MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF FEMINISM
IN ESTONIAN JOURNALISM

A qualitative analysis over the newsarticles of Eesti Paevaleht

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Abstract
Estonian society, as a short history of gender studies, and the introduction of the terms feminism or feminist, only started to appear in media during the second half of the 1990s. Nevertheless, the public opinion and attitudes about feminism among Estonian society are not clear, while sexual discrimination is still a frequent occurrence (Estonia, 2013). The archive of the biggest Estonian daily newspaper *Eesti Paevaleht* includes articles about feminism written in the last 15 years that will be analysed in this thesis. The main goal is to analyse how feminism and feminists are portrayed by the media that may lead to certain gained image and attitudes against its overall theme in Estonia and discuss the results of the study in relation to Estonian society as a post-soviet, young democracy and recent member of the EU. The findings from the textual analysis will be discussed in a wider social context. The results show the overall negative portrayal of feminism along with private media reflection on popularity and sell that may leave its readers to stagnant sexist views and myths about gender.
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1. Introduction
The discussion and politics of feminist theories and practices in Estonia started with the millennium and got stronger after Estonia joined the European Union in 2004. The representation of women or, particularly, feminists has not been studied much in Estonia. Various innovations, however, without a larger scale public discussion, along with the movement and theories of feminism have entered the political agenda and legal system.

The shaping of opinions and influence of the image of feminism has been left to the everyday media products such as the widely read Eesti Paevaleht, along with others, which is why their content needs to be taken under observation to assess the information being shared to the public. This is in line with Byerly & Ross (2004)’s postulation that: “Concerned about the dual ability of the media to reinforce unequal status quo relationships, as well as to circulate new ideas and help to set political agendas leading to change, liberation movements have given significant attention to the role of the media in social processes.” (p. 2)

Since the end of the former USSR in the beginning of the 1990s, Estonia has been an independent republic with a quick development towards the West. One major step for Estonia was when it joined the European Union in 2004; since then several principles, norms and regulations have been taken over and integrated into Estonian legal system, society and overall culture (Kingsley, 2014). However, in various related areas, Estonia is still in its transition period.

The laws about sexual equality and feminism as a policy entered Estonia subsequent to the country joining the EU, but this did not garner a lot of public attention, which is one of the reasons why the attitudes and knowledge about it are not clear. As early as 2004, the Gender Equality Act was legislated, and this was followed by the Equal Treatment Act in 2009. Both Acts are centred on the standards of equal treatment, responsibilities upon adoption, advancement of the standard of equal treatment and management of discrimination differences (Estonia, 2013). Nevertheless, there have been several challenges to effectively implementing these acts. For instance, the establishment of an institution for enforcing the Acts have been deferred various times. (Estonia, 2013). Thus,
Estonia has been practicing right-wing nationalistic policies the whole period of re-independence, and has not been able to effectively adopt appropriate Gender Equality Acts.

Media often represents the existing ideology and power which help to create the social reality of a country. Thus, it can be assumed that media has its blame in the reason why gender equality fails to reach its potential of practice in Estonia, regardless of the EU law enforcement. “In spite of all this, perhaps precisely because feminism has apparently been embraced within the social consensus, the gender gap has largely remained outside the current discourse on social inequalities.” (Lemish 2004:39)

Therefore, the potential myths about feminism in Estonian media should be taken under observation. In line with this viewpoint, this study is positioned between media studies and gender studies. It aims to look at gender representation in the context of media content and media organisation. The main aim goes on to describe and analyse the media texts of the biggest daily newspaper of Estonia, namely Eesti Paevaleht about feminism and feminists. The goal then is to find the connections between women media representation, journalism culture, social and cultural context of Estonian post-soviet and young democracy.

Thus, this thesis wants to raise questions about, and discuss the politics and ideology of the existing media system in relation to the situation for women and feminism in Estonia and how the laws of gender equality affect the reality of Estonian women.

1.1 Aims and Objectives
Along with finding answers to various sub-questions about the representation of feminism and feminists, the findings of this thesis will be discussed in the context of a possible influence that media, dependent on the power and politics, has on its society as well as the trends in media that may create biased opinions.

The interesting phenomena of media could be to potentially influence the attitudes against and comprehension of feminism and overall gender politics in Estonian society, regardless of the EU legislative rules and regulations. That also raises a question whether the influential forces could be the questionable freedom of press or the lack of media social responsibility?
As previously mentioned, the main goal is to analyse how feminism and feminists are portrayed by the media that may lead to certain gained image and attitudes against its overall theme in Estonia and discuss the results of the study in relation to Estonian society as a post-soviet, young democracy and recent member of the EU. How is gender equality and feminism discussed and represented in mainstream media in a country going through a fundamental transformation processes from Soviet into neo-liberally capitalistic? What could be the possible consequences of the media representation for feminism in Estonian society and cultural context?

An additional aim and objective of the thesis is to (through answering RQ, A-E below) shed some light on, and discuss, the tabloidization of Eesti Paevaleht, its political interest or ideology as well as its implications for the Estonian context. Furthermore, the research examines the social and cultural context of Estonia, with regards to the visible level of tabloidization in Eesti Paevaleht and what kind of possible influence could these articles have on its readers, i.e. the general public.

1.2 Research questions
A. How are feminism and feminists portrayed and represented in Estonian journalism in the case of Eesti Paevaleht?

B. What kind of myths and fictional themes can be found from the articles?

C. What is the tone while talking about feminism and feminist?

D. Who is saying what about feminism and feminists?

E. With who can the reader identify, and who is shown as the other?
2. Literature Review

2.1 Theoretical material

This section provides a brief overview of the frequently applied feminist theoretical viewpoints that provide an academic context for this investigation. For instance, the liberal feminist theories by Friedan (1974) and Rossi (1970) both contend that with the aid of legal and radical opportunities of the mainstream, women can modify legislations and thus, realize gender fairness. On the other hand, the Marxist-socialist feminists such as Gimenez (2005) and Jaggar (1983), both emphasize the class separation as the key issue in women’s subjugation; these lines of thought highlight the inner philosophy that feminism women have to battle not just for their privileges as citizens but also to liberate themselves from the ‘man within’ (Tong, 1998, p. 171).

Cultural feminists like Gilligan (1982) suggest that women need to device methods of existence, thinking, and talking, which permit transparency, multiplicity, and variance. However, postmodernist theories have improved feminist discussions considerably within the past few decades. Postmodern feminists such as Haraway (1988; 2006) are more concerned about the questions of implication and individuality, arguing that these groups are flexible and not permanent, and suggesting that men and women can conduct features of any gender, and even oscillate between gender individualities.

This study will make use of the social constructionist theory about social reality and understanding of media as the institution of production and reproduction, socialization, legitimation processes and social change (Fairclough 1995, Van Dijk 1998). In other words, the processes of discursive definition and cultural production of gender that take place in media institution. Thus, social structure sexuality, as a discursive result of knowledge and power, will be used in this study to understand the gender stereotypes and sex-gender system, and the position of Estonian women in its society. Theories of important feminist scholars such as Ross (2009) and Haraway (1988) will have a very central position while studying the chosen media content. Ross (2009), in a survey spanning 300 years and 2 nations, established how the increasing levels of educated women during the Renaissance period offered the first noteworthy challenge to the conventional definition of “woman” in the Western world. On the other hand, Haraway (1998) worked with the well-known
feminist theorist Lynn Randolph between 1990 and 1996, and both provided a wide range of views on feminism, political awareness, and other relevant feminism concerns. Furthermore, Haraway wrote an article titled ‘the Cyborg Manifesto’ in 2006; the Manifesto critiques the conventional concepts of feminism, principally feminist emphases on individuality politics, and motivation rather than alliance through empathy. Cyborg, in this context, is used to compel feminists to overcome the restrictions of conventional gender, feminism, and politics.

Supporting Haraway (1998)’s viewpoint, Rakow and Wackwitz (2004) established three major themes for the feminist communication theory, namely voice, representation, and difference, and the scholars argue that feminism in media hypothesizes communication, social change, and gender. With a similar viewpoint, Steeves (1988) defined three attitudes to feminism in media, namely the liberal, radical, and socialist. The scholar further added that these three approaches have differing presumptions about the function of the media and the role of communication within society.

Thus, this research aims to add a dimension to the rhetorical approach of feminism in the works of several other leftist thinkers such as Bloch (1959), who suggested that feminism issues should not be based on coordinated resolutions; instead, there should be structures that resolve any related conflicts and improve the capability to manage them effectively. Similarly, Haraway (2006) posits that feminism is informed by a logical constructivism, and discusses the social and cultural construction of feminism. Adopting another perspective Stanley and Wise (2008), in a study on the Feminist Theory, criticized particular progressions in feminist theory, contending that theory has turned into ‘a ceremonial class resolutely retaining an elite stance’ (p. 276). The scholars believe that the feminist theory has become restricted to the obscure theoretical implications, and should be generalized to relate to a wider audience.

In relation to journalism, researchers such as Waisbord (2013) have also critiques and discussion about the level of journalistic professionalism, which will be useful for this study.
The above-mentioned scholars, and several others, will be examined during the further discussion over the articles of a populist nature. While relying on Marxism, several themes will be studied in relation to economical dividing of goods and power in capitalist system, the struggle of classes and the ruling class ideology along with the sexual exploitation of the suppressed. This includes some level of comprehension about the possible politics and philosophy behind the given mediations. The goal of this is to analyse the meanings behind the semiotic symbols of the chosen textual narratives of the articles. Besides, several subjects related to capitalism and globalization will be discussed a bit in the social and cultural context with the help of the chosen feminist authors mentioned earlier as well as Robertson (2010). This study is a continuing step, intended to add a particular perspective to already conducted, larger scaled, studies about Estonian media such as Pilvre (2011) doctoral work.

The theoretical framework is precisely chosen to have a socialist approach and further objective to un-code the ideology and structures of power behind the chosen media texts and to uncover the production of unequal power relations that help to maintain women position as the suppressed.

2.2 Previous research in Feminism
There is a dearth of information about Estonia’s gender policies and gender studies, while it is also still rarely a subject in Estonian universities. Byerly (2013), in a study on the long struggle of women in journalism in Estonia, stated that a recent Global report on feminism in 59 nations across over 500 media organisations, discovered that overall, females represented barely one-third of the jobs in media and one-fourth of the jobs in executive management level. Similarly, a study by Nastacia et al. (2013) on Estonia and feminism in media, discovered that just 17% of media jobs in Estonia are owned by females (Nastasia et al., 2013, p.41).

