

The International Conference, on the occasion of the 30th Anniversary of the Peace Institute

AFTER THE SUMMER OF MIGRATION: RIGHT-WING POPULISM, MEDIA AND AFFECT

Ljubljana, September 16-17, 2021

The Association of Free Trade Unions of Slovenia, Dalmatinova ulica 4

Organized by the Peace Institute and University of Vienna



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Telephone: ++38612347720
E-mail: info@mirovni-institut.si

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Background: The conference focuses on the nexus between political parties, media and right-wing populism since the so-called 2015 summer of migration in Europe with an affect perspective. The historical background is the erosion of party democracy and the rise of populist democracy. Classical political leadership is declining, giving centrality to personalisation and mediatisation of politics, and above all, populist leaders who exploit social media as new opportunity structures that are becoming a substitute for political debate. On the upswing are right-wing populist actors who aim at mobilising against the elite and internal and external others. The growing number of refugees fleeing to European countries along the Balkan route from war-torn and economically devastated zones fuelled the populist upsurge across Europe, as refugees were increasingly regarded as dangerous, culturally deviant, and a threat to the national security and the welfare system. The COVID-19 period has appeared as yet another crisis that deepened social inequalities and accelerated the invisibility of minorities.

Aims of the conference: The conference intends to debate the populist production of politics of fear and securitisation, which addresses the emotions and affects of people and converts fear of economic and social decline into anger against migrants. The dynamic interplay between political strategies and media practices—the media-political parallelism—is of central concern, i.e. how the policy frames of the political field and the media are distributed and become common sense. The focus is also to understand how affective populist appeals shape public opinion on migration and how they mobilise people’s political and voting preferences.

This conference is the final event of the Slovenian-Austrian research project POP-MED (<https://www.mirovni-institut.si/en/pop-med/>).

ORGANISING COMMITTEE

Mojca Pajnik, Associate Professor of Media and Communications at the University of Ljubljana and Researcher at The Peace Institute, Ljubljana; Birgit Sauer, Professor of Political Science at University of Vienna; Iztok Šori, PhD in Sociology, Researcher and Director of the Peace Institute; Otto Penz, Sociologist at the University of Vienna; Mojca Frelj, MA in Sociology, researcher at the Peace Institute.

Conference Programme

Thursday, September 16

12.30–13.00 **Registration**

13.00–13.15 **Welcome address**

Tanja Renner, member of the Scientific Council of the Peace institute

Mojca Pajnik and Birgit Sauer, Conference chairs

13.15–14.25 **Session 1: Media Performativity and the Attention Economy** (Chair: Otto Penz)

Marko Ribač and Emanuela Fabijan: Performativity of Political and Media Populism: Analysis of Political Interviews in TV News Shows Odmevi and 24UR ZVEČER

Peter Sekloča: Populist Digital Politics and the Attention Economy

Elisabeth Wagner-Olfermann: Media's Construction of Political Leadership in Transboundary Crises: A Comparative Analysis of the Responsibility Framing during the Migration Crisis and the COVID-19 Pandemic

14.25–15.00 **Lunch Break**

15.00–15.50 **Session 2: Authoritarian Populism and Twitter** (Chair: Daniel Thiele)

Jernej A. Prodnik and Boris Mance: Marshal Twito's First 100k: Janez Janša's use of Twitter and his Attitude Towards the Media

Magdo Chuchracka: Rainbow Capitalism vs. Authoritarian Populism

15.50–16.05 **Coffee/Tea Break**

16.05–17.15 **Session 3: Shifting Public Opinion Amidst Democracy Backlash and Media Distrust** (Chair: Jernej Amon Prodnik)

Pedro Ibarra Güell and Ariel Sribman Mittelman: The Populist Emptying of Democracy and the Transfer of Voters to the Right

Mojca Pajnik, Nejc Berzelak and Ajda Šulc: Whose Media? How are Media Preferences Related to Citizen's Populist Worldviews

Noemí Mena-Montes and Miguel Vicente-Mariño: Spanish Public Opinion and Media-Political Agendas: The Summers of Migration

17.15–17.30 **Coffee/Tea Break**

17.30–19.00 **Keynote Speech** (moderation: Mojca Pajnik)

Zizi Papacharissi Democracy, Populism, and Affective Publics

19.30–20.00 **Exhibition by Sebastian Jung: Intensive Care**

20.15 **Dinner**

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Mokhtar Ounis: Affective Populist Discourse: When Strategy and Ideology Intertwine

Furkan Çay and Assem Kalkamanova: Populist Evolution of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan: A Quantitative Content Analysis of Political Campaign Speeches

11.20–11.40 **Coffee/Tea Break**

11.40–12.50 **Session 5: Securitizing Migration** (Chair: Iztok Šori)

Andrea Carlà: Migration and Securitisation Dynamics at the Local Level: Discourses and Practices in South Tyrol

Ellen Skuza: The Evil and The Poor – The Securitisation of the German Development Policy Under the Circumstances of the so-called Refugee Crisis

Matthijs Gardenier: The Framing of Migrations as a Security Threat by Far-Right Social Movements in Dover

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14.45–15.55 **Session 6: Framing Migration and Exclusion** (Chair: Marko Ribač)

Roland Atzmüller and Alban Knecht: Lumping Asylum Seekers, Migration and the Poor together – Media Discourses and Welfare-Policy Dispositives in Austria after 2015

Daniel Thiele: Borderless Fear? How Right-Wing Populism in Austria and Slovenia Aligns in Framing Migration as Security Threat

Rok Smrdelj: Whose Discourses? The Refugee “Crisis” in Slovenia from the Hybrid Media System Perspective

15.55–16.15 **Coffee/Tea Break**

16.15–17.45 **Keynote Speech** (moderation: Birgit Sauer)

