

### Die Dozentin

Seit man endlich hat kapieret,  
Daß die Frau nicht existieret,  
Nur allein als dienend Wesen,  
Umzugehn mit Topf und Besen,  
Sondern höh'res kann vollführen  
Durfte sie sogar studieren!  
Und mit ihrem regen Geiste  
Meistert sie sogleich das meiste,  
Tritt allwärts aus langer Stille  
Nun in reichster Wissensfülle.  
Drum natürlich allerwegen  
Blickt man ihr schon scheel entgegen,  
Und besonders die Dozenten  
Fürchten sie als Konkurrenten.  
Hat drum irgend ein Magister  
Sich beschwert wohl beim Minister?  
Strenge künden die Heloten:  
„Die Dozentin ist verboten!“  
Ach wir armen deutschen Mädchen, –  
Nebenan im Russenstäättchen,  
Wo's oft drunter geht und drüber, –  
Ist man uns schon lange über!  
Denn wer dorten tut studieren  
Kann sich auch habilitieren,  
Moskaus Musensöhne lauschen  
Auf der „ersten“ lehrreich Plauschen.  
Ach es wär so schön gewesen,  
Auch in Deutschland vorzulesen,  
Durch der Weisheit goldne Türen  
Die Studentenschar zu führen.  
Aber tröstet euch, ihr Schwestern! –  
Bald verklingt das Wort von gestern.  
Wenns bei kommenden Geschlechtern  
Wimmelt so von Musentöchtern  
Wie alljetzt von Musensöhnen,  
Reden wir in andern Tönen.  
Nur Dozentinnen wird's geben,  
Einzeln ein Dozent daneben,  
Bis „Ministerin“ läßt bitten:  
Kein Dozent sei mehr gelitten!  
k.

(Münstersche Universitäts-Zeitung, Nr. 25, 13. Juni 1908)

## Feminism and its impact on gender inequality discourse in universities

A comparison between the past  
and the present

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## **Abstract**

The following thesis deals with how the three waves of feminism influenced the students' discourse about gender inequality in the university of Münster between 1907 and 2019. Newspaper articles were analysed by means of a discourse analysis to investigate which school of thought in each wave predominated the student's discourse. In the first wave, the proletarian and bourgeois movement were distinguished, and the expectation was that the bourgeois movement was more influential. That expectation was fulfilled. Marxist and radical feminism were opposed in the second wave with the expectation that radical feminism was more influential. That expectation was not fulfilled as both movements had the same impact. For the third wave, women's support and gender mainstreaming approaches were the dominant schools of thought with the expectation, that women's support ideas would be used more by students. This expectation was not fulfilled, as gender mainstreaming argumentations were found more extensively. Other findings were, that the schools of thought are built upon each other and that the different political systems throughout the years and other historical circumstances had a large influence on the student discourse.

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## **I. Feminism and inequality discourse – an introduction**

Since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, feminist movements had a major influence on the discourse about gender inequality challenging firmly established assumptions and social roles of men and women (Cohen, 2015; Freer, 2015). Following the first women protests (1830-1920) in which equal civil rights and the access to universities were demanded and the second women riots (1960-1980) aiming at genuine equal treatment (Abdul Karim & Azlan, 2019), the third wave in the 2000s raised again the awareness of persisting gender inequality. Since 2017, women all around the world shared experiences of gender inequality, sexual harassment and violence in all parts of society with the hashtag #metoo calling to stop unequal treatment of women (me too.).

One part of society is the educational sphere in which this paper's focus is the university life in Germany. Although presently 51% of all graduated students are female, the number of women declines when looking at top positions in German universities. According to the Federal Statistical Office of Germany, only 45% of the PhD candidates and 24% of the professors are female in 2017 (Destatis). Also, academic working life is still prone to sexism, patriarchy and misogyny (Bell, Meriläinen, Taylor, & Tienari, 2018). It is not surprising, that universities are being addressed in hashtags as #MeTooAcademia (Twitter [1]) or #metopolisci (Twitter [2]) on Twitter. Therefore, women's protests have an impact on the university discourse shaping the discussion about gender inequality.

But, in what ways does the feminist movement impact the debate within universities?

Feminism is more than a movement for equality and justice, it is also a political and intellectual project and a method for theory development. It is built upon the assumption that gender and gendered racial inequality have impacts of all parts of social and economic life (Bell et al., 2018). Gender needs to be distinguished from 'sex'. Sex "refers to the biological characteristics which distinguish people as male and female"<sup>1</sup> whereas gender relates to "the quality of being male or female" (Women's support project, 2010, p. 2). The problem of the socially constructed distinction between typical male or female qualities is that it can lead to discrimination and in extreme cases to violence against women (Women's support project, 2010). Therefore, feminist theories provide a theoretical tool for analysis of the relationship between resistance and organisations (Thomas & Davies, 2005) helping to

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<sup>1</sup> In contemporary literature, also the biological sex is sometimes seen as a social construct (Ladwig (2013)

understand the interaction between feminist movement and universities in this research. The feminist movement can be distinguished into three waves of feminism with different schools of thought within each one of them (Abdul Karim & Azlan, 2019; Booth & Bennett, 2002). Thus, feminism was never one movement, but a contested and changing area. Therefore, in this research the impact of the two most influential schools of thoughts on university life within each wave will be compared in order to investigate which has the greatest influence on it.

Universities have a politicising effect on young people through the university campus and the size of the university student population which foster students' participation in student activism through diverse social networks (Crossley & Ibrahim, 2012). Hence, students are likely to be involved in newly emerging protests and therefore, they are likely to be influenced by the feminist movements. Thus, students' opinions are a relevant source to gain an extensive overview about whether feminists movements affected the university life. As the opinions of students can be easily found in newspaper articles, the influence of feminist movement on the university life is examined in my study through the analysis of articles written by students.

As history is highly important to understand current times (Tosh, 2008) and hence, how the discussion about gender inequality developed, this research investigates all three waves of feminism. A historical approach can lead to new discoveries as did the study of Booth and Bennett (2002), when they analysed the historical evolving of European policies based on the three waves of feminism and concluded that all three waves of feminism can be seen at the present. Building on their research, it is likely that the impact of all three waves is also visible in current university debates. But this research goes even further as the focus is which school of thought within each wave had the greatest influence on the students' discourse to take the diversity of feminists' movement into account.

This research closes a research gap as no study the author knows of dealt with a comparison of the impact of the school of thoughts of the three waves on university discourse before. This study provides an overview of the waves of feminism and two most popular schools of thought for students in each wave. It will be investigated how those schools of thought influence(d) the discourse about gender inequality in universities by analysing newspaper articles. Connections between the narratives of the waves, main themes of articles, authorship and the schools of thought will be drawn to establish how and if the student discourse mirrors the feminist protests. Because gender inequality is a persisting problem in university life and since discourse is the principal medium to uphold

or change power relations (Mumby & Stohl, 1991), it is highly important to analyse whether feminist movements were able to impact the discourse to raise awareness for discrimination.

Therefore, the research question is how the three waves of feminism affect(ed) the student discourse about gender inequality in German universities?

The research question is divided into two sub-questions. The first, a descriptive sub-question entails the description of each wave of feminism and how the articles mirror the narratives of the waves. The second, explanatory sub-question deals with the investigation of which school of thought within each wave had the greatest effect on the discourse about gender inequality in German universities and how the schools of thought are connected throughout time. Therefore, the independent variable is the “three waves of feminism” with the values being the different schools of thought and the dependent variable is “discourse about gender inequality”. The unit of analysis is German universities and specifically, the University of Münster. The setting is Germany, 1830-1920, 1960-1970 and 1990-2019. The study is scientifically orientated aiming at closing a research gap and contributing to the scientific debate about feminist protests by means of the example of the university of Münster.

## II. Feminism: social movements and theories

To understand the impact feminism and its waves have on student discourse, it is crucial to demonstrate the basic theoretical assumptions of feminism and its so-called three waves which are likely to be mirrored within the student debates.

In general, feminism is “a struggle to end sexist oppression” (Jenainati & Groves, 2010, p. 3). Moreover, Leffingwell (2018, col. 11–13) states that “feminism is not a man-hating baby-killing conspiracy, but simply the theory of the political, economic, and social equality of the sexes”. Feminist theory is dedicated to the analysis of the global subordination of women and its elimination promoting equality so that “women’s expectations and opportunities in life are not unfairly curtailed solely on the basis of being a woman” (Kinsella, 2017, p. 191). Therefore, feminist researchers also analyse power and its effects. This thesis focuses on the power of language upholding inequality and whether feminist movements were able to affect the discourse.

Further, feminism has added knowledge enhancing the development of methods of research as it uncovered and still portrays women’s diverse experience, roles and statuses. This requires to re-examine and rewrite history which either “excluded women altogether or treated them as incidental” (Kinsella, 2017, p. 191). Since this thesis is built upon a historical approach, it also adds knowledge about feminist movements and the women’s perspective to the general scientific knowledge.

Moreover, feminism is an “interlocking, intersectional and interdisciplinary way of thought” which differs across time and space (Abdul Karim & Azlan, 2019) reflecting variations in the social contexts, situations and statuses of women (Kinsella, 2017). For example, feminism in Anglo-American countries is more directed towards similarity and equality between men and women whereas Europeans value the differences between the sexes rather than seeking to eliminate them (Abdul Karim & Azlan, 2019, p. 3).

As feminism changes throughout time, it should be studied based on its years of emergence, or waves of feminism (Abdul Karim & Azlan, 2019). The author acknowledges, that there is a current discussion whether feminism consists of three or four waves (Maclaran, 2015; Munro, 2013). Apart from the use of the internet as platform (Maclaran, 2015), the content of the third and so-called fourth wave overlap extensively, so this research only considers three waves. However, the waves are built upon each other (Booth & Bennett, 2002) and in every wave, different individuals with different mindsets took part, which is why feminism is a contested concept and does not fit into one definition (Leffingwell, 2018). Through a historical approach, those differences are visualised.

## ***1. First wave of feminism***

The first wave of feminism took place between 1830-1920 and is characterised by the liberal rights perspective aiming to extend civil rights to women, especially the right to vote (Abdul Karim & Azlan, 2019). This is a result of women in Europe not having legal identity in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century meaning that no woman was allowed to own property, participate in lawsuits or gain custody of children (Jenainati & Groves, 2010). First wave feminists requested access to universities for women (Costas, 1995) and strived to enhance women's living standards in the public sphere (Abdul Karim & Azlan, 2019).

Women's politics demanded liberal reforms focusing on bureaucratic reforms to establish fair and just organisations. The woman as the resisting subject was characterised as a "free, rational individuum with an inner essence" (Thomas & Davies, 2005, p. 715). Resistance focused on the reinterpretation of rules and procedures to remove barriers to sexual equality, as gender differences were seen as arising from sex-roles, prejudices, discrimination and stereotypes. The aim was the elimination of discriminatory individuals, policies and practices. (Thomas & Davies, 2005).

Regarding the university life within the German Empire, the first wave started around 1865 with the establishment of the first Frauenbildungsverein<sup>2</sup> (Wolff, 2008). Until then, women were defined as not suitable for university as they were supposed to care for children and to lead the household. Around 1860, the discussion about the access to universities for women started with arguments against being that women have smaller brain mass so that they would not be able to study. Other arguments were that due to menstruation, possible pregnancies and menopause, women were only sometimes resilient and healthy enough to study. Those arguments are based on a bipolar gender model which was the dominant model at that time. Men and women were seen as the opposite from each other, as two poles which when combined would lead to a perfect entity as both feminine and masculine traits complement each other (Happ & Jüttemann, 2008). Nevertheless, as a result of an educational reform in Prussia and elsewhere in the German Empire, schools for girls offering the Abitur, which was the main criterium to enrol in university, were established. Those women who already passed the Abitur enrolled in study programs as teaching profession or medicine. Not all study programs were accessible for women (Happ & Jüttemann, 2008), which limited their choice considerably.

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<sup>2</sup> Women's education association.

Moreover, the German Empire was characterised by huge economic growth through industrialisation which led to industrial capitalism and class society (Kruse, 2012). There was a struggle between supporters of the social democracy/socialism and the monarchy/capitalism. Socialists founded the ‘Socialist Workers’ Party’ which in 1890 turned into the ‘Social Democratic Party’ which opposed capitalism and the bourgeoisie-monarchic ‘class state’ and aimed at establishing socialism as a political system. Although the two were connected, socialism in Germany did not equal Russian/Leninist communism at the time but was rather founded with the aim of establishing a democracy with a social economic system (Ascher, 2007). The development of socialism opposing the monarchy was mirrored by a separation in the women’s movement in Germany. When women were allowed to participate in associations, proletarian women joined the socialist parties and bourgeois feminists the liberal and conservative parties (Wolff, 2008).

Hence, there were two different directions of feminism in the German Empire: the socialists/proletarian and the women’s movements of the bourgeoisie building upon the struggle between the two political systems (Freer, 2015). This became apparent as both groups tried to establish an umbrella association which failed (Wolff, 2008). Despite their differences, both feminist movements worked mostly with petitions and public campaigns and demanded the access to university (Happ & Jüttemann, 2008).

According to the proletarian movement’s understanding of emancipation, real equality between men and women was only possible within socialism and through equal participation in the labour market (Wolff, 2008). August Bebel’s work served as an important theoretical basis stating that women were oppressed in two ways in a capitalistic economic system: because of their sex and because of their class (Reusch, Beier de Haan, & Scriba, 2016). Since most of the proletarian women already worked in precarious situations to maintain the cost of living and hence, suffered from their social position, the women’s movement demanded next to socialism maternity protection, safety at work and reduction of working time. Moreover, legal equality and women’s voting rights were main claims. To overcome the precarious working situation for women, the proletarian movement’s campaign requested the admission to the German Abitur<sup>3</sup> for women since it was the condition to study (Happ & Jüttemann, 2008) and to better career chances. Also, the right to study was seen as a universal right to enhance gender equality (Reusch et al., 2016).

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<sup>3</sup> High school examination.

In contrast, bourgeois feminists aimed at a slowly increasing the influence of feminine culture. For example, the demand for voting rights was heatedly debated among them as it was too radical for some. Their main claims were the right to education, free choice of profession and access to universities (Albrecht, 2000). Bourgeois argumentation embraced the understanding that men and women are fundamentally different since it adapted the notion of ‘geistige Mütterlichkeit’<sup>4</sup> (feminine emotional capacity vs. rational-analytical masculine thinking). For them, the object of the social responsibility of women shifted from family to society resulting in the argumentation that women should work in professions fitting their feminine traits to fulfil their social task (Bussemer, 2011). Following this argumentation, the bourgeois movement’s campaign argued for access to universities. As traits as emotional capacity, caring and empathy were seen as feminine, they reasoned that women should have access to study programs such as health care/medicine and education as typical feminine tasks (Happ & Jüttemann, 2008).

At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the ‘soziale Frauenfrage’<sup>5</sup> was debated in Germany. The problem was, that unmarried women depended on their families and were unable to care (financially) for themselves and so the question was how to find a suitable position for unmarried women befitting their social status. It was discussed whether women should occupy teaching or healing position in accordance with so-called feminine traits (Bussemer, 2011). Hence, bourgeois women were more likely to be sent to university. Therefore, the first expectation is the following:

Expectation 1: Within the first wave of feminism, the bourgeoisie feminist movement had the greatest influence on university discourse of students within the German Empire.

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<sup>4</sup> cognitive motherliness.

<sup>5</sup> social women’s question.

## ***2. Second wave of feminism***

The second wave of feminism started in the 1960s. Although carried by achievements of the first wave, there were still unequal opportunities between the sexes regarding voting rights, property rights and access to professions and education (Abdul Karim & Azlan, 2019), although women became legally equal to men in 1949 in West-Germany (Gleichstellungsbeauftragte Bielefeld, 2017). While women were already allowed to work, seek higher education and enjoy a higher degree of autonomy, there was still inequality in the politics of reproduction. Therefore, the second wave focused more on the private sphere claiming sexual freedom, feminine sexuality, the right for abortions and gender issues. The theoretical basis for the movement was *inter alia* Simone de Beauvoir's 'Second Sex' in which she interpreted the social construction of the femininity as the Other in relation to men. For her, equality can only be achieved if the woman starts to see herself as the subject which is possible through economic and social equality and hence, self-realisation and autonomy (Jenainati & Groves, 2010).

Women's politics consisted of structural revolution with a focus on collective protest and resistance. The aim was to establish new feminist-separatist organisations valuing and liberating the feminine. The resisting subject were women united around a common pain, in 'sisterhood' and a battle for justice. Resistance took the form of raising feminine consciousness together with the valuing of the feminine (Thomas & Davies, 2005). One of the most popular slogans was 'the personal is political' referring "to the fact that every aspect of a women's private life is affected by and can itself affect the political situation" (Jenainati & Groves, 2010, p. 88). Forces maintaining systemic hierarchies of gender as patriarchy, class domination or white supremacy were challenged (Thomas & Davies, 2005). Second wave feminists struggled to include the experience of lesbian and bisexual women within their movement as they were afraid that the incorporation of lesbian/bisexual women's viewpoints would jeopardise the credibility of the feminist movement. Also, women of colour confronted white women with their own racism and privileged white experiences (Kinsella, 2017).

In the West, student protests opposed the rearmament of Germany and the war in Vietnam. They demanded an improvement of studying conditions, the democratisation and politicisation of universities. From this student protest, the new pluralistic women's movement emerged as women engaged in the protest noticed that their needs were not yet

included (Happ & Jüttemann, 2008). For West-Germany, the Tomatenwurf<sup>6</sup> in 1968 and the newspaper article ‘Ich habe abgetrieben’<sup>7</sup> are considered to be the starting points for the second wave feminists (Hertrampf, 2008). The political system in West-Germany was characterised by a strong patriarchal voice upholding traditional gender roles, male-breadwinning philosophy and the market economy. Few policies were made to enhance the situation of women to participate in the labour market or to receive education. West-German feminists therefore called for emancipation from below (Wagener, 2002). Women-specific conflicts and oppressions were made the subject of discussion through protest. So-called ‘Weiberräte’<sup>8</sup> emerged from the women’s emancipation groups at the universities in West-Germany demanding consultation for unintended pregnancies and the establishment of day care centres (Happ & Jüttemann, 2008). The protests phases were mostly between 1968 and 1970 whereas in the 80s the institutionalisation of the protests took place (Hertrampf, 2008). This research only focuses on the protest itself (1968-1980) and the two most popular lines of argumentation.

The two largest feminist movements in West-Germany were liberal and radical feminism whereas within student protest, Marxist feminism was very popular (Kraushaar, 2008). Marxist feminists similarly to liberals focused on increasing female representation in the public sphere (Wagener, 2002). As this thesis focuses on student discourse, Marxist feminism is chosen instead of liberal feminism. As it is the second largest movement, radical feminism is included in the analysis.

The understanding of feminism between radical and Marxists differed mostly around “main contradictions” and “side contradictions” (Freer, 2015).

Marxist feminists based their world view on the Marxist social theory and discussed mainly the question, if the oppression of women can be seen as a side contradiction - a side effect - of capitalism or if the oppression of women is the crucial condition for capitalism and therefore, the main contradiction (Freer, 2015). As Marx himself never dealt with gender divisions, Marxist-feminists grounded gender inequality within economic relations in the way that gender groups are “structured by the needs of capital for [...] cheap labour” (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1983, p. 64). Also, the lack of support for working mothers was an important issue for Marxist feminists since for them, it led to the exclusion of women

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<sup>6</sup> Tomato throwing.

<sup>7</sup> I had an abortion.

<sup>8</sup> Women’s councils.

from productive labour because they needed to attend to domestic responsibilities. The aim was the “eradication of the bourgeois family structures which depend on women’s unpaid domestic labour” (Jenainati & Groves, 2010, p. 100).

The counterargument of radical feminism was that access to the public sphere for women was limited not due to their class but because of their gender (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1983). Radical feminists regarded the oppression of women through the patriarchal social system as the main contradiction of society (Freer, 2015). A patriarchal system “refers to power relations in which women’s interests are subordinated to the interests of men” (Jenainati & Groves, 2010, p. 4). According to Kate Millet, a patriarchal system constructs a social system in which masculine traits are more valuable than feminine ones which is “inscribed into the minds of women through education, religion and the family” (Jenainati & Groves, 2010, p. 118). To free a woman means to oppose those structures together with marriage “to find new ways of doing things” including the re-thinking of language which was labelled as male-defined and expressing male-dominated values (Jenainati & Groves, 2010, p. 101). There is more to emancipation than the participation in the labour market or the public sphere since as long as women are oppressed in the private sphere, emancipation cannot exist (Wagener, 2002). Consciousness-raising is the revolutionary tool to combat the oppression of women for radical feminists (Jenainati & Groves, 2010).

Both directions of feminism value education and equal opportunities in university life as crucial. For Marxist feminists, education is the basis of participating in the labour market and thus, crucial for emancipation. For radical feminists, education means deconstruction and challenging of social roles both in the private and public sphere.

Since within West-Germany, a pluralistic approach towards feminism prevailed, both approaches are likely to have affected the discourse about gender inequality. But as West-Germany was characterised by highly patriarchal policies, the protest was likely to be directed against it. Hence, the second expectation is the following:

Expectation 2: In West-Germany, the discourse about gender inequality in universities is more likely shaped by radical feminists’ assumptions.

### ***3. Third wave of feminism***

The second and third wave share their struggles for equality in the private sphere of women's life (Abdul Karim & Azlan, 2019). The third wave started around 1990 and continues till today. Perceptions of gender, sexuality and sex are challenged again but from the perspective of the "lives of real women nowadays" trying to fit careers, children, personal freedom and money into their schedule (Abdul Karim & Azlan, 2019, p. 7). Despite the opportunities women have today thanks to the other waves, dilemmas and oppressions emerge in new ways especially through career possibilities and language. Women in the third wave have a different self-understanding as they grew up with privileges 'older' feminists did not have. Thus, third wave feminists tend to see themselves as "more capable, strong and assertive social agents" which leads them to be more radical and rebellious, to challenge sexist forms of language and invent new self-celebrating words (Abdul Karim & Azlan, 2019, p. 6). Further, the third wave differs from the other two by taking the intersectional perspective into account. Within the first and second waves, feminism was usually covered by white middle-class women in Europe and North America (Abdul Karim & Azlan, 2019; Jenainati & Groves, 2010). Although coloured women and lesbian or bisexual women challenged the feminist movement in the second wave, third wave feminists tend to think more globally, taking into account how women live depends on status, roles, backgrounds, race, sexuality, age and geographic location (Kinsella, 2017). Non-stereotypical, often marginalised women speak up, challenging the categorisation of the history of feminism, its so-called waves as being mostly defined by North American and European events not reflective their life (Jenainati & Groves, 2010). As this thesis deals with a West-European country, it adheres to the distinction of three waves acknowledging the limitations of this categorisation and its non-generalisability.

Women's politics within this wave are that of reinscription with a focus on discursive resistance challenging subjectivities and meanings. There is not one resisting subject, but multiple and distinctive voices of women shaped by their history, culture and so forth. The 'woman' is a complex being and a resisting self „arising from the clash between contradictory subject position and practices" (Thomas & Davies, 2005, p. 718). Resistance within this wave means deconstruction and questioning of meanings. Although the protest is globally connected through the internet, the struggle is localised and on a small-scale (Thomas & Davies, 2005). Hence, women in the third wave grow up with the understanding that they are worthy and equal to men but face challenges when it comes to realising themselves.

Lastly, the political context of the third wave needs to be described. As third wave protest comes from within the institutions and aims to rewrite the rules, the focus is not the whole political system of Germany but that of German universities. Each university needs to establish policies to foster equality, support women, in particular in the STEM study field, and hire an equal opportunities officer (Gesetz über die Hochschulen des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, 2014). But, as those policies are still necessary, gender equality is not yet reached, and third wave feminists try to make persisting inequalities in university life visible. Especially when it comes to university careers, women are highly disadvantaged: the higher the job position, the smaller the number of women. Equality laws aiming to counteract this development legislated by the federal states promised to achieve justice but changed very little so far (Damm-Feldmann, 2008). Although previous women movements affected the curriculum at universities which now include women's and gender studies dealing with women's interests and experience, the hidden curriculum<sup>9</sup> becomes the new focus of feminists. The hidden and overt curricula "are not mutually exclusive, but form a complex mechanism of production and reproduction" both of which are used to treat women differently to men (Morley, 2007, p. 608). Women tend to be taken less seriously and their ability is doubted more often, leading to a situation in which women might be physically present as students or staff but in which they are excluded from decision-making, debating and discussing. Women's academic identities are unstable and evolved historically from women being intellectually inferior to men to the so-called feminisation of university life. This newest social construct foments anxieties about men's academic failure and a 'takeover' of the university by women (Morley, 2007). This discussion shows the paradox in which women in academia find themselves today where they find themselves caught between anxious voices warning against feminisation of universities and blatantly preferential treatment given to men over women.

The clash between different feminists' assumptions regarding university life in this wave becomes visible through approaches to university policies grounded in the former waves' ideas, showing their interconnectedness (Degele, 2008). The leading concepts are women's support and gender mainstreaming

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<sup>9</sup> The hidden curriculum is the unwritten curriculum including values and intergroup relations supporting the student's socialisation process and is the opposite of the overt curriculum entailing classes or courses. It can be found in the classroom's social structure or the way teacher teach and interact with the students. Also, the use of language, textbooks or curriculum priorities can be part of it according to Kentli (2009).

