein“). The comments of NZZ discuss women in bed.

³¹ TA, DW, taz, DS, NZZc, TAc, DWc, tazc, DSc, Kc.

³² Benachteiligung (GW, NZZ, taz, NZZc, tazc) Diskriminierung (NZZ, TAc) Herabwürdigung (DW) Unterdrückung (taz, tazc) Ausbeutung (taz, tazc).

Moreover, especially the rightist corpora replicate sexism by placing women in the private sphere. In accordance with the German Web corpus, DW, DWc, DSc, and Kc write about women at home. Moreover, Kc elaborates on women who cook in the kitchen and manage the household.

The modifier “schwanger“ (pregnant), which is frequently used in the German Web, is almost absent from the selected corpora, except for DSc. These words and thereby, serve to reinforce the culture of dominance by assigning traditional roles to women.

Politics

In comparison to the German Web, only a minority of corpora mentions women in politics (NZZc, DWc). However, they are predominantly marked as politically left when this is the case. They are described as leftists (“Linke“ NZZc, TAc, DWc), members of the green party (“grün“ Kc, “Grünenpolitikerin“ TAc), antifascists (“Antifaschistin“ tazc), or in relation to the “Woken“ (DWc). On the opposite side, they are seen in relation to the Christian Socialists (TAc) or as fascists (DWc). Another feature is that they are set in relation to protest (“protestierend“ DS, “Protest“ DW).

Hence, politics are an essential factor in profiling women. Their predominant linkage to the political left again places women on the side of the “Cancellers“ and thereby on the other side of the CC debate, criticizing the culture of dominance.

Age

Regarding age, the corpora side with the GW, with ten writing about young³³ and four about old³⁴ women. Hence, the main focus lies on young women, which are, as elaborated above, attributed to the camp of the proponents of CC. Hence, young women are identified as a danger to the culture of dominance.

Race and Ethnicity

Discussions about the race or ethnicity of women are very dominant in the corpora, while they are not as frequent in the GW. It can be observed that leftist corpora mainly focus on BIPoC while right-leaning corpora predominantly talk about White women. Black is used as a modifier in TA, taz, DWc, and DSc, dark-skinned (“dunkelhäutig“) in Kc, asian (“asiatischstämmig“) in

³³ NZZ, TA, taz, DS, NZZc, TAc, DWc, tazc, DSc and Kc.

³⁴ Krone, NZZ, DWc and DSc.

TA and indigenous in tazc. In comparison, white is used in taz, NZZc, DWc, and DSc and light-skinned (“hellhäutig“) in Krone. Moreover, the commentators in Kc discuss women as “Sudentendeutsche“ (Sudeten German), while NZZ elaborates on women and/or “Schwarze“ (Blacks), TA on women and/or “Nicht-Weisse“ (non-Whites), taz on women and/or BPoC and the commentators of NZZc on women and/or “Ausländer“ (foreigners). Hence, women are portrayed to be linked to different racial groups. As with “Mensch“ the connection of women to BIPOC is more dominant than with whiteness.

Violence, Force, and Power

Violence, force, and power are overrepresented in the corpora compared to the German Web corpus. Leftist corpora predominantly address these issues. DWc features discussions about women as warriors (“Kriegerin“) and the degradation (“Absetzung“) of women. Kc displays discussions about the act of raping (“vergewaltigen“) women.

In comparison, the left-leaning corpora more generally write about violence (“Gewalt“ DSc) but also about protection (“Schutz“ taz, tazc). Verbs also show protection and pushing back.³⁵ The corpora discuss the psychic violence women experience,³⁶ but also the physical force up to the killing, which is also featured in the German Web.³⁷ The corpora, thereby, characterize women dominantly as victims of violence. However, the use of the word “Kriegerin“ featured in DWc also points to the role of women in shaking up the system.

Localization

Explicit geographic locations are less present in the corpora. While NZZ generally writes about women in a country (“Land“), the names are only spelled out by taz (Germany), DS (Iran), and DSc (Austria). The corpora, thereby, do not follow the broader trend in the German Web corpus. In comparison, women in DW are in Cannes. In NZZc, they are in the economy.

Appearance

Another particular feature of how women are portrayed is the importance of appearance. While TA, DS, and TAc feature discussions about the modifiers of women,³⁸ Krone, DWc, and Kc

³⁵ wehren (tazc), schützen (TAc).

³⁶ beschuldigen (TAc), zwingen (tazc)

³⁷ schlagen (TA, taz) töten (DS, DSc).

