Cultural Citizenship. Participation by and through Media

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1 Rethinking citizenship in the era of globalisation

In recent years the notion of citizenship has triggered many debates in the political arena as well as in different disciplines. There are a number of reasons why the concept of citizenship, largely taken for granted since the Age of Enlightenment and the bourgeois revolutions in Europe, has since the 1990s given rise to many questions (e. g. Turner 1994). Firstly, globalization has undermined the overwhelming power of the nation-states, which are closely linked to citizenship. Secondly, the emergence of multi-ethnic, multi-cultural societies and migration processes has nourished doubts as to the unambiguousness and clear meaning of the concept. Instead it is quite obvious that nation-states are more and more inhabited by social actors who are affiliated with different regions (residing in one, working in another, speaking the language of a third) and assume multiple subject positions. Thirdly, the development of popular media discourses and the increase in entertainment programmes has partially supported a de-politicisation of the public sphere, but at the same time the advent of new digital media and especially the Internet has provided new means for individual actors as well as marginalized groups to publicly voice their opinions and to become involved in politics (here understood in the wider sense of the term).

All these developments have resulted in the emergence and the greater visibility of new practices of citizenship as the different articles in this book demonstrate quite forcefully. Various scholars have tried to capture the defining characteristics and the inner workings of new modes of participating in society by qualifying citizenship in a number of ways, as cosmopolitan or transnational citizenship, diasporic citizenship, emotional citizenship, do-it-yourself citizenship (DIY citizenship), digital citizenship practiced by netizens, media citizenship and so on (e. g., Dietze 2012; Hauben and Hauben 1997; Hartley 1999; Ong 1999a; Valentine 2001). All these terms stress the diverse subject positions and identities that can be taken up by citizens and the modified practices and processes of enacting citizenship in everyday life. Although the different terms are quite distinct and highlight different aspects of what it means to be a citizen and participate in

society, they do have a common ground since they all relate in some way or other to cultural identities and cultural practices. Moreover, they share a concern with participation and address questions of social inclusion and exclusion. This is what has been loosely termed as *cultural citizenship* by different scholars.

But what exactly does cultural citizenship mean? How is it related to traditional notions of citizenship? Is it just another ideal that masks processes of exclusion or can it contribute to participatory practices? In the following discussion, we will first ponder the concept of citizenship, its emergence and its shortcomings. We will then trace the origins and different meanings of the term "cultural citizenship." Our understanding of cultural citizenship is linked to theory and research on media and communication. We conceive of society as fundamentally determined by media and communication. When we claim that we live in a media society, we refer to the fact that information, knowledge, experience and participation today are mediated at all levels of identity formation, at the level of the sub-cultural community, the nation-state and the global, de-territorialized society. On these grounds we argue that cultural citizenship can function as a key concept for exploring processes of cultural meaning production and participation. Thus, we suggest integrating cultural citizenship as a contextual element in the circle – we see it as a globe – of meaning production, which is one of the central models developed by the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham. We finally ponder the complexity of the issue using the example of reality television – especially talent shows – and its portrayal of migrants and queers. These TV programmes are ambiguous in that they allow for new forms of representation and visibility that can include, lead to or stimulate participatory practices. At the same time the genre is reproducing traditional stereotypes with regards to gender, sexuality, class and ethnicity and reiterates topics that reinforce the exclusion of particular social groups.

2 Social, political and civil citizenship

For quite a long period of time the concept of citizenship has been discussed and elaborated almost exclusively within the disciplines of political sciences and sociology. Citizenship refers to the terms of belonging to a nation-state: A citizen is acknowledged as a worthy member of a nation-state or a conglomerate of nation-states like the EU. To convey or grant citizenship is linked to different rights of participation and to the obligations to assume responsibility within the political public sphere.