The first approach is the women's support. It is built on the previous women's protest and focuses on the differences between men and women, either within the social position or within character traits (Degele, 2008). Representatives of this approach argue that the inequality between men and women is so severe, that women need special support and attention in order to achieve gender equality (Freer, 2015). Necessary demands include women's quotas, women's support plans, enhancement of education and further training, flexibilization of working times and support after maternity leave. Through these access to power, recognition and participation shall be enforced. For universities, equal numbers of women and men in decision-making positions, in professorships, in study programs and fields are key demands. Women's support approaches focus on the identity of 'the woman', inequality of chances and distribution are main topics. Structural problems lying underneath, or the situation of men or socio-cultural factors are not considered (Degele, 2008). An argument for women's studies and special focus on 'the woman' was given by Tania Modleski as she warned against conducting gender studies as this would bring the man back to the centre stage depriving women of collective solidarity. Within gender studies, women would see themselves again in relation to men and not only as woman (Jenainati & Groves, 2010). An argument against is that men's perspective is not included which can lead to discrimination in the other direction.

The other approach, called gender mainstreaming (GM), emphasizes gender marginalisation (Morley, 2007). Its leading idea is that the gender of a person is socially constructed and in its most radical form, the gender of a person is fully deconstructed (Degele, 2008). For example, Judith Butler declared that gender distinctions are only applicable if the basis of the social system is viewed as binary opposition meaning that 'masculine' is the opposite of 'feminine'. She disagreed with the sex/gender split emphasising the existence of a wider concept of gender identity outside male/female dualism (Harms, 2012; Jenainati & Groves, 2010). The underlying assumption is that both men and women suffer due to gendered social roles and that both should be supported in overcoming them (Booth & Bennett, 2002). For example, Elaine Showalter argued in 1989 that women should "study masculinity in the same way as they do femininity, seeing both as socially constructed" (Jenainati & Groves, 2010, p. 162). Therefore, organisations with a GM approach ought to make women's and men's experiences an integral part of the "design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes" (Morley, 2007, p. 609). Through the evaluation of the implications for both men and women, GM advocates for a systemic intervention aiming at gender democratisation. Hence, GM is viewed as "the

systemic integration of equal opportunities for women and men into organisations and cultures" (Morley, 2007, p. 609). For some, it is a crucial step for social movements and (feminists) activism to be included in public policy. For others, the fear the GM might be reduced to a pure technological application of toolkits predominates. While toolkits are helpful in achieving organisational changes, gender sensitivity, awareness and the need for negotiation and debates should not be underestimated. A critical argument against GM is that "mainstream is the male stream" and inherently patriarchal because it makes masculine behaviour the norm (Morley, 2007, p. 609).

The two different approaches affect the distribution of university money and justice regarding the treatment of both men and women. Universities with a GM approach tend to give less money to women's institutions than universities with a women's support approach. This can be seen as critical as women's institution are still necessary (Freer, 2015). With regard to justice, it is argued that women's quota in top positions in universities demanded by women's support would decrease the credibility and standard of universities as the sex ought not to influence decisions about recruitment (Steinbacher, 2013). Given the fact that much-needed women's support is reduced due to GM, the third expectation is the following:

Expectation 3: Women's support is more likely to be found in the student discourse about gender inequality than gender mainstreaming.

### **III. Feminist discourse: how the impact of feminism on university discourse is measured**

Considering the last section, feminism is a diverse, intersectional concept with clashing directions. The different approaches to feminism discussed earlier all claim(ed) an influence on university life. In the next section, it is explained how it is measured which school of thought has the largest influence on student discourse.

The first concept to explain is discourse itself. Discourse either spoken or written is the “language above the sentence” (Baxter, 2003, p. 7) entailing a deeper meaning which can be isolated through the careful analysis of text. Also, discourses are used to form the world systemically and can consist of “powerful sets of assumptions, expectations and explanations, governing mainstream social and cultural practices” (Baxter, 2003, p. 7). Therefore, the analysis of discourse can help to explain the world and to make sense of it. This paper uses discourse of students to establish which schools of thought of feminism were more influential.

The discourse of students is chosen since students and protest movements are highly connected. Crossley and Ibrahim (2012) suggest that the university has a politicising effect on first years and that the campus life foster student participation in activism. By analysing the student’s discourse, it is therefore possible to investigate whether the women’s protest movements had an influence on the university and more specifically, which school of thought was and is mostly present in the discourse. In this paper, university student’s discourse is localised in newspaper articles from reader’s letters of the university magazine and the student magazine.

The interpretation of this university discourse is done by means of discourse analysis. A discourse analysis is “an attempt to describe and understand the processes through which meaning is formed, conveyed, and interpreted in a concrete situation” (Jacobs & Tschötschel, 2019). It can be used to critically and normatively assess how communication processes shape the social world. This “meaning-making” is a “relational open practice” (Jacobs & Tschötschel, 2019). The element of ‘relational’ means the soundness of a concept only exists relational to other concepts, not through the correspondence to external reality. The ‘openness’ element referring to the relation between concepts entails that those are not pre-determined but conditional, incomplete and non-necessary. Relations only exist in the form the speaker articulates them. The element of “practice” contains that meaning is created in a specific context, not independent of it. Discourse analysis mostly deals with the

empirical study of text guided by a set of conceptions about how meaning-making functions with the goal to understand how the ideas articulated in the text are generated (Jacobs & Tschötschel, 2019).

The meaning-making of which school of thought dominated the discourse is relational since one school of thought can only dominate the discourse in relation to another school of thoughts' limited influence. The openness element is also included as the student discourse does not only take place in the student's magazine or reader's letters, so the analysis of the articles only considers a small part of the student discourse. The specific context is the newspaper discussion on which the analysis depends.

In the following analysis, the main focus is the argumentation of students which is a specific approach to discourse analysis. The idea is that "the use of language by a speaking subject [...] takes place in a formal framework of exchange" (Amossy, 2009, p. 253) which can be virtual (a newspaper article for example). Socio-discursive and institutional constraints always form the verbal exchange of the author, so they need to be considered. The author always targets an audience whether (s)he implicitly or explicitly states so or not and (s)he may occupy an argumentative goal or only interpret the world. The argumentative feature of discourse does not mean that formal arguments need to be used, but that the author argues for a certain way of looking at the world. Hence, argumentation is "an aspect of an overall 'discursive functioning' that has to be analysed in its intrinsic logic" with references to the specific socio-cultural aspects (Amossy, 2009, p. 254). The situation and genre of discourse, its dialogical dimension meaning the social discourse circulating at a given moment and the institutional dimension are aspects that need to be taken into account (Amossy, 2009).

The following analysis only contains newspaper articles and hence, the framework of exchange is virtual. The situation of the discourse exchange takes always place in the university of Münster within the time periods 1907-1914, 1968-1979, 1990-2019.

The genre of the discourse varies slightly. The first wave's articles are all reader's letter's and hence, opinions. Within the second wave, the articles are also opinions expressed by students but not in the form of reader's letters but as typical newspaper articles. Within the third wave, the articles' form is the same as in the second wave, but also student's surveys dealing with feminist debates and a cartoon which represented feminist's protest ideas were selected, since the influence of the women's movement was visible and the articles were written by students.

The dialogical dimension of the newspaper articles is discussed within the analysis and it labelled ‘connection to the narratives of the waves’ providing an overview of how the articles are connected to the specific times and social discussions. The institutional dimension for all articles is the university of Münster.

Discourse analysis sometimes suffers from methodological defects as possible prejudices in the author’s way to read the text, or an unsystematic search. Jacobs and Tschötschel (2019) argue that to prevent those problems researchers should use topic modelling. Topic modelling as a method limits the complexity of an amount of text by characterising each text as a combination of topics. Topics are “clusters of words that reappear across texts, but the interpretation of these clusters as themes, frames, issues, or other latent concepts (...) depends on the methodological and theoretical choices made by the analyst” (Jacobs & Tschötschel, 2019). But as the focus of this analysis are argumentations and not words, clusters of argumentations will be used in order to establish which school of thought is most influential on the student discourse. In that way, limitations of the discourse analysis are contained as the reader can reproduce which arguments are assigned to which school and why a certain article were assigned to a school. The topic modelling of the argumentation is done accordingly to the theoretical framework established earlier and is summarised in table 1.

*Table 1: Topic modelling*

Waves	Schools of thought	Cluster of argumentations
First wave	Socialist/Proletarian	Emancipation, socialism, socialist party, equal participation, access to Abitur, sameness between men and women, maternity protection, reduction of work time, double burden for women, competitors to men, equivalent, radical equality
	Bourgeoisie	Feminine traits, empathy, caring, teaching profession and medicine, gender roles, liberal/conservative parties, differences between men and women, female obligations, man as head of family, ‘geistige Mütterlichkeit’, rational-analytical male thinking, social responsibility towards society
Second wave	Marxist	Capitalism, Marx, gendered division of labour, economic relations, inequality regarding economic labour, fulltime, childcare, system-oriented, position of women in system, system supports that men become oppressors, support for mothers, eradication of bourgeois family structure, public sphere

	Radical	Patriarchy, man as head of family, power structures, unequal social system, domestic abuse, violent oppression, housekeeping as women's job, right for abortion, feminine sexuality, objectification of women, identity politics, character of gender, private + public sphere, (sexual) autonomy
Third wave	Women's politics/women's support	Self-celebrating feminine, women's support, empowerment of women/girls, women's perspective, women's quota, personnel figures, rhetoric education, access conditions, one-sided, compatibility of family and university/job, women's studies, gender male-streaming, collective solidarity, inequality of chances and distribution
	Gender mainstreaming	Support for both men and women, role models for both sexes, gender-neutrality, gender sensibility, gender-neutral language, discursive and structural changes, gender democratisation, systemic intervention / integration of change, feminisation of universities, gender marginalisation, gender

### ***Case selection***

Although the claim of this paper is that the theoretical expectations constructed earlier are true for all West-German universities, only one university is analysed due to the scale of this paper. Because of its long history, the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster is an interesting case to analyse. The university was established in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (WWU Münster, 2019a) and has one of the largest student population and is rich in tradition (WWU Münster, 2019b). Therefore, it is more likely that important historical developments affected the university discourse since its population size ensured and still does that numerous students with diverse backgrounds attend the university. This is important as a large campus and high number of students support the politicisation of first years. Therefore, Münster's students are likely to be influenced by the feminist movement and thus, a valuable source for the following analysis. Moreover, the large number of students makes the results of this analysis more generalisable for (West-)Germany.

### ***Data collection method***

The most important sources for the data collection method are the two newspaper magazines of the university of Münster, *wissen|leben* and the *Semesterspiegel*. The magazine *wissen|leben* was first published in 1907 and is the magazine of the university itself covering current topics as university politics, students, scientific research and studies in general. Letters from readers and opinions are also printed and this is the main source for this

research. The magazine is published eight times a year (WWU Münster, 2019c). The other magazine, the Semesterspiegel, is written by students and exists since 1954. Information about the university, municipality, region and university-politics are spread together with topics related to the social position of students, tolerance and culture. It is a platform for discussion about socio-political developments (SSP, 2019). Therefore, it covers discussions between students and is a good source to investigate how the waves of feminism were and still are discussed in university life. Also, it is likely to be critical and to mirror the student's opinions well. The semesterspiegel is published four times a year (SSP, 2019). As the student discourse is the object of investigation, only student opinions are analysed in both magazines.

Within the first wave, the magazine of the university was published between 1907-1914. Therefore, only a small part of the first wave's discourse can be analysed, since no source existed beforehand, and the publication was stopped due to the first world war. This is insofar justifiable, as Preußen permitted women to enrol in universities in 1908 (Happ & Jüttemann, 2008) so that women are more likely to be included in the discussion. Moreover, the discourse within war times did not mirror the ordinary student's life. Hence, the accessible sources are enough for the analysis. Only the student's letters are dealt with.

The second wave of feminism took place between 1960-1970. Therefore, the author does not rely on student's letter anymore but can analyse the student's magazine itself, the semesterspiegel. The same is valid for the third wave of feminism, which started around 1990 and is still prevailing. Hence, for the second and third wave, only articles of the semesterspiegel are analysed.

As most articles were only accessible on paper in the archive of the university of Münster, the author herself looked manually through all newspapers ever published in the time periods of 1907-1914 (wissen|leben), 1960-1979 (Semesterspiegel) and 1990-2019 (Semesterspiegel).

The criteria for selecting articles was the headline and whether it referred to women, women's protest, inequality in universities, childcare or feminism. The year, headline and magazine were written down. The second criteria for selecting the articles for the analysis was the visibility of the influence of the women's movements on the author's writing. There are examples of articles that were excluded from the analysis to be found in the appendix. All articles were scanned manually by the author of that paper. For the first wave, reasons to exclude articles besides no influence of the women's movement was that the authors opposed women's studies in general. Also, the articles which authors aimed at insulting

another student or who do not give an opinion about women at all but defend their sex's behaviour towards women were excluded. For the second and third wave, book recensions, mere statistics, comments of professors or the situation of female professors were excluded. Tables in the appendix provide an overview about which articles were first selected and which were used for the analysis. In that way, the data was collected leading to a total sum of 78 articles which were analysed. Twenty-one for the first wave, nineteen in the second wave and thirty-eight in the third wave.

Historical reconstructions are prone to mistakes as the author has no possibilities to be 'on the spot' but relies on sources only. Nevertheless, through the comparison of findings of the newspaper articles with (historical) reconstructions and (scientific) articles, the author diminishes possible errors.

## IV. An analysis of the student discourse about gender inequality

In the following, the analysis of the student discourse will be conducted. It is structured according to each wave of feminism. The qualitative analysis aims to establish the dominant student discourse about feminism and more specifically, which school of thought in each wave were more influential. First, the articles with an influence of the women's movement are connected to the narratives of the respective movement. Those are typical characteristics of the waves of feminism which were described in the theoretical part beforehand. Afterwards, the main themes occurring in the articles are isolated and analysed. Lastly, the articles are assigned to a school of thought and the connection to narratives and main themes is drawn. Some articles' content combined several aspects of the above which is indicated.

### 1. First wave of feminism

For the first wave, journals published between 1907 and 1914 were analysed. Thirty articles dealt with women in the university and twenty-one of them were positively influenced by the women's protest. Only the latter are used.<sup>10</sup>

#### (1) Connection to the narratives of the first wave of feminism

In this section, the articles are connected to the narratives of first wave feminists. To provide an overview, eight main ones are summarised, and their content is assigned to the different factors which is illustrated in figure 1. Each of the narratives is described in the following.

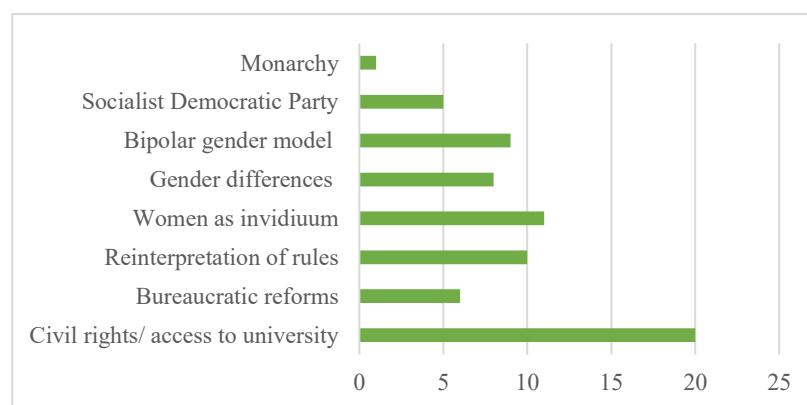


Figure 1 Frequency of narratives in the first wave

As expected, the main subject was access to university. One student states that women are now equal fellows in the empire of men in university life (Leoni, 1909, p. 298).

The next factor derived from the theory section is the demand of bureaucratic reforms which is picked up by six out of twenty-one articles. It includes the access to universities (K., 1908), that women should be able to become judges for the juvenile court (Leoni, 1909) or

<sup>10</sup> A table with an overview of all articles written per year with or with no influence of the women's movement can be found in the appendix as well as a detailed analysis of each article.

that the representation of students called AStA<sup>11</sup> should establish a two-members management (K-L., 1912a). Hence, the aim of the women's movement to change the institutions to include women in positions of power or in the representation of society are mirrored in the university discourse.

The next claim of the women's movement, the reinterpretation of rules, is mirrored in ten out of twenty-one articles from which also many requested bureaucratic reforms. Hence, to change institutional structures and to re-think rules are highly connected. To reconsider rules contain the proposal to develop a new tradition in which feminine traits as women's "freundliche Eigenart"<sup>12</sup> should be included (E. St., 1912, p. 891). Another example is the establishment of the two-members management of AStA, "denn ein Ausschuss, der zwangsweise alle Studenten umfassen soll, muß alle als gleichberechtigt ansehen"<sup>13</sup> (K-L., 1912a, col. 24–27). Hence, the policy which existed before women could study must be revised, rules and traditions reinterpreted.

The woman as a free, rational individuum with an inner essence was addressed by more than half of the articles (eleven out of twenty-one). One student demands that women should not rely on their rights as the 'weaker sex' but should see themselves as equal to men (An older fellow student, 1911) and hence, as an autonomous individuum. Another student accuses men who half-hearted defend women's rights of belonging to the chivalry which (s)he sees as a mistake (Sesmar, 1911). (S)He believes that women should not rely on knights or men but be free individua. The author's point of view rejects the typical male quality of defending the weak woman as they are strong characters who do not need saving.

This goes together with the fourth narrative, the inequality between the sexes. Eight out of twenty-one articles rely on the understanding that the oppression of women emerges from unequal treatment because of socially constructed gender differences as sex-roles, prejudices and stereotypes. K. (1908) for examples argues that men have the power in their hands to suppress women's abilities which is why she pities German girls. Moreover, Sesmar (1911) reasons that men who treat women unfairly deserve the gallows. As death is the highest punishment, the author must be highly influenced by the understanding that only fair and equal treatment of the sexes can be the right way.

The bipolar gender model as a widely spread concept at that time is also picked up by the student's discourse. Nine out of twenty-one articles refer to facts as that the code of

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<sup>11</sup> In German: Allgemeiner Studierenden Ausschuss. It is an executive organ of the student community and represents student interests. <https://www.asta.ms/asta>.

<sup>12</sup> Friendly peculiarity.

<sup>13</sup> „Because a committee which includes all students, must treat all members equally".

conduct between men and women should not change and that women would only study since they are in need for something to do (Eulenspiegel, 1912). Another student claims that a lady stays a lady even if she herself forgets about it (B., 1912). Leoni (1909) requests that women should stay but should not lose their feminine behaviour. Moreover, social work was seen as feminine since to care is inherently feminine (Unknown, 1914a). Hence, the students widely rely on the assumption, that men and women are different and should occupy different tasks.

The two remaining points from figure 1 deal with the political system in Germany at that time and it is illustrated that the socialists influence on the university discourse is more pronounced than the influence of the monarchy. Only in one article, the author warns against the dangers of the socialist movement and that it is unwise to make trouble within one's own ranks (P.N., 1914). Therefore, it can be derived that the author endorses the political system at that time - monarchy. In contrast, the articles with an influence of the social democratic ideas often dealt with social work. One student states that she is part of the socialist student movement demanding knowledge about class differences and hatred between classes to educate herself and the rest of the country according to social democratic ideas (Thoma, 1914b). Another student refers to Russia as a progressive country with regard to access to university of women (K., 1908). As the socialist movement and Russia was connected at that time, the student is likely to support socialism as well. Hence, the systemic change within the German Empire was also mirrored in the student's discourse.

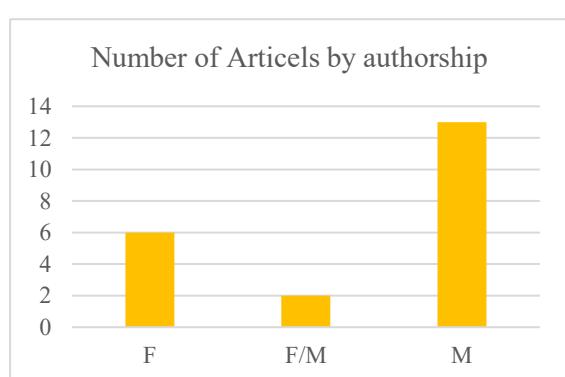


Figure 2

Moving to figure 2, the authorship<sup>14</sup> is included into the analysis to visualise the number of female, male or unknown authors. As illustrated, most articles were written by men from which can be derived that the discussion about women were not led by them.

<sup>14</sup> Although the names were typical female German names, it might be that inter- or homosexuals wrote the articles or men using a synonym.

Taking the years of publications into account shown in figure 3, it is surprising that the first ever published article was written by a female student in the university magazine and that afterwards, men mostly led the discussion. Nevertheless, around 1913, the women started taking the discussion

into their own hands. In the next section, the topics of discussions will be in focus.

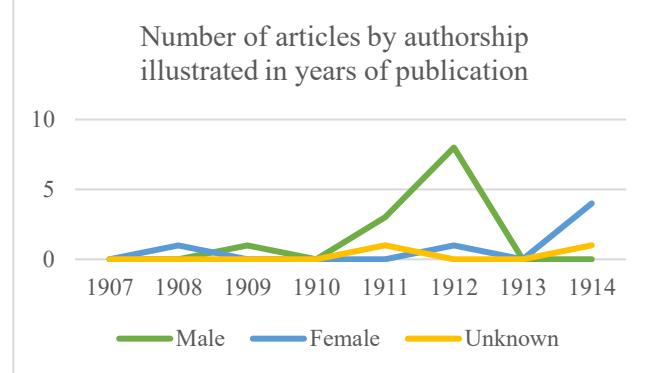


Figure 3

### (2) Main themes

There are three points of discussions to be found in the newspapers. The first is a general debate about the interaction between male and female students. The discussion goes together with the demanded reinterpretation of rules, but also included that women should study but stay ‘womanly’ (Leoni, 1909). Another student states that women should abandon the right of the weaker sex (An older fellow student, 1911) which is exemplified by another student claiming: “Wollen Sie uns gleichstehen so stellen Sie sich uns gleich”<sup>15</sup> (W, 1912a, p. 878). The demand is that women should adapt to the (masculine) behaviour within the university and should not bring “die Kultur der Mädchen Schulen”<sup>16</sup> (W, 1912a, p. 878). What is illustrated in figure 4 is, that this discussion is mostly led by men telling women how to

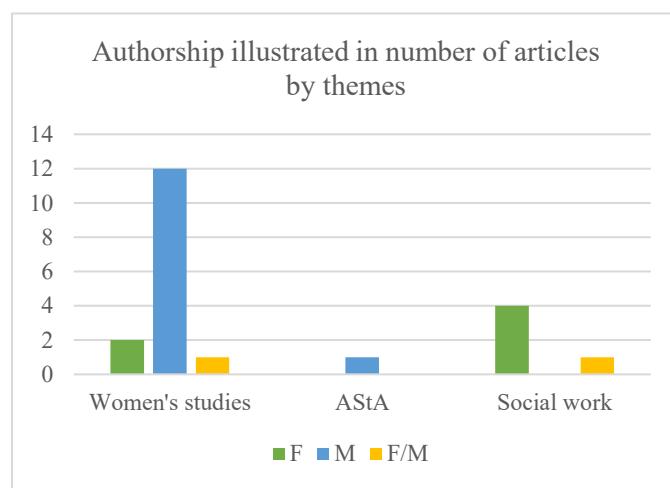


Figure 4

behave or men defending that women’s attendance would not destroy the scientific atmosphere (E.F., 1912). One author reasons that rather one should establish a new tradition which includes femininity (E. St., 1912). What is striking is the fact, that women barely took part in the discussion, but this can be explained by the small number of

female students. Women entered the university as students in 1908 and their fellow male

<sup>15</sup> “If they want to be equal to us, they need to behave like us” (free translation to translate the meaning of the sentence).

<sup>16</sup> “Culture of girl’s schools”.

students were partly intimidated by them as they did not believe in the equity between the sexes (W., 1912b) or wanted them to adapt to the status quo. But, it is also apparent that many male students supported women's studies, defended the female students and were ready to change structures to enable equal treatment of the sexes even if this included the demand to adapt the wardrobe to the increasing amount of students (Spectator aequus, 1911).

The second topic is concerned with the question whether the university should establish a two-members management of AStA. This very short discussion led by men comprises of only three articles from which only one was considered. This argument is closely connected to the bureaucratic reforms mentioned earlier as the student demands that all students studying within the university shall be included as equals in the student representation, men, women and foreigners alike. As stated, the topic did not receive much attention and only one negative reply which implies that the university discourse was not directed towards this rather revolutionary idea of a two-headed management.