³⁸ zierlich (TA, DS) hübsch (TAc), nackt (TA), halbnackt (TAc), stilisiert (TA) künstlerisch (TA).

write about the clothes they are wearing.³⁹ The modifier “hübsch“ (pretty) is frequently used in the German Web corpus but is only exhibited in the top ten of the TAc corpus. This aspect is absent from the word sketch analysis of “Mensch“ and exhibits sexist patterns by focusing on women’s appearances.

Prepositions

In regards to the prepositions, the corpora are very much in line with the GW. However, as for “Mensch,“ “mit“ ranks higher and is used in more corpora than the other prepositions in comparison with the use in the broader German Web. Therefore, as with “Mensch“ the attributes of women are underlined.

³⁹ Pelz (Krone), Dirndl (Kc), Kleidung (DWc), Hose (Kc) Kopftuch (Kc).

5. Conclusion and Discussion

The conclusion of this thesis is separated into two parts. First, it shows why studying Cancel Culture is essential for understanding current politics, by briefly discussing how the concept is used by (far) right parties in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. Second, it summarizes the key findings of this thesis.

In Switzerland, the strongest party in the national assembly, the Schweizerische Volkspartei (SVP), features Cancel Culture as one of the topics of its *Parteiprogramm 2023 bis 2027*. The SVP predominately connects CC with gender. It assumes a binary between male and female and argues that equality between men and women has already been established. Hence any movements for more gender equality are obsolete. The primary arena of this “Gender-Terror“ is the university. However, also culture is seen as an arena. The SVP describes it as: “ In Tat und Wahrheit führt diese gefährliche Intoleranz von links zu gnadenlosen Säuberungen und zu einer Vernichtung der hier gewachsenen Kultur und Identität.“ (p. 118). Hence, it adopts a language of violence and accuses CC of trying to eradicate Swiss culture and identity. Especially the opposition to the concept of gender is used by right-wing parties in Europe to win elections, as Abou-Chadi et al. (2021) point out. Gender hereby openly is at the core of the discussion.

On the homepage of the AfD (Alternative für Deutschland), there are 12 posts mentioning CC.⁴⁰ The variety of dressed topics ranges from cultural issues, over German colonial history to dangers to the freedom of speech. Moreover, the AfD also made CC a topic of discussion in the German Bundestag (Weidel et al., 2021). In their *Kleinen Anfrage* with the title *Cancel Culture als mögliche Bedrohung der Meinungsfreiheit* they displayed their understanding of CC. They describe CC as a phenomenon that originated at US-American universities from where it was transmitted in the general discourse by inclined media outlets and NGOs. This narrative is mainly present in the corpora of NZZ and DW and their comment sections.

Among the list of victims, the AfD features artists, academics, and writers but also refers to the names of dishes. This is very much in line with the debates in DS and its comment section. Moreover, the AfD talks about the aggression of CC and refers to examples to prove its point. The examples are clearly identified as cases of CC without giving any background information.

⁴⁰ <https://afdbundestag.de/?s=Cancel+Culture>.

This again demonstrates the importance of the anecdote for the CC narrative, as pointed out by Daub (2022).

This parliamentary inquiry prompted the German government to display its stance on CC (Bundesregierung, 2021). The answer was rather short: “Bei „cancel culture“ handelt es sich um einen weder klar abgrenzbaren noch unumstrittenen Begriff, den die Bundesregierung sich nicht zu eigen macht und zu dem sie nicht verallgemeinernd Stellung nimmt.“ (Bundesregierung, 2021, p. 3)

The gist of this answer was that the phenomenon of CC is not clearly definable. Hence the German government in the spring of 2021 did not see it as necessary to take a stand regarding this issue.

After the elections in 2021, the parties CDU (Christian Democratic Union) and CSU (Christian Social Union), which both were part of the ruling coalition of the previous government, had to go into opposition. This also changed the parties' position on the CC debate. In an Interview with Anna Schneider of Die Welt (2022), the leader of the CDU, Friedrich Merz expressed his concerns about CC:

“Die größte Bedrohung für die Meinungsfreiheit ist aus meiner Sicht inzwischen die Zensurkultur, die man im angelsächsischen Sprachgebrauch auch „Cancel Culture“ nennt. Ich sehe mit größter Besorgnis, was an den Universitäten in den USA passiert; das schwappt jetzt auch nach Europa über.“

Hence, within a year, that also meant a change of leadership, a party that saw CC as an insignificant phenomenon changed its opinion to perceiving CC as the most significant threat to freedom of opinion and speech. Moreover, Merz also adopts the same narrative of the CC phenomenon that originated at US-American universities and now spills over to Europe. He also underlines this argument with an example he explains in one sentence. Thereby, he displays the discourse tool of the superficial anecdote (Daub, 2022).