The British sociologist Thomas H. Marshall is credited with a widely accepted clarification and systematization of the rights citizenship confers to its members. Marshall introduced the now well-known and much-used distinction between civil, political and social citizenship in 1949. He thus highlighted three different aspects of citizenship: civil citizenship, sometimes termed with equal justification economic citizenship, addresses the

individual's right to participate in the economy as a free producer and consumer. Political citizenship centres on rights and obligations to participate in the political decision making process. In a parliamentary democracy the rights to vote and to be elected are at the core. Finally social citizenship, now a highly contested area in Western European societies, acknowledges that society has a collective responsibility for the well-being of its subjects. The social welfare state, while never a heaven of justice and equality, nevertheless provided a kind of safety net for persons who were hit by illness, unemployment or infirmity and supported some of the more vulnerable members of society like children, the disabled or the elderly.

Marshall's tripartite model distinguishing civil, political and social citizenship was extremely useful in explaining different aspects of citizenship. However, he failed to see the autonomous and essential role that cultural aspects played in ascribing rights of belonging. Education for him was part of social citizenship. This is plausible when one considers the right to attend school and to gain an educational degree. But education beyond formal schooling is one of the central socializing agencies in society and entails much more than the right to attend school, since it provides the individual with the cultural means to participate in society. Thus, education to a large extent determines whether social rights can be claimed for all. Employment opportunities as well as the means to voice one's opinion all depend on educational opportunities. For example, if people cannot speak and write in their native language, they will not be entitled to full citizenship rights. Media, of course, provides the other central socializing agency, but its power goes beyond this function, and we will return to it later in our discussion.

Political theory starting from Marshall's work has almost exclusively focused on the political as well as the cognitive-rational dimension of citizenship and the public sphere. This includes the work of Jürgen Habermas (e. g. 1988), although his account of the emergence of the public sphere takes as its starting point the literary sphere and demonstrates that the cultural sphere can be an important articulator for political debates. Various scholars have pointed out that the public sphere cannot be divided and is always and at the same time created by political as well as cultural discourses (e. g. Couldry 2006; Hermes 2006; McGuigan 2006). Thus citizens operating in the public sphere are politically as well as culturally located. Newer developments which are discussed under the headline of globalization and the changes from industrial society to a society based on communication, information, knowledge and media made clear that the neglect of the cultural sphere and its relationship to power is a blind spot in Marshall's model.

Another problem concerns his lack of attention to the pre-requisites for acquiring citizenship rights and obligations, since he did not pay much attention to the workings of different power relationships in determining the terms of belonging to a nation-state. Marshall basically assumed a linear development and a continuous extension of the rights citizenship entailed. Civil rights preceded political rights and were then followed by

social rights. The linearity and inflexibility of the model were precisely the reasons why a number of researchers, most of them arguing from the viewpoint of discriminated groups, have voiced criticism. Taking the perspective of critical political economy, Marshall neglected to see that not everyone was entitled to all types of citizenship at the same time. The rights of women, who in a number of European countries gained the right to vote only after the First World War and in the context of a strong suffrage movement, provide a well-researched case in point. The acknowledgement of equal rights for people of colour in the U. S. is another. Here civil rights had to be won after political rights were already granted. Both examples show that the right to belong to a nation-state was always a contested domain that marginalized groups had to fight for. Citizenship pointed to an ideal that was never truly accomplished, but granted inclusion to some members of society by excluding others (Fraser and Gordon 1994). Citizenship from the beginning was associated with white, heterosexual maleness. The concept, then, cannot be adequately understood when it is stripped of this heritage of normalizing some identities and of marginalization others. This said, it also must be acknowledged that the ideal of citizenship has proven as useful in social struggles when repressed and marginalized groups claimed the fulfilment of its accompanying norms of solidarity, equality and justice. The early labour movement, the women's movements and the civil rights movement all testify to the fact that participatory practices have emerged from the claim to be granted full citizenship.

Taken together, for a number of reasons it makes sense to build on Marshall's model by enhancing his distinction between civil, social and political citizenship by cultural citizenship in order to fill some blind spots and to do justice to the more recent social and cultural developments.