Lance Bennett Disrupted Public Spheres and Media in Times of Authoritarian Populism

17.45–18.00 **Concluding Remarks (Mojca Pajnik and Birgit Sauer)**

18.00 **Conference Ends**

ABSTRACTS AND CONFERENCE SPEAKERS

Marko Ribač, Emanuela Fabijan

Performativity of Political and Media Populism – Analysis of Political Interviews in TV News Shows *Odmevi* and *24UR ZVEČER*

The paper bridges the gap between the burgeoning field of political populism research and less researched subfield of media populism, providing the needed focus on the reproduction of populist rhetoric and its representation on television. Authors conceptualise populism as a communication style and analyse its verbal and visual expressions as performative practices, while empirically illustrating how visual elements are an intricate part of the reproduction of populism. The paper thus grasps populism in the interplay between verbal and visual manifestations and on the crossroads of political and journalistic field. Firstly, populism is defined as praising the people while emphasising their antagonistic relations with elites (political parties, oligarchs, media companies etc.) and Others (in this case refugees and migrants). Secondly, it underlines the historical-political importance of television as a medium and journalistic reporting as highly ritualised professional practice for the performativity of populist communication. Simplification, emotionality and transience of television production on one hand and adherence to the rules and principles of highly conventional journalistic genres (political interview for example) on the other present the framework in which to understand the interplay of populism as a verbal and visual expression. In order to adequately illustrate populism as a communication style authors explore the specificities of populist communication by journalists and politicians discussing migrations in late evening Slovenian television news in the period from 2015 to 2017. Authors examine visual and verbal elements present in political interviews in two news shows: a news show broadcast on public broadcaster RTV Slovenija (*Odmevi*) and on the commercial television station POP TV (*24UR ZVEČER*). They interpret the data collected in an empirical analysis using the visual interaction method, a quantitative-qualitative method designed to analyse visual and verbal elements of communicative practices. The interpretative part of the paper combines the illustration of verbal populist expressions and graphic representations present in political interviews. First it explores manifestations of populism through the media as it focuses on the politicians' populist style in television interviews. Analysis in this part clearly shows proximity of the discourse of the "centrist" governmental coalition and oppositional political right. Discourse reinforcing the fear of the Other while emphasizing protection of Slovenia's borders from dangerous migrants prevails in political interpretations of the

“refugee crisis”. The second part explores the reproduction of populism by the media as it explains the role of journalists and the accommodation of populist style in TV journalism. Analysis shows that populist style in political interviews can be reproduced when journalists perform their normative role of tribunes of the people, especially when incorporating “shift of footing” mechanism that attempts to reaffirm their position as watchdogs working for and on behalf of the people. The paper concludes that applied television logic and ritualised journalistic conventions contribute to the reproduction of populism in the televised political interviews. Conceptualising populism as a style performed in its visual and verbal dimensions can consequently contribute to better understanding of rhetorical and visual mechanisms of populism in the political and media field.

Marko Ribač, PhD, works as an assistant researcher at The Peace Institute in Ljubljana. Beside social, political and theories of communication his main research topics range from mediatisation of everyday life and transformations of political, journalistic as well as economic sphere to popular protests and social movements.

Emanuela Fabijan is a young researcher and an assistant at the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana. She is a PhD student at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, working on her dissertation on populism. The fields of her research include marginalized social groups, media, gender and populism.

Peter Sekloča

Populist Digital Politics and the Attention Economy

Characteristics of populist digital politics and contemporary libidinal political economy offer the fertile ground for the economy of attention to flourish between populist leaders and their followers. The author explains why it is possible that populist messages so effectively resonate on the right side of the public sphere. It is argued that both digital network media and the populist leaders alike are profiting and are granted legitimacy exactly because the communicative redemption of the attention is not necessary nor provided, even if the public would demand it. The attention economy of populist politics survives bluffing and speculation as any other economy by making empty promises of democratization and participation. Concerning democratization, when the leader receives the attention of followers, he can pass it to someone else. The ones that the attention is passed onto are many times the members of vulnerable minorities, what makes the process undemocratically

inclusive. On the other hand, the promise of participation finds its manifestation in the inclusion of those who can most easily be “proletarized” to work for the leaders. Proletarianization is enabled when the historical memory and theoretical knowledge is exteriorized into the information and communication technology. When proletarianization is fused with the rhetoric of pathos, there is no necessity that the value of received attention of populist leaders would be redeemed, what makes the attention economy of the populist politics to be self-stabilizing.

Peter Sekloča is a lecturer and researcher at the Faculty of Humanities, University of Primorska (Slovenia). His fields: political economy of communication, public and public sphere, deliberative theories of democracy, public understanding of science, international communication.

Elisabeth Wagner-Olfemann

Media’s Construction of Political Leadership in Transboundary Crises: A Comparative Analysis of the Responsibility Framing during the Migration Crisis and the COVID-19 Pandemic

Recurrent transboundary crises are one of the greatest challenges of the 21st century. Their geographical, functional and temporal consequences exceed the possibilities of unilateral crisis management and require political leadership beyond national borders. But such crises are characterized by an authority vacuum, so political leadership is usually informal and complicated by conflicts of national interest and identity. Public visibility and perception thus becomes an essential resource of political leadership in transboundary crises, which aims for broad recognition and acceptance. The study therefore explores the question of how European media construct and thus legitimize transboundary political leadership during crises. In doing so, it brings together findings from communication and social science as well as political leadership research and theoretically assumes that perceptible leadership in a transboundary crisis results from publicly observable processes of attributing and justifying responsibility across geographical borders and political levels. A quantitative content analysis will be used to capture attribution statements with their sender and receiver as well as justification. The analysis will focus on the reporting in four European countries (Germany, Austria, Great Britain and Ireland) during two crises (migration crisis, Corona pandemic). In the end, the comparison of countries and crises should make it possible to draw conclusions

about the influence of the crisis impact as well as the degree of Europeanization of a country as well as a policy field on the attribution behavior and the visibility of different actors.