The last discussion starting around 1913 dealt with social work of female students and was mostly led by female students. Here, the connection to the political system is striking as this is the only debate within the first wave of feminism which is clearly connected to either the monarchy or the social democratic party (figure 5). It is also the only debate about women in which a female student says that she is part of the social democratic student

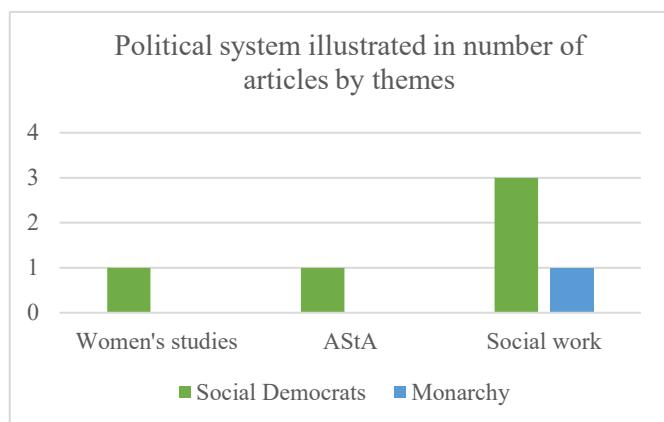


Figure 5

movement (Thoma, 1914b) and in which it is questioned whether the woman should stay in university and enhance her position (P.N., 1914) and whether women should engage in political activity outside the university for the common good and to foster systemic change (Thoma, 1914b). Thus, the main conflicts between the proletarian and the bourgeois movement are also addressed within the student's discourse. P.N. (1914) for example underlines the importance of first maintaining change within the university to secure the women's position whereas Thoma (1914b) declares her solidarity with all women in all social classes. Moreover, the historical debate of whether a democracy or a monarchy would be the most fitting system is mirrored in the small discussion between female

students. This debate leads to the next section about the influence of the different schools of feminism on the discourse of university students in Münster.

### *(3) Discussion about schools of thought*

The women's movement within the first wave of feminism in Germany was characterised by the proletarian and the bourgeois movement's ideas and argumentation.

Articles referring to the sameness between men and women and in which the authors argue that inequality arises from discrimination were characterised as influenced by proletarian ideas.

In the first debate for example, an author describes that in the future, there will be as many “Musentöchter”<sup>17</sup> as “Musensöhne”<sup>18</sup> (K., 1908, col. 33–35). Girls with a different education are just as capable as boys. The author calls for the emancipation of women through education. Another student argues that both men and women need to change their behaviour and women in particular should abandon their rights as the weaker sex (An older fellow student, 1911). The sameness between the sexes must involve everybody which also implies the emancipation of women.

Proletarian influence on the second debate was clearly visible as the radical demand to have a two-headed management which equally represents men and women implies the sameness between them.

In the last discussion, the proletarian influence was also very visible. As was stated earlier, the debate about social work was highly influenced by the socialist student movement. In one article, it was stated that the socialist student movement of women cannot introduce a reform but can work on finding solutions to societies' problems (Unknown, 1914b). Also, the argumentation, that the milieu in which somebody grows up determines what they later on become, (Thoma, 1914b) is connected to the proletarian argumentation since this implies the want to limit class differences. All in all, two out of three debates and nine out of twenty-one articles were influenced by the proletarian movement.

The bourgeois movement's influence was also visible in several articles. Throughout all debates, the ‘typical feminine’ traits such as caring or a ‘typical feminine’ character are mentioned (B., 1912; E. St., 1912; E.F., 1912; Eulenspiegel, 1912; Leoni, 1909; Unknown, 1914a; W, 1912a) and even one article being overall influenced by the proletarian movement mentions it (Thoma, 1914a). Clear social role models and ‘typical’ feminine or

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<sup>17</sup> muse-daughters.

<sup>18</sup> muse-sons.

masculine behaviours and traits are therefore widely spread and very influential on the understanding of the students at this time. In the first debate, one author takes up the ‘soziale Frauenfrage’<sup>19</sup>, arguing that women renounce their proper feminine task to study because they are in the need to do it. He negates that women compete with men but only study for the need of a profession and that men should treat them with pity and respect (Eulenspiegel, 1912). Also, the argument that women shall add their “geschätzte Liebenswürdigkeit”<sup>20</sup> to the general atmosphere in university (E.F., 1912, p. 884) implies that women are so different to men that they could add something new to the university atmosphere simply because they are women.

The second debate was not influenced by the bourgeois movement at all, as the whole idea was too radical and only briefly discussed.

The third debate was slightly influenced by the bourgeois argumentation. The discussion in the paper started with an appeal to women to engage in social work next to their studies as social work is the very own discipline of women (Unknown, 1914a). It is also argued that women must self-study as her later job will involve caring and social activities which is not taught in university (Unknown, 1914a). Hence, women studying is portrayed as an extra-activity but not as a necessity for her future life. The underlying understanding of why women specifically participate in social work is clearly influenced by the bourgeois movement. The author stresses this by arguing that female students ought to be involved in social work (Unknown, 1914a). From this can be derived that women have a social responsibility towards society to care unlike men. This article also shows that it is not too easy to separate the influence of the different women’s movements as the overall discussion about social work was influenced by the proletarian movement. Another clear bourgeois argument in that discussion was, that women should not participate in social work as it is more important to enhance the position of women in universities first (P.N., 1914) as the main focus and demand of the bourgeois movement is the access to universities for women and better education. All in all, one out of three debates and thirteen out of twenty-one articles were influenced by the bourgeois movement.

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<sup>19</sup> Social women’s question.

<sup>20</sup> much-appreciated kindness.

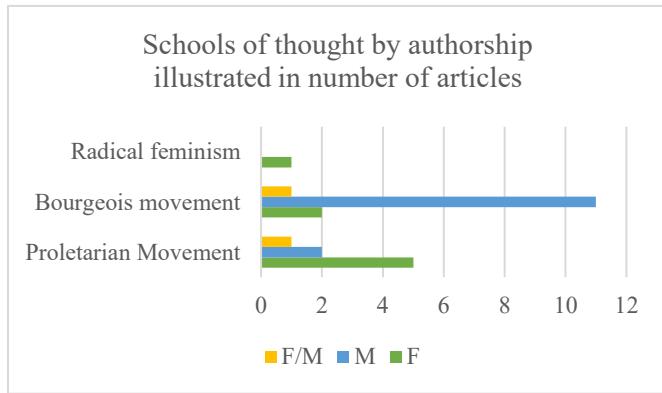
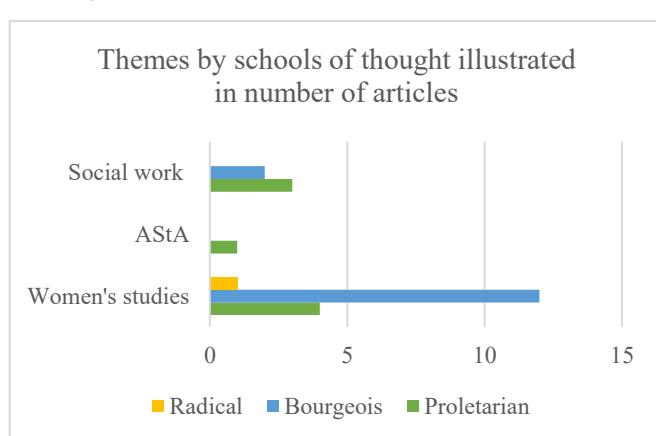


Figure 6

mostly influenced by the bourgeois movement (figure 6). Hence, male students tend to support a slowly increasing influence of women to radical equality. Also, figure 9 shows that the men-dominated discussion took place directly after the first woman attended university which might be another factor why women did not participate.

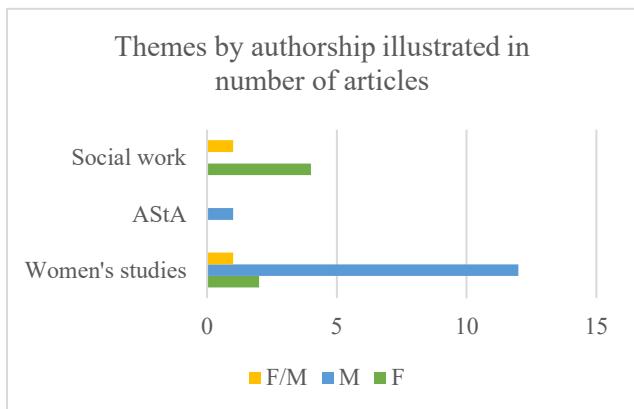
The first debate about women's studies is mostly influenced by the bourgeois movement illustrated in figure 7 which fits with the movement's main aim: the access to education and universities for women. Also, the debate about women's studies were mostly led by men (figure 8) and male author were

Figure 7



Even though bourgeois feminists such as Helene Lange (Happ & Jüttemann, 2008) were much more goal-oriented, actually achieving access to universities, female students tended to support the proletarian movement more than the bourgeois (figure 6). A reason for that might be, that the female students already were part of the university and demanded equal chances in this position. Another striking fact is that the only debate with a direct connection to the social democratic party about social work was led by women (figure 8) and mostly influenced by the proletarian movement (figure 7). One of the reasons why the debate was mostly led by women was that the discussion emerged in 1914 (figure 9) at which point women had already had access to universities for five years. Figure 7 illustrates that the influence of the movements on the discourse changed with the debates and topics. Social work and the destruction of the class system were typical proletarian demands which was mirrored by the university discourse. The second debate was heavily influenced by the

Figure 8



policies as the financial support for studying and the removal of tuition fees helped to increase the amount of women at universities (Happ & Jüttemann, 2008) also showing the proletarian influence on universities. Nevertheless, most articles that dealt with women's studies were led by men and influenced by the bourgeois movement. As this fits the main focus of the movement, the outcome of the analysis fits the theoretical expectation.

proletarian movement's understanding of total equality between the sexes. When looking at the narratives as demands of women's protest and reasons for oppression, the last discussion had the most radical demands whereas the articles influenced by the bourgeois movement had fewer radical demands. Social

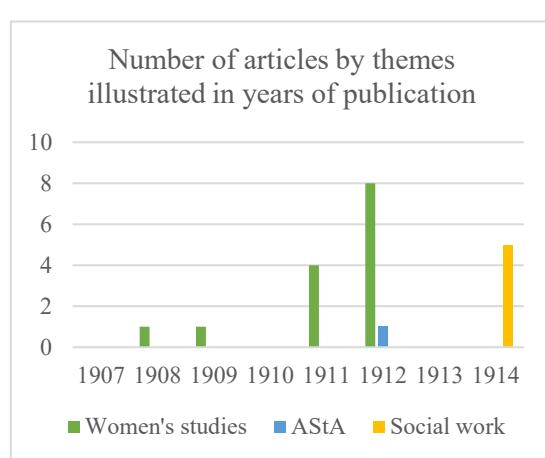


Figure 9

## 2. Second wave of feminism

The second wave of feminism started around 1968 in West-Germany and the year 1969 was characterised by the largest discussion about women and their place in (university) life.

Out of the thirty articles that were written about the women's position in society, the university and (dis)advantages because of the gender, nineteen articles were influenced by the women's movement. In the following analysis, the connection of those articles' content to the feminist narratives will be analysed followed by a discussion about the main themes and the connection to the schools of thought - radical and Marxist feminism.

### *(1) Connection to the narrative of the second wave of feminism*

Historically, the second wave of feminism started with the infamous tomato throwing in West-Germany. This is very noticeable when looking at the articles as the tomato throwing was in September 1968 and the first newspaper published in 1969 contained ten articles, two about the throwing itself (Meinhof, 1969; Unknown, 1969a) and eight about other examples of oppression of women. Meinhof (1969, p. 4) states that this action should raise the awareness that "diese Privatsache keine Privatsache ist"<sup>21</sup>. Her argument underlines that contrary to the first wave, the second wave focused on the private sphere in which women were still oppressed even though the legal framework secured equal rights for all. The narratives and their occurrences are summarised in figure 10.

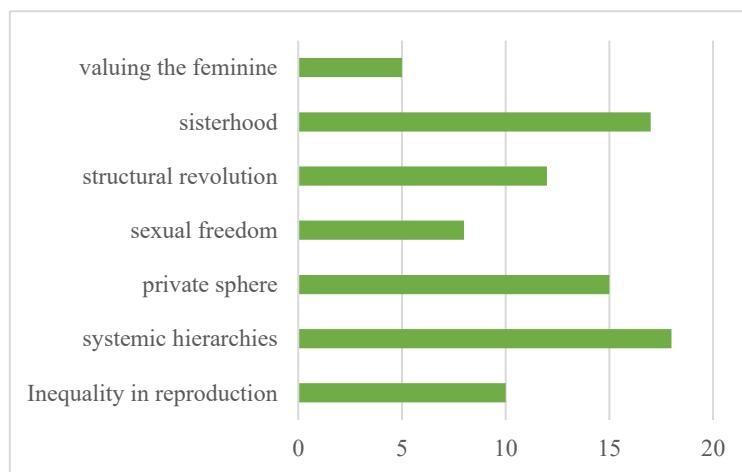


Figure 10 Frequency of narratives in the second wave

The table illustrates that fifteen out of nineteen articles take up the demand to politicise the private sphere of women's life to illuminate how women are oppressed. One author sees the elimination of the distinction between private and public sphere as part of the "Klassenkampf"<sup>22</sup> in which

women must fight their way out of isolation to abolish the patriarchal society (Unknown, 1969a, p. 4). Another author criticises the "intergeschlechtliche Arbeitsteilung [...] die Frau eindeutig in den häuslichen Bereich verweist und ihre daraus resultierende wirtschaftliche,

<sup>21</sup> This private issue is no private issue.

<sup>22</sup> Class fight.

soziale und geistige Abhängigkeit vom Manne aufrechterhält“<sup>23</sup> (Bialas, Lohmann, & Röttger, 1969, p. 7).

Nearly all articles (eighteen out of nineteen) named systemic hierarchies of gender, class or patriarchy as reasons for the oppression of women: seven out of them mostly referred to women as the oppressed because of their gender, six stated that the class system is mainly the reason and eight referred to the patriarchy.<sup>24</sup> (Sexual) Freedom and autonomy in the sense to have the right of men visits and the right to wear bikinis (M.-L. E., 1971; Unknown, 1969b) were arguments that were assigned to oppression because of gender. Oppression because of the class system was argued for example by WW (1975, p. 8) stating that the “Unterprivilegierung der Frau”<sup>25</sup> (WW, 1975, p. 8) is something from which entrepreneurs would benefit the most because “[die Frauen stellen] aufgrund ihrer Benachteiligung in der Erziehung und Ausbildung für die Bosse das große Reservoir von Arbeitskräften dar, das gezwungen ist, ,dazuzuverdienen“<sup>26</sup> (WW, 1975, p. 8). Hence, although the articles’ contents differ extensively, the overall understanding is that the woman faces oppression due to systemic hierarchies.

Two other narratives occurred very frequently: structural revolution (twelve out of nineteen) and that women are united in common pain or in sisterhood (seventeen out of nineteen). The demand to deconstruct the bourgeois family structure (Franke, Franke, Kieselbach, & Roesrath, 1969; Reimer, 1969; Unknown, 1969c) aims at a structural revolution in order to realise women’s emancipation. Other authors argue that the crucial structural revolution to free the woman would be the destruction of capitalism (Dittmann, 1969; Kirchhoff, 1969; Meinhof, 1969; Uni-Frauengruppe, 1977; Unknown, 1969c; WW, 1975) since “die Rolle der Frau als Reservearmee im kapitalistischen Verwertungsprozess”<sup>27</sup> would lead to her oppression (Leberer, 1977, p. 11). WW (1975, p. 8) argues that men are not to blame, but that men and women should work together to fight against “die, die von der Unterbezahlung der Frauen profitieren, die Unternehmen”<sup>28</sup>. In contrast, the destruction of the patriarchal society (Bialas et al., 1969; Dittmann, 1969; Kirchhoff, 1969; Koniezka, 1977; Unknown, 1969a) is another main narrative connected to the demand of a structural revolution. One author asks whether „Kapitalismus Männern

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<sup>23</sup> Intersexual division of labour relegates the woman explicitly to the domestic sphere which fosters her economic, social and psychological dependence on the man.

<sup>24</sup> One article referred to two reasons and is counted twice.

<sup>25</sup> Underprivileged status of the woman.

<sup>26</sup> Due to the discrimination they faced in education, women would represent a large (cheap) reservoir of workers forced to earn extra cash for bosses.

<sup>27</sup> The role of the woman as reserve army within the capitalist liquidation process.

<sup>28</sup> The beneficiaries of the underpayment of women: the companies.

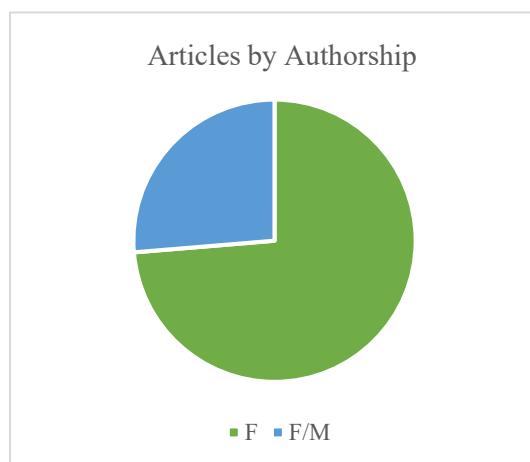
immer das Alibi geben [soll], um von ihrem eigenen Anteil an der Unterdrückung der Frauen abzulenken“<sup>29</sup> (Koniezka, 1977, p. 4). In this discussion it becomes apparent, that some feminists tend to only blame capitalism and the others the patriarchal system. This will be analysed in detail in the section ‘schools of thought’.

The narrative of sisterhood was used by nearly all authors as they write about “die Unterdrückung der Frau”<sup>30</sup> (Meinhof, 1969, p. 4) in the sense that all women are oppressed similarly. Others wrote “das Bild der Frau”<sup>31</sup> (Neumann & Otte, Februar 1969, p. 6) also claiming that they speak for every woman. The argument of sisterhood is also connected to the fact that nearly all articles occupy the critique of systemic hierarchies suppressing the woman, especially in the private sphere. Hence, the articles created the picture that every woman faces the same barriers in the same sphere and should therefore unite to demand a structural revolution.

Sexual freedom (seven out of nineteen) and to value the feminine (five out of nineteen) were not used as often as the other narratives. One author criticises how women are portrayed in advertisements stating that there, women can only find “Befriedigung, indem sie sich masochistisch der Herrschaft ihres kapitalistischen Supermanns unterwerfen”<sup>32</sup> (Kirchhoff, 1969, p. 8). Hence, women’s sexuality is seen as not free (Bialas et al., 1969; M.-L. E., 1971; Unknown, 1968, 1969b, 1969c).

The valuing of the feminine was used in the context that women should not be objectified implying that it is valuable to see the woman as such (Bialas et al., 1969; Neumann & Otte, Februar 1969; Unknown, 1969c).

Figure 11



When looking at the authorship of all articles illustrated in figure 11 it becomes visible, that most articles were written by female students. A small number (five out of nineteen) were not assignable as the author used a synonym or was not named. This is a huge difference to the first wave as there, the

<sup>29</sup> Capitalism should give men always an alibi to distract from their own share within the oppression of women.

<sup>30</sup> The oppression of the woman.

<sup>31</sup> The picture of the woman.

<sup>32</sup> (sexual) satisfaction through the masochistic submission to the reign of their capitalist supermen.

discourse was mostly led by men. Hence, the more women attended the university, the more they took the discussion into their own hands.

## *(2) Main themes*

The narratives are highly connected to main themes occurring in the articles. The first theme was that women are ruled by men. Dittmann (1969, p. 6) criticises the “nicht begründbare Herrschaft des Mannes über die Frau”<sup>33</sup>. Another author states that the “Verleugnung des Führerprinzips [...] blander Hohn [ist], weil jeder verheiratete [...] Führer und gleichzeitig Ausbeuter einer Familie oder familienähnliche Gruppe ist”<sup>34</sup> (Unknown, 1969a, p. 4).

Another main theme is the objectification of women by men and especially by the Catholic Church (Unknown, 1968) or by capitalist society (Neumann & Otte, Februar 1969) and advertisements (Kirchhoff, 1969). Bialas et al. (1969, p. 7) bash capitalism and consumerist society for promoting “die Schablone der Frau als eine ausschließlich für den Mann existierenden und damit stets von ihm abhängigen Wesen”<sup>35</sup> which combines both the first and the second theme as the woman is not seen as subject.

The third main theme is the right of autonomy for women. This is *inter alia* connected to Catholic female student housing in which women had no right to have men visiting or to wear a bikini (M.-L. E., 1971; Unknown, 1969b). Hence, (sexual) autonomy is demanded as the author criticises the “mittelalterliche Vorstellung von der Rolle und dem Wesen der Frau”<sup>36</sup> (Unknown, 1969b, p. 11). Another author directly requests the “Befreiung der genitalen Sexualität (Frauenemanzipation: Orgasmusverlangen, Verfügungsrechts über den eigenen Körper)”<sup>37</sup> (Unknown, 1969c, p. 4) with a clear demand for autonomous feminine sexuality. Another demand is anti-authoritarian education which as a concept defines children’s education as a social task from which follows the establishment of all-day care centres. This would give women “die Möglichkeit zur Selbstverwirklichung”<sup>38</sup> (Franke et al., 1969, p. 14) and hence, autonomy.

All those debates combine that although the authors had different reasons for believing that men rule women or that women are treated as objects, the conclusions they draw were

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<sup>33</sup> Unfounded reign of the man over the woman.

<sup>34</sup> The denial of the leader’s principle is pure mockery since each married (man) is leader and exploiter of a family or similar structured group.

<sup>35</sup> A template of the woman as a being which exclusively exists for the man which is why she depends on him.

<sup>36</sup> Medieval ideas about social roles and character of women.

<sup>37</sup> Liberation of genital sexuality (women’s emancipation: demand of climax, the right to fully decide over the body).

<sup>38</sup> The possibility of self-realisation.

nevertheless the same. Men rule the world. Women must demand the right for (sexual) autonomy. Hence, the authors were again united in sisterhood although they had different strategies.

The last theme was a debate about whether to establish an autonomous AStA women's committee. Three articles dealt with this question, two in favour (Koniezka, 1977; Uni-Frauengruppe, 1977) and one against, arguing that women protest is part of the left-wing protest aiming at "gemeinsame Anstrengungen der Aktionseinheit aller linken Kräfte"<sup>39</sup> (Leberer, 1977, p. 11) and should not be a separate unit.

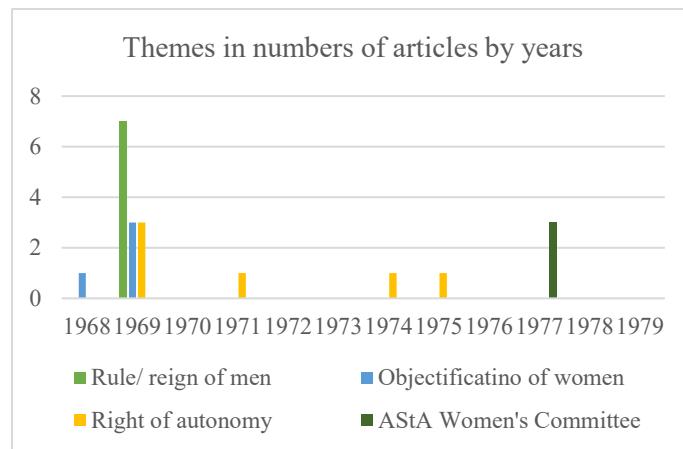


Figure 12

committee arose at the end of the 1970s. It shows that the women's protest and the awareness it raises within the university of Münster was so successful, that students argued that they need an institution specifically for women's issues autonomous from male influence. Hence, the debates within the university discourse started with reasons for oppression, continued with the request of autonomy and ended with the establishment of an institution for women.

As presented in figure 12, the themes of 'ruling of men' and 'objectification of women' which were described as the reasons for the oppression of women were firstly discussed followed by the demand of the autonomy of women. The discussion about the establishment of a women's

<sup>39</sup> Joint efforts of all left-wing action units.

### *(3) Discussion about schools of thought*

In the next section, the influence of the two schools of thought, radical and Marxist feminism on the discourse of students is analysed.<sup>40</sup> The main differences between the two schools is the reason for the oppression of women. Radical feminists blame patriarchy whereas Marxist feminism hold the capitalist economic system responsible.

One author writes whether “Kapitalismus Männern immer das Alibi geben [...] soll, um von ihrem eigenen Anteil an der Unterdrückung der Frau abzulenken”<sup>41</sup> (Koniezka, 1977, p. 4) which shows that the article is influenced by radical feminism as the patriarchal system is the main critique and not capitalism. Moreover, three articles especially hold the Catholic Church accountable the limitation of women’s freedom (M.-L. E., 1971; Unknown, 1969b) and one author specifically criticises that the Church deprive women of sexual lust and views women as “unterwürfiges, schuftendes, asexuelles, unpolitisches Wesen”<sup>42</sup> (Unknown, 1968, p. 6). Critique of the Roman Catholic Church made by radical feminist is well-known and is founded on the fact that the Church “is perhaps the most patriarchal structure in the western world and it has even, at times, defined itself as hierarchical by divine institution” (Schneiders, 2004, p. 25). There were even Catholic radical feminists identifying patriarchy as “irredeemably sinful” (Schneiders, 2004, p. 25). In Münster, Catholic student housing for females only were the main focus in this discussion as female students demanded more freedom (M.-L. E., 1971; Unknown, 1969b). Hence, the radical feminists’ critique of the Catholic Church was also debated within the university discourse.

Other views characterising radical feminism is the rejection of the objectification of women. The numerous critique that women are degraded to (sexual) object (Kirchhoff, 1969; Neumann & Otte, Feburar 1969; Schrader, 1969; Unknown, 1968) or “Schablone”<sup>43</sup> (Bialas et al., 1969, p. 7) shows how much radical feminism influenced the articles since the students create a feminine consciousness through their argumentation demanding the subjectification of women were main demands.