3 Cultural citizenship and its diverse meanings

Cultural citizenship extends Marshall's model by acknowledging the powerful role of culture and by capturing new aspects of belonging and participation in a globalized media society. Different authors have used the term cultural citizenship to refer to more recent social and economic developments and bring an awareness of the importance of culture to the forefront of the discussion on the terms of belonging to a specific society. However, the concept is not well defined and different authors refer to diverse aspects when using it. Accordingly, Gerard Delanty (2002), in a review of two influential volumes on cultural citizenship (Kymlicka and Wayne 2000; Stevenson 2001), has distinguished between two different conceptions. Although he is probably drawing too strict a line between the two approaches, his distinction leads to a helpful clarification of the colourful term. One approach is influenced by political theory; the other is based in cultural sociology.

The first approach, stemming from the area of political theory, was developed in the context of multiculturalism, migration and community stud-

ies (Kymlincka and Wayne 2000). These contributions demonstrate that the fulfilment of equal rights in a society needs the acknowledgement that it is structured by diversity. Demands for equal rights thus have to be complemented by the right to be different and to voice these differences. Rights of citizenship thus have to be complemented by cultural diversity, generally termed as multiculturalism, or ethnopolitics. The most prominent researcher representing this strand is Renato Rosaldo. He defines cultural citizenship as "the right to be different (in terms of race, ethnicity, or native language) without compromising one's right to belong, in the sense of participating in the nation-state's democratic processes" (Rosaldo 1994: 57). Cultural citizenship refers fundamentally to the rights of cultures and communities to be accepted as different within a given nation-state or territory. Respect is a key term for Rosaldo: "Bridging the discourses of the state and everyday life, of citizenship and culture, the demand for *respeto* is a defining demand of cultural citizenship" (Rosaldo 1999: 260). Richard Sennett, a critical sociologist stemming from the working class himself, although not concerned with citizenship per se, uses the same term when analyzing the consequences of the demise of the welfare state. In his book "Respect in a World of Unequality" (2002), he shows how inequality is accompanied by disrespect for those that are less well-off. This in turn hinders the development of self-respect by members of marginalized groups and thus reinforces their social as well as cultural exclusion from society. Delanty (2002: 64) notes that cultural citizenship in the line of thought often equated with Rosaldo's work and originating from political theory links citizenship and different (minority) cultures. Integration into society is no longer defined as an obligation to assimilate into a given culture and to give up one's own cultural identity, but as a right to be included and accepted as different, but equal. However, the concept does not really integrate cultural aspects into a radically new conception of citizenship. Delanty writes: "Culture is not divisive and can be a basis of citizenship. It is unlikely to be a basis of common citizenship in the classic liberal sense, but it is essential to the working of the democratic order" (ibid.).

The other strand, embodied in Nick Stevenson's volume (2001), relies more heavily on cultural sociology and Cultural Studies and does not equate culture with cultural diversity, migration and ethnopolitics per se. Instead it is more generally concerned with "cultural resources, identities and the cultural presuppositions of the polity. Thus citizenship as cultural citizenship is about the status of culture as discursively constructed. In this view what is at stake is cultural rights rather than minority rights" (Delanty 2002: 64). When cultural citizenship is defined as a discursive process it brings into focus the learning dimensions of citizenship and the socialization processes initiated by the different socializing agents of society. One consequence of this shift is the demise of the still-persistent dichotomies that draw strict lines between fact and fiction, information and entertainment, public/political versus private/personal discourses and rational versus emotional debates. From the perspective of cultural citizenship these dualisms mark continuums whose different sides are both involved in af-

firming rights of belonging and inclusion in society. Education and media in all their different facets, then, move to the forefront of the realization of citizenship rights. Media and communication are of essential importance in setting the stage for participation and belonging. For media and communication research, for determining one's place within the processes of cultural production the latter strand then seems a promising starting point in order to better understand the cultural aspects of belonging in today's societies; or phrased differently: for revealing those aspects of culture and cultural meaning production that are essential for excluding some people or groups of people from full participation in society.