While the CDU so far has not adopted CC in its political program, the CSU features the fight against CC in its Grundsatzprogramm, which was adopted in May 2023. In the political program, Cancel-Culture is mentioned six times. Together with identity politics, gender-sensitive language, and Wokeness, it is described as an antiliberal ideology. However, the sentence: “Wir wehren uns gegen den ideologischen Umbau unserer Gesellschaft“ (CSU, 2023, p. 88) clearly indicates that the CSU pursues its own identity politics. They want to protect their society and

hence their identity. As Daub (2022) highlights, this rhetoric maximization of the danger of CC is what gives it its relevance.

The example of Germany displays how the CC debate has increasingly moved from the far right into the political mainstream and will remain an important topic in politics.

In Austria, the FPÖ uses CC as a tool in the political debate. The renaming of the *Windisch Kaserne* in Klagenfurt in 2022 prompted the FPÖ to post a video on their YouTube channel FPÖ TV titled: “*Unfassbar! Nun auch „Cancel Culture“ im Verteidigungsministerium.*“ In the interpretation, the two FPÖ politicians, Harald Stefan and Volker Reifenberger the Austrian Green party, used the leftist Cancel Culture to influence its coalition partner, the Austrian Peoples Party, to rename a military base. In the narrative of the FPÖ, the reasons were a general hatred against soldiers and an indefensible argument that the eponym of the base Alois Windisch, was a Nazi. In their narrative, Windisch becomes a role model of an Austrian soldier. His Wehrmacht career is interpreted as accidental due to outer circumstances, and his orders are seen as almost anti-Nazi. The FPÖ uses this anecdote to draw the picture of an Austrian general that actually saw combat and should be celebrated as a hero. Moreover, they use it to profile the Austrian military, especially soldiers who served during the Second World War, as something people should be proud of. Thereby, pursuing its own identity politics.

The analysis of the corpora shows that Cancel Culture serves as a communication tool that touches upon diverse subjects. Similar patterns can be observed by pointing out how PC is basically the precursor of CC. This also expands the timely horizon of the debate.

First, the analysis of authors and commentators demonstrates that the group discussing CC predominantly consists of White men. This percentage decreases the more leftist the newspaper. Hence, these results point to the presence of a *white gaze*, which serves as a lens for comprehending CC.

The content analysis of the corpora touched upon a wide variety of issues, again signifying the reach of CC and its flexibility. Moreover, depending on the lens used, the results varied significantly. However, the appliance of different tools also led to a more comprehensive research design.

For example, the n-gram analysis exhibited a dominant focus in the corpora on the USA, while the USA was less present in the worldliest analysis of nouns. Moreover, the n-grams also showed a significant focus of Swiss newspapers and their comments on Switzerland, meaning they adopt

a more inward perspective. The geographic distribution present in the wordlists also shows the adaptability of CC; it can be attributed to such contrary countries as Russia or the USA.

Regarding media and culture, the n-grams support Daub's (2022) hypothesis and exhibit a dominant focus on culture compared to politics. The wordlists also support this. The variety of culture is extensive and ranges from books, music, and arts, to food. However, most of the issues are of regional importance, meaning that the most discussed issues, such as the *Winnetou debate*, emanate from the German-speaking society.

Another dominant issue, as observed in the n-grams and the wordlists, is academia. Both tools display that the focus on universities is especially present in right-leaning newspapers. The n-grams also show that there is a significant focus on universities in different places than the editorial offices. Hence, a certain distance to the places of the CC anecdotes is established, resembling the distance between campus and cities in the USA. However, the word sketch analysis of CC also shows that the NZZ also discusses CC at the ETH in Zürich.

In regards to temporality, "Jahr" plays an important role. The word sketch analysis demonstrates that conservative corpora are more oriented to the past, while the left-leaning ones are more oriented toward the future.

The wordlists show that while Cancel Culture is frequently present in the articles, only half of the comment sections feature it among their top ten most frequently used nouns. This signifies, that debates about CC touch on other issues, and can still be attributed to the broader discourse. This finding is also supported by the word sketch of CC. Especially gender, but also identity politics are mentioned frequently. The protagonists of the CC debate are basically split between victims and the other that supports CC. In terms of people, the wordlists express a focus on humans and women. The word sketch of "Mensch" shows that right-leaning corpora are predominantly attributing negative modifiers to humans.