Another main request of radical feminists is to re-define and discover feminine sexuality. An author writes that “weibliche Sexualität scheint nur in der Werbung, als Tauschmittel und Erfolgskennzeichen der bürgerlichen Schichten [...] von Bedeutung zu

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<sup>40</sup> An extensive analysis of all articles can be found in the appendix.

<sup>41</sup> Capitalism should give men always an alibi to distract from their own share within the oppression of women.

<sup>42</sup> Submissive, slaving, asexual, unpolitical being.

<sup>43</sup> Template.

sein“<sup>44</sup> (Unknown, 1968, p. 6). This critique clearly indicates that feminine sexuality is not valued. Also the “Befreiung der genitalen Sexualität”<sup>45</sup> (Unknown, 1969c, p. 4) fits the second wave narrative since feminine sexuality as something natural and valuable is requested. All things considered, ten out of nineteen articles were mainly, three out of nineteen partly influenced by radical feminism.

The influence of Marxist feminism is illustrated since an author writes that “die Hauptursache der Unterdrückung in unserer Klassengesellschaft [liegt]“<sup>46</sup> (Uni-Frauengruppe, 1977, p. 8). The main argument is that the man is seen as “ausführendes Subjekt der Unterdrückung“<sup>47</sup> (Uni-Frauengruppe, 1977, p. 8) since he is not “als Mann [schuld], sondern nur die ihm zur Verfügung stehende Rolle im Kapitalismus [hat ihm] Privilegien und Herrschaftsmöglichkeiten über die Frau eingeräumt“<sup>48</sup> (Uni-Frauengruppe, 1977, p. 8). Similar arguments were made by several articles (Dittmann, 1969; Leberer, 1977; WW, 1975). Another author called men “die Funktionäre der kapitalistischen Gesellschaft zur Unterdrückung der Frau“<sup>49</sup> (Meinhof, 1969, p. 4) and one author even classified men as “Klassenfeind“<sup>50</sup> (Unknown, 1969a, p. 6) and the elimination of the differentiation between private and public sphere as “Klassenkampf“<sup>51</sup> (Unknown, 1969a, p. 6). The use of the vocabulary indicates the connection to Marxist feminism as Marx’ theory is re-defined to describe how women should fight to free themselves. Another Marxist feminist’s demand is the eradication of the bourgeois family structure which can be found in several articles (Franke et al., 1969; Reimer, 1969; Schrader, 1969; Unknown, 1969c). Also, the “‘Doppelbelastung’ in Haushalt und Beruf“<sup>52</sup> (Schrader, 1969, p. 9) was criticised together with the “‘Mutter- und Hausfrauenideologie’“<sup>53</sup> (Kirchhoff, 1969, p. 8) referring to the Marxist feminist’s demand that all women should be able to work to emancipate themselves which is also connected to the demand of day-care centres for children (Franke et al., 1969). In total, ten out of nineteen articles were mainly, three out of nineteen were partly influenced by Marxist feminism. Hence, both radical and Marxist

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<sup>44</sup> Feminine sexuality only seems to matter in relation to advertisement, as means of exchange or mark of success of the bourgeois class.

<sup>45</sup> Liberation of genital sexuality.

<sup>46</sup> The main reason for the oppression can be found in our class society.

<sup>47</sup> Executive subject of oppression.

<sup>48</sup> Guilty because he is a man, but because of the social role which is available for him in the capitalist society and which gives him the means to oppress the woman.

<sup>49</sup> Officials of capitalist society to oppress the woman.

<sup>50</sup> Class enemy.

<sup>51</sup> Class struggle.

<sup>52</sup> Double burden of household and profession.

<sup>53</sup> Mother- and housewife ideology.

feminism equally influenced the student's discourse about gender inequality and the combined impact of both schools of thought can be found often in the articles.

When looking at the main themes their connection to the schools of thought shown in figure 13, the influence Marxist feminism had on the theme 'reign of men' is larger than that of radical feminism, but only by a small margin. Both representatives of the schools of thought

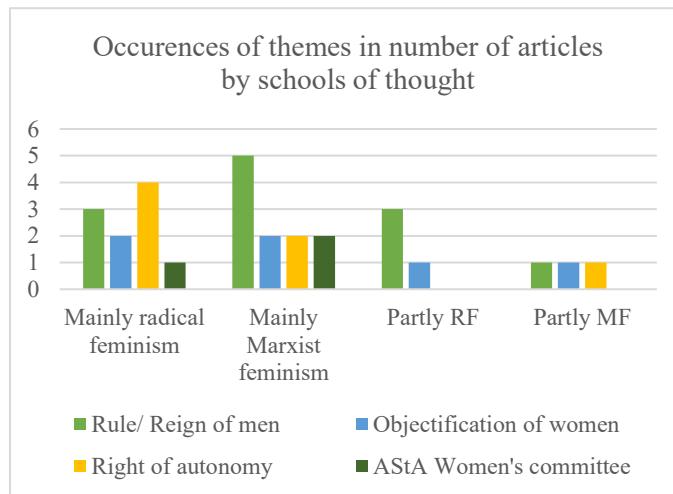
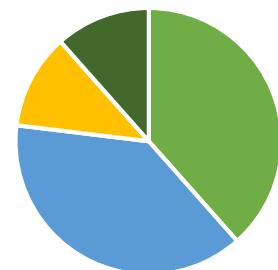


Figure 13

autonomy made by radical feminism. The influence of both schools of thoughts is similar on the main themes occurring in the articles and in total, the schools impacted the discourse to the same extent (figure 14). Hence, Münster's student agreed that the reign of men should be overcome and that women tend to be objectified. The demand to have the right of autonomy and an AStA women's committee were also carried by authors influenced by either radical or Marxist feminism. Hence, the main differences in this wave between student's opinions are whether capitalism or patriarchy are the reasons for women's oppression.

criticise the rule of men either through the capitalist system or through patriarchy and this is also visible in the influence on the student debate. The impact of radical feminism on the demand of the right of autonomy is higher than the influence of Marxist feminism which might be explained through the request of sexual freedom and

Influence of the schools of thought on the articles



■ Mainly RF ■ Mainly MF ■ Partly RF ■ Mainly MF

Figure 14

### 3. Third wave of feminism

The third wave of feminism started around 1990 in Germany and is still prevailing. Hence, the number of articles is more extensive than in the first two waves, also because the journal was published more regularly. In total, eighty articles between 1990 and January 2019 dealt with women or gender-related topics and thirty-eight out of them were influenced by the women's movement. The number of articles alone underline the importance and awareness which this topic gain recently.

#### (1) Connection to the narratives of the third wave of feminism

First, the connection of the articles to the narratives of the 3<sup>rd</sup> wave feminists is made (see

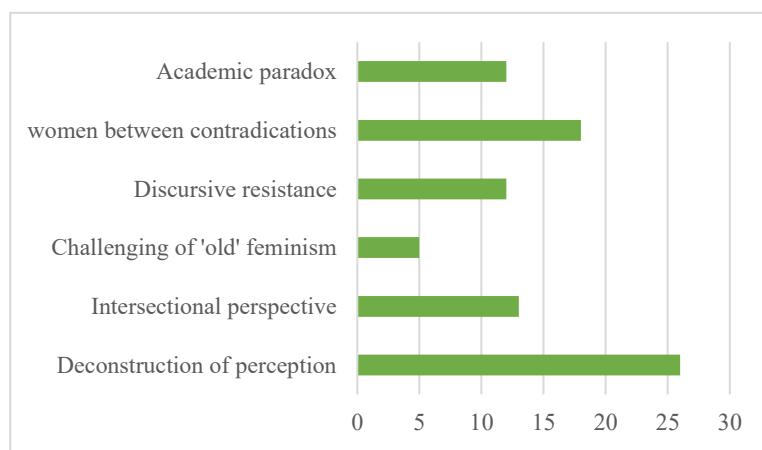


Figure 15 Frequency of narratives of the third wave

figure 15). The third wave is especially characterised by the deconstruction of the perceptions of gender, sexuality and sex. The classical role models or perceptions of women which were also criticised in the second wave are again the

focus. One author criticises police behaviour during a women's strike stating that "Frau nur, wenn sie freundlich, lieb & ruhig ist, Sympathien erhält"<sup>54</sup> (Krüger, 1994, p. 11). Hence, she vouches for a new perception of women as strong, independent agents behaving as men would. Ending the stigmatisation of women to perceive them as autonomous agents is also argued by other authors (Eing & Paetsch, 2013; Greif & Obermaier, 2014; Griesing, 2019; Kotterba, 2013b; Schmidt, 2013). Other authors take a different perspective seeing both men and women unfairly represented for example in the porn industry (Unknown, 1993).

Childcare is described as a task for both men and women (Böhm & Kirschbaum, 1993; Krüssel, 1993a, 1993b; Wedel, 1994; Wilke, 2019) which implies the changing perspective from women as housewives to women as free individuals. The focus of changing the perception not only of women but also of men is picked up by several articles (Sprengard, 1994). For example, men should and do also care about contraception (Zimmer, 1994) or men also feel scared and would benefit from construction measures within the university

<sup>54</sup> Woman only enjoys sympathy, if she behaves nice, kind and calmly.

such as glass doors or lighting the pathways (Rose, 1997). Another argument used in the articles was the deconstruction of the social gender in general (Hagen, 2019; Kotterba, 2013a; Tatjes & Obermaier, 2016; Unknown, 2013; Uphoff, 2017; Weber, 2010) criticising the “konservative Dichotomie Weiblich/Männlich”<sup>55</sup> (Uphoff, 2017, p. 29). Hence, the deconstruction of gender as one of the main demands of the third wave feminists was extensively picked up in the student’s discourse. All in all, twenty-six out of thirty-eight articles occupied the narrative of the women’s movement.

Another main characteristic of third wave feminism is the intersectional perspective. A person might occupy several characteristics for which (s)he is discriminated. One of the main narratives which occur in the articles is the inclusion of lesbians (Menke, 1992; Menke & Rabeneck, 1994; Referatsfrauen, 1994) which is extended into the inclusion of intersexual people (Hagen, 2019; Kotterba, 2013a; Reifenrath, 2009; Weber, 2010). Rülfing (1994) demands that the autonomous women’s committee ought include all women, not only radical feminists into their work. The German language is also harshly criticised for not including intersexual people (Kück, 2013; Unknown, 2013; Uphoff, 2017). Hence, the focus of the student’s discourse is the inclusion of intersexuality and homosexuality and not so much other factors as somebody’s class, origin or skin colour. Thirteen out of thirty-eight articles included intersectional perspectives.

Third wave feminists tend to challenge the ‘old’ feminism for not including for example the intersectional or male perspective. Only five out of thirty-eight articles included that scheme. Tatjes and Obermaier (2016, p. 24) write: “Die Gleichberechtigung der 68er [ist] nicht mehr dieselbe [...] wie heute. Heute meinen wir damit, dass nicht nur die Frau das Recht hat, verhüten zu dürfen, sondern Frau und Mann sich gemeinsam um Verhütung kümmern sollen”<sup>56</sup>. Another author argues that “mit der Frauenfrage [...] die Männerfrage eng verknüpft [ist]”<sup>57</sup> (Sprengard, 1994, p. 14) implying a criticism which is often used by third wave feminists to criticise first and second wave feminists of not being inclusive.

Women politics within the third wave are that of discursive resistance. In the university discourse, different understandings of discursive resistance exist. On the one hand, the establishment of a “weibliche Gegenkultur”<sup>58</sup> (Sprengard, 1994, p. 14) and the need for debates about women’s and feminist’s topics (Unknown, 1994) were expressed clearly

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<sup>55</sup> Conservative dichotomy feminine/masculine.

<sup>56</sup> The equality movement of 1968 is not the same as today’s movement. Today, we imply not the right for women to take contraception, but we demand that both men and women care about it.

<sup>57</sup> The woman’s question strongly is connected to the man’s question.

<sup>58</sup> Feminine counterculture.

aiming to form a specifically feminine discourse. Also, gendered language is promoted to break through social roles and include the feminine (Reifenrath, 2009). On the other hand, gendered language is supported to marginalise the gender of a person (Kück, 2013; Unknown, 2013; Uphoff, 2017) which includes the debate about intersexuality (Kotterba, 2013a; Weber, 2010). Twelve out of thirty-eight articles included discursive resistance, either through the establishment of a new feminine culture or through a different use of language.

The woman being between contradictory positions is one of the main narratives of third wave feminists as third wave feminists find themselves in positions in which they should have the same opportunities as men, but they have not. Eighteen out of thirty-eight articles occupy the narrative. The most common argument is that women tend to have inferior career chances (Brockmann, 2010; Ilex, 1991; Kremer, 1990; Menke & Rabeneck, 1994; Rülfing, 1994; Unknown, 1994) which goes together with the understanding that men are still in positions of power (Kliesch, 1990). The university of Münster as a “männerdominierter Elfenbeinturm”<sup>59</sup> (Unknown, 1994, p. 13) is a further example of female students seeing themselves as capable as their fellow male students but experience being dominated and unequal treatment. Another example is the statement: “Entmystifizierung der ‘Schlampe’: gegen die verbreitete Vorstellung, dass bestimmte Kleidung eine Einladung zu sexistischen Sprüchen, zum Angaffen, Angraben oder gar zum Anfassen sei”<sup>60</sup> (Kotterba, 2013b, p. 26). It shows that female students see themselves as free individuals with the right to decide what to wear, whom to love and to say no. But when they wear what they want they tend to experience sexist behaviour. Hence, women are in a contradictory position between their rights and subjective feeling and treatment of others.

One of the contradictory positions in which women tend to find themselves is their position in the academia which is called academic paradox in figure 15. Career possibilities are few and far between as it tends to be more difficult to get promoted and the hidden curriculum disadvantages women. Twelve out of the thirty-eight articles take up that narrative. Career disadvantages specifically in the university is described by several articles (Kliesch, 1990; Kremer, 1990), but also the normalisation of women in science in general was demanded (Kliesch, 1990). Brockmann argues that the university of Münster “von einer ausgewogenen Situation [...] jedenfalls noch ein gutes Stück entfernt [ist]”<sup>61</sup> (Brockmann,

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<sup>59</sup> Ivory tower dominated by men.

<sup>60</sup> Demystification of the slut: against the widely spread assumption that certain cloth is an invitation for sexist comments, gaping, pulling or even touching.

<sup>61</sup> That the situation within the university is far from fairly balanced.

2010, p. 19). Hence, the paradoxical situation in which female students tend to find themselves is also discussed in the students' discourse.

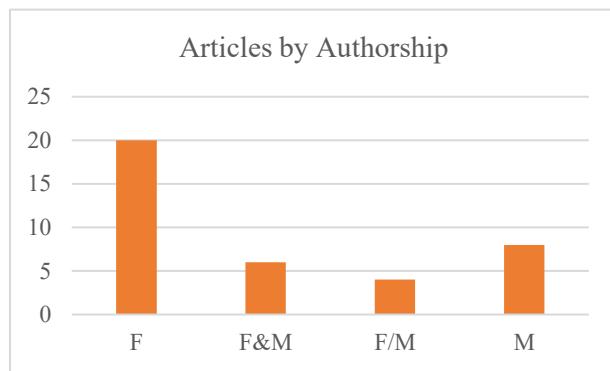


Figure 16

of society and that the gender of the author becomes less important.

As illustrated in figure 16, this wave's articles are the first to be written by women, men, unknown (F/M) and by women and men together (F&M). In contrast to the other two waves, the authorship is more balanced and that both female and male authors write together implies that the discussion is at the centre

### *(2) Main themes*

There were different themes occurring in the articles which sometimes overlapped. The first debate's topic was patriarchy which occurred in several articles (sixteen out of thirty-eight). One article dealt with women's protest against patriarchal structures (Krüger, 1994) and another author would like to establish a "weibliche Gegenkultur"<sup>62</sup> to fight against them (Sprengard, 1994, p. 14). Also, persisting violence against women is seen as "Ausdruck eines patriarchalen frauenfeindlichen Systems"<sup>63</sup> (Unknown, 1996, p. 11). Besides, men are understood as beneficiaries of this system (Grau, Lauer, & Ruff, 2015; Schmidt, 2013). This debate is closely connected to the next main theme "gender inequality within the university of Münster". Twelve out of thirty-eight articles dealt with this topic and seven out of twelve dealt both with patriarchy and gender inequality. Ilex (1991, pp. 10–11) describes the roots of sexism in universities by using descriptions like "vorherrschende Ellenbogendenken and Männerkumpanei"<sup>64</sup>, „die sozialen männlichen Analphabeten schützen sich gewissermaßen gegenseitig“<sup>65</sup>, "Macho-Gesellschaft"<sup>66</sup> and "Muff von vorgestern der weißen Herrenrasse christlicher Selbstgefälligkeit"<sup>67</sup>. Another author argues that women need to withstand the "patriarchale[n] Geist [an den Hochschulen]"<sup>68</sup> and the "HERRschende

<sup>62</sup> Feminine counterculture.

<sup>63</sup> An expression of a patriarchal misogynist system.

<sup>64</sup> Predominant me-first mentality and man chumminess.

<sup>65</sup> The social male illiterates protect each other.

<sup>66</sup> Macho-society.

<sup>67</sup> Muff of yesterday belonging to the white master's race paired with Christian complacency.

<sup>68</sup> Patriarchal spirit of universities.

Wissenschaftsbetrieb”<sup>69</sup> (Menke, 1992, p. 20). “Frauen- und lesbeneindliche Verhältnisse an der Uni”<sup>70</sup> (Menke & Rabeneck, 1994, p. 4) are denounced by further authors criticising “konservative Bestrebungen”<sup>71</sup> of which men would benefit (Menke & Rabeneck, 1994, p. 3). Besides, the “baulichen Gegebenheiten [sind] häufig mit männlichem Blick geplant”<sup>72</sup> (Unknown, 1996, p. 11) so that within the university, places in which women would not feel safe (so-called “Angsträume” (Unknown, 1996, p. 11)) exist. “Frauengerechteren Hochschulbau”<sup>73</sup> is a demand which some of the authors have (Rose, 1997, p. 11; Unknown, 1996). Hence, gender inequality within the university of Münster is connected to patriarchy in the student’s discourse. The other articles dealing with gender inequality in the university of Münster did not occupy reasons for the inequality but just described the phenomenon (Brockmann, 2010) or women’ support (Referatsfrauen, 1994).

Another theme with less occurrence is the child support for students. In five out of thirty-eight articles, child support for students was described and always, both female and male students were addressed (Böhm & Kirschbaum, 1993; Krüssel, 1993a, 1993b; Wedel, 1994; Wilke, 2019). Moreover, four of the five articles are connected to the narrative “deconstruction of the perception of gender, sex and sexuality” implying that childcare is illustrated as a re-defined gender-neutral task and not as women’s task. Hence, the social roles of men and woman are deconstructed, and education is seen as a social task.

A further theme which occurred throughout the articles is sexism and violence. Sexism in general is a “construct encompass[ing] stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination on the basis of gender or gender expression (Leaper & Brown, 2018, p. 11). In its extreme forms, it can lead to violence against a person. The first understanding of sexism used in the articles is sexism against women specifically. One author sees the roots of sexism in the university in its patriarchal structure arguing that the reasons for violence against women is the “falsche Erziehung und [die] unselige Historie im Verhältnis der ‘Wertigkeit’ von Frau und Mann”<sup>74</sup> (Ilex, 1991, p. 10). Other authors also occupy this understanding (Grau et al., 2015; Schmidt, 2013) arguing that violence against women is “Ausdruck eines patriarchalen frauenfeindlichen Systems”<sup>75</sup> (Unknown, 1996, p. 11). One author specifically reasons that “die Kompetenzen von Frauen durch deren Sexualisierung in Frage [gestellt werden]”

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<sup>69</sup> Male-dominated academic life.

<sup>70</sup> Misogynist and lesbophobic conditions within the university.

<sup>71</sup> Conservative efforts.

<sup>72</sup> Structural conditions are mainly planned through a male view.

<sup>73</sup> Women-friendly university constructions.

<sup>74</sup> Wrong education and the unfortunate history of the different valuing of woman and men.

<sup>75</sup> An expression of the patriarchal misogynistic system.

leading to a situation in which women cannot study (Eing & Paetsch, 2013, p. 35). Also, protest against rape myths was conducted reasoning that “bestimmte Kleidung [keine] Einladung zu sexistischen Sprüchen, zum Angaffen, Angraben oder gar zum Anfassen sei”<sup>76</sup> (Kotterba, 2013b, p. 26).

Another understanding of sexism occurring throughout the articles is that men and women mutually experience sexism as one author states that men and women are unfairly represented by the porn industry (Unknown, 1993) challenging social role models in general. Furthermore, although the author named it “fauengerechten Hochschulbau”<sup>77</sup>, he argues that both men and women would benefit from it as also men would experience fear or unsafe situations (Rose, 1997).

The last understanding of sexism is the intersectional perspective including intersexual people and how they experience sexism because they do not fit into the dualism of gender (Hagen, 2019; Kotterba, 2013a).

Hence, the debate about sexism unites the themes of patriarchy, gender inequality as well as gender neutrality. Also, the re-definition of typical masculine and feminine traits/behaviours as feeling scared is addresses which was also a topic within the childcare debate. What emerges is, that the gender of a person becomes less important whereas the situation in which somebody finds him/herself is of more importance which is highly connected to the last theme.

This is gender neutrality. One author argues that “Frau und Mann eine gesunde Ausgewogenheit der ‚männlichen‘ und ‚weiblichen‘ Anteile in sich finden [müssen]”<sup>78</sup> (Sprengard, 1994, p. 14). Hence, she does not identify typical feminine or masculine traits but believes that the so-called feminine or masculine traits are human traits which everybody has. This goes together with authors arguing that typical masculine or feminine traits are socially constructed (Eing & Paetsch, 2013; Reifenrath, 2009) as well as the dichotomy of the sexes (Griesing, 2019; Hagen, 2019; Kotterba, 2013a; Unknown, 2013; Uphoff, 2017; Weber, 2010). Another author demands “das Recht von Männern, Röcke zu tragen”<sup>79</sup> (Kotterba, 2013b, p. 26). A further argument regarding contraception presents the idea that men and women share the responsibility, so that ‘typical’ “Frauensache[n]”<sup>80</sup> become gender-neutral issues (Tatjes & Obermaier, 2016, p. 24). Fifteen out of thirty-eight articles

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<sup>76</sup> Certain cloths are no invitation for sexist comments, gaping, pulling or touching.

<sup>77</sup> Women-specific university construction.

<sup>78</sup> Woman and man must find a healthy balance of ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ traits for themselves.

<sup>79</sup> The rights to wear skirts for men.

<sup>80</sup> Women’s issues.

included the understanding that sex and gender are socially constructed and therefore, tasks need to be re-defined and re-designed. This discussion is highly connected to three narratives of the third wave namely the deconstruction of perception (fifteen out of fifteen), discursive resistance (ten out of fifteen) and intersectional perspective (nine out of fifteen). Hence, articles dealing with the debate about gender neutrality also occupied third wave's narrative that perceptions about gender, sex and sexuality needs to be re-defined usually via discursive resistance to also include the intersectional perspective. What is striking is that this debate is the last one to begin. Thus, gender neutrality is a novel debate within the university discourse.

### *(3) Discussion about schools of thought*

The last section deals with the discussion about the two schools of thought namely women's support and gender mainstreaming. But, the influence of radical and Marxist feminism was also evident throughout the articles.

Women's support arguments aim especially at the extension of possibilities to enhance women's position within the university. For example, the demand for actions or measures to improve women's career and education chances were widely spread (Böhm & Kirschbaum, 1993; Brockmann, 2010; Eing & Paetsch, 2013; Kliesch, 1990; Kremer, 1990; Referatsfrauen, 1994; Rülfing, 1994). Also, feminine structures and strategies are needed to withstand patriarchy in the university (Menke, 1992). The establishment of a summer school for women called "Wilde Weiber Uni"<sup>81</sup> (Unknown, 1994, p. 13) is another example of how women support each other organising events only for women to talk about disadvantages, problems and feminists topics.

Moreover, the demand to build "frauengerechten Hochschulbau"<sup>82</sup> (Rose, 1997, p. 11) to strengthen the subjective feeling of security of women (Unknown, 1996) is clearly influenced by the women's support idea to enhance the position of women in the university. All those measures should empower women occupying a woman's perspective.

Gender-sensitive language including the feminine form was also requested and supported by several articles criticising the "generisches Maskulinum"<sup>83</sup> (Unknown, 2013, p. 23) with which women are less likely to be associated. Reifenrath (2009) reasons that women are more likely to be diminished in the German language and the male expressions

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<sup>81</sup> Wild Women's University.

<sup>82</sup> Women-specific university construction.

<sup>83</sup> Generic masculine.

tend to present the standard. Inequality of chances and distribution between women and men was also mentioned several times (Brockmann, 2010; Eing & Paetsch, 2013; Ilex, 1991; Kliesch, 1990; Menke, 1992; Menke & Rabeneck, 1994). In total, nineteen out of thirty-eight articles are influenced by the women's support argumentation.