A doctoral study by Pilvre (2011) about media representation of women was conducted over a fairly long period of 1992-2010 and discovered similar patterns in Estonian’s media industry. The Estonian society has had some major developments over a period of time, and some of these changes have been global, like the tabloidization and commercialization
of media. In her work, Pilvre (2011) has concentrated on these processes from the perspective of gender: that showed results about the stereotypically “attractive” and “selling” image of women in media content. Her doctoral work consists of studies about Estonian Public Broadcasting, Estonian journalism culture and Estonia compared to its neighbouring countries. The results of these studies have shown the usual trends to objectify women and the levels of patriarchy. While the representation of women in public media is more studied, the content of private media has had less focus. Also, the gender studies have been concentrating mostly on women, and not on a more specific group, like the feminists who by nature can be also men.

Therefore, there is a clear research gap about the representation of feminism and feminists in Estonia, which is an area that this current study aims to add some evidence and discussion. A survey about feminism that was conducted and carried out as a pilot study for this work was also part of the inspiration to look at the portrayal of feminism theme in Estonian journalism.

2.2.1 Critique on “professional” journalism
Marxist theories argue that the norms and ideals that make up professional journalism cannot be separated from the economic kind of structure of the capitalist press as it represents ideologies of the press owners and other dominant classes.

According to Waisbord (2013:98): “Marxist premise that the ideological superstructure reflects economic relations in capitalism, this position suggest that professional journalism, like any ideology, is a discursive strategy that emerged at a particular historical juncture in capitalist democracies. As such, it is intended to serve particular economic interest.”

In the young democracy of Estonia the power holders in private sphere support an ideology faithful to their own interest and position. Quite obviously, the negative portrayal of feminism in media goes hand in hand with this process.
Marxist analysis sees the discourse of journalism as a “fourth estate”, where “core ideals of professionalism such as objectivity, autonomy, neutrality, and civic ethics are untenable when journalism is embedded in business structures driven by profit rather than public good.” (Waisbord 2013:98). This makes professional journalism a simply value-free practice that produces social inequality. “Professions are self-serving, solely interested in achieving and maintaining privilege. In the case of journalism, professionalism cements clear divisions between those who have the power to talk and those who do not. Rather than promoting a wide expression of different views, professionalism refines divisions”(Waisbord 2013:101).

Estonian male journalists, referred to as “monopol”, share the same negative attitudes against feminism, while creating a distance with the opinions and feelings of Estonian women and other supporters of feminism. It can also be concluded that “professionalism is not about the pursuit of truth but, rather, the affirmation of certain ideas as “accepted truths”, imposing normal practices. By legitimizing certain ideas, journalism is a disciplinary mechanism that institutes particular notions of truth and acceptability”(Waisbord 2013:104).

3. Empirical Material
This study on media will be a qualitative discourse analysis over the representation of feminism in Estonian news. As Lemish (2004) points out, texts in the media are commonly perceived to be linked to one of the key cultural devices with which it is possible to analyse the position of women within a given society. Accordingly, such media texts are representative of the manner through which female identity is defined and established in terms of consensus (42).

The empirical material will help to find the textual elements and ways that media operates, while creating discourse about feminism or myths about it. In historical time frames the possible changes, trends or developments can be found:

Media as many other instances in the history of socio-political transitions echoed the early signs of possible change in the existing social reality” (Lemish 2004:47).
Since the amount and frequency of feminism-related articles are rare in Estonia, the timeframe for any articles about it has to be dated within the last 15 years to be relevant. To specify and minimize the sample of this study, only the articles containing words feminism and/or feminist will be chosen from the archive search. A thorough research on articles related to the research topic is conducted in various databases (Scribd, ProQuest, etc.), journals, books, and online sites. However, the Eesti Päevaleht official webpage was the major source of the articles used for this research, as this online resource contains a lot of relevant information about feminism in Estonia, and particularly, about feminism in the media.

Forty core articles were selected for the research. The number of articles selected was high so as to ensure that a wide range of information was gathered with regards to the research, and to ensure that the research aims are achieved in the most efficient way possible, while avoiding just a narrow and limited number of information resources. Furthermore, the sample of 40 articles was able to illustrate the different tendencies in the representation of feminism and provide further insight about the existing opinions and attitudes about feminism in Estonia.

4. Research Methodology
This study adopts the feminist partial perspective. This is in line with Harawar (1998:583)’s statement that: “The moral is simple: only partial perspective promises objective vision. This study also makes use of the main theories and concepts of discourse, such as the semantic and ideological systems that create myths and help to produce both action and ideas. There remains no relationship of an external nature between society and the languages spoken within them, but rather a dialectical relationship that is by its very nature, internal (Fairclough, 1989). Discourse theory, therefore, is producing the ideology behind our social reality. Therefore one of the aims of this study is, precisely, to search answers to things that create certain social actions, ideas and attitudes from the media texts. To approach these texts, social constructivism will be used; however, with a concentration on the linguistics. This implies that the applied CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) in this research is a textual analysis, with a focus on the wording and tone of the
articles that does not analyse the discourse practice or the social practice, but only
discusses the results from the textual investigation with the wider social context.

According to Foucault, power resides from within discourse; “*The idea of power behind
discourse is that the whole social order of discourse is put together and held together as a
hidden effect of power*” (Fairclough 1989:55). The further aspect of discussion of this study
is to look at media power and social control over the society that has adopted the political
and legislative changes that support feminist theories but is still discriminating women in
their social reality. This discourse on feminist representation will deal with issues of
women being associated with the private sphere (personal and emotional), overly
sexualised, ridiculed, victimised and/or not even seriously included to the discourse.

In order to discuss these social theories with the findings from textual discourse, a CDA
model is of effective value. Fairclough & Wodak (1997) further posit discourse as a social
construction, in addition to being conditioned socially. Such conditioning constitutes social
identities, objects of knowledge and situations, in addition to interpersonal relationships.
This is constitutive in its ability to sustain the status quo and can also contribute to its
transformation. The Fairclough approach that leads to the empirical study over the
language of given media texts about feminism also helps to connect social theories related
to sex/gender system to them as the connections between language and power can be
discussed and looked upon in the social and cultural context of Estonian society.

In order to conduct the discourse study, the chosen sample of 40 articles needs to be
analysed with the help of a coding system (found in the Appendix) that describes and codes
the way feminism and feminists are portrayed. That coding system will help to order and
characterize both the different categories and themes of the articles and their linguistics
together with the rhetoric in them so that the findings can be used in discourse analysis
and later discussed in wider social context. The semiotic myths and symbols used to
represent feminism will be also detected with the help of the coding scheme. The texts will
be opened with the use of CDA model of textual analysis, where discursive and social
context will be only part of any further discussion.
4.1 **Framework model for textual analysis (Fairclough)**

Fairclough's model comprises five key elements through which the textual analysis can proceed. The first element comprises the semiotic aspects of the text, including words, letters, abstracts, picture and, ways of representation (body, clothing, illustrations). The second element of analysis is the vocabulary, which includes the use of wording, expressions, style and tone. The third analytical facet is cohesion and the use of rhetoric in the text. The fourth element of the model comprises the modality of the discursive representation of social relations, identities (stereotypes) and power, in addition to the use of verbs. Intertextuality is the fifth element of analysis and involves different discourse types, genres and approach (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

The five elements in the framework model of critical textual analysis are used for describing the semiotics and linguistics of the media texts while connected to the results of the coding process. However, the detected meanings of the text will only provide a potential platform for different speculations about the social context and sex/gender system in Estonia. The empirical material will be divided into genres, chronological order and discourse types with the help of the coding system. The texts would possibly reveal the common myths, rhetoric and ways of ideology creation about feminism used in Estonian media. The aim is also to see what ideas and beliefs are communicated by whom to the reader, and with who or what should the reader identify or empathize with. The chosen empirical material should be able to give a reliable ground for the use of both critical discourse and gender studies dimension. Due to the populist nature of the articles, Marxist together with feminist perspective will be used in a rhetorical analysis, while looking at the narratives and the symbols within along with the imagining of the future and its relations to the past and present. The possible impact of the articles could be to influence readers to take on certain comprehensions about feminism and feminist. The notion of hope can be discussed while looking at the likely influence of the mediated symbols on the perception of feminism, all through the Marxist prism. These aspects above and several others will be looked upon in the discourse.
4.2 Critique on the method
The critical discourse analysis has proved to be an effective way of looking at media texts, particularly, the 3-dimensional model that allows one to look first at the textual findings and later the larger social context. The rhetorical analysis with Marxist perspective was useful for explaining the symbols, illustrations, situations, roles, ideas and beliefs in the articles. Among other socialist or/and feminist scholars the theories of Bloch, Jameson, Wise and Haraway were helpful to comprehend the narratives of the articles.

The chosen sample of 40 articles was also a good and extensive representative for the time period of 15 years. However, the current study only examines sections of these articles that directly relate to the theme of feminism is directly approached. The words feminism and feminist, however, may not be efficient for searching articles written about the theme of gender politics, as no articles, for example, about the scandalous feminism movements such as Femen or Pussy Riot (though, there was merely only two to three existing articles in the whole archive about them) came up from the search. There is a difficulty of minimizing and/or specializing the focus as the theme of gender politics in itself is touching several different media theories and approaches from the power of politics to capitalism, besides the articles being based mainly on sensational populist nature, rather than the rare traditional “watchdog” journalism. When talking about the demarcation of science from other fields it can be pointed out that several perspectives of media research are considered the so called “evil” twins of science, like that of psychoanalysis and Marxism that is often used in discursive analysis.

5. Findings and Analysis
5.1 The primary analysis
Each of the articles under analysis was sourced from sections of the artefact within which the words ‘feminism’ or ‘feminist’ were used by the article author or where the broader themes involved feminism or feminists. The passages used were mostly sourced from central sections of the articles and from sections (such as opinion pieces and news stories)
within regular publications. Those articles that feature interviews are identifiable by their encapsulation within quotation marks.

The articles below were chosen from the archive, translated from Estonian to English, put into chronological order and analysed with a discourse model of textual analysis the coding frame. Only the important parts of them, where feminism was directly discussed is reviewed, while the repeated and important keywords, expressions, meaning-makings and comparisons are underlined, and illustrative material is added to each article that had one.