The left-leaning corpora demonstrate a closer connection of CC to issues of boycott etc. Thereby, victimization plays an important part. Especially, the more conservative corpora use more threatening language and also refer to CC as a court. However, this *hysterization* of the discourse is present in corpora across the political spectrum. The word sketch analysis also reveals that more than half of the corpora identify CC as something political, while the majority (including five out of six leftist corpora) attribute CC to the political left. Hence, the political element is also present in the CC discourse in German-speaking media, and the focus on culture is not as clear-cut. Moreover, the word sketch of "Frau" attributes more weight to women and

politics, but predominantly marks them as leftists. Thereby, the corpora place women in the role of the minority and proponents of CC.

Moreover, the geographic distribution shows that the USA only plays a minor role. Hence, the dominance of the USA in the n-grams is not always directly connected to CC but also addresses other issues being tracked in Europe. The form of the CC anecdote, as elaborated on by Daub (2022), also is reflected by the corpora, which attribute attention to cases and examples of CC. This geographic diversity is also expressed in the word sketches of “Mensch“ and “Frau,“ which talk about humans and women in diverse locations, which a slight tendency of left-leaning corpora writing about people in German-speaking countries.

Especially right newspapers adopt a more aggressive language when talking about CC. The violence humans experience is discussed in corpora on both sides of the spectrum. On the other side, the violence that women experience is more present in the left-leaning corpora.

CC is moralized by using words such as “Fundamentalismus“ or “Gutmenschentum.“ The comment sections shift the focus from the issues addressed in the CC debate to questions of tone and communication.

Race and ethnicity are absent from the German Web 2020 corpus but addressed in the word sketches of “Mensch“ and “Frau.“ In comparison to the predominantly White group of authors, the focus of the corpora in both word sketches lies on the racialized others. White humans and women are principally discussed in right corpora. The right-leaning corpora thereby exhibit a tendency to focus on the self and pursue their own identity politics.

Gender is also very present in the word sketches of “Mensch“ and “Frau,“ while it is mostly absent from the German Web corpus. However, in both cases, it is mainly the left-leaning corpora that explore these dimensions further. Nevertheless, heterosexuality is not used in relation to humans. This shows that the main focus lies on minorities that challenge the gender binary of the culture of dominance. Moreover, the word sketch analysis of “Frau“ further addresses equality issues. But the conservative corpora also write about traditional gender roles and hence reinforce whiteness. Furthermore, this is also done by focusing on the appearance of women.

The word sketches of “Mensch“ and “Frau“ exhibit a dominant focus on the youth. They, therefore, focus on the other, being the group of woke, leftist, young people (Daub, 2022) that support CC. Attributing these characteristics to women adds them to the group of others who endanger the culture of dominance through their attitudes. Moreover, both word sketches feature

frequent use of the preposition “mit,” compared to the German Web corpus. This means that the attributes and their distinctive features are more important in the CC debate.

These findings signify that the CC debate very much centers on identity politics. Even though many issues are addressed in this thesis, multiple questions could not be discussed due to its limited frame. For example, the problems raised could be studied further by performing continuative word sketch analysis and expanding the sample to cover a more interlingual range of corpora. Expanding the scope for example to French newspapers, could show the similarities and particularities of the different discourses. Moreover, this would also relativize the claims made in the German-discourse and could show that the issues raised are not unique to it.

Through this research, I could identify a much bigger bandwidth of opinions on CC as I used comments and not solely articles. This not only provided an exhaustive grasp of the public's thoughts but also illustrated how the debate on CC covers several topics relevant to society. As displayed in the results, CC acts as an arena for debating issues of gender, race, and, more broadly, identity. Thereby, they carry the social change that many social movements fight for. Even though the analysis has shown differences between the right- and the left-leaning corpora, the amount of comments alone signifies the importance of the topic for the readership of all the newspapers. Hence, it is essential to relativize and stop moralizing the discourse to enable a discussion climate on these critical issues. Moreover, these topics discussed under the header of CC exhibit many voters' opinions and interests, marking these findings as politically relevant, especially in connection to the upcoming elections in Austria and Switzerland. Other political parties have to address these issues and soften the fears of many people regarding PC and CC.