Articles with an influence of women's support are also likely to be influenced by radical feminism. Eight out of fifteen articles being influenced by radical feminism were also influenced by women's support ideas. As radical feminism is not the focus of the third wave, it will only be briefly discussed. The main argument of radical feminism was the prevailing patriarchal system, especially within the university (Bretécher, Feburar 1994; Grau et al., 2015; Ilex, 1991; Menke, 1992; Menke & Rabeneck, 1994; Rülfing, 1994; Schmidt, 2013), but also the reduction of feminine sexuality to porn (Unknown, 1993) was an argument clearly influenced by the radical demand to subjectify and not objectify women. Also, that the "Kompetenzen von Frauen durch deren Sexualisierung in Frage [gestellt werden]<sup>84</sup> (Eing & Paetsch, 2013, p. 35) is clearly an radical argument as the woman is seen as a sexual object and not as a subject with competences. Moreover, the valuing of menstruation as a natural phenomenon was requested criticising "die Wahrnehmung der Menstruation als negatives Spezifikum der Frau"<sup>85</sup> (Griesing, 2019, p. 19) which is also a radical feminist argumentation.

In total, five articles were influenced by radical feminism and women's support dealing with the debates about patriarchy and gender inequality in universities (Eing & Paetsch, 2013; Ilex, 1991; Menke, 1992; Menke & Rabeneck, 1994; Unknown, 1996). This shows that there is a tendency in the student's discourse to explain gender inequality in universities with patriarchal structures which need to be overcome through women's support measures.

The mentions of GM were plentiful throughout the articles. GM is closely connected to the theme gender neutrality as one of the main arguments is that "auch die biologischen Kategorien Mann-Frau gesellschaftlich konstruiert sind"<sup>86</sup> (Kotterba, 2013a, p. 36). The duality of sex or gender is a social construct (Griesing, 2019; Hagen, 2019; Unknown, 2013; Uphoff, 2017; Weber, 2010) which leads to several implications for the students. First, childcare is a social task and not the mother's task which is shown since childcare facilities and support is directed both at female and male students. Four out of the five articles

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<sup>84</sup> Competence of women is questioned based on the sexualisation of their gender.

<sup>85</sup> Negative perception of the menstruation as the negative specific of women.

<sup>86</sup> Also, the biological categories man/woman is a social construct.

occupying the child-support theme are hence influenced by gender mainstreaming (Krüssel, 1993a, 1993b; Wedel, 1994; Wilke, 2019).

Also, the inclusion of men in questions as contraception (Tatjes & Obermaier, 2016; Zimmer, 1994) are ways to marginalise the gender of a person and make those questions people's questions. Besides, the rejection of women's quotas supported by the argument "Qualifikation sollte den Ausschlag geben"<sup>87</sup> (Gieselmann & Schönenfeld, 2010, p. 21) is a GM idea as the gender of a person should be irrelevant for all decisions. Moreover, the demand for unisex toilets in the university to stop discriminating inter- and transsexuals (Hagen, 2019) is a GM argumentation.

In total, nineteen out of thirty-eight articles were mainly, four out of thirty-eight articles partly influenced by the GM perspective. The child-support and gender neutrality themes were in turn most influenced by GM ideas.

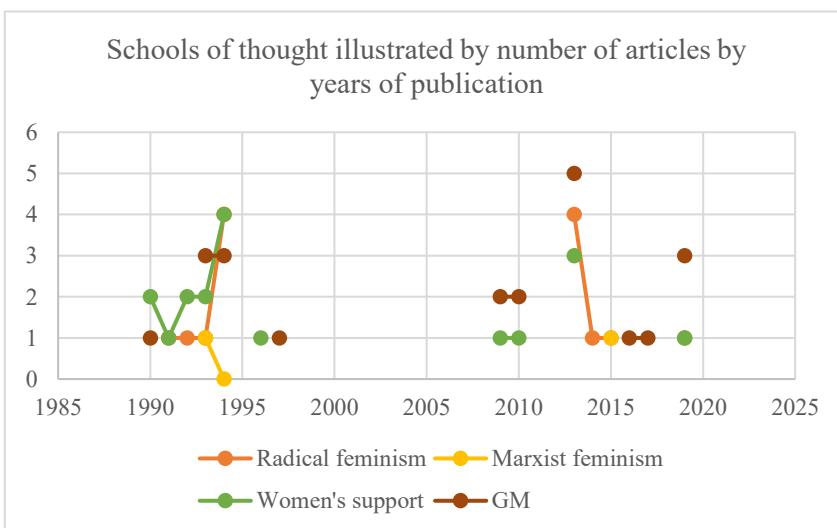


Figure 17

first time period, women's support movement influence is steady. The influence of radical feminism on the first time period is also extensive. Within the second time period, the influence of all movements is more selective with GM as the most influential school of thought. Marxist feminism is only visible in two out of the thirty-eight articles, so barely influential. This is an interesting fact as the influence of radical feminism is so large. Reasons for this might be the Turn and the rejection of Marxists communism in overall Germany.

When looking at the years of publication of the articles it is presented in figure 17, that there were two time periods in which articles with an influence of the women's protest were published. In general, it is shown that within the

<sup>87</sup> That qualifications should be the crucial element for choosing somebody.

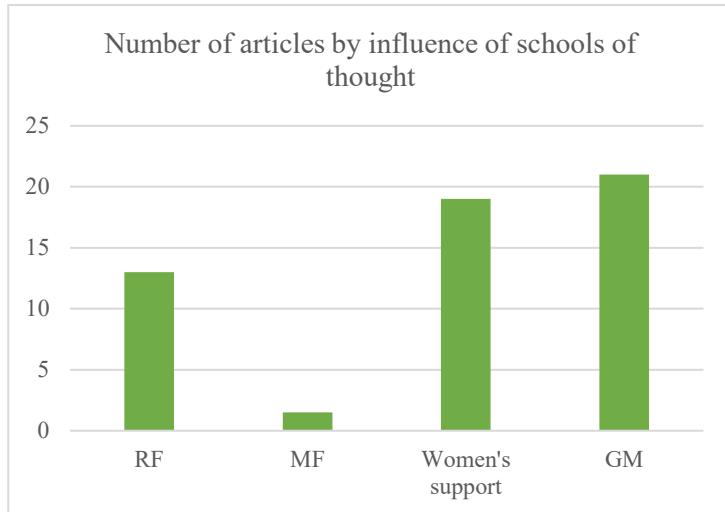


Figure 18

As shown in figure 18, GM is the most influential school of thought closely followed by women's support. Radical feminist's influence is also large. The interconnectedness of the schools of thought especially between the third and second wave is therefore illustrated.

## V. Conclusion

To conclude, it is necessary to recall the main questions posed at the very beginning: how did the feminist movement influence the student discourse throughout the years? Which schools of thought were the most influential in each wave of feminism?

The expectation for the first wave was that the bourgeois movement is more likely than the proletarian movement to have influenced the student's discourse. Reasons for that assumptions were that especially bourgeois families sent their sons and daughters to the universities since they could afford it and searched for suitable positions in the society for them (soziale Frauenfrage<sup>88</sup>). The findings of the analysis show that the expectation is fulfilled. The bourgeois movement's argumentation was to be found extensively in the argumentation of the students. This might be the case since the bourgeois movement's main demand was the access to universities for women whereas the proletarian movement requested general equality between the sexes.

On the other hand, mostly men were influenced by the bourgeois ideas. Since men were in overrepresented in the university life and most articles were written by men, their point of view counted more. The bourgeois argumentation of a slowly increasing feminism was more acceptable for them than the demand for radical equality made by the proletarian feminists.

Moreover, the influence of the bourgeois movement is concentrated on the early years of publication between 1908-1911 in which again men led the discussion. Afterwards, the proletarian arguments predominated the discussion which were conducted mostly by women. As women could access the university of Münster only in 1908, it is not surprising that mostly men led the discussion in the first years. The more radical debates about a two-headed management of AStA or social work for women were conducted later when women were more likely to have become a part of the university life.

This might be the case since the female authors were part of the university life experiencing discrimination and prejudices against them so that the access itself demanded by the bourgeois movement became of less importance and radical equality requested by proletarians of more importance.

The expectation for the second wave was the domination of radical feminism in the students' discourse since highly patriarchal policies predominated (university) politics West-

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<sup>88</sup> Social women's question.

Germany at that time. The expectation was not fulfilled since both Marxist feminism and radical feminism influenced the student's debates to the same extent. Especially the articles influenced by Marxist feminism were highly connected to the left-wing student protests occurring at that time demanding a structural revolution.

Critique of capitalism as the main contradiction of the oppression of women were the main arguments of the students being influenced by Marxist feminism. In contrast, radical feminists' demands such as the end of patriarchy, sexual freedom and the valuing of the feminine were also often included and students requested the subjectification of women and (sexual) autonomy.

Often, arguments of both schools of thought were found in an article which underlines that the different concepts of feminism overlap and complement each other. A striking fact was, that nearly all articles were written by authors with a typical feminine German name, so it is likely that mostly women led the discussion between 1968 and 1979.

The theoretical expectation of the third wave was that women's support is more likely to be found in the student's discourse. This expectation was not fulfilled as gender mainstreaming was the most influential approach adopted by the student's discourse. Nevertheless, in the first years of the third wave (1990-1996) women's support together with radical feminism predominantly impacted the discourse about gender inequality. An argument that was often used was that because of prevailing patriarchal structures, universities tend to treat the sexes unequally privileging male students which is why women need special support and legal rights to receive the same treatment.

This narrative changes over time. Since 2008, the predominating argumentation is that everybody can suffer due to social roles and prejudices so the gender of a person should not be the crucial factor for judging one's character or abilities. The marginalisation of the gender and the sex of a person is the focus of the student's discourse together with the awareness that discrimination is not something from which only women suffer, but also homosexuals, intersexual, transsexual and bisexual people. Hence, the discourse is more inclusive, broader and moves away from the duality of the sexes and genders. This is also mirrored in the authorship of the articles, as articles between 1990-2019 were written by women, men, women & men or authors using pseudonyms.

Next to the discussion about the theoretical expectations, a connection between all three waves of feminism is drawn.

First, a connection between the different schools of thought is established. The demand of radical equality between the sexes/gender made by the proletarian movement can be found throughout the years in different forms. In the second wave, radical equality was requested by both Marxist and radical feminists, since Marxist feminists aimed at the destruction of capitalism to equalise opportunities for everybody whereas radical feminist tend to blame the patriarchal structures which are to be overcame to have gender equality.

Marxist feminism tended to include even larger parts of proletarian argumentation as the latter also criticised the capitalist system and demanded socialism instead, although proletarian feminists tended not to aim at establishing communism. The connection between the proletarian movement and Marxist feminism is also analysed by other authors (Holmstrom, 2002), so this thesis confirms their findings.

Within the third wave, different assumptions of radical equality were adopted. Women's support approaches request special women's promotion to reach equal opportunities for the sexes whereas GM approaches aim at equality by marginalising the gender/sex of a person to the extent that the gender/sex is an unimportant factor for decision-making.

To sum up, the demand of radical equality made by proletarian feminists can be found till today which also implies that there still is no real equality between men and women and that the gender/sex of person still impacts the people's opportunities.

Narratives of the bourgeois movement were barely included within the second or third wave since women had access to education in Germany. Nevertheless, the idea that specific feminine traits exist was adopted by radical feminists for example when they demand the valuing of the feminine. Obviously, to ascribe certain biological characteristics to a person from which follow career possibilities differs from radical feminist assumptions, but the focus on femininity as something different to masculinity prevails.

Also the women's support approach in the third wave includes the focus on women and the valuing of the feminine. In extreme cases, some feminists argue that women should take over the power as their feminine traits would prevent war for example. Hence, the bourgeois' argument for specific feminine traits can be found till today.

When looking at the connection between the second and third wave, it is striking that women's support and radical feminism ideas tend to occur often within the same article.

Hence, students argue to overcome the criticised patriarchal structures in university life through women's support measures.

Marxist feminism is barely visible within the third wave which is notable as it was very influential throughout the second wave. Reasons might be, that after the Turn in Germany, Marxism and Marxist ideas became of less importance as the communist idea seemed to have collapsed and the end of history was declared (Fukuyama, 1989). Hence, the political developments in Germany are also visible in the student's discourse about gender inequality.

Another point is that the authorship of the articles changed dramatically throughout the waves. Within the first wave, mostly men led the discussion, whereas in the second wave, mostly women did. In the third wave, the gender of the author becomes less important as the authorship is diverse. This development is highly connected to the historical circumstances, as in the first wave, there were only few female students on the university who were able to shape the discourse about gender inequality. Within the second wave, the women's protest itself aimed at raising awareness for gender inequality, which was excluded from the general student protest. Within the last wave and in the light of gender mainstreaming, the sex or gender of a person becomes less important and the authorship is diverse which shows that the discussion about gender inequality arrived in the centre of society. This finding is also supported by the fact that within the first and second wave, only individual articles were found whereas within the third wave, whole student magazines were dedicated to the topic of gender and sex.

Another point which connects the authorship of the articles with the political circumstances in Germany is, that most female students who wrote an article within the first or second wave took part in the left-wing protest. This finding is also backed up by other literature (Boxer, 2007). A connection between left-wing politics and feminist protest was not drawn within the third wave of feminism by any author. Hence, the demand of an overall change of the political system in Germany is not connected to the feminist movement within the third wave which goes together with the 'end of history'. This fits the choices of schools of thought as women's support and gender mainstreaming both aim at a change from within the organisation university whereas proletarian, bourgeois, radical and Marxist feminist tend to aim at change from outside the university to enhance the position of female students.

Hence, the political system and the atmosphere within (West-)Germany highly influenced the student discourse about gender inequality. The feminists' movements and the

schools of thought which were chosen for this study are connected to and build upon each other. Only Marxist feminism and the critique of capitalism as the main contradiction for the oppression of women was nearly abandoned by feminists since the 1990s in the student discourse.

The limitation of the study is that only one case study of a Western university was conducted. To have better analysed the political system, a comparison between an East and Western university should have been done which was not possible due to time and word constraints. Especially how Marxist feminism was perceived in East Germany is an interesting fact. Studies suggest that the feminism in East Germany within the second wave was more likely aimed at extinguishing patriarchy and not so much in support of Marxist feminism as they already lived with a state-feminism. The author highly recommends conducting a study about East university student discourse. Besides, the waves of feminism are a European/North American concept which not necessarily further generalisable. Other limitations are that the discourse analysis was only done about student's discourse in magazines. No interviews were conducted for example for backing up the findings.

Nevertheless, the thesis's relevance is still given as most researches before only compare the second and third wave of feminism (Evans & Chamberlain, 2015; Schlenker, Caron, & Halteman, 1998) or analysed the impact of one wave (Heywood, Drake, & Jennifer, 2003; Mane, 2012). Moreover, a book was written about feminism and higher education, but not about whether feminist movements were mirrored in the student discourse (Pasque & Nicholson, 2011). A student discourse analysis including the different schools of thought within each three waves of feminism was never done before, so that this thesis adds new knowledges to feminist literature as it connects theories of feminism with actual student discourse. Furthermore, this research adds knowledge to the theories of feminism since it connects the different schools of thought over time referring to the political systems. This was done for socialist feminism (Holmstrom, 2002) and partly for the bourgeois movement (Boxer, 2007) but not with all schools of thought to women's support and gender mainstreaming approaches. Lastly, feminism as a method aims to add the women's perspective to historical reconstructions. By analysing the historical evolution of student discourse about gender inequality, this thesis supports the general aim of the feminist method.

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## VII. Appendix

### 1. Data of the first wave of feminism

Table 2

Year	Number of articles about women	Number of articles which were influenced by the women's movement
1907	0	0
1908	1	1
1909	1	1
1910	0	0
1911	9	4
1912	14	10
1913	0	0
1914	5	5

Table 2 shows how many articles dealt with women and how many were influenced by the women's movement and hence, included into the analysis.

1. The first article dealing with the women in universities is called “Die

Dozentin”<sup>89</sup> published in July 1908 shortly before the first women were allowed on campus and written by a young women<sup>90</sup> (K., 1908, col. 19–21). She wrote that male professors fear women as competitors which is why they do not allow them access to universities (K., 1908, col. 13–15). From this can be derived, that she sees women as capable as men as otherwise, women would not be competition for men. For her, also men see this which is why they exclude women. Hence, she vouches for the sameness between men and women in cognitive ability. But she also recognises that men have the power in their hands to suppress women's abilities. That is why she pities German girls and dreams of a world in which girls are also free to become professors (K., 1908, col. 19–21). Therefore, she supports equal participation of the sexes implying the same access to the ‘Abitur’ as the condition for university. It is insofar a bourgeois argument as she vouches for access to education and university, but her dream is more influenced by the proletarian notion of radical equality for all women. This is especially visible when she describes that in the future, there will be as many “Musentöchter” (muse-daughters) as “Musensöhne” (‘muse-sons’) (K., 1908, col. 33–35). Future girls with a different education are just as capable as boys. This implies that she blames the system and not the natural inferiority of women for the different numbers of boy and girl in higher education. Even so, she is so radical to propose that women will take over the

<sup>89</sup> “The female professor”.

<sup>90</sup> She speaks of “Wir armen deutschen Mädchen (“we poor German girls”).

world in the future and then deny men the access to universities (K., 1908, col. 36–38). This is a radical feminist assumption, even if this school of thought is said to have emerged later in the second wave. Therefore, it is difficult to clearly separate the waves and their school of thoughts. Next to the radical influence, the proletarian impact is clearly visible since she vouches for emancipation of women and that women are able to stand on their own. Apart from that, she refers to Russia and claims that Russia is more progressive than Germany in that question (K., 1908, col. 20–21). As the proletarian movement had connections to Russia and she refers to that very countries' progressiveness are other reasons that she is influenced by the **proletarian movement**.

2. The next article stated that women are now equal fellows in the empire of men in university life (Leoni, 1909, col. 4–6). For the student, women are equal to men and he also assigns the task of social work to both men and women (Leoni, 1909, col. 27–29). Those are proletarian argumentations. Nevertheless, he writes that women should develop their personality but stay a woman. She should not feel superior to men, dress differently or become the type of women who is emancipated (Leoni, 1909, col. 50–52). Hence, for him women should study but they must not lose their feminine traits and 'feminine behaviour'. This becomes visible when he writes that women tend to exercise social work better than men do as they are more compassionate than men (Leoni, 1909, col. 43–45). Thus, he ascribes typical feminine traits to women. This argumentation is clearly bourgeois as it stresses the differences between men and women, the existence of feminine traits and tasks as caring and teaching. Leoni (1909, col. 63–65) stresses that women should join the women's movement and that women are missing in certain professions, especially as judges for the juvenile court. Thus, a slowly increasing influence of women which starts in professions lying at the heart of 'the feminine' is his mantra for joining women's protest. His aim is the total equality of the sexes and the possibility for women to cultivate themselves as woman and human (Leoni, 1909, col. 75–78). As this implies that the total equality is combined with becoming 'a woman' which is defined by society, it can be concluded that his argumentation is mostly influenced by the **bourgeois movement** as this school of thought has the same aim.
3. Another student proposed that women should be treated with respect and in the same way as men. But he also accuses his fellow students of being ill-bred and childish because they treat the female students unkind (An older student, 1911, col. 3–4). From those two statements it is not clear whether the older student is for the equal treatment of men and women or more for a decent behaviour of this own sex towards women

which should be applied everywhere. He has no opinion about women studies but mentions that there are more positive opinions about it (An older student, 1911). From this can be derived, that he is not much influenced by women's movement but more guided by general respect towards them. Nevertheless, he defends the position of women in the university from a less radical point of view and hence, he is more likely to be influenced by the **bourgeois movement**.

There were numerous answers written in the next publication to this statement. This debate alone shows how sensitive the topic of women on campus were around 1911.

4. The first is written by Sesmar (1911, col. 49–55) who argues that men who treat women unfairly deserve the gallows which would be the destiny for them. The author is so critical of the alarmingly degenerated youth that (s)he menaces misbehaving men with death. From this statement can be deducted, that the author favours sameness between men and women and equal participation for both sexes. As death is the highest punishment, the author must be highly influenced by the belief about the true equality of both sexes and by the women's movement. As his/her approach is so radical, it is argued that (s)he is part of the socialist/proletarian movement as there is no argument for slowly increasing influence of women but death penalty for all, who make fun of them. One point that is striking is that the author calls the article "Zum Frauenstudium" by an older student (2.12.11) as chivalrous and accuses him of belonging to the chivalry. For the author, this is his great mistake (Sesmar, 1911). Knights are commonly viewed as strong combatants who save the poor, the children and obviously, women. Hence the student argues that you either stand with the women side by side or only defend them. If the older student had stand side by side with the women's movement, he would have argued for women's studies, that this is something natural and equality is the highest good. By half-hearty arguing that women should not be make fun of, he did not really understand the woman's position but was more concerned with what would become of his own sex. The other view that the author might have is, that women can save themselves alone, that there is no need for a knight. Maybe those two arguments go hand in hand. If the older student would not have saw himself as the defender of decency but as a fighter for women's rights, he would have stood side by side with them, not as a defender, but as equal. The author's point of view obviously rejects the typical male quality of defend the weak woman. Building on this argumentation, the author can be categorised to the **socialist/proletarian movement**.

5. Another student answered agreeing that female students are something treated disrespectful. Then, he reasons that both sides are to blame and that sometimes situations occur in which women rely on their rights as the ‘weaker sex’. But, if women want to conquer men, be treated as equals and compete later in job positions, they need to withdraw the rights they had as the ‘weaker sex’ (An older fellow student, 1911, col. 11–13). He approves that women should have the same position, power and possibilities than men (An older fellow student, 1911). His argumentation is influenced by the proletarian movement as he argues for the sameness between men and women and that there should be no different treatment between them. Women need to abandon their rights as the ‘weaker sex’ to become truly equal. Therefore, he sees both sexes in the obligation to change their behaviour. Hence, he is likely to be influenced by the **proletarian movement**.

6. Another student argues against the comment stating that common sense and investigation would lead to the fact that there is no different treatment for men and women in university (Spectator aequus, 1911, 9-11,17-19, 30-33, 41-42). Contrary, he blames the women’s fashion (Spectator aequus, 1911, col. 36–38) or reasons that women need to withstand the same treatment as men also get (Spectator aequus, 1911, col. 45–46). That he is influenced from women’s movement in general can be derived from the fact that he does think that women should study. Also, he is attentive to possible prude treatments of women (Spectator aequus, 1911). He also mentions that the wardrobe is not yet adapted to the new circumstances (Spectator aequus, 1911). Therefore, the slow adaptation of university to ‘the new circumstances’ and women’s studies seem to be the right way for him to go. Therefore, he is more influenced by the **bourgeois movement** and values more the slowly increasing feminine influence.

7. A year later, the discussion emerged again and was started by W (1912a, col. 53) stating that “Wollen Sie uns gleichstehen so stellen Sie sich uns gleich”<sup>91</sup>. W does not oppose women’s studies but wants women to adapt to the behaviour of men. He accuses them of bringing “die Kultur der Mädchenschulen”<sup>92</sup> to the university which is part of a different world (W, 1912a, col. 50–51). Thus, he clearly separates feminine and masculine behaviour, arguing for the masculine nature of universities to which women need to adapt. As he is not opposed by women’s studies in general, it can be argued that

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<sup>91</sup> “If they want to be equal to us, they need to behave like us” (free translation to translate the meaning of the sentence).

<sup>92</sup> “Culture of girl’s schools”.

he is more likely to be influenced by the **bourgeois movement**, albeit very little, maintaining differences between men and women but allowing access to the university.

8. Answers to this argument were written by Dr. F (1912, col. 20–21) who warns against generalisations defending female students by giving an example of a women advocated for “akademische Gleichheit”<sup>93</sup>. As he supports her, he also endorses academic equality. But does his endorsement can be extended to general equality between the sexes? As he only gives this example, it can just be assumed that he favours nothing more which means that he is likely to be influenced by **bourgeois arguments** and not by the radical equality argumentation from the proletarian movement.
9. Another answer was given by E.F. (1912, col. 12–13) who argued that women shall add their “geschätzte Liebenswürdigkeit”<sup>94</sup> to the general atmosphere in university. For women to be able to contribute with a character trait to university life, they must occupy characteristics which men do not have. Therefore, the student views men and women as different. As he does not oppose women’s studies, he is likely to be influenced by the **bourgeois movement**.
10. The next answer was drawn by E. (1912, col. 16–18) who denies that the scientific atmosphere in the university suffer from the attendance of women and even proposes that the next journal should paint a satirical illustration of how the male students think that the air loaded with science explodes because women enter. In this way, she clearly supports that men and women are equally capable of studying scientifically and meets complaining men with humour. It is difficult to judge whether she is more influenced by the proletarian or bourgeois movement as she counters the accusations of her fellow students but only argues that women can also study scientifically. Both movements support this idea. Therefore, it is **unclear** which movement had the greater influence.
11. A further answer written by E. St. (1912, col. 23–28) occupies the position that a university in which recently female as well as male students study should develop a new tradition including feminine traits which the student E. St. welcomes as long as women accept parts of the old tradition and add their “freundliche Eigenart”<sup>95</sup>. His position is friendly towards women studies and he accepts both feminine and masculine traits as equally worth of including them into a new tradition for university life. He also describes women as having a natural essence (E. St., 1912, col. 22). His argument is therefore

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<sup>93</sup> “academic equality”.