Despite the different usages of the term and the different academic traditions it refers to there are some essential commonalities of cultural citizenship. As Leehyun Lim (2010: 221) summarizes: "A reaction to the limits of the legal and normative idea of citizenship, cultural citizenship locates the substantial meaning of citizenship in the everyday practices of sharing space and forming and exchanging ideas." Besides bridging the gap between the private and the political, the personal and the public, the literature on cultural citizenship also shares a concern with the relation of equality and diversity in the making of a citizen. It is linked to the earlier criticism raised against Marshall's model of citizenship for not including questions of power. For Rosaldo cultural citizenship entails the promise to overcome power relationships. While he stresses processes of empowerment, he underestimates the complexity of this issue. Aiwah Ong (1999) holds that Rosaldo's demand for "respeto" nourishes the illusion "that immigrant or minority groups can escape the cultural inscription of state power and other forms of regulation that define the different modalities of belonging" (Ong 1999: 264). Ong, who is concerned with citizenship in the context of global and transnational processes, defines cultural citizenship as "the cultural practices and beliefs produced of our negotiating the often ambivalent and contested relations with the state and its hegemonic forms that establish the criteria of belonging within a national population and territory. Cultural citizenship is a dual process of self-making and being-made within webs of power linked to the nation-state and civil society" (Ong 1999: 264).

Involved here are the terms of belonging that the granting of citizenship confers, the rights and obligations attached to it and the regulations governing it, as well as the processes of identity formation and identification. Such processes are intimately linked to the cultural resources people possess in participating in society and shaping its social, political and cultural environment. When we look at the migration debates in Europe, we see that cultural signifiers are overwhelmingly used to exclude people from full societal participation. For example, in the headscarf debates, a particular style of clothing is used to mark women as foreigners, as the "cultural others." The same holds true for religious affiliations in the case of the Islamic belief. Examples of such culturalization of social difference abound. When discussing the connection between culture and citizenship, Bourdieu's (1979) analysis of the culture of taste and the social hierarchies

with which these are intimately linked could be profitably utilized. Forms of cultural and social distinction are intensively interwoven. Culture is in no way less entrenched with power relations than other realms in which citizenship rights acquire meaning and citizenship practices are acted out.

Critical contributions to the debate on cultural citizenship by Nick Couldry (2006), who points to the fuzziness of its use, and by Toby Miller (2011) necessitate some further specification of the concept. Miller argues that cultural citizenship is as much an outcome of "adjustment to economic transformation" as resulting from social movements. While his characterization of the different origins of the concept seems rather arbitrary and hardly does justice to the research tradition mapped out in our article, he raises an awareness of the fact that addressing culture in the context of citizenship is also used by neoliberal politicians as well as by the media in establishing new forms of exclusion (see also Cho 2007: 472–474). In an Austrian case study focusing on particular persons whose entitlement to citizenship rights led to public debates, we found that the ascription of cultural characteristics such as improper behaviour, religious beliefs, educational norms, etc., was used to distinguish a worthy citizen from the so-called illegal immigrant, the ideal citizen from the undesirable one (Klaus and Drüeke 2011). The different newspapers to a large extent tied citizenship rights to the possession of the "correct" and "proper" values, attitudes or behaviours. In this way cultural factors were used to construct "the other" and exclude members of particular groups from citizenship. Cultural citizenship, then, has to avoid misinterpretation as an essentialist concept. People do not have or possess a specified "culture", although they are all involved in cultural practices. In the media discourse culture is being used as a made of distinction, causing forms of inclusion and exclusion. Cultural citizenship, then, has to be understood as a dynamic and ambiguous *process* of affirming a sense of belonging embodied in and appropriated through *practices of citizenship*. This seems in line with Lily Cho's (2007) insistence on the performative aspects of citizenship, which is "not so much bestowed by the state once and for all but repeatedly scripted and enacted" (Cho 2007: 470).