Elisabeth Wagner-Olfermann is a research assistant and doctoral candidate at the Department of Public Relations and Technology Communication at the Institute for Media and Communication Science (IfMK) at Ilmenau University of Technology since 2017. She completed her Bachelor's degree in Communication Science and Social Science (B.A.) at the University of Erfurt from 2009 to 2013. During her studies there, Wagner-Olfermann was a tutor at the Seminar for Media and Communication Studies and a student assistant at the Chair for Social Communication. From 2012 to 2013, she did an internship at Gentinetta Scholten GmbH in Zurich – a consultancy with a focus on political campaigning. The internship developed into many years of freelance work for the consultancy as well as for another Zurich agency, Berta Kommunikation AG, until 2017. At the same time, Wagner-Olfermann completed her Master's degree in Media and Political Communication (M.A.) at the Freie Universität of Berlin in 2016. Elisabeth Wagner-Olfermann lives in Erfurt, together with her husband and her two daughters.

Jernej A. Prodnik, Boris Mance

Marshal Twito's First 100k: Janez Janša's use of Twitter and his Attitude Towards the Media

In June 2020 Janez Janša, serving as the Primer Minister of Slovenia, achieved a special feat. The total number of tweets on his Twitter account breached the 100.000 mark, in what is surely a significant amount for any user, not only for an active politician. Janša's political communication on Twitter has attracted attention of Slovenian journalists and general public for several years now, with his excessive use, faithful following and regular slurs aimed at his opponents earning him the monicker Marshal Twito. But because of his troubling political turn towards authoritarian right (Fuchs, 2018; Morelock, 2018; Mudde, 2018), he is now drawing attention of international media as well. This includes critical overviews by major journalistic institutions such as *The Guardian*, *The Economist*, *Der Spiegel*, *New York Times*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Le Monde* and *Financial Times*, to name just a few. Not since Josip Broz – Marshal Tito, president of socialist Yugoslavia, has a politician connected to Slovenia received such an international "recognition".

Many of the journalists focusing on Janša are finding parallels with Donald Trump and his problematic attitude towards journalists and the media. They noticed he is waging an

active war against media and journalists not only on Twitter, but also in his political actions. In a fashion similar to Trump, Janša is also serially breaching unwritten democratic norms, including a lack of at least basic level of respect towards the media and journalists, which could have dire consequences for the functioning and integrity of democracy (Levitsky and Ziblatt, 2019: 198–203).

In the paper, we present a general analysis of how Janša has used Twitter in his first 100.000 tweets. We focus our attention especially on his original tweets, which represent approximately one-tenth of his total tweets, and how he is addressing journalists and the media in them. By tracing the most frequently occurring words associated with (or attributed to) a particular media outlet and/or journalist using the tools of network analysis, the study identifies typical patterns of Janša's Twitter vocabulary over the 10-year period since he set up his account. The analysis of the identified vocabulary will not only reveal patterns of how he tries to (de)legitimise journalists and the media, but will also indicate the perceived importance and conceptual framework of particular coverage of the issues Janša attributed to journalists/media in certain periods. Special attention will also be paid to the comparison of the identified patterns in perspectives before and after the appearance of Donald Trump in the political arena, in order to reveal whether any significant changes occurred in Janša's style of public political communication.

Jernej A. Prodnik, Social Communication Research Centre, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana (Slovenia). Assistant Professor at the Department of Journalism. He is currently serving as the head of the department.

Boris Mance is a researcher at the Social Communication Research Centre, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana (Slovenia).

Magdo Churcharcka

Rainbow Capitalism VS. Authoritarian Populism

The dynamics of discrimination and inclusion are correlated with the so-called *anti-politics*. The anti-EU, anti-genderism, and anti-LGBTQIA+ sentiments of the populist governments (Chojnicka 2015) breed foundation for a prejudiced treatment of LGBTQIA+ individuals in populist societies. Gender and sexual minorities appear to be an element of a political game between companies and governments. Companies strive for the consumer's approval by engaging with LGBTQIA+ groups (Bielska and Tamborska 2018), while governments see the

acceptance of cultural diversity and the notion of traditional nationhood as mutually exclusive (Chojnicka 2015). This research intends to uncover the dualism of political and economic approach to LGBTQIA+ persons in Eastern European countries. The objective is to present how populist tactics of othering combined with capitalist rainbow washing are contributing to the struggle of gender and sexual minorities.

This inquiry presents an innovative angle of approaching rainbow washing in Eastern European countries under populist governments by employing in-person interviews with managers and employees of multinationals, as well as LGBTQIA+ individuals living in regions of heightened homophobic tensions, like Poland and Hungary. A part of the study will entail an analysis of official social media accounts of multinational companies. Especially during pride month, when queer narratives are put into work for capitalist organizations to accelerate popularity and financial gains. New media, and especially social media, is seen here as one of the factors leading to potential aggravation of discrimination. The forms of digital communication can have considerable effects on the potential consumer and the voter. The work attempted here has insightful implications for the future research on the dynamics between LGBTQIA+ communities and exclusionary governments. Thus, by employing a de-Westernized approach to queerness and an interdisciplinary perspective, it may contribute to solving the problem of corporate and political exploitation of queer individuals and their narratives.

Magdo Chuchracka is a PhD candidate and research assistant at the Institute for Political Science at Goethe University in Frankfurt Main. Their main focus is set on queer rights, gender, feminism, right-wing populism, and digital media, especially social media and Internet culture. As part of the POPBACK project, Magdo is doing research on populist backlash, researching the dialogue between international companies and local populist movements. They are also a queer-feminist activist involved with a Berlin-based collective Constellation of Liberation. Magdo also holds a professional dancer's diploma and applies their theoretical knowledge and professional experience to deconstruct the understanding of human bodies and gender in dance and beyond.

