

## Jeopardizing Democracy throughout History

### Media as Accomplice, Adversary or Amplifier of Populist and Radical Politics

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**Inessa Arzumanyan & Gayaneh Oshakanyan:**  
**Media Governance, the Development of Media Activity. Use of Media as a Tool for  
Democracy in Armenia**

Throughout history, media has always served as a link between the society and the authorities, it has always formed an agenda for political actors, thus making their voices heard and serving as a tool for assessing the level of democracy in a country. At the same time, media also illustrates the government activity, aiming at accountability and transparency. For this function media was given the name of “fourth estate” or “fourth power”. Political or social changes in different countries evolve with different speed and pattern, depending on the country's political and social environment. Media development is not an exception. While in some countries those changes went rapidly, in countries of Soviet heritage these changes took longer to happen and went less smoother, mainly because of the preceding Soviet Regime.

Armenia, being a post-Soviet country, was not an exception and went a long way to transform into a democratic country with more or less free media. Starting from 2003, more attention was given to the work of press offices of governmental bodies, and then, relatively recently the state has adopted a proactive policy between the governmental bodies and mass media contributing to being more accountable and transparent. Nevertheless, the freedom level of media was still not sufficient enough. This research is a case study about the development of mass media in Armenia through last decades, addressing today's realms, the paper will evaluate state-media relations: whether the authorities try to suppress or control legitimate public criticism or the authorities are more tolerant towards media freedom. Considering that Armenia faced “Velvet revolution” in 2018, the paper will dig even deeper and study how mass and social media contributed to the revolution and vice versa: whether the revolution contributed to more free and independent media, and also will try to determine if mass media serves as a watchdog in post-revolution reality. For this purpose, qualitative (in-depth interviews) and quantitative (survey) data will be collected. Through literature review and assessment of similar cases, this paper will try to analyze the patterns, by which such processes usually take place in different post-soviet states and societies.

**Inessa Arzumanyan** was born in 1994 in Yerevan, Armenia. In 2011 she was admitted with full scholarship to the Russian-Armenian (Slavonic) University, Faculty of World Politics, Department of Foreign affairs. Graduated in 2016 with Diploma with Honors. Afterwards, Inessa was admitted with full scholarship to the American University of Armenia, the Faculty of Political Science and International Affairs.

During her study period she had the chance to conduct several research projects, among which were a research on “The Impact of Migration Inflows in the Republic of Armenia” and “ISIS Recruitment form the South Caucasus: The Case of Georgia”. The latter was later published in the first English edition of the journal of the Armenian Academy of Science “Contemporary Eurasia”, Vol. VI, no.1, 2017. In 2014

during the annual student conference “Diplomacy as the main way to solve international conflicts” Inessa was a speaker and presented a mutual essay “Syrian Puzzle: Geneve 1 and Geneve 2”, which also found publicity in the conference journal. Inessa’s works also include an essay “World Order in 100 years”, which was published in the official website of the Russian Council of Foreign Affairs. In 2017 Inessa received her Master’s degree.

Inessa is now working as a project manager and strives to conduct more research to develop and widen her scope of knowledge in the sphere of politics and foreign affairs.

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She was born in 1994, in Islamic Republic of Iran and moved to Armenia in 1999. Her bachelor degree she got in Area studies in Yerevan State Linguistic University after V. Brusov, then, in 2017 graduated from American University of Armenia, department of Political Science and International relations. Gayaneh took training courses for civil servants in School of Diplomacy, Ministry of Foreign affairs for two months and also Public Relations course.

She started her career in “Noah Global Logistic” LLC and then worked at American University of Armenia as a teaching assistant. After graduating her MA she worked as an intern in Caucasus Research Resource Center as a research assistant. Gayaneh started her civil servant duties in National Assembly of Armenia as Assistant to Chief of Staff and worked there for one year with the duties of mass media monitoring and assistance in coordinating Public Relations department on daily basis. A year after she started her work in “Communication management group” LLC till now.