<sup>94</sup> “much-appreciated kindness”.

<sup>95</sup> “friendly peculiarity”.

influenced by the **bourgeois movement** as he holds onto the difference between men and women and that they complement each other.

12. The following student reprimands the humour of student E. stating that women should not talk sarcastically as this would fuel opponents of women's studies (-l., 1912, col. 8–10). The student endorses women's studies, but he clearly ascribes certain behaviours to women and how they should or should not behave. Therefore, he might be influenced by the **bourgeois movement** as he supports women's studies but is otherwise occupied by certain ideas about 'the woman', what she does or what not. Hence, it is the slowly increasing feminism that made him change at least his opinion about women and university.
13. The student B. (1912, col. 13) condemns that women are treated with disrespect and argues that a lady stay a lady even if she herself forgets about it. From this, he derives that there never was a question of how to interact with women since good manners must prevail at any time (B., 1912, 16, 22-23). As he argues for 'good manners' to be upheld as women always stay women and need to be treated as such, he is influenced by the view that there is a specific treatment for women necessary and this differs from the behaviour towards men. Nevertheless, he endorses women's studies. Therefore, he is likely to be more influenced by the **bourgeois movement**.
14. The student W. (1912b, col. 18–20) wrote a reply to all those answers in which he clarifies that he wanted to explore the idea of an ideal in which women are men are equal to one another and that he then wanted to distance himself from this ideal. In this way, he wanted to receive an answer from the other sex to find a middle way between two extremes (W., 1912b, col. 25–26). As it is hard to find a middle way between equal and unequal treatment of the sexes, it can be concluded that the influence of the women's movement on student W is that he wants to discuss why women would like to enter university at all. As he opposes total equality of men and women, his contact is the **bourgeois movement** and maybe he would agree to a slowly increasing women's influence on the university.
15. The next student, Eulenspiegel (1912) argues that women renounces their proper women's task to study because they are in need. This fits the argumentation which occurred at that time that women who did not marry were a burden for their families and therefore, fitting professions were searched for. In particular, the bourgeois families sent their daughters to study. He negates that women compete with men but only the need for a profession and that hence, the code of conduct between men and women must not

change (Eulenspiegel, 1912). His argument is based on the bourgeois understanding that men and women are fundamentally different and that each sex needs to stay inside its prescribed conduct. His argumentation is influenced by the **bourgeois movement**.

16. The discussion about a two-members management of AStA was initiated by (K-L., 1912a) by stating that a committee representing all students should include female and foreign students. He pledges for total equality for all students and access to all activities of the committee for women (K-L., 1912a). As the AStA represents students interests and is a political institution, the author asks for the political equality of the sexes in university: “denn ein Ausschuss, der zwangsweise alle Studenten umfassen soll, muß alle als gleichberechtigt ansehen”<sup>96</sup> (K-L., 1912a, col. 24–27). His understanding of radical equality for men and women which he demands immediately can be categorised as **proletarian argumentation**. There were only one answer opposing this demand (Basta, 1912) and one reply of K-L. (1912b) asking for better arguments by Basta. Therefore, the discussion subsided without discussing the women’s representation in detail.<sup>97</sup>
17. The discussion about social work started with an appeal to women to engage in social work next to their studies as social work is the very own discipline of women (Unknown, 1914a). To care for others is described as a feminine trait which is a need of women in general. It is also argued that women must self-study as her later job will involve caring and social activities which is not taught in university (Unknown, 1914a). Hence, the study of women is portrayed as an extra-activity but not as a necessity for her future life. This argumentation is clearly influenced by the bourgeois movement, as women and men are seen as different, which the author stresses by arguing that female more than male students are entitled to involve in social work. Also, that caring is a feminine trait is a **bourgeois argument** together with the social responsibility women have towards to society to care.
18. Thoma (1914a) describes the social work she did as in accordance with the general feminine trait to care and the female kindness and love. The attributes she ascribed to women are also used by bourgeois feminists. She refers the women’s movement as helpful and that she feels connected to all women, students or workers as all women share same interests and hence, come together. This is a proletarian argumentation as

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<sup>96</sup> „Because a committee which must include all students, must treat all members equally”.

<sup>97</sup> As none of the replies referred to women anymore, they are not counted as relevant articles, but serve only to understand that the discussion about a two-members management of AStA was too revolutionary at this time.

she does not see differences between poor workers and her as a student, but she rather feels the same way as the working class. She views herself as having two sides, the intellectual one which realise itself in the university and her social side for which she needs the social work to live it out (Thoma, 1914a). Therefore, she does not only feel like the working class but can realise herself in it. Even thou her argumentation matches in the bourgeois one in the sense that she ascribed typical feminine traits to women, her connection to the worker's class and her mentioning of them as being like her is highly influenced by proletarian argumentation. Therefore, this article is more influenced by the **proletarian movement**.

19. The next article is also written by Thoma (1914b) but deals less with the question of feminine characteristics and cohesion but more with socialist ideas carried by women as the social work only addresses women in the advertisement. It might be viewed as critical that only women were addressed, but as was stated in the theory section, women in the socialist movement learnt that they were misrepresented. This women's organisation for social work mainly helps other (poorer) women. Therefore, it deals with self-help of women supported by other women. She sees herself as part of the socialist student movement and demands knowledge about class differences and hatred between classes in a society. Social ideas and social thinking shall be combined into a self-education to social state's citizens which shall start at the very bottom of society with the education of young children. She also argues that the milieu in which somebody grows up render him or her to the person (s)he becomes in later life (Thoma, 1914b). As she herself mentions, her ideas are intertwined with the socialist/proletarian movement. As she also wrote the article analysed beforehand (Thoma, 1914a) it was right to decide for the proletarian influence as this article clearly highlight the **proletarian influence** on Thoma.
20. The following article argues for the academic youth to engage in social activities and criticises that too many female students do not care about poorer women. The author describes that the socialist student movement of the women cannot introduce a reform but can work on finding solutions for problems of the society. She<sup>98</sup> argues that only women who are too much involved in responsibilities towards corporations do not have time to engage in social help (Unknown, 1914b). Clearly the most visible influence on this article is the **proletarian argumentations**. Also, she does not argue that women

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<sup>98</sup> As the author describes a social activity in which only women can participate, it is reasoned that the unknown author is female.

should participate in social work because of their feminine traits but because of interest (Unknown, 1914b). Therefore, women should listen to their inner voice which means emancipation from as she wrote corporate influence, but which can be also understood more broadly in the sense of emancipation from what their 'role in society' expects them to do.

21. The last article was written by P.N. (1914) defending the women who do not participate in the commission which organises the social work described in the articles beforehand. She argues that there are different things next to social work which should be important for women, for example the question about women's studies in general. She reasons that it is more important to first defend the women's position within the university and then to help others. Also, she refers to the dangers within the socialist movement and argues that it is unwise to make trouble within one's own ranks when there is said to be trouble within the lower classes already. In detail, she refers to the social work other organisations execute next to the commission stating that the commission is rather young only recently allowing non-Catholic students to participate (P.N., 1914). As she warns against the dangers of the socialist movement, it can be derived that she is more likely influenced by the bourgeois movement. By distinguishing between her ranks and the poorer people and arguing that you should first care about women's position within universities, she tends to defend the bourgeois argumentation of slowly increasing feminism. To start within your own class and then to expand women's influence. Social work is also important, but she does not demand a reform towards a socialist system. Therefore, she is more influenced by **the bourgeois movement**.

Table 3 X=characteristic present F=Female F/M=Gender unknown M=Male

Articles	Demands of women's protest				Reasons for oppression	Social structure			Political system			Women's studies	Debates		Schools of thought		
	Civil rights/access to university	Bureaucratic reforms	Reinterpretation of rules	Character of women		Bipolar gender model	Social Democratic Party	Monarchy	Authorship	Two-member management of ASTA	Social work		Proletarian Movement	Bourgeois movement	Radical feminism		
1 X	X	X	X	X	X	X			F	X			X		X		
2 X	X	X							M	X					X		
3 X									M	X					X		
4 X				X	X				F/M	X					X		
5 X		X		X		X			M	X					X		
6 X			X	X					M	X					X		
7 X		X				X			M	X					X		
8 X									M	X					X		
9 X						X			M	X					X		
10 X		X		X					F	X					X	X	
11 X		X	X			X			M	X					X	X	
12 X				X					M	X					X		
13 X			X						M	X					X		
14				X					M	X					X		
15 X	X	X	X	X	X				M	X					X		
16 X	X	X	X	X		X	X		M		X				X		
17 X						X			F/M						X		X
18 X				X		X	X		F						X	X	
19 X	X	X	X			X			F						X	X	
20 X			X				X		F						X	X	
21 X	X	X	X	X				X	F						X		X

## ***2. Data of the second wave of feminism***

Most articles written before 1968 deal with the general discussion whether women should study or not and whether marriages between students are positive and negative assuming that female students study to get themselves rich husbands and not to educate themselves.

1. The first article is written by GISA (1961) who describes different types female students in the university life. Her article is written in an ironic style (“Man muss sich eigentlich wundern, wie viele tüchtige Ärztinnen [...] es trotzdem noch gibt” (GISA, 1961, p. 15)) and very critical of her own sex. As it is also visible in the headline “studienziel erreicht – stop – bin verlobt”, the author criticises female students not taking the studies seriously but taking advantages of being surrounded by (rich) men (GISA, 1961, p. 15). For the author, there seems to be only one type of women not caring for her appearance, but this type has no chances in getting a husband. She states that those women “ersetzen durch innere Werte, was [ihnen] äußerlich fehlt” (GISA, 1961, p. 15) from which can be derived that the author herself is fond of this type of women as they are described as humans with character and not only with a nice appearance. Through her ironic description it becomes clear, that she opposes women’s magazine, the aim to marry a rich man and not to follow one’s own career. As she writes about how women are addressed by men or try to get the attention of them (GISA, 1961) she illustrates an unequal power system in which ‘the husband’ is the aim and not self-realisation. She describes women in a patriarchal system in which they are objectified as beautiful creatures which one can marry but which do not aim at earning money themselves. Hence, her criticism is influenced by radical feminism.
2. The next article is an answer to the debate whether women should study or not. The author writes: “Die Studentin auf Männerfang! Welch zahllosen Angriffen ist Ihre wehrlose Männlichkeit ausgesetzt” (van Bruck, 1961, p. 24). Van Bruck uses a sarcastic write style, especially in the sense that men are not defenceless. Also, she states that women would smile when insulted by men because there are diplomats and that women would accept “die Möglichkeit einer Ehe mit einem milden Lächeln [...]. Dieses Lächeln ist ein taktisches, strategisches Mittel, das die Herrenwelt zu ihrer Meinung von der ‚unlogischen‘ weiblichen Logik ermuntert” (van Bruck, 1961, p. 24). Hence, she argues to use typical feminine behaviour to get from men what women want. She accepts patriarchy and the system of oppression and uses it for her advantages. But she makes fun of men for not understanding how women use the system for her own benefits. Nevertheless, she states that male students would try to engage in romances with the

female students “ohne Rücksicht!” (van Bruck, 1961, p. 24). Hence, she implies that men also take advantages of their position and oppress women and that women sometimes are unable to save themselves from romances with men. As she argues with the patriarchal system and reflects on it, she is most likely to be influenced by radical feminism.

3. The following article is written about contraception. The author argues that no woman should become pregnant against her will and should have the right to choose with whom she wants to have sex or not. The author finds it interesting to put automats with condoms within students houses, but argues that it is an utopia to put them in every house due to the “studentische[s] Organisationstalentes” (Lapin, 1965, p. 7). He summarises a Swedish debate about abortions naming pro- and contra arguments coming to the conclusion that German students should also discuss abortions due to the fact that “die Zahl der Geburten die der Abtreibungen nicht erreicht” (Lapin, 1965, p. 9). His argumentation is confusing as he mostly quotes Swedish newspaper articles. From the fact that he writes about abortion, contraception and the freedom of women to choose with whom to sleep it can be derived that he is influenced by the women’s movement and as this debate is led by radical feminists, mostly from radical feminism. Especially the Swedish women introducing the debate who was quoted by him is influenced by radical feminism. Hence, his article discusses all pro and contra arguments about one of the most important aspects of radical feminism and appeal to his fellow students to continue this debate. Although it is unclear whether he is positively or negatively influenced by radical feminism through his article and call he spreads radical feminists’ argumentations.

Those articles were not part of the analysis and are only included in the appendix to show that the years 1960-1967 were hardly influenced by the women’s protest movement. The following articles are part of the analysis starting in 1968.

Table 4 shows how many articles were written about women in general and how many were included into the analysis.

Table 4

Year	Articles dealing with women	Articles being influenced by the women's movement
1968	1	1
1969	13	12
1970	2	0
1971	1	1
1972	0	0
1973	0	0
1974	2	1
1975	2	1
1976	2	0
1977	4	3
1978	1	0
1979	2	0

views women as a “unterwürfigen, schuftenden, asexuellen, unpolitischen Wesen” (Unknown, 1968, p. 6). Further, the author argues that the idea that women emancipate through the participation in the working sphere is wrong. “Geschickte sozialökonomische Maßnahmen” prevent women from becoming free humans and “weibliche Sexualität scheint nur in der Werbung, als Tauschmittel und Erfolgskennzeichen der bürgerlichen Schichten [...] von Bedeutung zu sein” (Unknown, 1968, p. 6). The women seems to be an “Objekt männlicher Manipulation” (Unknown, 1968, p. 6). This article combines several aspects both of Marxist feminism and radical feminism. On the one hand, the bourgeois family structures and class systems seem to support the oppression of women as Marxist feminism would argue. On the other hand, the understanding that women are victims of objectification by men and that feminine sexuality must be understood just as natural as masculine one are clearly radical feminist’s arguments. As the author argues that the participation on the labour market is not enough to emancipate women, the article is more influenced by the **radical feminist’s** understanding.

2. The next article is a declaration of an action committee to free women with eleven theses. It is written to call attention for the one-sided politics of the SDS<sup>99</sup> which exclude women’s problems. The author criticises the differentiation between private and public sphere arguing that the oppression of women is mostly visible in the private,

1. The first article is a critique written about the role models of society and especially the Catholic Church about women. The author criticises that the Church deprive women from sexual lust and

<sup>99</sup> Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund (Socialist German Studentunion).

unpoliticised sphere. “Die klassenmäßige Aufteilung der Familie mit dem Mann als Bourgeois und der Frau als Prolet“ is seen as the real problem in which men are clearly seen as the oppressor of women (Unknown, 1969a, p. 4). Besides, the “Verleugnung des Führerprinzips [...] ist blander Hohn, weil jeder verheiratete [...] Führer und gleichzeitig Ausbeuter einer Familie oder familienähnliche Gruppe ist (Unknown, 1969a, p. 4). The aim is to cancel the differentiation between private and public sphere which is seen as part of the “Klassenkampfes” (Unknown, 1969a, p. 4) and to overcome the isolation in which women find themselves to break through the patriarchal society (Unknown, 1969a). Again, this article is influenced by both Marxist and radical feminism. ‘Klassenkampf’ is Marxist vocabulary which is used to explain the oppression of women in the (bourgeois) family structures. The action committee of women illustrate themselves as the real fighters to overcome class structures in which men are characterised as “Klassenfeind” (Unknown, 1969a, p. 6). But, to overcome the private and public sphere to free the women is a radical feminists’ argument and so is the aim to destroy the existing patriarchy in which the man is described as ‘Führer’. As the main goal is to politicise the private sphere and that the notion of ‘Klassenkampf’ is used in order to illustrate how women are oppressed in the private sphere, **radical feminism** influenced the article to a higher extent. The influence of **Marxist feminism** is partly visible.

3. The next article’s author Meinhof (1969) is widely known for her radical-left assumptions and prosecution for murder in Germany (Wesemann, 2007). She writes about the tomatoes that Sigrid Rüger throw at the executive board of the SDS (Hertrampf, 2008) and explains that this should raise the awareness that “diese Privatsache keine Privatsache ist” (Meinhof, 1969, p. 4) and that “die Unvereinbarkeit von Kinderaufzucht und außerhäuslicher Arbeit nicht ihr persönliches Versagen ist, sondern die Sache der Gesellschaft” (Meinhof, 1969, p. 4). She criticises that “Männer in dieser Privatssphäre objektiv die Funktionäre der kapitalistischen Gesellschaft zur Unterdrückung der Frau [seien]“ (Meinhof, 1969, p. 4). Hence, she argues that capitalism is the reasons why women are oppressed and that men execute capitalistic ideas. Women should organise themselves and free themselves (Meinhof, 1969). This article is on the one hand written by Meinhof who is well-known for her communists ideology and on the other hand she clearly states also in that article that the capitalist society oppresses the woman. Hence, this article is influenced by **Marxist feminism**.

4. The next article analyses German family law criticising that the law relating to the use of a name should be written in a way that both the female or male name can be used, not only the male name. Also, the “Leitbild der Hausfrauenehe” should be rejected and women should be able to work, educate themselves and take time for their children if they want to (Düsing, 1969, p. 5). An important step to free the woman would be to build kindergartens and all-days schools to find new ways which free women “aus der Knechtschaft, in die Männer und Kinder sie gebracht haben” (Düsing, 1969, p. 5). For the author, the participation on the labour market is not the most important goal of women but she writes about a broader emancipation from patriarchy and the biological aspect of pregnancy. The capitalist system is not the main ‘enemy’ so to say but rather advantageous laws for men (and hence, for the patriarchal system). Therefore, **radical feminism** had the greater impact on that article.
5. The next article deals with clichés of men and women turning out to be wrong. She writes that the different position of men and women in society are socially constructed and not biological claiming that “aus bestimmten Erziehungsmaximen und kulturellen und sozialen Faktoren haben sich ein fest umrissener Aufgabenkatalog und damit entsprechende Verhaltensweisen entwickelt“ (Dittmann, 1969, p. 5). By educating women in the way that they believe to have a motherly instinct, it is ensured that women do not pursue education and career as much as men do: “Die Folgen der zur Aufrechterhaltung der männlichen Herrschaft notwendigen Maßnahmen werden zu ihrer Begründung angeführt” (Dittmann, 1969, p. 6). She sees women’s protests as having “ihren Ursprung innerhalb der linken politischen Hochschulgruppen“ (Dittmann, 1969, p. 6) arguing against the “nicht begründbare Herrschaft des Mannes über die Frau” (Dittmann, 1969, p. 6). Although she connects left politics with women protest, she does not argue that capitalism is the real reason for the oppression of women, but patriarchal education and role models. The influence of **radical feminism** is obvious. In the end of the article she argues, that “die Emanzipation der Frau kann erst in einer von Ausbeutung freien Gesellschaft verwirklicht sein, d.h. in einer Gesellschaft, in der auch der Mann im politisch-revolutionären Sinne emanzipiert ist“ (Dittmann, 1969, p. 6). She demands the „Emanzipation der Menschen überhaupt“ (Dittmann, 1969, p. 6). As she includes men in her notion of real emancipation, she can be seen as a pioneer for the gender mainstreaming approaches as her ideal is a world in which everybody is free from role models and oppression. Her argumentation for left politics, revolution and the call for the end of exploitation of society is influenced by Marxists feminism. As real

emancipation of women for her is only possible with the end of exploitation of society, **Marxists feminism** influences her to a greater extent than radical feminism.

6. The next article's topic is an exhibition of photography in which “das Bild der Frau [in den] Warenfetischismus [eingeordnet ist] (Neumann & Otte, Feburar 1969, p. 6). The authors argue that the exhibition gives the impression that “Frauen [...] Objekte [sind]” (Neumann & Otte, Feburar 1969, p. 6). The objectification of women and the fight against it are issues of radical feminism. The authors claim that the exhibition is a “Manifestation der Verdinglichung” of women (Neumann & Otte, Feburar 1969, p. 6) which they criticise harshly. Hence, this article is influenced by **radical feminism**.
7. Other authors argue that the “intergeschlechtliche Arbeitsteilung [...] die Frau eindeutig in den häuslichen Bereich verweist und ihre daraus resultierende wirtschaftliche soziale und geistige Abhängigkeit vom Manne aufrechterhält“ (Bialas et al., 1969, p. 7). The article's focus is on fashion magazines which try to tell women that they should always look good to please men. Those magazines are described as “Manipulationsinstrument” (Bialas et al., 1969, p. 7) which are interested in women only as consumers. Women shall be distracted with consume and decoration so that they cannot take place in the public sphere, labour market or politics (Bialas et al., 1969). This argument is influenced by Marxists ideas as capitalism, consumerism diverted women from anything else but the private life and how top lease men. To overcome capitalism would mean to overcome the opporession of women in that sense. “Die Schablone der Frau als eine ausschließlich für den Mann existierenden und damit stets von ihm abhängigen Wesen“ is highly criticised (Bialas et al., 1969, p. 7). Hence, the authors are critical of the patriarchal society which is a radical feminist argument. Also, the authors state that “die gleiche sexuelle Aktivität, die für den Mann Prestigegegewinn bedeutet, bedeutet für die Frau Prestigeverlust.“ (Bialas et al., 1969, p. 7). The unequal handling of feminine and masculine sexuality is another topic of radical feminism. Although the article is influenced by **Marxist feminists**' ideas, the real problem is that women are educated only to serve the man and not to live for themselves. Hence, the patriarchal system is the main problem of that article which is promoted by the fashion and women magazine such as ‘Brigitte’ which is criticised by the authors and hence, the influence of **radical feminism** is also illustrated.
8. The next article deals with advertisement and how it illustrates women. Those advertisements are said to occupy an “ideologische Aufbereitung [die] dem Käufer Leitbilder suggeriert” (Kirchhoff, 1969, p. 8) in which also “die Frau nur eine Sache für

sich [ist], die angeboten wird” (Kirchhoff, 1969, p. 8). “Die Frau als Sexualobjekt” (Kirchhoff, 1969, p. 8) in advertisements is criticised as the author states that through this advertisement, men are sexually stimulated in a way that no woman could serve which damage the “Liebesfähigkeit von Mann und Frau” (Kirchhoff, 1969, p. 8). She writes that “die Gesellschaft mit ihrer Mutter- und Hausfrauenideologie die Frau in ihren vier Wänden verkümmern lässt“ (Kirchhoff, 1969, p. 8). Besides, she states that the possibilities of women are radical narrowed with her sexual instincts diminished. Women in advertisement can only find “Befriedigung, indem sie sich masochistisch der Herrschaft ihres kapitalistischen Supermanns unterwer[fen]“ (Kirchhoff, 1969, p. 8). Those advertisements support „Freiheit für den Konsum, [...], für die Bejahung der eigenen Unfreiheit“ oppressing women (Kirchhoff, 1969, p. 8). Those arguments are highly influenced by consume critique bashing a capitalist economy in which consume is more valuable than freedom of women. The objectification of women in advertisement is a **radical feminist** argument together with the typical role models between men and women and the patriarchal system being upheld in advertisement. But the main argument of the article is that the advertisement and the consume oppress the emancipation of women and hence, the main influence of that article is **Marxist feminism**.

9. Schrader (1969, p. 9) writes that consumption within the “Warengesellschaft” of capitalism is a new mechanism to oppress women. “Die Dissoziation von Produktions- und Konsumtionssphäre bringt eine Überbelastung und Überbetonung der zwei traditionellen Funktionen der Frau mit sich: 1. In ihrer Funktion als Objekt des männlichen Prestiges [...] 2. Ihre zweite Funktion als Arbeitsinstrument wird durch die allein ihr zugemutete ‚Doppelbelastung‘ in Haushalt und Beruf bestimmt (Schrader, 1969, p. 9). Although the man himself also is an object within a consumeristic society, he secures his relative autonomy by oppressing others. “Das entfremdete Subjekt Mann weidet sich immer noch an der Subjektlosigkeit der Frau und ihrer vollkommenen Verfügbarkeit“ (Schrader, 1969, p. 9). The body of the woman is her only capital which is passed “mit dem Trauschein [...] in den Besitz des Mannes [...]. Nun kann er investieren und das Kapital arbeiten lassen: der Körper muss schön sein“ (Schrader, 1969, p. 9). Lastly she states, that „Liebes- und Partnerschaftsideologie sind in der modernen Ehe an die Stelle der patriarchalischen Gewalt der bürgerlichen Kaufehe des 19.Jahrhunderts getreten. Diese neuen Ideologien sind keine Negationen der patriarchalischen Gewalt, sondern ihre völlige Verinnerlichung“ (Schrader, 1969,

p. 10). Her argumentation is highly influenced by Marxist feminism. The ‘Doppelbelastung’ between working and private life is criticised by Marxists feminism and it becomes clear that she thinks that capitalism enhances the two traditional functions of women in society leading to the fact that the woman herself only is an object with her body as capital. Although this argument implies the objectification of women which is criticised by **radical feminism**, the focus of this article is on the consequences of capitalism. She also argues that patriarchy is assimilated by women in a capitalist society. Hence, radical feminists’ ideas are present to a certain extent, but the main influence is **Marxist feminism**.