Pedro Ibarra Güell, Ariel Sribman Mittelman

The Populist Emptying of Democracy and the Transfer of Voters to the Right

Based on the overwhelming victory of right-wing parties in the 2021 regional elections in Madrid, this paper proposes a reflection on the transfer of votes from the left to the right. It

departs from the process of emptying of the relation between the political realm on the one hand, and voters on the other, and looks into the reasons why right-wing options have seduced citizens of all social classes – each of them for different reasons, and following different mechanisms of transformation of arguments and emotions into political decisions. What is the role of rational choice and what is that of affects in those decisions? This research will offer an answer to these questions.

Diverse elements have influenced this transformation. Some of them are shared by a majority of Western countries, i.e. the consolidation of neoliberalism and individualism. These, in turn, transform both the preferences of the individuals and the conditions (or the context) within which those preferences are established. The outcome of all this is the emptying of democracy itself, of its most basic content, and the heading of social relations from cooperation towards competition.

In this context, how should we interpret the vote to populist, right-wing parties? Two main, opposing models can be presented – the “analytical voter” vis-à-vis the populist voter. The former has virtually disappeared, while the latter is steered by forces like emotion, empty slogans, devotion for the leader, hatred towards whoever opposes that leader, love of the homeland, the pursuit of liberty without knowing what it is pursued for.

Pedro Ibarra Güell: Labour lawyer from 1969 to 1981. In 1981 he joined the University of the Basque Country. Full Professor until 2009, when he retired. Has published on democracy, theory and national conflict, and especially on social movements. Is President of the Betiko Foundation, which promotes and funds research on social movements.

Ariel Sribman Mittelman, PhD in Political Science, University of Salamanca. Currently Lecturer in Latin American Studies at Stockholm University and in Political Science at the University of Girona, and collaborator for the Betiko Foundation. Main research areas: History of Political Institutions, Political Theory, Social Behaviour, Social Movements.

Mojca Pajnik, Nejc Berzelak, Ajda Šulc

Whose Media? How are Media Preferences Related to Citizen’s Populist Worldviews

In the last decade several studies have been published on citizen’s populism that have confirmed the alignment of voting preferences to populist attitudes showing that the more people vote for right-wing political parties, the more their attitudes are shaped as populist. Recently, a few studies have explored media consumption of populist voters while literature

that would look more closely into citizen's media preferences in relation to populist attitudes formation is still scarce. In this paper we devise a "media-centered" approach to research populist attitudes, and we look at how people's relations to the media sphere shape their a) anti-establishment, b) people-centrist and c) exclusionist populist worldviews. To complement the existing research that has predominately looked at media consumption, we propose a 'thicker' conceptualization, i.e. a three items approach to establish the relation of populist attitudes and the media. Apart from a) media consumption, we measure b) trust in media, and c) attitudes towards the media, fore-grounding the social responsibility role of the media as enhancing democracy. The results of a representative (n=1102) public opinion survey in Slovenia (conducted in the period November 2020-January 2021) predominately confirmed a relation between tabloid media consumption, low trust in media, negative media attitudes and populist worldviews – however, with differences according to specific dimensions of populism. In other words, we found that in several cases media preferences support the populist attitudes articulating the antagonistic divide between the innocent people, the elite and the culprit other.

Mojca Pajnik is Associate Professor at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana and senior research advisor at the Peace Institute in Ljubljana. Currently she coordinates the research project POP-MED, *Political and Media Populism: "Refugee crisis" in Slovenia and Austria*, funded by the Slovenian Research Agency (SRA) and the Austrian FWF Der Wissenschaftsfonds (2018-2021), and is head of the research programme of the Peace Institute *Equality and Human Rights in Times of Global Governance* (SRA, 2020-2023). She has co-edited, with Birgit Sauer, *Populism and the Web: Communicative Practices of Parties and Movements in Europe* (Routledge, 2017).

Nejc Berzelak earned university diploma in Sociology and PhD in Statistics at the University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Sciences. His main fields of work include survey methodology, development of passive data collection methods in social sciences based on information technologies, and data analytics. His work at the Peace Institute is focused on development of measurement instruments to study media populism and attitudes toward migration, designing survey data collection and data analytics and statistical modelling.

Ajda Šulc is an assistant lecturer for sociology and methodology at the Faculty of Criminal Justice and Security, University of Maribor. Her main research interests are media and migrations, hateful discourse and online communication, and peer violence. On those topics, she has been working with several institutions, including Peace Institute, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, and Jozef Stefan Institute. She is currently working on her

Ph.D. in Social Sciences Methodology at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana.

Noemí Mena-Montes, Miguel Vicente-Mariño

Spanish Public Opinion and Media-Political Agendas: The Summers of Migration

During the last 20 years, Spain has been the EU country with the highest level of immigration per capita. Canary Islands has been the main route to come to Europe for more than 20.000 migrants. Despite these constant migration flows, Spanish public opinion has maintained more open attitudes towards immigrants than the European average. From a comparative perspective within Europe, Spain did not have any political party campaigning on anti-immigration grounds until 2019, when VOX entered the Spanish Congress of Deputies. Since then, this party has reinforced their institutional position at the local, regional and national level, presenting a negative discourse about migration processes, with specific populist messages mainly focused on younger migrants and the social care and medical attention paid by the Spanish rules and authorities.

In this paper, we observe that the media coverage of the "summers of migration" played a role in diverse historical moments where the Spanish public opinion identified migrations one of the most important problem faced by the national society. We will compile and analyze the results of the Centre for Sociological Research (CIS) national survey that includes questions about migration and observe if there has been an increase in negative attitudes to immigration during those periods with more arrival of migrants coming from African countries. It is also very relevant to see if the emergence of VOX had been taking place in a moment with a high anti-immigration sentiment in Spain.