1) Gender equality is as important as security— why is the state not dealing with it? 
By Ilmar Lepik von Wirén (man, foreigner) 13 Feb 2015

Gender equality and discrimination have a direct influence on state economy, security and success. Is it a “soft” theme? No. Is it a “hard” theme? No. Rather, it is a theme and a field that should be clear and elementary to the state, employer and each person. Some with whom the researcher has discussed this issue have denied the existence of a serious problem and justify the current situation -- women are not as ambitious and should rather stay home. It can be inferred that if a high number of Estonia’s population is place in secondary position, many of them would choose to leave from Estonia. The author brings out the seriousness of the theme, while showing also the usual rhetoric of putting ridiculing stamps such as soft or hard on the subject. He describes the selling myth of women being the weak and soft sex who should be left into the private sphere.

(Illustration: woman and man are equally worthy!)
2) Dark land: The grim truth behind "Scandinavian miracle", by Michael Booth (man, foreigner) 29 Jan 2014

"Neutral" Sweden continues a prosperous growth of economy thanks to its unique brand of totalitarian modernism, that diminishes freedoms, parses different opinions in the name of consensus and stubbornly breaking through ties between man and woman, children and their parents. Think of it as the Nordic China. Ask from the Fins and they will tell you that the Swedish ultra-feminism has castrated their men. The rhetoric of the author ridicules and accuses Sweden of being overly socialist, feminist and unmanly to the point of dark and catastrophic dystopia.

The tone of the article is rather hateful, while also entertainingly destroying the myth of Scandinavian utopia. The author clearly identifies himself as anti-feminist and distances Sweden from the “normality” of reality.

(Illustration)

3) Boycotting injustice, by Katrin Tiidenberg (woman, Estonian), doctor of international and social studies 7 Jan 2014

According to different equality indicators, the situation in Estonia should be better. What if it is not as much a boycott against equal rights, rather than cultural-historical allergic reaction to ones claim on its rights? Author uses facts of statistics to prove her point, without creating distance or different sides of the theme. While analysing the problem she reveals the myth of equal rights being an aggressive matter of fight and the realistic problems with
which it is surrounded. Even though the author is talking about boycott, the overall tone of the article is rather neutral.

4) Guards of democracy in Kopli, by Rebeka Põldsam (woman, Estonian), critic 3 Jan 2014

"Pink haze" is what active women and especially insecure men tend to think about the feminist, because feminism is even in an anti-feminist Estonia already so blurred that women with otherwise feminist ambitions can just sometimes send the naive, overly critical and/or unarticulated feminists to “hell”. Author describes the messiness of the theme that stops women from identifying themselves with feminism. However, she is not clearly choosing her side, either for or against feminists. There is a use of rather strong and/or critical wordings, especially the politically incorrect “anti-feminist” Estonia. She gives the subject an emotional tone, while showing also the rhetorics of how the theme is often portrayed. In a way she is actually accusing both the utopian feminists and the dystopian anti-feminists for the current reality.

5) Are feminists (men-haters) in a need for re-branding? by Laurie Penny (woman, foreigner) 9 Oct 2013

Schemes and pink unambiguous will Photoshop out all ugly from the liberation of women --like the word “feminism” with what many seem to have problem with. Unfortunately, u only can rebrand feminism to a certain limit, before it starts losing its nature that is heavy, challenging and full of sincere hatred. It can be smoothed or made sexier, but in the end the reason why the word “feminism” is scary is because it frightens all who believe in men privilege. The stereotype of an ugly and undesirable feminist is there for a reason. It is the last protection against women who are a bit too noisy and too political. Just tell them, that if u carry on like it, nobody will ever love you.

The author is describing the messy nature of feminism as something difficult, unattractive, highly conflict and hateful, even if this makes her look a bit anti-feminist. She explains the necessity of feminists to carry on being loud and political, in spite of the common myths of a woman only being in need of being loved and/or sexy. She also provides further insight about the selling of faulty stories of both pink utopia and dark dystopia about feminism.
that try to objectify and/or brand it. She is using quite emotional tones, while distancing the contradicting sides of feminists and men as “them” from the reader and from each-other.

(Illustration)

6) Also a **vampire** can be a feminist, by Kaarel Kressa (man, Estonian) 5 Aug. 2013

Director himself has explained that the vampire theme was the last thing attractive about the idea. Instead, his interest was in the scenario, written by Moira Buffin, that talks of a mother that travels the world running from the past, together with her rebellious daughter. The last 200 years Clara has worked as a stripper and **prostitute** for the sake of the well-being of its daughter and if needed, also been dividing other vampire heads from their bodies. Feeding from human blood was necessary, but Clara’s **fight** with vampires is due to the **patriarch** and **aristocrat** nature of a brotherhood, which rules the low-class vampireness is breaking. To make the feminist text perfect, there is the appearing of a ‘wussy guy’ into the lives of both women. The author is describing the protagonist feminist as a stubborn and aggressive anarchist. This low moral outlaw is an anti-hero and loser not only because of her nature, but because of her opposition to any kind of authority. The reader might either feel sorry for her or just criticize her. The rhetoric is to send out message that being a feminist could be as bad dystopia as being a vampire and, while women tend to become dangerous, men tend to just downgrade in it. The author uses sex and violence as characteristics to connect with feminism. The overall tone is in a way humoristic.
Media representation of feminism

![Illustration: scene of Clara from the film](image)

7) Marissa Mayer, young mother and a business revolver, by Kristjan Jõevere (man, Estonian) 11 may 2013

Marissa was not a rebellious teenager, but a good student and an up-achiever. She practiced diligently ballet - 35 hours in a week- and worked in the cashiers of a local supermarket. The first sign of the diminishing image as a similitude of gender equality was few weeks after the childbirth in an interview, where she said that being with the child is not that hard. It caused a storm of resentment in blogs and portals, because in what sense is it not hard with the baby?! It is very hard! Marissa returned to work after two weeks of childbirth. Also that did not go unnoticed by activists as blogs received grumpy entries. The final hit to the feminist clan-made Marissa herself by telling TV channel PBS that she does not consider herself a feminist. She confirmed believing steadfastly into the equal abilities of men and women, but fighting feminism has received a negative meaning in last years, in her opinion, and women have actually good opportunities even now. Author describes Marissa as anti-feminist hero, while praising her qualities of being a good hard working girl, growing into a successful and admirable businesswoman, who chooses not to identify herself with the negativity of feminism.

Author paints a rather grumpy picture of the feminists, distanced from the reader and described by constant complaining and dissatisfaction. The rhetoric is to show the glory of the young and beautiful protagonist hero in private sphere, which has easily defeated the rather aggressive and hysteric clan of feminists. Marissa becomes the living proof of a possible utopia for women.
8) Carla Bruni: Place for woman is home with kids, by Kaivo Kopli (man, Estonian) 1 Dec 2012

She is not a feminist. Differently from her husband Nicolas Sarkozy she does support gay marriage and says a woman’s place is home with kids. From former bohemian, lover of rock stars and salon socialist risen into a rightist president lady Carla Bruni-Sarkozy is perhaps lived a far different life than most women. We do not need to be feminists in my generation,” said Bruni-Sarkozy in an interview touching the subject of equal rights of women. I am not an active feminist at all. On the contrary, I am a humanist. I love family life, I love doing every day the same things,” she explained. The author shows Carla as an anti-feminist hero that likes to be a glorious wife and keep to the private sphere. Her story shines light also on the edgy path of becoming a perfect woman which in itself carries a moral value. While feminism is opposed, interestingly, gay rights are supported. The reader, especially if a housewife, might identify, feel closer or look up to Carla as a utopian role model. The tone of the article is calm and friendly.
9) Women are not chicken and men are not from Mars, by Brigitta Davidjants (woman, Estonian) 21 Apr 2012

Apparently the problem of promoting Estonian gender equality often lies in the incomprehension of where the myth begins or ends. Legends about men-hating feminists, who want to turn people into unisex, are not retreating. Author explains the complications of branding feminism, while pointing to the common rhetoric of creating myths about sexless, mad and/or freaky feminists that are distanced from the norm.

10) Feminists demanding changes on French language that in their opinion is sexist, by Lauri Laugen (man, Estonian) 7 Mar 2012

Feminists claim that the ‘grammatics’ of French language generate a sexist ideology and need to be reformed. Feminist activists were wearing pink gloves and imitating sweeping of the floor.

The author describes feminists as loudly demanding, ridiculous and with rather questionable or overall meaningless motives, while distancing them from the reader. The use of the word sexist by the feminist is placed into the context where reader can identify this term with feminism. The overall sceptical tone makes it assumable that the author is not a supporter of feminists.
11) Organisers of Ladyfest: You can be a woman in very different ways, by Mari Peegel (woman, Estonian) 8 Mar 2011

This reason why we did not write out the word “feminism” should be taken with humour. The widespread belief about feminism in Estonian society is not really adequate. We wanted to make a friendly introduction, so that no-one would be frightened by one word and therefore, not come to Ladyfest. However, we do not wish to rename feminism, but that people would learn not to be afraid of that word. The interview brings out the common inadequate rhetoric of connecting feminism with “humour” or in worst case “horror”, explaining the bad image of the very word. Again it takes up the idea of branding of the term, but by rejecting this idea. The overall tone is calm and feminism-friendly.

12) Fideelia-Signe Roots rethinking gender roles, by Ants Juske (man, Estonian) 17 Sep 2009

Fideelia-Signe Roots asks more questions than she can answer with her photos and film. “Is the lack of goals and ambitions non-manly? Why is there fear that men who pose naked with other men may appear as gay? Does doing housekeeping throw masculinity to dust?” (Roots) I will owe the answer to last question, however, no force will make me pose naked to the photographer with other men. Signe asks several questions that describe the conflicts and problems of gender politics. However, the author creates an anti-hero of her by ridiculing her exhibition and questioning her adequacy. The artist is portrayed as rather naive but vulgar at same time, while the author takes the stand as moralist. It leaves the reader with
probably sceptical feeling towards the feminist hero as her created reality of the exhibition is, as described by the author, conflicting with the common “normality”. The critical tone of the author adequately shows his negative feelings against feminism.