Due to the hegemonic character of the citizenship concept and to the dominant cultural forms, cultural citizenship per se cannot serve as a concept for liberation and emancipation, but needs further specification. In her programmatic essay "Can the subaltern speak?" Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1988) has posed a critical question. What are the conditions of being seen and being able to raise one's own voice? Spivak analyses how cultural tradition and established systems of thought and language prevent other voices from being heard and marginalized people from becoming visible. She also criticizes a uniform conception of such a diverse group called "the subaltern" and questions the attempts of critical intellectuals to speak *for* and *about* marginalized persons or to inscribe their culturally bounded meanings into their speech. Instead she develops a model of a subversive listening and "strategic essentialism" that empowers diverse groups to speak up for themselves and raise their own distinct voices. Cultural cit-

izenship, then, is not so much something everyone *has or should have*, but a set of strategies and practices to invoke processes of empowerment in order to subversively listen and to speak up in the public sphere. Thus the production of diverse feminist media can be understood as an engagement in participatory practices of citizenship.

4 The mediated meaning of cultural citizenship

Not surprisingly the concept of cultural citizenship has been taken up and welcomed especially in the analysis of communication and new media. In a society dominated by media, cultural resources are to a large extent media-based and mediated. Identity formation in modern society is media-drenched, i. e. linked to the distinct spaces that media provide for different identities. Graham Murdock (1999: 10) sees television as "the principal stock exchange of public discourse". Jostein Gripsrud describes today's television as the "primary source of common knowledge", "a widely shared pool of information and perspectives from which people shape their conceptions of self, world and citizenship" (1999: 2). Digital forms of online communication open up the field for new modes of citizens' participation no longer limited by national or cultural boundaries. On the internet, media users become producers themselves, production and reception here is not to be seen as distinct elements but as closely linked together. Identity as a citizen is then not primarily a matter of political participation. More relevant are discursive negotiations of the cultural practices essential for the individual and social identity.

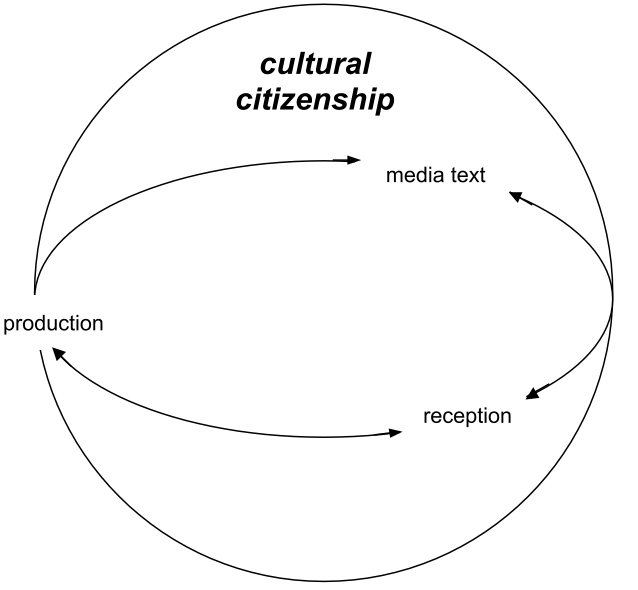
The above considerations lead to our definition of the concept of cultural citizenship:

Cultural citizenship *is an essential dimension of citizenship in media society and unfolds under the conditions of unequal power relations. It entails all those cultural practices that allow competent participation in society and includes the rights to be represented and to speak actively. Media as a particular form of cultural production is both an engine and an actor in the processes of self-making and being-made, in which people acquire their individual, group-specific and social identities.*