We consider that the notion of summer of migration turned an identifiable label to frame what occurred in the Mediterranean area during 2015 and 2016, but this reality is not the exception, but the rule in several places of the European South border. Consequently, this is not a conjunctural period but a structural challenge to those territories that spend not only one single critical summer of migration, but one every summer, autumn, winter and springtime... Media attention is uneven and the journalist interest in these topics fluctuates according to ever-changing news values and professional selection criteria. Exploring the relations between media coverages, public opinion attitudes, political and legal frameworks, and international relations turns into a complex challenge that need to be faced in order to critically evaluate the current policies and the social and human impacts.

Noemi Mena Montes is a Spanish journalist with a PhD in Political Communication, working now as lecturer at Webster University in Leiden Campus (Netherlands). She is an expert on migration with experience as researcher and policy advisor for an EU foundation during the refugee crisis. In 2011, she got a Spanish National Award for best research on Migration Studies (Premio Santo Padre Rubio) and a prize by Latina Communication Journal for an article about framing migration and public opinion. Noemi Mena is the co-founder of Re-starter (www.re-starter.org), a Foundation that promotes the integration of refugees in the Netherlands and other EU countries.

Miguel Vicente-Mariño is Associate Professor and Head of Department of Sociology and Social Work at the Universidad de Valladolid, Spain, where he teaches courses about Public Opinion and Communication Research Methods. His main research fields are audience studies, environmental communication, public opinion and political communication, and qualitative research methods and software. He has been an Executive Board Member of the European Communication Research and Education Association since 2012, and he is part of the Section Head of the Audience Section at the International Association for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR) since 2013.

Miguel Vicente and Noemi Mena are co-editors of the special issue entitled 'From fragmentation to integration: Addressing the role of communication in refugee crises and settlement processes' published at the International Communication Gazette (<https://journals.sagepub.com/toc/gazb/83/1>). They were also part of the organizing committee of a previous preconference on the same topic run at the 68th Annual International Communication Association Conference held in Prague, in 2018.

Zizi Papacharissi

Democracy, Populism, and Affective Publics

Democracy has long offered an idealized form of governance. What if it is not the final stop on our civic journey, but a transition stage to something more advanced? Can technology help us evolve out of dated patterns of civic participation? This talk draws on original interviews conducted with citizens of more than thirty countries, to explore what democracy is, what it means to be a citizen, and what might follow democracy. The place of technology in contemporary democracies is further clarified in the context of vibrant populism and affective modes of participation.

Zizi Papacharissi is Professor and Head of Communication Department, Professor of Political Science at the University of Illinois-Chicago, and University Scholar at the University of Illinois System. Her work focuses on the social and political consequences of online media. She has published 10 books, over 70 journal articles and book chapters, and serves on the editorial board of fifteen journals. Zizi is the founding and current Editor of the open access journal *Social Media & Society*. She has collaborated with Apple, Facebook, Microsoft, Tencent and Oculus and has participated in closed consultations with the Obama 2012 election campaign. She sits on the Committee on the Health and Well-Being of Young Adults, funded by the National Academies of Science, the National Research Council, and the Institute of Medicine in the US, and has been invited to lecture about her work on social media in several Universities and Research Institutes in Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas. Her work has been translated in Greek, German, Korean, Chinese, Hungarian, Italian, Turkish, and Persian. Her new book, titled *After Democracy*, is out now with Yale University Press.

Mokhtar Ounis

Affective Populist Discourse: When Strategy and Ideology Intertwine

It is now well established that populists employ emotion-loaded language, in social media as well as in official speeches, to frame public opinion, especially during socio-economic crises. Instead of praising populists' communication skills, more research is needed to understand how emotions contribute to the effectiveness and reliability of political communication. While previous research has focused on fear, most of it has not studied the strategic use of negative as well as positive emotions in populist discourse. Therefore, this paper assumes that populists manipulate emotions through metaphors within an effectively coherent argumentative scheme. The paper focuses on President Trump's inaugural address to decipher the populist ideology, particularly its inflammatory assertions against minorities. The findings confirm an argument that includes negative emotions in its premises and positive emotions in its conclusion. From an argumentative perspective, they are used in arguing against an outgroup as a threat, appealing to an ingroup as an insecure target, and legitimizing a populist leader as a protector. Metaphors are used as framing strategies to intensify the evaluation dimension of these emotions. A threat is hyperbolically propagated to demonize the outgroup, victimize the ingroup and justify the leader's policy. This argumentative scheme, intensified by a provocative style and widely disseminated on social media, contributes to an attitudinal and emotional polarization. Unless an anti-populist

discourse teaches us how to maintain our democracy moral and vibrant, populist polarizing arguments may jeopardize the ethics of political debate.

Mokhtar Ounis holds a Ph.D. in linguistics from the University of Toulon in France. His thesis is on conceptual metaphors in political communication. He taught at the University of Hail in Saudi Arabia for ten years. He has participated in several national and international conferences, and he has two articles under review. His main research interests are conceptual metaphor theories, critical discourse analysis, corpus pragmatics, political rhetoric, and cognitive semantics.

Furkan Çay, Assem Kalkamanova

Populist Evolution of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan: A Quantitative Content Analysis of Political Campaign Speeches

Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has long been considered a populist colossus of Turkey due partly to his heavy populist discourse to challenge his political enemies. While addressing the state of political affairs, he appeals to people with intense populist speeches. Indeed, election campaigns are the best stage for him to embody the masses and defy his political enemies. Our study focuses on the populist discourse of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan throughout all years of the rule. Using computer-based content analysis, we measured the dimensions of Erdoğan's populism over time. The findings we have found suggest that following the significant political events 2007 presidential election crisis, 2013 Gezi Protests, and 2016 coup attempt, the intensity of his populist speeches increased considerably. Our data includes 42 election campaign speeches held in 2004, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2014, and 2018. As a result of our analysis, we suggest that Erdoğan is fairly flexible in his political communication. As such, his populist rhetoric accelerates considerably in the turbulent times of the above mentioned events and political crises and moderates in other more stable years.