(Illustration: artist Fideelia-Signe Roots)

13) **Hips of De Beauvoir are still a subject, by Kaarel Kressa (man, Estonian)** 30 Jan 2008

A *nude* photo published for French writer and Jean-Paul Sartre’s famous *lover* Simone de Beauvoir 100 birth anniversary caused a small *scandal* as organisation Watchdogs held a *demonstration* in front of the weekly newspaper agency *Le Nouvel Observateur*, that published the picture on their front page, and *demanded* that the editor in chief should *expose itself in the same way*. The author tries to show the banality and pointlessness of feminist activists, while using rhetoric to connect them with all the things they try to oppose.

A reader’s impression would be, most likely, that feminists are aggressively engaging in meaningless subjects that make in the end themselves look rather sexist. Unless the reader is a moralist, the claims of these feminists in such light would seem unnecessary, silly, not particularly serious and not something to identify with. The ridiculing tone of the article makes obvious the authors negative attitude against feminism.

14) **Successful woman – a threat to a family life? By Stephanie Coontz (woman, foreigner), family sociologist** 30 Sept 2008

*Feminists are accused often for encouraging women to abandon home for the sake of work – by so decomposing families and harming children. Feminism was, however, rather a reaction*
to entering a work market than the cause of the entry. The author explains the usual rhetorics of making feminists into dangerous anti-heroes, while the utopian myth of an ideal woman is someone that stays in private sphere. She brings out as well other selling stories, such as feminism was to blame for women leaving the domestic scene, by pointing out the actual problematics of the existing market, where the struggle of social classes takes place. She uses a neutral tone by choosing not to accuse but rather question the patriarch system.

15) What pushes Iraqi women to a path of suicide terrorism? by Heiki Suurkask (man, Estonian) 31 Jul 2008

The formerly socialist Iraq seems to avoid taboos, and more and more women go to death for an accomplishment that western feminism considers to be even adversary to women. The author portrays a picture where the terrorists are seen as women fighters of socialist clan; in other words, feminists. He manages to ridicule feminism and scare the reader with it at same time. The path of an extremist feminist is a horrific dystopia that is a threat to western society and something that reader cannot possibly choose to identify with. The tone of the article is calm and serious.

16) The animal in moms boy, by Johannes Voswinkel (man, foreigner) 25 Apr 2008

“I act like mother with everyone, it is a dominating role in Russia,” says the feminist. Julia considers her former husband smart, educated and handsome man. “But as a husband he was a zero,” she says. When the daughters were small, he refused to wash their diapers. And when last winter the ex-husband of Julia had to get a notar permission for their underage daughter to travel abroad, he waited until the last day. “Then he called me and said: notar office is closed, what should I do?” Julia remembers. The author connects feminist to someone dominant, critical and demanding, who holds the quilt for boys never growing up as men. It seems like in Russian matriarchy, the woman becomes a boss and boys simply become animals. These dangers of the described dystopic ex-soviet country are connected with feminism. The Estonian reader most probably then wishes to distance and break free from the reality of the not so nostalgic past.

“Of course we have pretty photo series, but men are not only interested in naked women; reflection of the world of a man in a larger sense, and also women belong in it.” (Walker) According to him Playboy has been rather the one giving women power through their exposing, recognizing and idealizing their sexuality and identity and in the generation of feminism have grown many fans of Playboy. Walker clearly talks of women as sexual objects that have a special corner in the “bigger” world of the men. He also glorifies this belief as the utopian ideal, where he himself as a “man-hero”, has given the rights and abilities to women, almost making him a feminist in his mind. The author does not take a clear position to agree or to criticize, but rather just describe the interview leaving the reader to make his/her own opinion.

18) The favourite internet chat subject of young Swedish girls is feminism, by Aug Tuuli (man, Estonian) 8 Mar 2007

In Sweden the most popular subject of web communities is feminism, but the leading feminists believe that feminism rooted from the net is powerless and will not bring any new feminists. Feminism is among youths discussion forums five times more popular than any other subject. The news-story leaves the impression of feminism being a contemporary “bubble-theme” that creates sensation, but has no depth or sophistication. It gives an impression of another concept that the “silly” youth of a modern society with “pseudo-problems” takes up as rebellious form of creating its identity. The author again does not choose any sides; however, Sweden is in a way distanced from the norm.
19) Valkuriye in chains, by Ardo Kaljuvee (man, Estonian) 2 Dec 2006

Aleksandra Kollontai. Today this name is largely forgotten, but there was a time when Aleksandra Kollontai was as equally known as A-level stars Lenin and Trotsky. And this not only in Soviet Russia, but also in the West, where Kollontai was famous as “passionate feminist” and “spreader of sexual revolution”. Kollontai is a Valkuriye of sexual revolution. She is fearless, fanatical dogmatic. Dogmatics, differently from the main part of her fighting the allies— pragmatics, should not feel fear. But after a few years and A. Kollontai is caught by fear. And the Valkuriye is in chained. She acts only on the basis of fear and has lost a free will of choice. Fear destroys her free spirit. And this is the main message of the life of Aleksandra Kollontai. And probably one of the few real valuable messages of her past. The author describes the feminist hero as unwomanly anxious, ambitious and extreme. His rhetoric is connecting the protagonist with dangerous figures and her feminist ideology with the faults of Soviet Russia. Author is portraying her as someone scary and illusory, who finally became a lost victim of deliriums in scary dystopia that her actions had created for her. The Valkyrie, as a symbol of hope, ironically loses herself. Reader could either empathize with or critique her; however, they probably cannot identify with her.

20) Feminism and feminist do not carry a slighting shade of meaning in Sweden, by Evelyn Höglund (woman, foreigner) 18 May 2006

In contemporary Sweden the word “feminist” does not carry an emotional carriage. The leader of social-democratic women union Nalin Pekgul says that “feminist” as a swear-word in Sweden is long forgotten phenomena. The author describes the norms of Swedish society and its path of development, while using supporting statistics. The story of overcoming the problems with the image of feminism that are still present in Estonia leave it up to the reader to decide if that is the true story, as the author is not giving its judgements. Reader may again distance himself/herself from the described country as there is no talk about any real progress in Estonia for the socialists.

21) 50 demands of a perfect lady as about the dress exhibition of Vilve Undi, by Anne
Vetik (woman, Estonian) 28 Feb 2006

A feminist after equal rights or a boyish teenager do not seem to be models to wear the exhibition dresses. The dresses of Vilve Undi demand a woman, who is always with high heel shoes, with a perfect haircut and makeup within the limit of good taste. No matter if the wearer of Undi dress is living in 60s or 80s, her husband would never see his darling with messy hair or in sweatpants. The author describes the perfect woman as someone opposing feminism: she is dressed traditionally and is someone good to look at and, therefore, a good wife to her husband.

In this idyllic harmony, there exists nothing out of order. This dream of past nostalgia creates an utopia that reader may wish to identify with; however, it is not really talking directly to men. Since the article is rather only descriptive, the author’s attitude about feminism stays unclear.

(Illustration of the exhibition)

22) Norway is 30 years ahead of Estonia in social fields, by Lea Larin (woman, Estonian) 31 Dec 2005

Even if feminism is not a swear-word in their country and Norway women are pleased to be feminists, there exist feminists who are gathered into non-profit institutions. The representative of Kvinnegruppa Ottari Anne Sty talks about activities, that have freed the public space of Norway from sexist commercials and newspapers from sex adverts. (People were encouraged to boycott that sort of media and specific advertised products.) At the moment the group considers as the biggest problem to be the 2 clans of patriarch world: the
spread of pornography and prostitution. The article talks about the feminist practices in Norway where social forces have already helped to get rid of sexist media content; however, the fight against patriarch system continues. The rhetoric used by the author is to remind reader about dystopia of porn or any form of selling sex. The reader has, in a way, given hope to a better future by following Norway’s example and not distancing itself from the given country. However, it is up to an individual’s perception of optimism.

23) The discrimination of women athletes makes a feminist furious, by Ants Juske (man, Estonian) 12 Dec 2005

Feminist discourse is already 30 years old – the role of women in art and the attention to them has grown remarkably. There have also been additional studies on what is special about women art and what are the gender characteristics?

What are the useful features that can one find here for sport? At first glance little, since in sport it is results that counts. But still, a radical feminist could make loud voice about why in media there is less talk about women athletes, why there is less visitors to women sport games, why the main attraction during skiing broadcast are men fields, why some fields are considered unwomanly and, overall, why do women and men compete separately? The author is trying to point out the silliness of feminists by claiming men’s sport is simply more interesting and important. He comparatively analyses men and women by idealizing sport and distancing women from this area of men. According to his rhetoric, women should stick to arts since women are the weaker sex and, besides, could not even in wildest utopia compete with men. Considering the tone, his negativity against feminism is obvious. Overall, the article gives a feeling of talking to men more than to women readers.


The opened art exhibition “(Meta) feminism” is intriguing and pretentious project. Already because all the represented artists at the exhibition are men. What do they know or should know about the “woman-thingy”? And how the proposed (Meta) feminism should appear in their works?
Men can create art of feminist content and in this case it is called finely (meta) feminism. Sounds almost like metaphysics or metapsychology. Even if feminism is not claimed to be similar with equality of women, the root of the word is still femina, woman. However, the exhibition raises lot of unanswered questions.

The graphics from the famous series- “Woman-machine” is in its nature even quite antifeminist, by objectifying and deconstructing woman body. Clueless in this context is also Ilmar Kruusamäe’s painting “In hard times, even a carrot goes”, representing a human-like, but totally gender neutral paint cat. Probably the message of the picture (if there is any) needs to be comprehended from personal level of corruption. The author has a quite critical approach towards the whole idea of men being feminists or creating art of that nature. He uses the rhetoric to ridicule and question the value of such exhibition, while showing it as something highly confusing and weird. He also accuses the artists of falling into banality, besides also being anti-feminist or just overall pointless. It leaves the reader to an impression of all this dystopian art being rather perverted, silly, messed up and naive or, overall, something that a normal person cannot probably identify with.

(Illustration of the exhibition)

25) Radical feminist Andrea Dworkin died, by The Associated Press (foreign) 14 Apr 2005

There have been past immortal statements by a radical feminist, such as “erotic is just high-class porn, that is better produced, packaged and created for higher class of consumer “and that “women fashion is just euphemism about a fashion, that men created for women”.
Dworkin managed to make also such loud statements as if “heterosexual act of sex was pure, formal sign of loathing against woman body”.