Cultural citizenship is a central concept for understanding the process of societal meaning production, since it intimately links cultural production, cultural products and audiences and binds them firmly together. They denote different aspects in the process of meaning production, but fundamentally remain dependent on each other. Richard Johnson (1985) has introduced a circle to better understand the cultural production of meaning which has been further developed and specified by Paul du Gay (1997). The "circuit of culture" is framed by an intermingling of public representations and private lives, of abstract expressions and concrete and particular utterances. Johnson singles out four moments in the circle, namely production, texts, readings and lived cultures. The picture is insofar misleading as "lived cultures" is conceptually different from the other elements. It is the

space and the horizon that fundamentally enables processes of encoding and decoding, of production and reception. This is why we have introduced a three-dimensional model with *cultural citizenship* taking the place of lived culture being the context in which processes of cultural meaning production are embedded (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Cultural Citizenship as part of the circuit of culture



We applied the model for looking at media processes, e. g. those that are triggered by reality TV programs, and it seems well suited to do so. Cultural citizenship serves as a universe that allows meaning production and structures the terms of belonging. The conditions of media as a form of cultural production both on the side of those initiating it – journalists, bloggers. artists, counter-hegemonic movements – and on the side of audiences and users, appropriating and thus changing it, unfold within specific social and individual contexts. Though both roles are no longer necessarily distinct and separated they are regulated by the society that envelops it, but can also be reorganized and re-evaluated by the social and cultural practices of individuals and groups. Thus involvement in media practices as forms of cultural meaning production at the same time signifies cultural belonging and constructs cultural identity.[1] When arguing that cultural citizenship becomes essential for inclusion in a media society we need to think about necessary preconditions on an individual level as well as on societal.

1 Here we come back to specifications du Gay (1997) has worked out on the circuit of culture, including production, reception, representation, regulation and identity.

Graham Murdock (1999) has singled out four rights that he sees as necessary for the realization of cultural citizenship:

- *Rights of information,* as a basis for informed social and political decision-making.
- *Rights of experiences* that mirror the diverse ways of life and can serve as a basis for the development of the individual's conception of identity.
- *Rights of knowledge,* as a possibility for integrating information and experience, making sense of information in everyday life and generalizing one's everyday experiences and linking it to other forms of information. This implies interpretative schemes that bridge the universal and the particular, the general and the specific, the macro-level of social structure and the micro-level of everyday existence. Finally,
- *Rights of participation* that entail the possibility to make one's voice heard, to act out one's cultural practices and express one's cultural ideas; in short, to take part in the meaning production of society and be able to speak up in public.

The institutionalization of such rights and the passing of the respective legislation always has been more or less directly been the result of a social struggle that led to the acceptance of the different dimensions of citizenship. For example, the struggle for the individual's freedom to become involved in trading has resulted in individual rights of freedom of speech, action, etc., and the acceptance of civil citizenship; the struggle for representation in politics and the public sphere has resulted in the right to vote and the acceptance of political citizenship and the struggle to claim basic provisions in times of need has resulted in health care services and other social welfare rights and the acceptance of social citizenship. Cultural citizenship rights that would entail the right to be different are as yet not installed. According to Hartley cultural citizenship "is in the process of formation – being made to mean something – long before it can be institutionalized and legislated. In my view 'cultural citizenship' is at a late stage of rights-formation, moving into formal legislative existence in a number of contexts" (Hartley 1999: 161). Joke Hermes (2006) on the other hand sees cultural citizenship much less as a legal and regulatory practice, but as a sensitizing concept. In "Citizenship in the Age of the Internet" she uses the concept to explore new information and communication technologies. She concludes that "ICTs do not necessarily produce new citizens but they do provide for new and important citizen practices" (Hermes 2006: 306). This is an aspect of cultural citizenship that, apart from the legal and political questions about its realization, is most usefully employed when analyzing cultural (media) production as a process of meaning production. Engin Isin and Patricia Woods's (1999: ix) "emphasis on the process of rights-claims, rather than the rights themselves" may lead to the reconciliation of positions that advocate the institutionalization of cultural rights in parallel to the legislation meant to guarantee civil, political and social rights and those other voices that are seeing cultural citizenship in the contexts of strategies for participation and resistance.