Furkan Çay is currently doing his PhD at University of Szeged, Faculty of Law and Political Sciences. His research interests lie in populism in general and Turkish populism in particular. In his doctoral dissertation, he specifically focuses upon Recep Tayyip Erdogan's populist progress.

Assem Kalkamanova is doing PhD at the Faculty of Law and Political Sciences, University of Szeged, Hungary. Her research interests are concerned with nondemocratic regimes, governance and e-governance. Her main focus is on using automated text analysis methods in comparative politics.

Andrea Carlà

Migration and Securitisation Dynamics at the Local Level: Discourses and Practices in South Tyrol

In the past decade, South Tyrol, an Italian autonomous province with a German- and Ladin-speaking population and a power-sharing system to protect their cultural features, has

witnessed the arrival of many migrants from foreign countries, who today amount to more than 9% of the population. In addition, during the so-called 2015 summer of migration, thousands of asylum seekers have passed through and settled in the province. Situated within the 'local turn' in migration studies and in the interplay between the fields of migration and security studies, this paper analyses processes of securitisation vis-à-vis migration in South Tyrol.

I build on and expand scholarship concerning the securitisation of migration, focusing on the local level to uncover how, to what extent and in what terms securitisation processes have unfolded in discourses and practices in South Tyrol regarding the settlement of migrant communities and recent refugee flows. In this way, I enlarge the scope of the analysis, highlighting the features of securitisation dynamics in specific regions below the nation-state level, where issues of migration intersect with the politics of substate nationalism and the relationship between the existing majorities and minorities and their insecurities.

In my analysis I define securitisation as a subjective process through which the presence of migrants and their cultural diversity come to be perceived in prevalently exclusionary forms centred on an 'us vs them' dichotomy, implying homogenous entities in threatening opposition. I combine the Copenhagen School approach, which considers securitisation as a 'speech act' developed in political discourses, accepted and endorsed by a public audience with a sociological variant that highlights the role of social, policy and legal practices. Understanding securitisation as a continuum, I look at the discourses of multiple political actors and a variety of practices in order to highlight how securitisation moves emerge, evolve and dissolve and how different securitisation processes develop simultaneously and overlap.

Within this framework, I first consider South Tyrolean political discourses on migration as developed in the party programmes and selected political speeches of the main South Tyrolean political forces in the past fifteen years, when migration became a contested topic in the provincial political arena, focusing on the recent period following the 2015 summer of migration. Second, I look at how these discourses intersect with practices established by provincial policy and legal measures regulating the processes of migrant inclusion and the reception of refugees and asylum seekers. Finally, I present a few available public opinion surveys and electoral results for the Provincial Council, which are employed as a proxy to measure acceptance by the South Tyrolean public of securitising acts.

In this way, the study of South Tyrol will reveal the anxieties and problems involved in dealing with the management of migration locally in territory characterised by *old* diversity and substate nationalism in these times of perceived crises.

Andrea Carlà (PhD in Politics, New School for Social Research, New York) is Senior Researcher at the Institute for Minority Rights of Eurac Research in Bozen/Bolzano (South Tyrol – Italy). His research focuses on the interplay among ethnic politics/minority protection, migration politics and security issues. He is the co-editor of *Migration in Autonomous Territories. The Case of South Tyrol and Catalonia* (Brill-Nijhoff: 2015). He also serves as: the Principal Investigator for the AMIF funded research project VOLPOWER: Volunteer and Empower: Enhancing Community Building and Social Integration through Dialogue and Collaboration amongst Young Europeans and Third Country Nationals (12.2018-06.2021); and the Network Board and Member of the Erasmus+ project SECUREU: The Securitization of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities and the Rise of Xenophobia in the EU.

Ellen Skuza

The Evil and The Poor – The Securitisation of the German Development Policy Under the Circumstances of the so-called Refugee Crisis

To this day, the summer of migration affects the policies of the European member states. In some cases, it serves as a breeding ground for social tensions, right-wing movements, and an increasing acceptance of openly articulated racism in the media. In other cases, the developments are more subtle. As in the Federal Republic of Germany where both a criminalisation and a victimisation of refugees and migrants are evident – even in a rather small policy field like the development cooperation.

Based on the Copenhagen School, the Paper outlines how speech acts – not only from right-wing politicians, but from key actors of the German development policy – contribute to the securitisation of refugees and migrants. The German government who wanted to establish a sort of welcoming culture in the early days of the summer of migration and who showed, in some ways, highly responsible for the Syrian refugees in the middle east, is therefore a valued example to analyse the different ways of securitisation. Regarding current interpretations of securitisation mechanisms, the analyses illustrates that there is a dynamic concept of security in the field of the development policy for legitimizing different policies and for addressing the voters' interests. This extended concept of security (referring different dimensions according to C. Daase) helps to understand the occurring securitisation moves which are not binary but more continuous, addressing a range of speech acts and mechanism varying from the criminalisation to the victimisation of refugees and migrants. For this, a large-scale content analysis of speeches and texts by leading political actors in German development cooperation was carried out and further in-depth interviews were conducted.

The results correspond with other findings regarding the securitisation of refugees and migrants in the media since 2015. In a brief chronological overview, the outcomes show how the political discourse and legitimisation strategies – even in a policy field which is not as much as relevant in the public discourse than others – depend on voters' interests. Therefore, it can be seen how the criminalisation of refugees and migrants corresponds with development strategies of flight prevention while the victimisation – following the Human Security approach – stands for long lasting measures to improve the living conditions of the individuals.