Dworkin fought against pornography almost 40 years and wrote many conflicting feminist texts. She called men moral idiots and believed that it is hard to distinguish seducing from rape. She considered pornography terrorism. At home the radical had a picture of a claimed rapist with a gun towards its head and a sentence at bottom saying: “DEAD MEN DO NOT RAPE.” The author is highly critical and paints a horrific picture of the radical feminist. This anti-hero is portrayed as “crazy monster” that is a potentially serious threat not only to men, but frankly to all society. The clear rhetoric is to shock and show what happens to someone like this or probably also to any supporter of her ideology. This description of the dystopia of radical feminism will most likely scare and disgust the reader, with little chances of empathizing or, worst case, identifying with the anti-hero or even feel sorry for her death. The strong wording of the article show the carried negative emotion of the author.

(Illustration: radical feminist Andrea Dworkin)

26) Story of one death through merciless eye of the truth, by Johannes Saar(\textit{man, Estonian}) 8 Feb 2005

Eveli Varik autobiographical photo- and text-album “Mistress” represents the story of a woman through dark images of man.

Personal has become public, intimate tragedy is dragged on the walls into collage of words and pictures. Feminism would be no doubt the first word, followed by small narrative and
then death of the suffering woman. The last is the favourite subject of feminism—woman as a victim. The author uses a rather hostile tone, while diminishing the value of the exhibition. The rhetoric is again to ridicule the artist by making her story look not so much tragic, but rather ironic for the reader. He accuses the artist of naively washing her “dirty underwear” in the public eye and the feminists in general of playing the forever “martyrs”, while portraying the man in dark lights.

The reader then should not feel bad for the “immoral” feminist anti-hero who finds her dystopian end.

27) Women reach high positions by chance, by Tuuli Koch (woman, Estonian) 19 Jan 2005

In a conference of women rights in Riga a report presented that Estonian media is mainly interested about what men say. The study tried to find out the role of Estonian women in public life during the years 1990–2004. High positions come to women by chance and often are more than women dared to hope. There exists an opinion that power makes women non-femin.

Estonian women are too self-critical and our society has widely spread stereotype-reaching for power is not very womanly. According to the study the two main words of taboo are “feminism” and “quotas”. However the word “quotas” is even bigger taboo from the word “feminism”. Even some feminists - even though there are few– are against quotas. The author describes the reality of Estonian women in a neutral tone, while relying on facts and statistics. She explains the common rhetoric of showing power as something unwomanly and words “feminism” and “quotas” as something extreme and dangerous. However, while the blame is put upon men, they are kind of excluded from the discussion by the author, making it perhaps difficult for a male reader to empathize with women or the overall feminism theme.
Current voting systems have not been productive. In neighbour countries the establishment of gender quotas has been productive, why not also for us? But the setting of quotas needs a legally fixed gender equality with a regulative law that the sexist government does not want to send into the parliament. But if the government do not want, it can be submitted by women themselves – without fear of being stamped as feminist. Because feminism is not a disability but a question of survival. The author is encouraging women to take the theme seriously and step out against the “evil” government. His rhetoric is talking of gender equality like if it was a fight. He points out the common stamping of feminists into sort of “freaks”. While some women readers may get inspired, some others may, instead, distance themselves from such “battle”. As for men readers it would be probably less likely to feel that they are being talked to at all.

29) With a whip and a carrot! By Lea Larin(woman, Estonian) 4 Jan 2004

Are there any feminists in Estonia? Are the ones undersigned it? Yes and no. No–cause as Marion remarks: “Feminism, this is the womanization of all sorts of body parts of a man.” “Yes, feminization,” add Kadi and Liina.

The final judgement is given by Raili: “Estonian Dictionary explains the word “feminism”: femininity, the existence of womanly body parts or characteristics in a man. It is sad to look that in Estonia the whole theme of gender equality is taken as some sort of foreign import.
that Estonia has to deal with not because of existing mass discrimination, but because it is demanded by European Union.”

Kadi: “There is a “chicken blindness” about gender discrimination in Estonia. How can it be that everybody finds: we do not have any kind of gender discrimination? By the way, in Sweden there was a serious debate in last weeks – since some politician came up with a chance that mothers should give a bigger part of their paid child vacation to fathers. There is a fight– men want to stay home with children.” In this interview the author shows his difficulty with women who identify themselves as feminists as it seems to be something freaky and misunderstood by the society. The article brings out problematics of over-sexualizing, ridiculing and blurriness of the very theme that is not taken seriously in Estonia. The author creates a kind of need for choosing a side in this debate, where it is still up to the reader to decide with what or who to identify with, while Estonia is distanced from the countries of European Union. Especially, Sweden is shown as a place of complete difference to the cultural norms of Estonia, in particular in the understanding of who is belonging to what sphere. It becomes out then that feminists are those men longing to be a bigger part of private sphere and the women ready to give it up. Who, or what, the reader would feel like identifying or seeing as an ideal is really up to their own feeling of self; however, with any choice they can either distance from, or identify with, the described feminism.

(illustration)

30) The popularity of Halonen is surprising even to Fins, by Imbi Paju(woman, Estonian) 9 Sep 2003
The experts see several reasons for the popularity of Halonen. However, it is amazing that her radical background seems to not bother anyone. Halonen is not a member of the church, while 85 per cent of Fins belong to church. President is a pacifist and a feminist, who has stood for the rights of sexual and racial minorities. Finnish Economics and Politics Research Centre (EVA) studies have shown that the attitude against peace movements since the Cold War have been negative by 56 per cent and negative towards feminist movements by 36 per cent of Fins. The existence of organisations for sexual minorities is not considered right by 38 per cent of Fins, and 34 per cent of Finnish people believe that adding foreigners to Finland will bring dangerous mix-marriages that weaken the prosperity of a nation. The article describes the Finnish situation relying on statistics and facts. The reader, regardless of gender, can in a way identify with Finland, since the described negative attitudes that are scared of the unknown dystopia are similar as in Estonia. However, Halonen, as a feminist hero, becomes a symbol of hope and gives faith to women that this utopia can also happen in Estonia. The tone of the author is calm and rather neutral against the overall theme as she is also not taking any personal position.

(Illustration: Finnish President Halonen)

31) Harry Potter and Vampire Slayer turning nation into pagans, by Reuters/BNS(foreign) 21 Jun 2003

Paganism was influenced by the movement of environmental protection and feminism of the 1980es, when women started to take interest in and worship the ancient goddesses. Then in 1990es came popular TV series “Buffy” and “Sabrina” that portrayed teenagers with supernatural powers. “All, that makes teenage girls feel themselves powerful is good to go,”
bragged McCabe. The article uses the rhetoric of connecting feminism to something driven by fantasy and illusion. The portrayal of feminist is someone violent and/or unnatural, while the identifying with such hero can be very influential to young people. The article again ridicules the whole theme of feminism and may be an attempt to alarm the reader by such trend; however, this seems to be another pseudo-problem of the silly and problematic youth. It makes it difficult for a reader, especially if not a teenager, to identify with something so out of logic or “normal” culture.

The ones following such pagan anarchy are seemingly entering a dystopian world full of dangers.

32) It is nice to think along with Lauri Vahtre, by Toomas Kummel (man, Estonian)

7 Feb 2003

It is nice to think along with Lauri Vahtre since thinking is nice. And actually Vahtre is discussing about the same things that many of us are wondering – if European president and gay marriage, feminism and death to death penalty, holocaust and proclaiming the word “nigger” as taboo, Estonian Legion men stamped as nazis is that Western society, where we so much aspire. Vahtre asks, if maybe Western society is on a wrong path. It is dependent on the answer, whether the Western world will be hit by big triumph or disappointment. So it pays to think along with Vahtre nice-styled essay, in order not to ask yourself in the future– was this the Western world we wanted.

Familiar story. “There exists whole ideologies that deny human connection to some concrete nation or culture and talk about “superhuman values” Vahtre recognises. We are familiar with these stories. This, how we were tried to design into homo sovieticus, is not yet forgotten by all. And this makes many careful about the future global world order. The author is using the rhetoric of creating fear in the reader while describing the West as our enemy and following their extremist socialist ideology ending in potential dystopia that various readers still remember as Soviet era. It gives the reader the expression that they were part of a fight against a big evil.
Media representation of feminism

Everything seemingly natural to the reader seems to be taken and made into a taboo, while things that come as rather unnatural along with feminism are proclaimed to be the new normality of this dangerous ideology of the West. It all makes it difficult, especially for older and/or men readers to identify with the new equality and identity politics.

33) **Sex & City: Girl grows into a man, by Ahto Muld (man, Estonian)** 5 Apr 2002

*Is a girl growing into a woman or is every woman and man a number in a tiny equality formula? Exactly this is how it is. People are in total hysteria, half of society is crunching teeth and demanding that a girl grows up a man. So she can also, half gun in the army, so all would recognize her as same smart lawyer as her male colleague, so that her womanly and his manly polarity would be closed in a box and floated down from toilet. So androgyny could rule. We may nag and demand some kind of creepy quota, for example, that in government there would be this and that much women ministers(let them be as foolish as they are), and their salary(regardless of the effectiveness or quality of their work) would be equal to others. But where do we end up? Of course into the new mental Soviet Union. The author is strongly opposing women from men by not only dividing their areas of belonging, but as well claiming men to be the stronger sex in every sense. He describes gender equality as something scary, disgraceful and even disgusting. The rhetoric is to connect feminism also to the dystopia of Soviet Union times, the return of which every reader should be frightened of, or not be willing to empathize with. Despite the ridiculing of feminism, the tone of the article is rather critical than humoristic.*

34) **A person without limits, by Raivo J. Raave (man, Estonian)** 3 Aug 2001

*Human rights, public opinion and political correctness condemn aggression in any area, except economy. The contemporary world is on the side of the victim: from there liberalism, pacifism, feminism tolerance ideologies.*

*Along with it came a new overcoming of “soft limits” ideologies, what is today called globalism. The side effect of this soft ideology, however, is terrorism. Of course terrorism existed before now, but terrorism of revolutioners was not what today’s ideological terrorism is. The foundation of this is the aggression metaphysics– terrorism has become a synonym of*
aggression: Attack. The author plays a picture of messy and dangerous world, where the real danger bombs are packaged in seemingly safe and innocent covers. The rhetoric is to connect feminism with a liberalism without limits and with potential terrorism. He talks about a new kind of mental terrorism that reader could connect to modern ideologies, almost making any kind of person who fights against the existing system a new age terrorist. The use of wording is rather strong, while the overall tone rather calm and serious. The reader would potentially feel frightened of this potentially deadly and dystopic future and seek help in holding onto the past and old world and system. Most probably the reader would not like to identify itself with any terrorist ideologies.