10. The following article deals with small families which are ironically viewed as “‘Enklave der Humanität’ innerhalb der totalen Verdinglichung des Menschen im Kapitalismus” which are supported by the state so that people do not revolt (Reimer, 1969, p. 11). The woman is oppressed in the private sphere and degraded to “Menschen zweiter Klasse” (Reimer, 1969, p. 11) which is supported by small families in which there is no sexuality and which woman need to decide between “Selbstverwirklichung und Kinderkriegen” (Reimer, 1969, p. 11). Her counterargument is the establishment of big families without marriages in which there is no “Destruktion der individuellen Freiheit” (Reimer, 1969, p. 11). In those families, “die alleinige Verantwortung der Frau für den häuslichen Bereich wird aufgelöst durch die Verantwortung aller” (Reimer, 1969, p. 11). There are not typically feminine or masculine tasks, financially is everybody dependent on everybody and the children grow up collectively educated and cared off. Hence, “vorwiegende Nutznießer der erweiterten Familie sind also die Frauen, die nicht mehr zwischen Windeln, Kochtopf und dem Mann aufgerieben werden” (Reimer, 1969, p. 11). The author is aware that this family construct is not possible right now but in the future (Reimer, 1969). Her idea of the big families is the destruction of the bourgeois family structure with father, mother and children. This deconstruction is a typical Marxist feminist’s idea. Also, her point of view that bourgeois family structures allow capitalism and prevent aggressions against the state (Reimer, 1969) is an Marxists feminists argumentation. To live in “Kommunen” is also a Marxists idea (Reimer, 1969, p. 11) and in her view, women would benefit the most from this new organisation as it would free themselves. Although the destruction of patriarchy would accompany her utopia, the influence of **Marxists feminism** is larger.
11. In the next article, the family is criticised as “der Ort, wo die Voraussetzungen für eine spätere Anpassung und Unterwerfung geschaffen werden” (Franke et al., 1969, p. 13).

“Die biologische Hilflosigkeit der Kinder und die schwächere Position der Frau liefern die Objekte, bei denen der Mann seine soziale Hilflosigkeit abreagieren und kompensieren kann“ (Franke et al., 1969, p. 13). The solution of this problem is anti-authoritarian education in which education of children needs to be understood as social task which requires all-day care centres. This would free the woman who could use their “soziale Energien [...] und die Möglichkeit zur Selbstverwirklichung“ (Franke et al., 1969, p. 14). As this article aims at the destruction of the bourgeois family structure and also refers to Russia as a country in which possibilities to introduce a social system which educates children jointly (Franke et al., 1969), the Marxist feminist’s influence is visible. Again, the authors also want to overcome patriarchy, but the main topics occupy **Marxists feminists’** arguments.

12. Another article deals with re-sexualisation as a demand from left-wing students including the “Befreiung der genitalen Sexualität (Frauenemanzipation: Orgasmusverlangen, Verfügungsrecht über den eigenen Körper), z.B. in der sozialen Form der Kommune“ (Unknown, 1969c, p. 4). The article also occupies the understanding that from the “gesellschaftlichen Produktionskräfte resultiert ohne Zweifel hohes Konfliktpotential für die individuelle Situation der Frau“ (Unknown, 1969c, p. 4). The destruction of the bourgeois family as a way to end the oppression of women is also included within this article as well as the understanding that capitalism enhances the subordination of women through the conflict between labour market/self-realisation and marriage/pregnancy/caring. Hence, the influence of **Marxists feminism** is highly visible. The demand of re-sexualisation is one of the main arguments of radical feminists and as this is the headline and the demand of the left-wing, **radical feminism** influenced this article to a higher extent.
13. The next article describes the situation of female-student only housing organised by the Catholic Church in Münster in which the “Herrenparagraph” limiting the time in which men can visit the house was rejected by most of the females living there (Unknown, 1969b, p. 10). The author argues against the tutelage of the Church criticising the “mittelalterliche Vorstellung von der Rolle und dem Wesen der Frau“ being promoted by it (Unknown, 1969b, p. 11). “Alles, was mit Sex und Eros zu tun hat, stellt sich dann als Gefahr dar“ was explained by the author (Unknown, 1969b, p. 11). This implies that the author demands (sexual) freedom and autonomy as a woman which is an argument made by radical feminists. Hence, this article is mostly influenced by **radical feminism**.

14. A further article also deals with female-students only housing organised by the Catholic Church in which the author argues for the right to sun bathe in Bikinis and for the right to have men visiting (M.-L. E., 1971). Hence, this article is also influenced by **radical feminists'** demand of sexual freedom and autonomy for women including the right to wear Bikinis implying the right to wear whatever women want.

15. Another article's topic is the “Aufrüstung” (gäde, 1974, p. 16) of the female's only student housing as “dort hausen nämlich die wehrhaften Frauen” (gäde, 1974, p. 16) who are enabled through the “Grundausrüstung [aus einer] Sprachydose und Tränengas” (gäde, 1974, p. 16) to fight against “unliebsame männliche ‘Besucher’” (gäde, 1974, p. 16) who are identified through “Lust in den Augen” (gäde, 1974, p. 16). This article is very critical of power structures which suppress women and make violence against women possible. Through the empowerment of female students in their student homes, the power of men shall be limited. The underlying reasons why the author welcomes to arm the female students also with “Handfeuerwaffen z.B. oder Granatwerfer” (gäde, 1974, p. 16) are that women likely became victims of sexual abuse or violent oppressions. As the article shows how strong woman are and how well they can defend themselves, it is likely to be influenced by **radical feminism**.

16. The next article shows reasons why women are less paid than men for the same work. The author states that the “Unterprivilegierung der Frau” (WW, 1975, p. 8) is something from which entrepreneurs would benefit the most because “aufgrund ihrer Benachteiligung in der Erziehung und Ausbildung [stellen die Frauen] für die Bosse das große Reservoir von Arbeitskräften dar, das gezwungen ist, ,dazuzuverdienen’’ (WW, 1975, p. 8). WW (1975, p. 8) argues that men are not to blame, but that men and women should work together to fight against “die, die von der Unterbezahlung der Frauen profitieren, die Unternehmen”. Hence, the author does not see patriarchy as the main reason for women to be oppressed, but the capitalist economic system. The inequality exists with regard to the economic labour and the position of the woman in the capitalist system is the main problem. Thus, the article is influenced by **Marxists feminism**.

17. The next article's topic is the establishment of an AStA-women's committee. The author claims that “Sozialismus so weit liegt und der Sexismus so nah“ (Koniezka, 1977, p. 4). Further, she criticises that “das Bild der Ehefrau und Mutter weiterhin zum Ideal stilisiert wird“ (Koniezka, 1977, p. 4) and that women are not viewed as subjects within “Gesetzestexten und ähnlichen Verlautbarungen“ (Koniezka, 1977, p. 4). Also, she asks whether „Kapitalismus Männern immer das Alibi geben [soll], um von ihrem eigenen

Anteil an der Unterdrückung der Frauen abzulenken“ (Koniezka, 1977, p. 4). She aims to change all social structures in order to end the oppression of women. Her article connects Marxists and radical feminist's arguments as she acknowledges that women are pushed into 'female' professions (Koniezka, 1977) criticising the capitalist system, but her focus clearly lies on the critique of patriarchy and the power structures underlying capitalist system which pressures women into her oppressed position. She also mentions domestic abuse and that women are not seen as subjects (Koniezka, 1977) bashing the objectification of women. Hence, her article is influenced by **radical feminism**.

18. Leberer (1977, p. 11) writes an answer to this article criticising Koniezka for not analysing that the representation of women in typical feminine professions has nothing to do with biological differences between men and women but with the capitalist system in which “die Rolle der Frau als Reservearmee im kapitalistischen Verwertungsprozeß” becomes visible. “Der entscheidene Hebel zur grundlegenden Veränderung der Lage der Frau [muss] an der ökonomischen Grundlage ihrer Unterdrückung ansetzen“ according to Leberer (1977, p. 11). She claims the “spezifische Betroffenheit [der Frauen] durch eine Gesellschaftsordnung, die Profitmaximierung [...] zum Ziel hat“ (Leberer, 1977, p. 11). Her arguments are clearly influenced by Marxists feminism as her main focus lies on capitalism and how it oppresses women and fosters the suppression of women in general. She argues against the establishment of an autonomous women's committee as for her, there are not enough arguments which would support how women are oppressed because of patriarchy, but she rather sees women's protest as part of left-wing protest aiming at “gemeinsame Anstrengungen der Aktionseinheit aller linken Kräfte” (Leberer, 1977, p. 11). Hence, she is influenced by **Marxists feminism**.
19. Another response to the discussion about an autonomous women's committee was written explaining that not patriarchy is the reason for the suppression of women. “Die Hauptursache der Unterdrückung [liegt] in unserer Klassengesellschaft” was stated by Uni-Frauengruppe (1977, p. 8). In that sense, the man is seen as “ausführendes Subjekt der Unterdrückung” (Uni-Frauengruppe, 1977, p. 8) and the authors underline that “nicht der Mann als Mann, sondern nur die ihm zur Verfügung stehende Rolle im Kapitalismus Privilegien und Herrschaftsmöglichkeiten über die Frau eingeräumt hat“ (Uni-Frauengruppe, 1977, p. 8). Women's emancipation for them means to destroy capitalism and the role models which are “verinnerlichte[...] Bewusstseinsstrukturen” (Uni-Frauengruppe, 1977, p. 8). The capitalistic system is seen as the ultimate factor of

Articles	Reasons for oppression		Private sphere	Sexual freedom	Women's politics	Resisting subject	Valuing the feminine	Authorship	Main themes				Schools of thought	
	Inequality in reproduction	Systematic hierarchies							Rule/Reign of men	Objectification of women	Right of autonomy	ASIA Women's Committee	Radical feminism	Marxist feminism
1	X	X	X	X			X	F/M	X				X	O
2	X	X	X	X	X	X		F	X				X	O
3	X	X	X	X	X	X		F	X				X	
4	X	X	X	X	X	X		F	X				X	
5	X	X	X	X	X	X		F	X				O	X
6	X					X	X	F		X			X	
7	X	X	X	X	X	X		F	X				X	X
8	X	X	X	X	X	X		F	X	X			O	X
9	X	X	X			X		F	X				O	X
10	X	X	X	X	X	X		F		X			X	
11	X	X	X	X	X	X		F		X			X	
12	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	F/M		X			X	O
13	X	X	X	X	X	X		F/M		X			X	
14	X	X	X	X	X	X		F/M		X			X	
15	X	X	X			X		F		X			X	
16	X							F/M		X				X
17	X		X		X	X		F			X		X	
18	X			X	X	X		F			X			X
19	X			X	X			F			X		X	X

the oppression of women in which women and men learn how to behave as man and woman. Hence, this article is highly influenced by **Marxists feminism**.

Table 5 X=characteristic present/F/M:unknown gender F=Female/Schools of thought: O=partial influence X=main influence

### 3. Data of the third wave of feminism

Table 6

Year	Articles about women	Articles with the influence of the women's movement
1990	2	2
1991	4	1
1992	5	2
1993	7	4
1994	9	9
1995	0	0
1996	3	1
1997	2	1
1998	0	0
1999	0	0
2001	1	0
2002	1	0
2003	2	0
2004	0	0
2005	0	0
2006	0	0
2007	0	0
2008	1	0
2009	3	2
2010	5	3
2011	0	0
2012	1	0
2013	11	6
2014	2	1
2015	1	1
2016	3	1
2017	1	1
2018	3	0
2019	13	3

Table 6 shows how many articles' content dealt with women and how many articles' were influenced by the women's movement.

1. The first article is written by a female author and deals with the debate if women should complete a social year just like men after school. This argument arose as military service for men (and also the social service for those who do not want to serve military services) was shorten by the government. The author warns against such steps as in this case “Frauen die Suppe auslöffeln sollen, die Männer dieser Gesellschaft eingebrockt

haben” (Kremer, 1990, p. 2). She argues that women's only advantage to enter the job market after pregnancy is that they start working earlier than men. Therefore, the military service enhances the chances of equality between men and women. She does not oppose social services in general, but states that if women must complete a social year, then actions need to be taken to ease the possibility of women to enter the job market after pregnancy and to enhance social security and retirements for women. This argumentation occupies demands of the **women's support** feminists. She calls pregnancy an “handicap” arguing for more support of women in education and job market (Kremer, 1990, p. 2). Her arguments are influenced by the understanding of total equality between men and women. Especially as she sees pregnancy as something negative, she believes that women need special support to overcome this handicap to reach equality between the sexes and also her argument to not take women into account

when it comes to military services seems to imply that she wants a special treatment for women. Nevertheless, her overall goal is to diminish differences between the sexes and as women are biologically the ones getting pregnant, she argues for men to also take a year off so that both sexes have the same (dis)advantages. Hence, she is influenced by the **gender mainstreaming** approach trying to equalise biological differences between the sexes.

2. The second article is written by a female author containing initiatives of women's support actions. The author complains that the women's movement within universities consisted too much of endless debates and not real actions. Reasons for that might also be that men predominate in position of powers she criticises. She argues that those initiatives can really change the position of women in universities. Examples are women's support in universities, women's studies and women's academies. A decreasing of barriers of (re-)entering the job market or universities are main requests, child-care, financial support and a normalisation of women in science were also demanded (Kliesch, 1990). As she focuses on **women's support** actions, the author is highly influenced by the women's support ideas.
3. Ilex (1991, pp. 10–11) describes the roots of sexism in universities by using words like “vorherrschende Ellenbogendenken und Männerkumpanei”, „die sozialen männlichen Analphabeten schützen sich gewissermaßen gegenseitig“, “Macho-Gesellschaft” and “Muff von vorgestern der weißen Herrenrasse christlicher Selbstgefälligkeit”. “Falsche Erziehung und [die] unselige Historie im Verhältnis der ‘Wertigkeit’ von Frau und Mann“ are the reasons for violence against women which must change according to the author (Ilex, 1991, p. 10). She endorses women's support criticising the different access conditions for men and women to the job market. As counter-measurements, she refers to official complaints or to confrontation not alone but with the support of other women (and men) (Ilex, 1991). Therefore, she argues for collective solidarity between women, eradication of patriarchy which underlines the influence of **radical feminism** and special women's support. Hence, she is influenced by the **women's support** argumentation.
4. The next article deals with critical law students who argue *inter alia* about women's right, feminist legal theory and if there is the need for the legal anchoring of specific women's rights in the constitution. Although the organisation of the critical law students uses gender-neutral language (“*JuristInnen*”) (Bandini & Kopitzke, 1992, p. 18), specific right's for women can be categorised as **women's support** argumentation as

women are seen as a different category than men which need special rights for their situation. Men are excluded from this perspective as not belonging to the marginalised group.

5. A further article was written by a female author dealing with the women's and lesbian's network. She argues that women need to withstand the “patriarchale[n] Geist [an den Hochschulen]” and the “HERRschende Wissenschaftsbetrieb” (Menke, 1992, p. 20). To achieve that, she reasons for the independence of women, for feminine structures and strategies and argues that women “müssen ihre unterschiedlichen Kompetenzen [...], Erfahrungen und [...] Wissen gegenseitig anerkennen und nutzen” (Menke, 1992, p. 20). She views the women's and lesbian network as a great achievement to reach the political audience and connect the women to each other (Menke, 1992). This article is influenced by **radical feminism** as the patriarchal social system is criticised and by **the women's support** argumentation as ‘the feminine’ should be valued with the establishment of such feminine structures. Again, men are excluded from that perspective or rather seen as the oppressor of women.
6. Another article's topic is studying with children. Both mothers and fathers are addressed, that they need to deal with “Doppelstreß” of studying and caring for the child (Böhm & Kirschbaum, 1993, p. 9). But the authors saying that the mothers stop studying and that an alternative for that phenomenon is provided by AStA in form of a day-care-centre for children (Böhm & Kirschbaum, 1993). Although both parents benefit from the day-care-centre, the way the authors use the arguments suggest, that mostly women are enabled to continue studying. As this article was written to raise awareness of the help parents and especially female students can get and it was suggested that for women it is either day-care-centre or to stop studying, this article is more likely to be influenced by the **women's support** idea.
7. The next articles headline “Feministinnen und Feministen aller Länder vereinigt Euch!” (Unknown, 1993, p. 24) is clearly related to (Marx & Engels, 1848, p. 23) “Proletarier aller Länder vereinigt Euch!”. But it is written in a feminist way (gender-neutral) and include women differently than Marx and Engels. Thus, the influence of **Marxist feminism** is visible. Further, within the article effects of soft and hard pornography are the focus. The author writes of the “Reduzierung der Sexualität auf reine Pornographie” and that there is more to feminine sexuality than only the appearance of women (Unknown, 1993, p. 24). This is a **radical feminist** argument as the valuing of feminine sexuality is demanded. The porn industry according to the author reduce both men and

women to role models in which men are described as “stumpfe Triebtäter” and which supports women in their “Schöhnheitswahn bzw. Jugendkult” (Unknown, 1993, p. 24). For the author, “die Herrschaft von der Kirche [ist] zum Kommerz übergegangen“ and (s)he argues that media channels need to promote love and care (Unknown, 1993, p. 24). Also, men should stand up against violence against women. The article sees both men and women unfairly represented by the porn industry challenging role models for both sexes. (S)He quotes Alice Schwarzer, a prominent German feminist promoting the prohibition of porn industry as women are unfairly represented as sex objects and not subjects (Unknown, 1993). Also, her/his goal is to establish an anti-porn law it is to be entangle for whom (s)he does this. On the one hand, (s)he describes that men are more likely to become sex-addicts or view rape as “Vergewohltätigung” arguing that women enjoy rape when watching porn beforehand (Unknown, 1993, p. 24). Hence, (s)he reasons that the prohibition of porn would protect women in the first place. In the second place, role models both of men and women are unfairly and untrue promoted and published. Both **gender mainstreaming** and women’s support’s ideas are visible in this argumentation. Nevertheless, as women tend to be the focus and main subject of protection, the **women’s support**’s argumentation prevails.<sup>100</sup>

8. The next article deals with studying and having children. The author demands facilitations in the area of study organisation, finances and care-centres. He only speaks of parents and “betroffenen Studenten” (Krüssel, 1993a, p. 27). Hence, he does not use gender-neutral language but he includes both female and male students similarly. As he does not focus on women in particular, he is more likely to be influenced by the **gender mainstreaming** approach to treat women and men in the same way.
9. The following article is the second part of the article analysed beforehand giving information about the financial situation of students with children. Again, the possibilities are described for both men and women with no differences between the sexes (Krüssel, 1993b). Hence, he is more likely to be influenced by the **gender mainstreaming** approach.
10. Menke and Rabeneck (1994) call a strike for women and lesbians as they put it as they are worse off than their male counterparts on the job market and in university life. Because of “konservativen Bestrebungen”, women and lesbians are underrepresented in

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<sup>100</sup> Studies about rape and porn: Russell (1988), Pornography and Rape: A Causal Model, Political Psychology, Vol. 9, Nr. 1. / Ferguson, Hartley (2009), The pleasure is momentary...the expense damnable?: The influence of pornography on rape and sexual assault, Aggression and Violent Behavior, Vol 15, Issue 5, pp. 323-329

professorships and overrepresented in part-time professions (Menke & Rabeneck, 1994, p. 3). Also, female and lesbian students are underrepresented in the economic faculty and overrepresented in typical female faculties. But, university reforms would (financially) support economic interests and the economic faculty more than others, so that women's interests are disproportional supported. A part of the strike is a "Hürdenlauf [...], bei dem die zusätzlichen Hürden, denen Frauen und Lesben überdurchschnittlich verglichen mit Männern ausgesetzt sind, veranschaulicht werden" (Menke & Rabeneck, 1994, p. 4). Examples are cooking, child-care and so forth (Menke & Rabeneck, 1994). The authors speak of "frauen- und lesbienfeindliche Verhältnisse an der Uni" (Menke & Rabeneck, 1994, p. 4). Hence, this article is influenced by **women's support** ideas, but also slightly with **radical feminism**.

11. In a small cartoon, Bretécher (Februar 1994, p. 3) uses words as "Schwesterliche Solidarität", "Männlichkeitswahn", "männlicher Chauvinismus", "intellektuelle, ökonomische und emotionale Abhängigkeit" and "Tausende, die kämpfen". This cartoon is highly influenced by **radical feminism** valuing 'the feminine' and collective solidarity between women.
12. The next article refers back to the article of Menke and Rabeneck (1994) explaining that the women's protests faced heavy interferences of the police as women occupied the roundabout of Münster. The author criticises that right-wing protests are secured by the police whereas when women protest "warden die Ordnungshüter bissig wie ihre Schäferhunde" (Krüger, 1994, p. 11). For the author, the police approach underlines that "Frau nur, wenn sie Freundlich, lieb & ruhig ist, Sympathien erhält" (Krüger, 1994, p. 11). Also during the strike, a centre of male dominance was re-named and insufficient prosecution of rape and unequal payments were denounced which was welcomed by the author (Krüger, 1994). This article also opposes patriarchal social structures which are illustrated in the description of the police officers. Also, women's rights are something which women need to fight for and that role models of women oppress them. Hence, the article is highly influenced by radical feminism. Women's support ideas are not really touched except for the continuing protest of disadvantages for women and the aim of the strike namely to empower women and girls. Hence, the article is influenced to a greater extent by **radical feminism**.

13. The article written by the Referatsfrauen (1994) provides an overview of events organised by the Autonomes Frauenreferat<sup>101</sup>. Next to a women's café, an event about sexism within the university and situations of lesbians, genetic and reproduction technologies were the focus of the work. Also, a "FrauenSommerUni" is organised (Referatsfrauen, 1994, p. 11). The Frauenreferat alone is only for women and exists to support women in their daily life. Hence, it is part of a women's support structure and in itself women's support. The organised events occupy the valuing and celebrating of the feminine as something special excluding men from participating. Obviously, this article is influenced by the **women's support** argumentation.

14. A further article evaluates the work of the Autonomes Frauenreferats arguing that the niche of the Frauenreferat might be too small and female students might not see the use of it which is why so less women engaged in the plenary session of it. Moreover, the author criticises that the Frauenreferat should represent all women but describes itself only as radical feminists influenced by left-wing politics. But the author also stresses the importance of the Frauenreferat stating that it should only focus on female students and the position of women in the university in which also "lila Laune und Lust [...] wieder eine Chance [hätten] (Rülfing, 1994, p. 12). Hence, the author values the work of a women's only unit and support of female students arguing for a concentration of efforts only on the habitus university. Also, she does not reject radical feminist ideas but argues for a specifically use of their ideas in university context. The author sees the need to further support and enhance the position of women in university life and special women's support. Thus, she is influenced by the **women's support** argumentation and slightly by **radical feminism**.

15. In the next article, the program of the "Wilde Weiber Uni" is described which is a summer school for women (Unknown, 1994, p. 13). It is only for women made by women and feminists topics and debates are the focus. The aim is "den männerdominierten Elfenbeinturm "Universität" zu sprengen" and events is inter alia women's history in Münster, how women are perceived and university reforms made by women for women (Unknown, 1994, p. 13). This article is clearly influenced by **women's support** as its whole purpose is the description of an event made by women for women to support and empower them.

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<sup>101</sup> autonomous women's unit.

16. Sprengard (1994) formulates the resolution of all role models as her ideal for the future. She illuminates both discrimination against women and men in her article arguing “mit der Frauenfrage ist die Männerfrage eng verknüpft” (Sprengard, 1994, p. 14). She writes that “Frau und Mann eine gesunde Ausgewogenheit der ‚männlichen‘ und ‚weiblichen‘ Anteile in sich finden [müssen]“ (Sprengard, 1994, p. 14). Although she demands a “weibliche Gegenkultur” fighting against the patriarchy and argues for women’s quotations (Sprengard, 1994, p. 14), she does so for total equality between both sexes. According to her, “Familienpolitik ist Menschenpolitik” which demands not only to include women’s perspectives but also men’s point of view (Sprengard, 1994, p. 14). Although she seems to be highly influenced by her rejections of women’s discrimination and feminine role models demanding support for women, she classifies the struggle of women as a problem of the whole society and not only of women. Hence, she is influenced by the **gender mainstreaming** approach.

17. Another article deals with students with children describing how both mums and dads met to discuss how they manage to study and care for their child. Although more women than men attended the meeting, the article is written for both sexes using gender-neutral language (“Mamis und Papis”, “Mann/Frau”, “studierender Eltern”, “Anwesenden”) (Wedel, 1994, p. 5). Therefore, the article is written from a **gender mainstreaming perspective** including both sexes in the care of their child.

18. The next article evaluates the already-described ‘Wilde Weiber Uni’ stating that it was a success for all participants. As the program was for women only, the author criticised that men were excluded from topics as contraception. Although some events dealing with sensitive topics were understandably women-only, the author argues that the participation of men in other events would have led to a “Lerneffekt” and to a “Abschottung” of women (Zimmer, 1994, p. 13). She proposes to include men in the next event so that they “von den die Frauen mehr Entgegenkommen und Akzeptanz fordern, sich selbst ein Bild [...] machen [können] (Zimmer, 1994, p. 13). Therefore, she demands to include men and women to a certain extent equally to reach equality and understanding from both sides. She does not support women-only support. Hence, she is more likely to be influenced by the **gender mainstreaming** approach.