Using the example of reality TV we will explore the issue of cultural production and its powers of representation. In this context we will raise some critical questions against the claim made that reality TV today is the site where the subaltern, members of minority groups can start to be visible and to raise their voices. This, then, leads us to rethink forms of cultural and media intervention enabling marginalized groups to speak for themselves and thus claim cultural citizenship.

5 Contested realms: Cultural citizenship and reality TV

One of the most prominent developments in television production is the success of various forms of reality TV in many Western European countries and the U. S. These genres and formats, characterized by the blurring of borders between fact and fiction, information and entertainment, privacy and public affairs, can be understood as addressing cultural aspects of citizenship. During the public service period, television had the primary duty to inform citizens enabling them to participate in democracy. So the non-fictional programme was responsible for serving citizens with *information*. The dominant function allocated to television during the paternalistic period of public service broadcasting was the provision of knowledge based on information. Elites in politics and media had to tell the audience – imagined as a passive crowd – what was relevant for them. This has changed fundamentally as a result of the commercialization of television and reality TV is an important genre for this shift from educating the public to enticing the consumer. Reality TV underscores the commercialization of popular culture by means that have ambivalent consequences for the audiences addressed. In an article focusing on popular culture and material deprivation Blackman and France (2001) have elaborated on the way commercialized popular culture supports the dominant order by incorporating forms of protest and resistance originally generated in the context of counter-hegemonic activities by young people. Thus they point to the ambivalence of commercialized media and provide some rationale for our finding that reality TV is characterized by the "exclusionary inclusion of identities" – a term we will explain later on – that do not fit into the hegemonic order.

The fictional programme offered *experience* in the sense that a variety of different ways of living where presented. These were the background to build up different cultural identities. This has always been a specific function of broadcasting, but was largely ignored during the public service period. Finally, *participation* is discussed as a quite new phenomenon that encompasses diverse forms and has multiple meanings. Participation is a common feature in all forms of reality TV. Common people participate in docu-soaps, daily talks, talent shows or real-people shows. Ib Bondebjerg (1996) describes this development as "democratisation of an old public service discourse, dominated by experts and a very official kind of talk, and

the creation of a new mixed public sphere, where common knowledge and everyday experience play a much larger role". The "old" elites in politics, economy and the media loose influence in the way they are (re-)presented in these kinds of programmes. Instead everyday people with their language, their issues and their way of living become visible and relevant.

Reality TV applies narrative strategies known from fictional programmes such as personalisation, stereotyping, intimatisation and the use of cliff-hangers. Seen from the perspective of the audience the distinction between fictional and non-fictional programme loses importance. People watching television in today's media society know about the constructiveness of any kind of media product – news as well as soap opera. Reality TV is a genre where people and their everyday lives move to the forefront. Not surprisingly, then, members of marginalized groups play a more relevant role in programs and formats of reality TV then it is usually the case in television. The Berlin anthropologist Gabriele Dietze (2008, 2011) has linked the surprising success of people with migrant backgrounds in different talent shows directly to cultural citizenship. She argues that by winning the contest migrants both have become visible and are able to secure their own voice. She calls these forms of being represented on screen "emotional citizenship" (Dietze 2011: 171), offering some kind of emotional belonging to the nation state as an imagined audience.

When the winner of the Austrian talent show "Die große Chance" (The Big Chance, ORF1, finale on 11 November 2011) was pronounced, it turned out to be a lesbian singer-songwriter. She was portrayed in her home together with her partner and their baby daughter. There was also a transsexual performer among the last nine contestants, a person with a migrant background, an older singer, and some acrobats presumably with roots in Asia. Undoubtedly this is a much greater diversity than is usually to be seen on television or mentioned in the information-based 'quality media'. So we would agree that reality TV allows for more diversity, members of groups are visible in a literal sense and you can hear their voices in a literal sense. But can they also speak in the wider sense that Spivak referred to? The winner in "Die Große Chance" was placed not so much within a lesbian sub-culture, but normalized within traditional concepts of the family. Her partner was only addressed as "her wife" and she was quoted as saying that having a baby was much more important than winning the contest, writing music or performing. Thus her sexual identity was normalized by connecting her way of life to the notion of a holy family and linking her values and preferences to the idea that motherly love is universal and much more important than success or other creative work.