35) About feminism, by Tsooru (man, Estonian) 8 Jun 2001

Yes this (critic about feminism) is a usual salvation for a guy with a small willy. I have been asked, why I have a nervous approach towards feminism. The answer is always same. I have no approach towards feminism that in my opinion is hare-brained and meaningless. It is for me relatively pointless and in time self-vanishing movement. However, I am disturbed by the delirium of the sad souls of women – feminism helps me on with my life. The author is using rather calm but highly critical and negative tone while having a joke over feminism. He describes feminism as some dangerous illusion, where confused women get false hope of the non-existent utopia. The reader may then empathize and/or feel sad for those victimized feminists.

36) Long preparation seems to be ending, by Olev Remsu (man, Estonian) 27 Oct 2000

Feminism is simply a mean for self-assuring, reaching the focus of public opinion, besides opening sources of finance. And who could blame it? While these true scientists are fighting for existence in our otherwise market oriented society, besides quite effectively. And most important - reliably.

At the moment the attention of public culture is focused more on genetics, which discoveries share light on the fact that animal kingdom does not need male species. For example, it is enough to move a few of the billion genes of a woman ovary and a woman is capable of fertilize on its own. Vice versa manipulation with men is basically not possible. A future like
Media representation of feminism

this gives feminism very wide perspectives. The authors rhetoric is first to ridicule and diminish the value of feminism and gender studies. He describes feminist as someone small-minded, aggressive and, moreover, selfish. Then he manages to add some horror to the banal humour, by describing the horrible potentials that feminists might get with the help of others. This distances feminism from the normality of life and goes into dystopia of experimental biology. The male reader has probably no way to identify with feminism rather than see it as a serious threat.

37) Woman president? Still impossible in Estonia, by Barbi Pilvre (woman, Estonian)

17 Oct 2000

For Estonian as someone who admires authority, suits a leader rather distant than some kind of "own boy" or "neighbour girl". With this it is out of question for a woman candidate to succeed. Women as known devalue power in the eyes of Estonian: when some position is held by a woman its value drops. In church and on the position of a leader the common Estonian wants to hear a voice of a man and look at an image of a man.

A woman president shows a certain level of development of a society. A woman as a president is the measure for democracy and equality and patriarch Estonia is just not internally ready. Finnish society was more mature for this step and, logically, through a direct voting the president became a woman from the people Tarja Halonen. The author describes the common mentality in Estonia that women are rather someone to look down than up to and that things considered womanly are not the characteristics of a leader. She makes Finland look like a bit distant utopia for current Estonia with a hope that one day same level will be reached. The reader may feel distance from Finland, however, can emphasize with Halonen as a feminist hero that is close to its people. The tone of the author is rather calm with unprovocative wording.

38) Are u a feminist or a woman? By Mega (woman, Estonian) 13 Oct 2000

Feminism has turned into a swear-word. Manly, sexually frustrated, disappointed in men and life, lesbian, ugly, careless towards its looks and angry is the picture created of a feminist. Probably she lives out her incapability in communicating with men, by promoting feminist
Media representation of feminism

statements, hating men and bullying cosy housewives and make-up babes. The author
describes with rather critical words the common myths about feminism. She brings out the
usual rhetoric of connecting the so called negatively “manly” characteristics to the feminist.
The feminist is a hopeless anti-hero with a dystopian path, someone, who may be felt sorry
for or simply judged.

The male reader may get confused as he is not addressed by the author, rather only
matched with negativity. The overall tone of the article is loaded with emotion.

39) The leading feminist of USA Gloria Steinem got married, by Baltic News Service(foreign) 8 Sept 2000

The feminists of US had to swallow a hard insult on Wednesday - marriage of the co-founder
of feminist magazine "Ms" Gloria Steinem.

Steinem is remembered since the era of 1970s fighting feminism for her famous sentence:

"Woman without man is like a fish without bicycle." “Feminism means the ability to choose
freely at any moment of life what for us seems to be the rightest," said Steinem, according to
who she married out of pure love. All of the gun-sisters are not agreeing with her.

"The marriage of Gloria Steinem shows well the difficulties of those aging feminists, who have
been for 30 years worshiping a steal-strong career-woman and mercilessly criticizing
housewife moms," commented feminist Camille. The author is again ridiculing feminists by
using strong wording in an entertaining fashion. His rhetoric is to make feminists look
foolish and aggressive, while sharing light on the hopeful possibility that one may still in a
way grow up and recognise the real values like getting married. So Gloria becomes an anti-
feminist hero against all odds. The reader may probably empathize with Gloria and feel joy
for her, while leaving other feminists into immature and extremist light.

40) Feminism does not bite or catch you, by Piret Tali(woman, Estonian) 4 Mar 2000

Similar is the attitude to homosexuals in Estonia – even in a schoolboy vocabulary there is not
a worse word than a faggot, without one of them ever seen one homosexual with its own eyes.
Third example of top intolerance reminds of a slogan “Niggers out from Estonia” in the tunnel
of the Freedom Square in a time, when there was the amount of one hand fingers of black people walking on the streets of the capital. In a strange way the attitude of Estonian women against feminism is as careful as to aids—never know, in what way it will catch you. Even if one could see certain emancipation in the self-conscious of some woman, she would not name herself feminist even under a death threat. The author describes the negative attitudes against all sort of minorities in racist and homophobic Estonia. She shows the often used rhetoric of making anything different from us look negative and therefore feared. She paints a rather dark dystopian picture of present time, but with a slight hope for change. The author is clearly critical with strong word use, but not really addressing the guilt for our current situation upon anyone specific. She leaves the reader to make its own mind and conclusions.

5.2 The qualitative analysis
In this textual as well as rhetorical analysis different aspects of the articles are taken under consideration after been un-coded with a help of the coding scheme. The findings of the coding process reveal firstly and importantly the representation and portrayal of feminism and feminists and secondly help to analyse the texts from a feminist as well as Marxist perspective. The articles reveal a number of different themes and sub-themes that will be, subsequently, opened. These themes are both characteristics of the articles as a result of discursive analysis as well as departure for applying media theory.

The analysis is divided into three parts, where the first part concentrates on the textual analysis, second is an analysis and discussion connected to a wider social and cultural context and third is a discussion with a rhetorical approach.

5.3 Textual analysis

5.3.1 Myths and common rhetorics

The articles can be divided into two groups; those for and against feminism. Each article has its own story to tell; however, the most commonly used myths by writers against feminism are ones about feminism being something messy and unnatural, while a feminist
is someone similarly “messed-up”, “crazy”, or “confused”. As feminism seems to be without bright perspective, the feminist is seen as someone with a disturbed past and not a very hopeful future. The common strategies of storytelling for anti-feminist articles are using sex and conflict, while creating overall sensations and potential attitudes about gender politics. Articles for feminism use a rather neutral tone and facts to support their claims and are mainly descriptive and less judgemental, while looking at the realistic problematics of and the dangerously potential attempts to commercialize the theme.

As Jameson asks: “what is an idea?” The author posits that Marxist ideology has become more relevant than the opposing of “belief” against “science”. The idea thus becomes a narrative that influences our subconscious due to the psychological projection process. The narratives should be then detected and uncoded, yet every individual/personal narrative production is influenced by one’s mind towards the future. “Narratives may carry several contradictions, but should always have some certainty (like the end). The nature of the end is depending on our ideology.” (Jameson 1982:148). While each author is communicating its idea through a chosen narrative most of the articles carry a certain moral or ending that is either again for or against feminism. As most of the articles are negative about the feminism theme the negative myth about it, that has no scientific support, has the potential of becoming the “common truth”. So with the support of the media the existing system has the means to act almost as an institutional power, where the ideology of the ruling class can be sold into a “common culture”. This is how the negative myths, selling stories in a form of manipulated truth and different rhetorics found in media texts about feminism show parts of the face of the ruling class and may potentially influence public attitudes against feminism in patriarch Estonia. Additionally, as posited by Haraway (2006) in the ‘Cyborg Manifesto’ this is why women need to be motivated and work towards overcoming the restrictions and issues of ‘myths’ and negativity, about gender, feminism, and politics.

5.3.2 Stereotypes
The articles against feminism describe feminist anti-hero as someone rebellious, loud, mentally and emotionally deluded, as well as being dangerous to the society and to herself.
The hero again is often portrayed as someone strong-minded and successful, but also womanly-like and sexy, while keeping herself active in the private sphere and not getting political. The articles for feminism embrace the marginal nature of feminists and sometimes describe their activities as heroic, while also making men, generally, to look like anti-feminists or anti-heroes. So consequently, the anarchist feminist figure becomes someone troubling and difficult, seemingly fighting its battle against almost the whole mankind. The ones deciding to identify with her are always kind of taking a risk.

During technological revolution, new world-wide identities are produced. In line with this, Haraway is describes the “new family as homework economy and the high integration of factory, home and market, where women face not only the traditional home duties, but also the capitalist economy” (Haraway 2006). This kind of new economy puts women under high pressure of being successful both home and at the workplace, which is rather difficult to fully perform, however the stereotypical myth about a perfect woman lives on.