Ellen Skuza, M.A. is a PhD student at the Institute for Development and Peace, University of Duisburg-Essen, Germany. She holds a master's degree in Peace Studies and International Politics from the University of Tübingen, Germany. During her master's studies, she already focused on security policy aspects of the topic of flight and migration. Numerous professional experiences with actors from the (German) development cooperation have strengthened her critical perspective on the current fight against the causes of flight. Her current PhD project therefore deals with the securitisation of development cooperation in the context of flight and migration as well as crisis prevention.

Matthijs Gardenier

The Framing of Migrations as a Security Threat by Far-Right Social Movements in Dover

This paper intends to address the populist production of the politics of fear and securitisation. It is based on a Franco-British study on social reactions to migration in the framework of a British Academy Newton International Fellowship. It uses a mixed method approach blending semi structured interviews and content analysis of social media publication. The aim of this proposal is to study the different actors of social movements against migrations that stem from the British far-right: anti-migrant single issue social movement organisations but also the different political organisations of the British far-right.

This communication will focus on two aspects. The first is the politics of fear: how these groups intend to propose an alternative framing on migrations to that of the mainstream media. Their aim is to construct migrants not as vulnerable persons to be protected through social policies, but as potentially criminogenic populations to be dealt with primarily from a securitarian perspective. Most of the political discourses of these political actors are situated at the intersection between the radical right, accepting the fundamentals of democracy while questioning the right of minorities, and of civic nationalism where the

conception of nationhood is presented as stemming from an adherence to Western cultural values. In this view, Islam is often deemed as fundamentally incompatible with Western values and even a source for potential civil war, whose prophecy is rather important for the broader framing of anti-migrant social movements.

From this point of view, anti-migrant social movements are to be understood as entrepreneurs of causes whose objective is to bring migrations into the realm of securitisation and exclude them from the field of social policies. The practices and the repertoire of action of these groups are to be understood in this perspective. It is in this context that the implementation of a spectacular vigilantism aimed primarily at the social media can be understood: patrols, investigations, migrant hotel 'exposures', etc.

Finally, the essence of the tactics and repertoire of action of these groups will be discussed. Can they be understood as belonging to the classical model of Worthiness, Unity Commitment, Numbers (Tilly, Wood 2009)? On the contrary, can their way of producing images aimed at a communitarian audience on social media be understood as belonging to a technique inspired by the theory of active minorities (Moscovici 2015)? This social movement activity or at least its spectacle can have a very important effect on public opinion. Let us not forget that immigration has been identified as the most important factor of support for far-right formations (Arzheimer 2018).

Matthijs Gardenier started his research career with a PhD on how social movements challenge the legitimate monopoly of violence in France. After completing his PhD in 2014, he became lecturer and Research Fellow at the University of Montpellier Paul Valéry in France, where he has worked on anti-migrant movements in Calais and on discriminations in French Banlieues. In 2019, he has started a British Academy Newton International Fellowship at the University of Manchester on the following topic: 'Anti-migrant groups in France and Great Britain: a comparative analysis'.

Roland Atzmüller, Alban Knecht

Lumping Asylum Seekers, Migration and the Poor together – Media Discourses and Welfare-Policy Dispositives in Austria after 2015

The flow of refugees and the increase of asylum seekers in the summer of migration not only lead to a fierce debate about the future of the right of asylum, the alleged social and economic cost of the "welcome culture" and the access of recognized refugees to the social

system. It was also used by certain media outlets (in particular tabloids but also the mushrooming segment of far-right online platforms), authoritarian populist and far-right political actors such as the Austrian Freedom Party as well as the right-ward moving conservative actors, e.g. of the Austrian People's Party, to make migration in general a universal signifier for all kinds of social problems the Austrian society and state are currently facing.

This became visible in the (planned as well as implemented) welfare reforms of the conservative and far-right coalition government in Austria between 2017 and 2019.

Our paper will present a discourse analysis of the press statements the conservative and far-right coalition government in Austria between 2017 and 2019 issued into the public debate about their reform of the so-called Bedarforientierte Mindestsicherung (needs-oriented minimum income) in 2018.

These analyses reveals that the government presented its (planned and implemented) reforms along the following tropes. First it constructed them as a renationalisation of welfare policies and a fight against immigration into the social system justifying access to social support/minimum income schemes with former contributions to the social system. Second, it justified the cuts as a strategy against migrant – mainly Muslim – families with many children (e.g. the “wrong” families). Third, it articulated welfare expenditures for in particular recognized refugees (welcome culture) with growing budgetary problems and public debts. Articulating the anti-migrant impetus of the welfare reforms with attacks on different kinds of allegedly idle welfare recipients (in particular in urban areas, namely in Vienna) the government succeeded in diffusing the racist content of the planned and implemented measures while at the same time justifying policies which aimed a deepening of social inequalities and ‘administered exclusion’ in the name of fairness for hard working Austrians. Our analysis will show that the specificities of the Austrian developments fit well into the main traits of a far-right and authoritarian welfare dispositive that is emerging in many European countries. This consists at least of strategies to renationalise (and in some countries re-Christianise) social policies to implement conservative and traditional family policies and to rely on mandatory but targeted workfarist measures whose punitive character is not only a means but also a goal. These strategies are articulated with authoritarian neoliberal measures against other kinds of marginalised groups who are said to lack an adequate work ethic together with attempts to reduce the allegedly expanding costs of left-wing fantasies of welcome culture, social support for unproductive people etc.

Roland Atzmüller, PhD, is Assoc. Prof. at the Department for the Theory of Society and Social Analyses, Institute of Sociology, Johannes Kepler University Linz since 2017. He works on critical social theories, transformation of (welfare) states, social policies and work.