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7. List of abbreviations and acronyms

AfD: Alternative für Deutschland

BIPoC: Black, Indigenous, and People of Color

CC: Cancel Culture

CDU: Christlich Demokratische Union

CSU: Christlich-Soziale Union

ETH: Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule

FLINT*: Female, Lesbian, Intersex, Non-Binary, and Trans

NZZ: Neue Zürcher Zeitung

TA: Tages-Anzeiger

DW: Die Welt

taz: Die Tageszeitung

DS: Der Standard

Krone: Kronen Zeitung

NZZc: comments of Neue Zürcher Zeitung

TAc: comments of Tages-Anzeiger

DWc: comments of Die Welt

tazc: comments of Die Tageszeitung

DSc: comments of Der Standard

Kronec: comments of Kronen Zeitung

GW: German Web 2020

FPÖ: Freiheitliche Partei Österreich

PC: political correctness

SVP: Schweizerische Volkspartei

8. Annex

8.1 Articles NZZ

			1350		
Title	Author	Link	Comments	Category	Date
Böse alte Welt – Zivilisierung heisst, aus Fehlern zu lernen. Aber «woke» Westler betreiben lieber Geschichtsklitterung	Viola Schenz	https://www.nzz.ch/meinung/zivilisierung-heisst-aus-fehlern-zu-lernen-aber-woke-westler-betreiben-lieber-geschichtsklitterung-ld.1718440	170	Meinung	27.12.2022
Die Gesellschaft ist nicht gespalten. Sie driftet nur manchmal auseinander. Und das ist gut so	Thomas Ribi	https://www.nzz.ch/feuilleton/gespaltene-gesellschaft-ohne-konflikte-gibt-es-keine-demokratie-ld.1710520	29	Feuilleton	07.11.2022
In den USA boomen Lesezirkel für «verbotene» Bücher	David Signer	https://www.nzz.ch/international/cancel-culture-in-den-usa-lesezirkel-fuer-verbotene-buecher-boomen-ld.1701022?reduced=true	0	International	22.09.2022
«Aktivisten der Cancel Culture operieren oft mit einem totalen Vernichtungswillen»	Birgit Schmid	https://www.nzz.ch/feuilleton/cancel-culture-medienanwalt-ralf-hoeckers-verteidigungsstrategien-ld.1697620?reduced=true	0	Feuilleton	16.08.2022
Cancel Culture ist kein Studentenuk. Es ist eine neue Form des Extremismus	Eric Gujer	https://www.nzz.ch/meinung/cancel-culture-an-der-universitaet-eine-neue-form-von-extremismus-ld.1697478?reduced=true	420	Meinung	12.08.2022
Cancel-Culture als Boykott der Moderne	Felix Uhlmann	https://www.nzz.ch/meinung/cancel-culture-als-boykott-der-moderne-ld.1689671?reduced=true	0	Meinung	29.06.2022
Cancel-Culture an der ETH: Ein Professor erhält Morddrohungen wegen einer Vorlesungsfolie	Jonas Roth	https://www.nzz.ch/schweiz/shitstorm-an-der-eth-ein-professor-erhaelt-morddrohungen-ld.1673554?reduced=true	0	Schweiz	12.03.2022
Diese Kunst muss weg! – Das war schon immer so. Die Cancel-Culture kämpft aber mit neuen Methoden	Philipp Meier	https://www.nzz.ch/feuilleton/cancel-culture-diese-kunst-muss-weg-das-gilt-seit-20-000-jahren-ld.1669059?reduced=true	0	Feuilleton	16.02.2022