5.3.3 Words and phrases
Some of the most commonly repeated words from the articles were problem(1,5,9), taboo(15,27,32), fear(19,28), clan(7,22), hate(5,38), woman(2,8,23,24,26,27,33,36), Sweden(2,18,20,29), Russia(16,19), pink(4,10), man(23,24,25,29,37) and neutral(2, 24) . The very illustrative or abstract phrases were world of a man(17), clans of patriarchy(22), clans of feminists(7), unique brand of neutral Sweden(2), power is not womanly(27), woman as victim(26), anti-feminist Estonia(4), fear of being stamped(28), sexist gender neutral blue cat(24), men-artist made feminist art(24), feminist as swear word(20,22,38), socialist Iraq avoiding taboos(15), women to abandon homes(14), frightened by one word(11), hit to the feminist clan(7), schemes and pink unambiguous(5) and more. These kinds of words and phrases being used in articles show the rhetoric of creating negative metaphors and “meta-meanings” that result in the negative representation of and connections with feminism, and may play and manipulate with the perception of reality or overall truth. Besides the humoristic nature of several words and phrases clearly reveal the background genre of entertainment.
5.3.4 Associations and comparisons
The feminists are associated to something messed-up, problematic, scary, conflict and dangerous to men. Their nature seems to be either unisex or sexist against men, or in some circumstance, weird or out of the “normal” balance. In several cases feminism just looks like something banal, silly, taboo-like or shameful. While men are associated with the “darkness” and power of a “bigger” world, the place for women is still the home sphere. The real problem, according to the articles, seems to lay, however, not in the nature, but in the image of feminism, that needs to be reshaped. Sweden and Finland are shown either as an example of success or extremist socialism that once existed in Soviet Russia.

5.4 The social and cultural context
5.4.1 Patriarchy
Most of the articles reveal a strong tendency to sexualize the genders, and showing the difference between the common practices of objectifying women compared to rare and perhaps ridiculous attempts to do the same with men. The articles either support or show the nature of a current man dominated society, where women should find success through physical object of sex appeal, simply acting according to expectations of the ruling subject and fulfilling their role in private sphere. Despite the attempts of several authors trying to promote feminism in media, based on Haraway's theory, feminism does not naturally unite all women, and there is no such state as being female since identities are full of contradictions and complexity.

"Gender, race and class are forced constructions...there is no “us”, but there is the highest product - the ruling man in power (author of history)....There can be no revolution without clear identities, but the need for unity has never been bigger. Women should unite their activity rather than make it natural (reproduction for ex.)... Consciousness is an achieved not a natural state, where woman can be treated as object of desire and separated not from her product but from her subject.” (Haraway 2006:155) Several articles about feminism do not
only portray feminists in a negative way but also promote the male dominant society, where woman finds herself as an object.

5.4.2 Identity politics
The classifying of men and women into sex-gender system goes hand in hand with hierarchy that is based on difference. Women and men represent clearly different and rivaling groups, where feminists seem to represent rather marginal women and men, who conflict with everything. The articles against feminism are trying to ridicule anything or anyone that does not fall under a clear classification and/or identity.

This fits in with Ross (2009)’s theory, as the scholar referred to the usual attempts to build a political myth about feminism, socialism and materialism and the rhetoric of irony to show the contradictions (common political method that can be found from the articles) and nature as a resource to produce culture and the self as reproduction from others reflections.

In several articles, feminism is portrayed and described as some kind of ‘cyborg being’. According to Haraway, a cyborg is a creature in post-gender world, where monsters exist as non-oedipal narratives with different logic of repression. “Cyborg has no origin, but the origin of western humanism is based on the myth of unity, best described by Marx and psychoanalysis. In this unity difference is produced to make possible domination over nature/woman. It has no moral, dream or memory but only need for communication” (Haraway, 2006). By portraying feminists as cyborgs their identity becomes negative, unnatural and potentially unacceptable.

5.4.3 Capitalism and tabloidization
Scandals, conflicts and sexualization all work well for the profitability of a private news agency as it is a trend among most articles to have as appealing and sensational content and style as possible. The articles against feminism are especially persistent in stressing on
the notion of entertainment. Most of the articles are using rather amusing illustrations, sometimes also pictures of some sort of cyborg.

Haraway claims that though “cyborg being an of spring of capitalism, the existing boundaries inside the unity are breaking on levels of humans and animals, organism and machine, physical and nonphysical matter” (Haraway 2006). According to her cyborg is not a subject of politics but its stimulator. As mentioned earlier, several articles show feminism as some kind of “cyborg being” that may easily create confusion or fear. Similarly, Steeves (1988) defined three attitudes to feminism in media, namely the liberal, radical, and socialist. The scholar further added that these three approaches have differing presumptions about the function of the media and its effect on the society.

“What women can be either integrated or exploited into a world system of productions and communications” (Haraway, 2006). The capitalist media promotes consumption and celebration. But where ends the happy celebration and starts the diminishing humiliation of womanhood?

“What is new is the idea that somehow, these trends signal liberation.” (Ross, 2009:56) Any kind of liberation means the freedom of choice; however, freedom is questionable in a mediated environment, where there is seemingly minimized choice towards happiness or “success” for a woman. “The pornographication of popular culture and over sexuality between men and women, in particular some degree of violence are part of that trend.” (Ross, 2009:47) The often very sexual nature of the articles is a reflection of the trends of commercialism, but also communicate an agenda to diminish woman simply to their sexual organs.

5.4.5 Globalization
“Proponents of political cosmopolitanism are concerned with issues of gender, environment, human rights and peace” and “political cosmopolitanism has been described as thin and is often seen with a top-down trajectory. It thus makes sense that is often associated, in concrete applications, with the project of the European Union, which has yet to succeed in engaging the
As described, the efforts of feminists along with EU laws have been weak against the local culture, interest and power of the ruling class, who communicate their backward ideology often in a “nationalistic sauce”. As theorized by Robertson (2010): “Globalization emerges as something natural, almost organic, while the EU is artificial, the product of a bureaucratic inclination to complicate the life of the average person, and an entity held together by red tape.” (p.74) Despite the usual ambition to be modern, feminism is often portrayed as some unnatural and unnecessary policy of the EU by Estonian media.

5.5 The rhetorical approach
5.5.1 “Us” and “others”
“Utopia creates categories like Nothing and Homeland as well as Nothing and All. The final will must be then to be truly present and enjoy leisure just Here and Now.” (Bloch 1959:9)
Articles against feminism attempt to distance the normality of the reader from the hysterical feminists, so that it would be difficult to identify, but more likely to feel inferior to silly or evil feminists. Articles for feminism, though not ridiculing or accusing men, tend to only talk to women, making it unlikely for a man to identify himself with feminists. However, reader would identify distinctions between “Homeland” and “Others” that promotes the local traditional and national values and encourages resistance or awareness of any difference or change. This is clear when Estonia is compared with other neighbour countries.

5.5.2 Utopia and dystopia
Jameson describes how the nature of the end is depending on our ideology, while the content of literature is complex, indirect and mediated. The given experience together with the memory should be ending with the future/progress.
In the articles against feminism the portrayed feminist finds herself in a potentially sad and dark dystopian anarchy or even death as a fearful warning to the reader about the dangers of supporting or identifying itself with such a theme, while the utopian dream of prosperous future is described to conflict with the practices and hopes of the feminists. The articles for feminism describe rather the mess of a current unfair situation, where feminism practices carry hope for a socialist utopia of equal rights and opportunities for all.

“A dilemma of death is used as common negative feature. Socialism of Stalin and class struggle seems utopia to an outside viewer, similarly to dystopia of the west.” (Jameson 1982:153) It aims to be one of the goal of utopias to support political ideologies. Ones utopia may as well as be another reality as there is no absolute truth or perfection. According to Jameson without freedom of thought there is no progress. For an Estonian reader it is a historical fear to connect in any way to Soviet Russia, while the social politics of the “West” seem like distant utopia or a new kind of dystopian Soviet danger. This kind of approaches make people feel safe in the time and place they are in the very moment and resistant or ignorant towards any change politics. The fear towards socialism in Estonia can continue provoking people to hold on to their backward mentality that refuses to be liberated.

5.5.3 Conflict and evil
While creating classes based on difference and distancing them from each other, the rivaling sides like men versus women are easily established. Wise points out that religion is used to control people from rebelling against corruption. The local culture is based on religion, and similarly in Estonia the traditional beliefs that do not correlate to liberalism come from Christianity. Wise sees “ignorance as the cause of evil that is not something in itself” (Wise 2008:291) Similarly media that promotes ignorance against feminism can produce only more evil. But who or what holds the verdict what is bad or good, right or false? In patriarch Estonia the answer to it seems to be quite evident. The best way to prevent or later cure evil is to be or strive towards more stable and welfare environment. It is a claimed by Wise that "evil is part of our individual humanity, but can be also socially constructed.” (Wise 2008:291) Evil is not in the people, but the system we live in. The possible logic would be then to oppose and fight against the ruling system. The hatred
between women and men exists due to a system that exploits one side and makes the other side automatically guilty. In other words, men are not born with the will to exploit women, but the system naturalizes it for them. Most of the articles describe the rivaling situation of women versus men almost like a long-lasting war, where time to time some fights take place. These battles are surrounded by hateful, accusing atmosphere and cannot be described as constructive discussions. Moreover, this emotional warfare on the battle of the sexes goes naturally along with banality and scandal.

5.5.4 Notion of hope
Until Marx the forward dreaming was not dealt with. According to Bloch our world is full of repetition, but the possible new should be examined/comprehended. “The freedom movements always get inspired from utopia (also in Bible).” (Bloch 1959:5) The ideal and the aim becomes same as fact, but alone the will does not really change the realm. Similarly the positive articles to promote feminism in Estonia do not bring a social change, since the lack of real activists with strong ideology among society.

Lenin once asked: “What must we dream of?” Bloch states that “everything that is realistic about the hope leads back to Marxism: The what is coming is entering the present practice and the consciousness of the future can exist only with both past and present.” (Bloch 1959:13) “When the boundaries fall between past and future, one becomes the other so past is also still the living time.” (Bloch 1959:6) The articles warning about the already once experienced soviet dangers of the future can work well for controlling and maintaining the ignorance, while the utopia of reaching the highest welfare status seems simply a bit too “utopian” for a classical Estonian reader.

5.5.5 Feminism in media
“Networking is a feminist practice, while there is no real place for women in the networks.” (Haraway 2006:164) Similarly, Estonian women journalists miss to influence local women and patriarch propaganda still ceases to bloom. Haraway stresses on how the informatics of domination is producing insecurity, poverty and danger for the vulnerable. The feminist
keep dreaming of a united system, for a world without gender. While this, cyborg politics of the ruling class is a fight against common language and culture that makes us hybrid beings. She points out that the mediated cyborgs about feminism make the identity problematic and that the political language overall is a myth. This kind of mentioned cyborgs can be spotted in Estonian journalism, where still continues the creation of myths about feminism.