19. The following article deals with “Angsträumen” of women (Unknown, 1996, p. 11). Those are places in which women do not feel save when it is dark or when they are alone based on the experience of violence against women or knowledge that women are more likely not able to defend themselves. The author states that violence against women is

daily reality and “Ausdruck eines patriarchalen frauenfeindlichen Systems” (Unknown, 1996, p. 11). The “Angsträume” are “ein Ausdruck struktureller Gewalt gegen Frauen” (Unknown, 1996, p. 11) and would exist because the “baulichen Gegebenheiten [sind] häufig mit männlichem Blick geplant (Unknown, 1996, p. 11). As women tend to take preventive measures, those places restrict the “subjektive Sicherheitsempfinden und die objektiv messbare Lebensqualität von Frauen” (Unknown, 1996, p. 11). Such places within the university shall be discovered and discussed according to the author (Unknown, 1996). The author is clearly influenced by the **women’s support** ideas as (s)he only takes the women’s perspective into account and aims at enhancing the situation of women.

20. Another article dealing with a “frauengerechteren Hochschulbau” argues that both men and women would benefit from measurements ensuring security for students (Rose, 1997, p. 11). Glass doors, lightening of pathways and clear labelling of corridors, buildings and rooms would help to feel safer. “Frauenbedürfnisse” should be included in university policies regarding construction measures so that universities effectively functions (Rose, 1997, p. 11). This article is influenced by the women’s perspective and argues for more support for women. Hence, **women’s politics/support** ideas are extensively illustrated. But the men’s perspective is also included. The author argues that both sexes feel scared sometimes and both sexes would benefit from such measures. In that sense, crime and violence could be prevent independent of the sex of the person. Hence, the author is more influenced by the **gender mainstreaming** perspective.
21. Article written by female author questioning whether there are really two types of sex. Criticising that each gender study starts by distinguishing two sexes and assigning typical characteristics to women and men. Author argues that those characteristics are more likely to be socially constructed and educated and not something men or women are being born with. “Geschlechterrollen sind festgefahrenen Stereotypen, die tief in der Gesellschaft und auch in der Sprache verankert sind“. Criticising German language by stating that gender-neutral gramma in German is not gender-neutral, that women are more likely to be minimised and the male expressions tends to equal the standard (Reifernath, 2009). On the one hand, gender-sensitive language as a tool to include the feminine and to raise awareness for it, is a typical argument of the **women’s support**. On the other hand, the questioning of the distinction between two sexes is a **gender mainstreaming** argumentation. Hence, both perspectives are included within that article.

22. The next article is also written by a female author and deals with children and studying. The author writes mostly about the women's perspective as she does not once mention men caring for the child alone, although she uses the gendered form of student and parent in German. Also, only female students are quoted in the article and the author also says that some "Powerfrauen" would manage to complete their studies within standard period of studying (Unknown, 2009, p. 35). Demands of the author to enhance studying while caring for a child are to extended financial support and a flexible curricula for the parents (Unknown, 2009). Although she clearly takes the woman's perspective, her demands aim at supporting both men and women to the same extent. Through the use of gendered language (s)he underlines that both men and women are affected. Hence, her article is written from a **gender mainstreaming** perspective.

23. Weber (2010, p. 16) argues that the "Zweigeschlechtlichkeit" is something which is not necessarily a fact, but rather a socio-cultural Western understanding. She describes how in other cultures women take over the 'masculine' work and in which men live as "Personen des männlichen Geschlechts [...], die sich allerdings in ihrer Lebens- und Ausdrucksform der weiblichen Rolle zuordnen lassen" (Weber, 2010, p. 17). Moreover, she rejects that the "Dualität der Geschlechter eine natürliche Konstruktion [ist], [...] intersexuelle Geschlechtszugehörigkeiten [sind] denkbar" (Weber, 2010, p. 17). She criticises that most cultures would suppress intersexual behaviour (Weber, 2010). Analysing her arguments, it becomes clear that she endorses discursive and structural changes of society with the aim to neutralise the gender and to open the understanding of the sex to include diverse people without clearly distinguishable sexual traits. She supports gender neutrality and tries to establish sensitivity for people who do not feel connected to the well-established notion of two biological sexes with socio-cultural role models. Hence, her article is clearly influenced by **gender mainstreaming** approach.

24. Another article describes shortly the history of women within the university of Münster stating that the university is "von einer ausgewogenen Situation [...] jedenfalls noch ein gutes Stück entfernt" (Brockmann, 2010, p. 19). He endorses the "Landesgleichstellungsgesetz [...], das unter anderem einen Frauenförderplan, die paritätische Besetzung von Berufungskommissionen, eine bessere Berücksichtigung von Bewerberinnen [...] vorsieht." (Brockmann, 2010, p. 19). Hence, he is influenced by the **women's support** argumentation as his article focuses on the specific assistance for women.

25. The next article's content is a survey about women's quotas in job recruitments answered by students. Nine answers by students were printed containing only one positive, seven negative and one sophisticated ones. The last one differentiated between quotas within university (which he rejects) and within the economy (which he endorses). Counterarguments were that there are no differences anymore between the sexes or that the problem is the "Vereinbarkeit von Familie und Beruf" (Gieselmann & Schönefeld, 2010, p. 21). "Qualifikation sollte den Ausschlag geben" (Gieselmann & Schönefeld, 2010, p. 21) or "Frauen müssen einfach zur richtigen Zeit am richtigen Ort sein" are some arguments that were used to reject the quota (Gieselmann & Schönefeld, 2010, p. 21). As women quotas are women's support argumentation and those are dislike, the article is to a greater extent influenced by the **gender mainstreaming perspective** which opposes quotas.

26. Another article also contained a survey about gender-sensitive language answered by students. All the seven answers contain that gender-sensitive language is important in a political or university context, but most of them state that they do not use it during free time. Only two out of seven find gender-sensitive language highly important in every situation (Kück, 2013). Gender-sensitive language is an important topic of the gender mainstreaming approach and as all of the students being quoted in the article heart of and thought about gender-sensitive language and use it at least in university context, the influence of **gender mainstreaming** is visible.

27. The next article examines the importance of gender-sensitive language explaining that with the use of the "generischen Maskulinum weniger Frauen mit den Begriffen assoziier[t werden]" (Unknown, 2013, p. 23). Through that, women tend to be excluded especially in the context of experts. "Auch Männer werden dabei sprachlich unterdrückt, einerseits zu deren Vorteil, weil sie nicht mit dieser status-armen Gruppe identifiziert werden, andererseits auch zum Nachteil" according to the author (Unknown, 2013, p. 23). Gender-sensitive language is seen as an issue of "Frau-Mann-Hierarchie" (Unknown, 2013, p. 23). This argumentation is clearly influenced by the **women's support** approach arguing for the inclusion of the feminine form into the language. Moreover, gender-sensitive language would foster "die Festigung der Geschlechter-Dichotomie aus Mann und Frau" (Unknown, 2013, p. 23). Hence, the author argues for support for both men and women to overcome linguistic disadvantages and inequalities to establish gender-neutrality. For that, discursive and structural changes are necessary

in the form of gender-neutral language. Thus, the article is influenced by the **gender mainstreaming** perspective.

28. The next article analyses the demonstration slutwalk in Münster as a “Protest gegen Vergewaltigungsmythen” (Kotterba, 2013b, p. 26). The goal was the “Entmystifizierung der ‘Schlampe’: gegen die verbreitete Vorstellung, dass bestimmte Kleidung eine Einladung zu sexistischen Sprüchen, zum Angaffen, Angraben oder gar zum Anfassen sei” (Kotterba, 2013b, p. 26). But not all women felt represented as the terminology ‘slut’ but rather were afraid that society would not understand why the women participating in the protest were short skirts etc. The author questions how inclusive the protest shall be and how to balance publicity and inclusion. The protest is now recalled into “Feministische Aktion Münster” (Kotterba, 2013b, p. 27). The article shows how women are stigmatised and affected by violence demanding women support but also “das Recht von Männern, Röcke zu tragen” (Kotterba, 2013b, p. 26). **Gender mainstreaming** aspects in the sense that everybody can decide for him/herself what do wear are included. As the main reason for the protest was rape and that women can wear whatever they want, **radical feminism** is the most influential idea picked up by the author’s article.

29. The next article is written by a man for other men about the sexism-debate in Germany within the university of Münster. He argues that “geschlechtsbezogene Diskriminierung und Grenzüberschreitungen werden von Männern seltener als solche wahrgenommen” (Schmidt, 2013, p. 28) and that men tend to see themselves as “Opfer der political correctness” (Schmidt, 2013, p. 28). He criticises if certain behaviours are understood as “natürlicher Ausdruck deines biologischen Geschlechts” (Schmidt, 2013, p. 28) and argues to see “Frauen als gleichberechtigte, gleichintelligente und gleichautonome Subjekte” (Schmidt, 2013, p. 28). He warns against the reproduction of the “Opferrolle” (Schmidt, 2013, p. 28) of women and to raise the awareness for “Situation mit Machtgefälle jeglicher Art” (Schmidt, 2013, p. 28). Arguing that men are systemically privileged in the “patriarchalen Gesellschaft” (Schmidt, 2013, p. 28), he is influenced by radical feminism criticising patriarchy and the role models of men and women within it. Also, the awareness of violence against women is, the critique of power structure are radical feminist’s arguments. In the end of his article, he states that men are not automatically perpetrators and women not necessarily always victims (Schmidt, 2013). Hence, he argues to support both men and women equally not because of their sex but because someone was affected by violence. This is a **gender mainstreaming** approach.

But he also raises especially the awareness of sexism and how women are affected by it. Hence, there is also women's support arguments included stating that there is still the need to support women more than men. All in, it is not clear which argumentation influenced the article the most, so that a mix of **radical feminism** and **women's support** is present.

30. The next article deals with sexual harassment in universities criticising the “Umkehrung des Täter-Opfer-Verhältnisses” (Eing & Paetsch, 2013, p. 34) from which follows that “Betroffene häufig mit einem Gefühl von Ohnmacht zurück [bleiben] (Eing & Paetsch, 2013, p. 35). The university is described as a place which is “von außen unerwünscht sexualisiert[...], das die eigenen Wünsche nach Grenzen im unterschiedlichen Ausmaß nicht wertschätzt oder bewusst überschreitet und die Kompetenzen von Frauen durch deren Sexualisierung in Frage stellt“ (Eing & Paetsch, 2013, p. 35) which leads to the fact that it is impossible to learn and work properly. The authors state that this is an “allgemeines Problem bei vorhandener Geschlechterhierarchie“ (Eing & Paetsch, 2013, p. 35) and that female students are dependent on the (male) professors when it comes to exams for example increasing the “Machtdifferenz noch zusätzlich” (Eing & Paetsch, 2013, p. 35). The difference within the power structures are the most important factors to recreate inequality between men and women also in universities. Sexism based on “der Naturalisierung von Geschlechterunterschieden” must be overcome (Eing & Paetsch, 2013, p. 35). This article is on the one hand influenced by radical feminism as sexual harassment and violence are main topics together with power structures fostering women's suppression. The view that people should re-think the naturalisation of gender differences and shall not objectify women as sex objects is also a characteristic of **radical feminism**. To overcome the naturalisation of the duality of sexes is a **gender mainstreaming** argument. On the other hand, it is influenced by **women's support** argumentation as women and especially female students shall be empower through structures as women's help offices within the university (Eing & Paetsch, 2013). The need to occupy the woman's perspective is visible and a collective solidarity between women who experienced harassment shall help to overcome the individualisation of such problems (Eing & Paetsch, 2013). Hence, several ideas are illustrated within the arguments.
31. The next article criticises that people who do not fit into the categories man or woman experience also sexism. He argues that “auch die biologischen Kategorien Mann-Frau gesellschaftlich konstruiert sind“ (Kotterba, 2013a, p. 36) similar to the “sozialen

Geschlechter” (Kotterba, 2013a, p. 36). He gives examples from other cultures in which different sexes are acknowledged by the state and society demanding emancipatory protest to end sexism in that sense. Clearly, he is influenced by **gender mainstreaming** perspective arguing for gender neutrality and its marginalisation. He demands systemic change and intervention through for example the establishment of a third category for new born children (Kotterba, 2013a).

32. The next article deals with taboos and sex specifically. Feminist porn as an alternative to typical porn using role models and the right to do whatever you want to do with your body are main arguments used by the authors. Prostitution is seen as “autonome persönliche Entscheidung und Form sexueller Selbstbestimmung“ (Greif & Obermaier, 2014, p. 16). Sexual freedom of women is a specific radical feminist argument which goes together with the experience of feminine sexuality. Hence, the article is influenced by **radical feminism**.
33. Another article deals with sexism stating that the reasons for it is the “Patriarchat, das mein ein System von sozialen Beziehungen, maßgebenden Werten, Normen und Verhaltensmustern, das von Männern geprägt, kontrolliert und repräsentiert wird“ (Grau et al., 2015, p. 29). Also, the authors call girls to not blame themselves and to get or search for help (Grau et al., 2015). Hence, the authors establish collective solidarity between women blaming the capitalist system for sexism and violence against women. The references to the capitalist system as reason for the oppression of women is a **Marxist feminist**’ argument. Nevertheless, the argument that sexism has its roots in patriarchal structures is a classical **radical feminist** argument. Hence, both movements influenced the author’s writing.
34. Tatjes and Obermaier (2016, p. 24) write about contraception, specifically the pill stating that it meant for women in the second wave sexual freedom but which is not up-to-date anymore: “Die Gleichberechtigung der 68er [ist] nicht mehr dieselbe [...] wie heute. Heute meinen wir damit, dass nicht nur die Frau das Recht hat, verhüten zu dürfen, sondern Frau und Mann sich gemeinsam um Verhütung kümmern sollen“. The problem is, that women should not take the pill without questioning its effect and men should not understand “Verhütung nach wie vor [als] Frauensache” (Tatjes & Obermaier, 2016, p. 25). Women should not suffer from medical side-effects. The authors demand a new discurs about the pill and contraception “geführt von beiden Geschlechtern” (Tatjes & Obermaier, 2016, p. 25). Their arguments are influenced by the **gender mainstreaming** perspective as both sexes should together find alternative

solutions for contraception. There is no need for special woman support but rather a collective task to avoid becoming pregnant. This implies that pregnancy is not seen as the pregnancy of the woman but pregnancy of both parents.

35. The next article deals with the need to use gender-sensitive language so that “das Nicht-Männliche durch die Sprache bis ins gedankliche Bild vermittelt wird“ (Uphoff, 2017, p. 28). She states that gender-sensitive language limits the influence of patriarchy as it “reproduziert das Weltbild” (Uphoff, 2017, p. 28). “Eine klare Rollenverteilung [ist] noch immer Teil unseres Sprachgebrauchs“ (Uphoff, 2017, p. 28) according to the author and that women are not included while the ‘generische Maskulinum’ is used was detected by studies. But the author thinks a step further: “Wenn wir schon dabei sein, marginalisierte Gruppen in den – wie wir ja jetzt festgestellt haben mächtigen – Sprachgebrauch zu integrieren, dann bitte nicht nur die konservative Dichotomie Weiblich/Männlich bedenken“ (Uphoff, 2017, p. 29). Hence, she aims at including an infinite number of gender into the language to establish equality and inclusion. Criticising that “Gendern ist unangenehm. Es zeigt, wie wenig Akzeptanz in unserer Gesellschaft für unkonventionelle Geschlechtervorstellungen vorhanden sind“ (Uphoff, 2017, p. 29) she argues to think outside the box. Her argumentation is clearly influenced by gender mainstreaming as she aims at gender-neutrality with regard to language and society itself. In her arguments, gender marginalisation is the main focus as through the use of “das Sternchen” (Uphoff, 2017, p. 29), an infinite number of gender is included and not only one or two. Hence, the gender becomes unimportant and marginalised. Her article is clearly influenced by **gender mainstreaming**.

36. Another article deals with menstruation. The author claims that “die Wahrnehmung der Menstruation als negatives Spezifikum der Frau [...] bis heute als Stütze für die Theorie einer vermeintlichen biologischen Minderwertigkeit [dient]“ (Griesing, 2019, p. 19). Hence, women need to be “genauso funktionstüchtig [...] wie an jedem anderen Tag” (Griesing, 2019, p. 18) and the focus is on hygiene and not on the biological process of the female body (Griesing, 2019). The treatment of the menstruation is said to be “mitverantwortlich für die bis heute vorherrschenden Ungerechtigkeiten beim gesellschaftlichen Umgang mit den verschiedenen Geschlechtern“ (Griesing, 2019, p. 19) and it is highly problematic when acknowledging that there are more than two sexes/gender and not only women can get menstruations (Griesing, 2019). The author demands a change in the perspective and image of the menstruation to reach social change and end inequality. **Radical feminism** deals with valuing the femininity and

feminine bodies and the normalisation and acceptance of menstruation. Hence, its influence is obvious. But also, empowerment of women and girls, a better handling of menstruation and education is part of the **women's support** argumentation. Women should self-celebrate themselves and their menstruation and not hide it as something unhygienic. The **gender mainstreaming** perspective is also slightly included as it is mentioned that menstruation is not only something women might have, but also transgender. The article is influenced by all three views to the same extent.

37. A further article deals with students having children and if the university life is the right time to have children. The demand of the article is that the university of Münster should increase and enhance their help and support offering for young parents. The author also underlines that the Gleichstellungsbeauftragte of the University of Münster was able to help many parents, "Müttern und Vätern" (Wilke, 2019, p. 25). Although only female

Article	Deconstruction of perception	Historical and current circumstances					General debates					Schools of thought				
		Intersectional perspective	Old feminism	Discursive resistance	Contradictions	Academic paradox	Authorship	Gender neutrality	Patriarchy	Gender Inequality	Child support	Sexism and violence	RF	MF	Women's support	GM
1 X					X	X	F		X				X		X	
2		X			X	X	F		X	X			X		X	
3				X	X	F		X	X		X		X		X	
4				X		F&M		X					X		X	
5		X			X	X	F		X	X			X		X	
6					X	X	F&M				X		X		X	
7 X							F&M				X		X	X	X	X
8 X							M				X			X		
9 X							M				X				X	
10	X			X	X	F		X	X				X	X		
11							F		X				X			
12 X							F&M		X				X			
13	X				X	X	F				X			X		
14	X				X	X	F				X			X	X	
15					X	X	F		X	X					X	
16 X		X	X				F	X							X	
17 X							F	X			X			X	X	
18 X							F	X						X	X	
19					X		F&M		X	X		X		X		
20 X							M	X			X		X	X	X	
21 X	X		X				F	X					X	X	X	
22 X			X		X		F						X		X	
23 X	X		X	X			F	X							X	
24					X	X	M				X			X		
25 X						X	F&M	X							X	
26 X	X		X				F	X						X	X	
27 X	X		X				F&M	X						X	X	
28 X	X				X		M	X			X			O		
29 X					X		M	X		X			X	X	O	
30 X					X	X	F	X	X	X		X	X	X	O	
31 X	X		X	X			M	X			X			X		
32 X							F&M	X					X			
33 X							F&M	X			X		X	O		
34 X		X	X	X			F&M	X						X		
35 X	X		X				F	X						X	X	
36 X	X		X	X			F	X		X			X	X	O	
37 X							M						X		X	
38 X	X		X				F	X		X			X	X		

Table 7 X=characteristic present F=Female F&M=Female&Male F/M=Gender unknown M=Male

Schools of thought: X=main influence O=partial influence RF=Radical feminism MF=Marxist feminism

students are interviewed, the article addresses female and male student to the same extent. Also, all support and help offerings are open for everybody (Wilke, 2019). Hence, the article is written from a **gender mainstreaming** perspective supporting every gender and sex to the same extent.

38. The last article is written about unisex toilets in universities which are endorses to reach effective equality and to include inter- and transsexuals. She argues that it is for some impossible "sich in einem binären Geschlechtersystem selbst zu kategorisieren" (Hagen, 2019, p. 37) so that men and women toilets would discriminate them. Also, there are no diaper-changing tables in men toilets, so that men are discriminated as it is more difficult for them to care for their children (Hagen, 2019) and the role model system is maintained

that women should care mainly for the children. This article is clearly influenced by **gender mainstreaming** as the gender of a person is marginalised through the use of unisex toilets as it is not the decisive factor anymore.

#### ***4. Examples of articles that were excluded from the analysis***

The first answer was not influenced by any women's movement but the author was just offended that the 'older student' degraded his own sex (A student, 1911a). The question here is whether the student was more affronted by the accusation of his sex or by the fact that another man would vouch for equal treatment of men and women. Another 'older student' also defends his own sex explaining that prude behaviour can only be a characteristic of some and not all men (An older student II, 1911, col. 8–10) Another younger student also argues that male students did not behave prude towards their fellow female students and that the women also sometimes behaved disrespectful themselves (A younger student, 1911, 20-21, 23-24). He reasons that both sexes are guilty. He does not dislike women's study it seems, but he also does not defend their rights carefully. Therefore, it can be argued that he is barely influenced by the women's movement and that he cannot be categorised into a school of thought. Another student argues that women cannot demand considerateness because they are equal to men within lecture halls and the university itself (A student, 1911b, 4-5, 5-7). Putting it that way, it can be questioned whether the author believes that women are equal outside university. He demands that women should resist and simply treat the man in exact the same way as the man treated them (A student, 1911b, col. 8–9). Although he argues for radical equality in university life which would be a characteristic of the proletarian movement, he does not defend that women should study at all. Contrary, he calls his time a 'feminist time' and regrets that some men stand side by side with the feminist movement and argue for women's study (A student, 1911b, col. 16–19). Therefore, he is negatively influenced by the women's movement as he openly dislikes it. All those answers were not influenced by the women's movement.

1. The following article was written as part of a debate about financial support of pregnant female students who consider an abortion. The left-majority promotes it whereas the author of the article oppose it arguing that abortion is "die Tötung ungeborenen Lebens" (Klein, 1993, p. 28). He is therefore not influenced by the women's movement at all as both feminist movements support legalised abortion.

2. The next article is written by a female author describing the situation of prostitutes of which some of them are also students in Münster. The focus is the self-help group which wants to present women as self-confident and not as victims. The prostitute who was interviewed argues that she separates between lust and love living a true life and is not unfaithful (Anders, 1992).
3. The first article of the second wave examines whether female students ought to study or not. The author argues that women tend to be not taken seriously due to the fact that there are no female professors and therefore, men tend to think that women are just in search of a husband. He calls his sex arrogant in not taking women seriously. Also, he describes that female students do not renounce to work in their later life which he marks as “besondere Schwierigkeit” (Wallmann, 1961, p. 14). He also notes that women need to work less next to their studies than men (Wallmann, 1961) which is an indication that most women were middle-class or born in bourgeois families and that the working class women were not really represented. The author seems to be in favour of women studies in general but an influence of a certain school of thought is barely visible as he writes neutral and not as a defender of women’s rights.
4. The next article is written about the female student and deals with the debate whether women should study or not. Therefore, the first wave debate is mirrored again but 60 years later. The article is closed with the statement that “die Studentinnen, wie alle anderen Frauen, [sind] gleich stolz, gleich kalt, gleich unnahbar – oder auch nicht“ (E.E., 1966, p. 5). This article only argues that men should not be afraid of women who study as they ‘stay women’ anyway.

## ***5. Information about East-Germany in the second and third wave of feminism***

As mentioned in the theory section, East-Germany went through the second and third wave differently than West-Germany due to the country’s separation. In the following, those differences are shortly described.

The second wave of feminism was highly affected by the student protests around the so-called 68er generation. What did Eastern Germany experience from the 68er protest which was so crucial for the feminist’s movement? Literature suggests that there was no 68er generation but a young generation trying to come up with an own cultural interpretation of

“their” Eastern-Germany with little interests for the protest movement in the West (Kirchenwitz, 2009). The political system in East Germany was Marxist-communism which is reflected in the policies made by the only party with political leading power, the SED. They interpreted that “the material base for patriarchy was to be found in capitalism” which introduces men as the breadwinner and women as the housekeeper (Wagener, 2002, p. 121). Orientated on Engels writing that the first condition to liberate women is to let them participate in public industry, the policies of the SED pursued female economic independence. Policies improving the access to education for women and to the employment market were key combined with educational and training opportunities and extensive child-care. Hence, the political system fostered Marxist feminism extensively (Wagener, 2002). But what was demanded by women? There was also a feminist movement within the German Democratic Republic (in German: DDR) emerging between the different demands of the Eastern “Muttipolitik” which enables women to work fulltime but also left them alone with all domestic work leading to a dual burden of work and family (Ferree, 1992; Wagener, 2002). The patriarchal system prevailed within the communist system which was visible in the private sphere of women’s life leading to a different but still existing exploitation of women in East Germany. Therefore, the emancipation from above in East Germany is viewed as another manipulation of women by men especially from the perspective of Western German feminists (Wagener, 2002). But, as also mentioned above in the theory section, perceptions of East-German feminism from West-German feminists are carefully to be analysed as they could be biased.

The third wave of feminism started in Germany with the Turn. There has been literature on how the Turn downgraded the position of women in the Eastern part of Germany, also visible in universities (Wagener, 2002; Young, 1993). There was a strong disappointment with the Federal Republic among Eastern women as the right to work for women was not so pronounced as in the former DDR. Also, the effects on women’s position in society without the right to work were heavily felt and described as “the loss of [...] identity and [...] well-being” (Wagener, 2002, p. 124). On the other hand, some Western scholars argued that the high female employment in the DDR was the “simple economic necessity in a less advanced economy, which had no emancipatory basis” (Wagener, 2002, p. 124). Therefore, the understanding between East- and West German feminists were difficult in the beginning (Wagener, 2002). Differences which arose from the Turn are still visible today (Hähnig, Machowecz, & Schönian, 2018).