Alban Knecht, PhD, researcher and lecturer at the Department of Social Pedagogy and Inclusive Research of Institute of Educational Science and Research at the University of Klagenfurt, studied social work and sociology in Munich, Germany. Since 2012 he works on social inequality, poverty, social policy and youth policy. His research focuses on educational and labour market policy for non-migrant and migrant youth.

Daniel Thiele

Borderless Fear? How Right-Wing Populism in Austria and Slovenia Aligns in Framing Migration as Security Threat

Comparative studies have stressed differences between right-wing populism in Western and Central Eastern Europe but suggested that these discourses have converged since the so-called “refugee crisis” in 2015. This study examines this claim by focusing on right-wing populist frames of migration in Austria and Slovenia. Following a communication-centered approach, this study conducts a critical frame analysis of 70 speeches from far-right to center-right parties in parliamentary debates on migration between 2015 and 2019. We argue that right-wing populist discourses in the two neighboring countries have aligned in appealing to affects, particularly to fear and in framing migration as a threat to security. We interpret our findings as indicating a mutual alignment of right-wing populism in both countries and discuss implications for both future research and European politics.

Daniel Thiele is a PhD candidate in political science at the University of Vienna and works in a research project on political and media populism. His thesis focuses on emotional populist communication and citizen engagement on social media. His research interests include political communication, populism, emotions, and quantitative methods.

Rok Smrdelj

Whose Discourses? The Refugee “Crisis” in Slovenia from the Hybrid Media System Perspective

In this paper, I present the preliminary results of my ongoing dissertation project, which focuses on constructing the refugee “crisis” in Slovenia from the perspective of the hybrid media system.

I follow hybrid media theory, complementing it with network theory and agenda-setting theory. Hybrid media theory is used to study the features of mass media and social media, and the focus is on the media logic concept. Network theory is used to analyse a complex network in which different discourses are reproduced and circulated in the hybrid media system. In addition, agenda-setting theory serves as a starting point to examine the main research question, i.e., what is the relationship between mass media and social media discourses in the contemporary online digital context? More specifically, which and whose social media posts are highlighted in mass media and which mass media news is most discussed in social media and why? Do voices and interpretations emerging in social media have the potential to disrupt the traditional hierarchy of mass media or are they merely a reflection of the mass media discourses? In other words, are the dominant voices in mass media also the most influential in social media or not? What is the role of mass media and social media in general in constructing migration discourses in the contemporary hybrid media system? Although a consensus exists in the field of media and migration studies that negative, stereotypical discourses prevail in which immigrants are portrayed as a security threat and/or problem, the question remains as to how exactly these discourses are (re)produced and circulated between mass media and social media in the digital online context.

Methodologically, I pursue the triangulation of classical sociological approaches (primarily critical discourse analysis) with contemporary digital methods (primarily text mining using R statistical package). In terms of mass media, I focus on the Slovenian public broadcaster portal RTVSLO.si and the commercial news portal 24ur.com. The latter is one of the most visited Slovenian online news portals, according to website traffic measurement data. As for social media, I focus on Twitter. The subject of my interest is the period between September and December 2015, when the arrival of refugees and migrants in Slovenia was the greatest and, consequently, the media coverage was most intense, and the most heated debates took place on Twitter.

Although it is premature to draw conclusions as the research is still ongoing, it can be concluded that in the case of the refugee “crisis” in Slovenia, the mass media still maintain

dominance, as they dictate the discourses that also determine the framework in which social media users discuss the issues related to migration.

Rok Smrdelj holds a bachelor's degree in comparative literature and sociology and a master's degree in sociology of culture. He is employed as an assistant and junior researcher at the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana. He is involved in the research programme Problems of Autonomy and Identities at the Time of Globalisation P6-0194 (funded by the Slovenian Research Agency and headed by Prof. Milica Antić Gaber, PhD). He is also a scholarship holder of eng. Milan Lenarčič University Foundation. His field of interest is sociology of media and communication.

Lance Bennett

Disrupted Public Spheres and Media in Times of Authoritarian Populism

Most democracies are experiencing increasing levels of hateful and polarizing disinformation. In many cases, this disruptive communication is associated with the efforts of movements and parties on the radical right to mobilize supporters against mainstream parties, the press, immigrants and various racial, sexual, and religious minorities. Other forms of disinformation challenge scientific discourses surrounding climate change, public health, history, and biology. These forms of disinformation support right wing identity politics based on white supremacy, ethnic nationalism, patriarchy, christian fundamentalism, and myths of western civilization. Both the spread of disinformation and exclusionary national identities can be traced to growing legitimacy problems in public institutions: declining citizen confidence in institutional authority undermines the credibility of official information, while increasing popular receptivity to disinformation and competing national narratives. This talk explores how right wing parties, movements and media spread disinformation, and how authoritarian or illiberal public spheres differ from ideal liberal democratic communication processes.

Lance Bennett is Professor emeritus of Political Science and Communication, and Senior Research Fellow at the Center for Journalism, Media & Democracy at the University of Washington, Seattle. The focus of his work is on how communication processes affect citizen engagement with politics. His publications include *The Logic of Connective Action* (with Alexandra Segerberg, Cambridge, 2013) and *The Disinformation Age* (with Steven Livingston, Cambridge 2021), and *Communicating the Future* (Polity, 2021). He has held visiting

professorships at Harvard, Uppsala, Stockholm, and Free University, Berlin, and has received honorary doctorates from Uppsala and Bern. He has received career achievement awards from the American Political Science Association, the International Communication Association, and the US National Communication Association. He has also received a German Humboldt Research Award. His current interests focus on how to better align thinking about the economy, democracy and the environment in order to build more equitable and sustainable societies.