6. Discussion and Conclusion
The following research questions were answered during the course of this research, including:

RQ-A: How are feminism and feminists portrayed and represented in Estonian journalism in the case of Eesti Paevaleht?

The analysis of 40 articles of Paevaleht revealed negative portrayal of feminists and feminism in general. The majority of the articles against feminism, written in the last 15 years were repeatedly using rhetorics to ridicule, diminish and distance the “hysteric” feminists and their “faulty” theories from the “normality”, “balance” and “common sense” of healthy society. Furthermore, while doing so, the Scandinavian countries, which are otherwise considered successful, have been described as “overly feminist” or “unmanly” when it comes to gender politics, and Soviet Russia shown as a totally negative example of a feminist and socialist country. This correlates with Haraway (2006)’s statement in the article titled ‘A Cyborg Manifesto’, wherein the scholar critiqued the conventional concepts of feminism, principally feminist emphases on individuality politics, and motivation rather than alliance through empathy.

RQ-B: What kind of myths and fictional themes can be found from the articles?
The selling myth in articles examined keeps on showing the “beauty”, “success” and “glory” of a “traditional” young woman in private sphere, while compared with the “manly”, “old” and even “dangerous” feminists “pushing” into the public. This is line with Ross (2009)’s theory that: “New forms of gendered identity are now peddled, such as the sexy “new” femininity which sees women wearing conspicuous cleavage and bling to the of ice, while at the same time concerns are expressed over men’s ability to perform their “traditional” role in the society as so called crisis of masculinity” (pp.15). In looking at retrograde analysis, Ross believes in placing “women back in their corset from which they have only recently fought a way out to turning them back into whores in the bedroom and angels in the kitchen” (Ross 2009:23) as well as stresses that “women feature most often when in most pain, when victims, broken, dead or when daughters, wives or girlfriends of newsworthy men.”(Ross 2009:56).

Most of the articles, however, are situated into the subheading of opinion or culture, simply meaning that the feminist theme has not reached a real level of newsworthy in Delfy. The whole subject seems to be rather entertainment than political; however, articles written by local women or foreign authors take the theme much more seriously. Once again, it again is interesting how in a newspaper, where about half of the journalists are women, the main negative opinion carriers about feminism are men. Reason for the men journalists “frustration” about feminism can be explained, and as posited by Waisbord (2013): “because journalism is firmly planted in the structure of capitalist media companies, it has obvious biases which are particularly salient in the coverage of issues and actors that question fundamental principles of it.”(pp.100)

RQ-C: What is the tone while talking about feminism and feminist?

As a trend of the articles show some years as more critical and/or serious as well as more articles overall written about feminism. As well there seems to be significant difference between articles written by local men journalists while compared with ones of foreign authors. The foreign articles with few exceptions carry support for or are neutral against the theme. Overall the Estonian male journalist has had a critical and ridiculing approach towards the theme, while Estonian women journalists along with foreign ones are rather
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supporters of feminism. This relates to the suggestion by Byerly & Ross (2006), who state that: “What we see, read and hear in popular media has been influenced by women efforts to change their representational image”; however, as theorized by Ross (2009), “media workers are not entirely without effect and some of what they produce is certainly capable of provoking entirely contradictory readings among the consuming public.” (pp.4)

RQ-D: Who is saying what about feminism and feminists?

The articles for feminism discuss the problematics and challenges feminism is going through and relying on factual evidence. This, once again, creates a distance with men, when excluding them from the discussion. Several articles have been written by both men and women authors, examples include Piret Tali, Mega, Barbi Pilvre, Toomas Kummel, Lea Larin, and several others who have been discussed above. Most of the women authors writing about this theme are specialists and/or holders of at least a degree of higher education, but not as well-known by readers as the popular men journalists. The style and tone of these articles mostly differs from the ones against feminism.

RQ-E: With who can the reader identify, and who is shown as the other?

The so called fight of the theme is visible in media, where authors choose sides and try to convince reader in what they believe. Similarly to the times right before joining the EU around the millennium, in last years, again, the number of both emotionally loaded articles against and more analytical articles for feminism have risen. Readers mostly have to pick sides, with some supporting the fight for feminism, and some against it. This is also in line with Rakow and Wackwitz (2004)’s theory that there are three major themes for the feminist communication theory, namely voice, representation, and difference, and how these factors are communicated to readers determines how they will view the subject of feminism.

6.1 Discussion

Delfi as a private corporation should not ideally have a political agenda; however, it does not mean there should be no cooperation with politics. Different from Public Service
Broadcasting, Delfy has no “watchdog” function and can be more open in their content; however, it has to be, obviously, more attractive to the consumers, since it financially depends on their interest. In Foucauldian approach “professional journalism is driven by a will to moderation reflected in its straight dismissal and marginalization of critical ideas which are labelled conspiracies” (Waisbord 2013:104) and “discourse of autonomy masks the fact that professions are embedded in a regime of domination and control.” (Waisbord 2013:106) The biased opinions about feminism in Estonia are supported by the capitalist class interest to maintain its position in society.

The main weakness of feminism in media is that it can shock or make people feel empathy but not so much identify, engage or take serious interest in their political goals. Even if things often seem different for an outside viewer, the feminist movements mainly struggle to get local support. Thus, as posited by Gimenez (2005) and Jaggar (1983), gender separation is the key issue in women’s subjugation and women have to battle not just for their privileges as citizens but also to liberate themselves from the ‘man within’ The complexity to achieve that is in the strength of the ruling power that uses the sometimes extreme nature of protests to show these as acts of kind of “terrorism”. Often the nature of sexuality in the protests or statements of feminists just has the tendency to attract attention but at same time diminishing women back to the bodily objects they wish to oppose to.

Delfy is reflecting to the notion of popular and tries to write in a way to please the readers. The notion of entertainment can raise the number of consumers and followers, but not as much real ideological support for feminism to reach a positive public opinion and/or social change in Estonia. Not surprisingly, it is also for the interest of leading politics not to “disturb” the minds of conservative voters with a problematic debate over some liberal and leftist politics of the “west”. This approach is a stagnation for the minds of Estonian readers, who are, likely, and, especially, if men, to be reassured in their sexist ideology about gender. Despite the success and rise of female participation in society, Ross (2009) contends that: “women’s largely subservient roles, their lack of involvement in the world of work, their dependence on men, their attractiveness are all common themes from researches.” (p.44) However, the sexist pressure hits men as similarly as women. “If the self is found wanting because is not as successful, attractive, fit, rich or conventionally
masculine as guys on the glossies, this could feed into a destructive self-perception resulting in overly macho behaviour or a retreat into depression, both of which play well into the idea of masculinity in crisis.”(Ross 2009:15)

One might think that perhaps then public broadcasting would help to balance the situation, even if only as a result of national agenda, but not seemingly so. From already existing studies about Estonian Public Broadcasting it can be said that the situation is very much similar in many aspects when it comes to gender representation. The current study adds certainty to the existing results and conclusions of scholarly works among Pilvre (2011) about Estonian media. Does the problem lay in the freedom of press or in the lack of social responsibility? Answers to these questions may be found in a further media field observations. The logical solutions can be in the better education of journalists as well as rise of more feminist activists.

Despite all journalism has proved to be very influencing form of media and a good study material for now and future as social movements such as feminism represent an interesting and important phenomena.

6.2 Conclusion
Estonia is a transition society that once struggled out from Soviet Union and has been pushing ever since towards the west. The historical despise against socialism has created a very national right-sided mentality that describes the leading politics as well as much of the minds of Estonians. Due to this the so called soft values have not yet become a priority, even while many people are desperately waiting for changes. According to Estonian Human Development Report (2013) social responsibility is a huge problem, ironically, in a way bigger than it was during the soviet era. As another contradictory since moving to the EU, which was a national mission, Estonia has been taking over laws and regulations of the European Law, but apparently not the ideology of the west behind those regulations. It can be said that certain changes do not appear overnight, however, certain institutions like, especially, media should try to encourage a public debate instead of continuing in the old sexist ideology.
Feminism as movement is considered a socialist and anti-military since they oppose to the dominance of macho culture and fight against the exploitation of capitalist system. However, women are often seen as the quiet victims and their attempts of organised or also (extremist) rebellion against the ruling system and situation is seen as a taboo, that may attract the attention of media, but brings little change to society in reality. The ruling power often uses their extremist nature to create an illusion of “terrorism”. Women seem to be struggling to make their ideology push to politics in a man dominated world, but also fail to unite the different ethnicity and class background of feminists into a one strong movement as it is very much dominated by “elite” women. When talking about the fight of feminism it is not a fight of women against men, but a fight of women against the system by simply using the media as a platform of battle.

It is likely that even the children of those with stagnant views could grow up to be different, if only media would have enough of positive influence on them. So far Estonian media is still a reflection of patriarch system that is just taking its baby steps towards a gender balanced society. The content of private media products cannot be controlled and it would be extreme for a democracy to apply law enforcements in order to do so. The realistic options would be to invest into the education of journalism and to promote its notion of morality as well as push more feminists and women into changing the existing media system as similar tendencies can be found from our everyday society where “women involvement in ministry has had the positive impact of encouraging men’s articulation of their feelings and willingness to discuss…” (Ross 2009:23)

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APPENDIX

Coding scheme

1. Channel (Eesti Paevaleht)
   a) heading of the article
   b) date
   d) author (sex, nationality, profession)

2. The article
   a) style
   b) tone
   c) wording (incl. expressions, comparisons, "meta-meanings" etc)
   d) rhetorics
   e) the story (also moral)
   f) illustrations

3. Genre and/or subsection of the article
   a) entertainment (also humour, parody)
   b) essays and/or opinion articles
   c) foreign news
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d) society and communication

e) health and environment

f) education

g) war, crime and conflicts

h) business news

i) breaking news, the heading story

j) national news

k) culture (also music)

l) science

m) women's corner (Naistekas)

4. The objected feminism and/or feminist

1. body and clothing (descriptions or images of physical appearance)

2. age

3. significant others (friends, colleagues, boss, husband etc)

4. stereotypes, symbols (about feminism etc)

5. private life (hobbies, family, home, pets etc)

6. deviantism (difference from the norm)

7. agencies (descriptions of the life of feminist either as being a subject or an object)

8. success (descriptions of successful happenings)

9. failure
10. role (politician, activist, citizen, musician, victim etc)

11. approach (criticism, humour, news, debate or else)

Articles