We conducted a qualitative content analysis of German TV programming analysing the frequency and form with which migrant women are represented in current TV (Lünenborg et al. 2012). The talent show "Germany's Next Topmodel" with Heidi Klum was the program showing the most migrant women characters within 300 hours of TV production. Looking at the format in more detail offered an ambivalent picture of these forms of representation. While it is obvious that a broad variety and diver-

sity of candidates is essential for the format – giving us an impression of the *global* character of the models' world – at the same time these models have to fit the given norm incorporated by the host Heidi Klum. This norm based on ideological premises of neoliberalism marking those migrant models as 'others' who do not refer to the construct of a modern, successful, hard-working woman. While femininity is presented as an effect of performances, ethnic roots are shown as naturalized. Deviances from the overarching norm are marked as "exotic", "too ethnic" or "traditional". The way diversity is integrated into the concept of this talent show can be seen as a form of "post-multiculturalism" as it is called by Lentin and Titley (2011). It is a specific mode of market orientation that opens the floor for non-white models, but they need to fit into the consumerists' logic to be successful. Thus we are sceptical about the description of reality TV as a new form of self-representation of minority groups in current TV for three main reasons:

Firstly: Society frames the talent shows and other forms of the reality TV genre. It is embedded into existing cultural notions and power relationships. Talent shows are very much a product of a neoliberal ideology that claims that everyone who strives hard enough to transform his or her personal identity can win. So the winning of a contest for one migrant, one lesbian, one transsexual, one member of the working poor is not at all an indicator for making the group more visible. Sometimes the logic in effect is exactly the opposite: "See, why do they complain about discrimination and exclusion?" The winner shows successful inclusion.

Secondly: The speech about those members of marginalized groups in reality TV programmes is pre-formed and the stereotypes about members of that group frame the acceptance. All too often they do not speak, but are spoken about. There is an orchestration they have to adhere to.

Third and finally: It is not uncommon to portray members of marginalized groups that become famous via reality TV as exotic strangers or as freaks (Dovey 2000). Thus, they are exhibited as strange or as monsters for the entertainment of those who are presumably normal. The latter belongs; the first will always be the stranger.

6 Conclusion

Media and cultural production have enormous potential to change stereotypes and pave the way for members of discriminated groups to participate in society, to raise their voices and communicate. But having them on the screen and in the headlines does not necessarily mean inclusion in the socially and culturally rooted formations of power. Visibility in the neoliberal media system is mostly caused by economic interests addressing diverse target audiences, rarely by the challenge of participation. The concept of cultural citizenship offers perspectives for both the demand for participation in cultural meaning production as well as for opportunities to speak authoritatively in public. Whether this will lead to new meaning produc-

tion and opens up the hegemonic cultural order is a question that needs to be addressed and can be tackled in the analysis of current media discourses. Media as cultural products will only gain momentum, when their audiences appropriate them. Audiences then will become co-producers, either explicitly by producing media discourses in forms of digital communication or implicitly by becoming active interpreters of media texts. This process of interpretative activity can be seen as chances of empowerment in media society during which cultural citizenship is appropriated. Cultural citizenship as an all-encompassing, universal and essentialist concept seems dispensable, but it has merit for those at the margins of society and for those who are interested in bringing about changes through media projects challenging the hegemonic structure. Since such a diverse and vibrant feminist media landscape, which is documented in this book, links producers, texts and audiences, it can play an important role in transforming and altering the production of meaning in society.

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