Der berühmte Holocaust-Comic «Maus» wird aus amerikanischen Schulen verbannt. Damit zeigen sich die Umriss der Cancel-Culture immer klarer	Sarah Pines	https://www.nzz.ch/feuilleton/spiegelmaus-holocaust-comic-wird-opfer-der-cancel-culture-ld.1667933?reduced=true	0	Feuilleton	04.02.2022
Gender, Cancel-Culture oder die Bühre-Sammlung: Worüber wir 2021 gestritten haben. Und wie es im nächsten Jahr weitergehen könnte	NZZ-Feuilleton redaktion	https://www.nzz.ch/feuilleton/gender-metoo-oder-cancel-culture-die-debatten-highlights-ld.1661694?reduced=true	0	Feuilleton	30.12.2021
Woody Allens Filme sind wie überlange Folgen einer Seifenoper. Da könnte man das Fehlen der Cancel-Culture fast bedauern	Tobias Sedlmaier	https://www.nzz.ch/feuilleton/rifkins-festival-woody-allen-wiederholt-sich-nur-noch-ld.1662203?reduced=true	0	Feuilleton	29.12.2021
Ein Ort des kritischen Denkens: Prominente Intellektuelle gründen in Austin eine Universität, die frei von Cancel-Culture-Auswüchsen sein soll	Sarah Pines	https://www.nzz.ch/feuilleton/gegen-zensur-in-texas-entsteht-eine-anti-woke-universitaet-ld.1654936	0	Feuilleton	18.11.2021
Die britische Philosophin Kathleen Stock wurde auch von deutschen Gender-Aktivisten vertrieben	Alexander Kissler	https://www.nzz.ch/meinung/cancel-culture-der-fall-kathleen-stock-reicht-bis-deutschland-ld.1653051	139	Meinung	02.11.2021
«Cancel-Culture» im Kalten Krieg: Die Erinnerung an linke Verbrechen wird von Journalisten gleich mitgencancelt	Lucien Scherrer	https://www.nzz.ch/feuilleton/cancel-culture-im-kalten-krieg-wie-medien-geschichte-klittern-ld.1652755	0	Feuilleton	01.11.2021
Alain Finkielkraut: «Ich wurde viel häufiger beschuldigt, ein dreckiger Rassist zu sein als ein dreckiger Jude»	Benedict Neff	https://www.nzz.ch/feuilleton/alain-finkielkraut-spricht-ueber-antisemitismus-und-cancel-culture-ld.1648713	0	Feuilleton	01.11.2021

Anne Applebaum: «Den Ausdruck «Cancel-Culture» mag ich ganz und gar nicht»	Claudia Mäder	https://www.nzz.ch/feuilleton/anne-applebaum-ueber-das-klima-der-moralischen-panik-in-den-usa-ld.1652561	0	Feuilleton	30.10.2021
In einer Diskussion mit Studenten kritisiert der deutsch- französische Professor Klaus Kinzler den Begriff «Islamophobie». Kurze Zeit später benötigt er Polizeischutz	Lucien Scherrer	https://www.nzz.ch/feuilleton/diskussion-beendet-ld.1644831	0	Feuilleton	14.09.2021
Cancel-Culture: Wo wieder Mauern aufgebaut werden	Zsuzsa Breier	https://www.nzz.ch/feuilleton/cancel-culture-wo-wieder-mauern-aufgebaut-werden-ld.1641911	65	Feuilleton	30.08.2021
Rudolf Steiner, Anthroposoph, Rassist – ein Fall für die Cancel-Culture?	Peter Strasser	https://www.nzz.ch/meinung/rudolf-steiner-anthroposoph-rassist-ein-fall-zum-canceln-ld.1614566	36	Meinung	10.06.2021
An Universitäten geht es nicht etwa um Rechtschaffenheit. Die Akademien schützen intellektuelle Redlichkeit. Und solche dürfen sie auch verlangen	Romy Jaster und Geert Keil	https://www.nzz.ch/feuilleton/cancel-culture-intellektuelle-redlichkeit-loest-das-problem-ld.1628214	0	Feuilleton	04.06.2021
Erst kommt der Moralismus, dann die Moral – identitäres Denken befördert leider oft das, was es zu überwinden behauptet: das Trennende	Jürg Halter	https://www.nzz.ch/meinung/cancel-culture-erst-kommt-der-moralismus-und-dann-die-moral-ld.1626646	25	Meinung	31.05.2021
Über die Wiederkehr des Verdrängten – wer eine verfemte Kultur löschen will, tut sich selber keinen Gefallen	Peter Strasser	https://www.nzz.ch/meinung/verfemte-kultur-ueber-die-wiederkehr-des-verdraengten-ld.1609997	36	Meinung	12.05.2021
NZZ-Podium: Darf man das sagen?	Tobias Sedlmaier	https://www.nzz.ch/zuerich/nzz-podium-debatte-ueber-cancel-culture-und-identitaetspolitik-ld.1624009	0	Zürich	06.05.2021

Kann man die Cancel-Culture mit Auschwitz vergleichen?	Manuel Müller	https://www.nzz.ch/feuilleton/muschg-cancel-culture-darf-nicht-mit-auschwitz-verglichen-werden-ld.1614150	0	Feuilleton	27.04.2021
«Das gehört sich nicht!», war früher die Klage der Konservativen: Heute ist Political Correctness zur Keule der Linken geworden. Haben die Liberalen ihr Ziel aus den Augen verloren?	Felix Heidenreich	https://www.nzz.ch/feuilleton/wokness-auf-dem-ross-der-moral-sitzen-heute-andere-reiter-ld.1612755	0	Feuilleton	26.04.2021
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