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**Olga Baysha:**  
**Democracy Without Demos. On the Negative Dialectic of the Progressive Historical Imaginary**

In 2011, doing research on the discourses of *perestroika*, I analyzed the opinions of *perestroika* activists published by two alternative (non-Communist) Ukrainian newspapers, *Vecherniy Kharkov* and *Orientalir*, in 1989-1990. As my analysis showed, the main hindrance against the transition to a “civilized” (westernized) future was imagined to be Soviet working people who wanted not marketization but an “updated” socialism, as Gorbachev had initially promised. People’s unwillingness to move toward Western capitalist modernity was interpreted by progressives as ignorance, backwardness, and a lack of desire to work.

In 2012, I analyzed the discourse of the movement “For Fair Elections!” in Russia: the opinions by anti-Putin activists expressed by them on *Echo of Moscow*, an independent radio station known for its democratization agenda. As my analysis showed, similar to *perestroika* activists, *Echo*’s speakers addressed Putin’s supporters as people who were not developed enough yet to understand the necessity of changes. Putin’s followers appeared not as citizens with informed judgments but “yesterday’s people” whose opinions were not worth considering.

In 2014, I analyzed the opinions of the activists of the Ukrainian Euromaidan in their blogs on *Ukrayinska Pravda*, an independent news site free from governmental and party control. In the presentation of these progressive bloggers, the opponents of the Euromaidan appeared as “idiots,” “slaves,” “serfs,” or just “weak and demoralized people.” In the view of the bloggers, these people had a chance “to become Human Beings,” but they needed to take the Euromaidan’s side.

In the spring of 2017, in the aftermath of Alexei Navalny’s anti-corruption rallies, I examined the progressive discourse of Russian oppositional media – *Echo of Moscow* and *Novaya Gazeta*. As my analysis showed, they presented Putin’s supporters – the general population of Russia –

as “declassed masses” of “spineless shit” that did not support emancipatory social movements out of fear. According to this vision, people supported Putin because they were “dependent on the state in this or that way” and were scared to lose this miserable security.

As this longitudinal research shows, the main problem of social movements for democracy in Russia and Ukraine and alternative media associated with them is that they often end up undermining democracy rather than promoting it, as they diminish, marginalize, and exclude from deliberation their presumably underdeveloped compatriots. The “progressive” imaginary, which conceptualizes progress as catching up with the “more advanced” Western condition, turns out to be inherently anti-democratic and deeply antagonistic. It draws solid dividing frontiers between “progressive” and “retrograde” forces, deepening existing antagonisms and provoking new ones; it also naturalizes the hierarchies of the global neocolonial power of the West.

The research is based on 1163 opinion pieces of the activists for democratization published in the alternative media of Russia and Ukraine; their analysis draws on the discourse theory of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe.

**Olga Baysha** is an Associate Professor at the National Research University “Higher School of Economics,” Moscow, Russia. Olga Baysha earned her MS in Journalism from Colorado State University and PhD in Communication from the University of Colorado at Boulder. Previously, she worked as a news reporter and editor in Kharkiv, Ukraine, then as an editor-in-chief of a documentary production company in Kyiv, Ukraine. Her research centers mainly on political and cultural aspects of globalization with an emphasis on new media and global social movements for justice and democratization. Dr. Baysha is especially interested in analyzing inherent anti-democratic tendencies of the discourses of Westernization employed by post-Soviet social movements.

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## Roei Davidson: Populism and the Mediated Crowd. A Historical and Contemporary Examination

The crowd is central to the discourses and practices of populist politicians and political thinkers (e.g., Le Bon 2017). It is also central to contemporary mediated economic practices such as crowdfunding and crowdsourcing (Brabham 2013; Davidson 2019). These practices constitute online attempts to harness the resources – money, time, intelligence – of a large group of people to achieve various objectives including civic ones. Civic crowdfunding (Davies 2015) involves raising money for, among other things, political campaigns, public facilities, or legal costs. Promoters of both these approaches identify pre-digital antecedents. In the case of crowdfunding, many crowdfunding platforms cite the role Joseph Pulitzer and *The New York World* played in persuading the public to collectively fund a pedestal for the Statue of Liberty (Kazmark 2013).

I wish to ask: how are populist discourses deployed in mediated crowd mechanisms? To do so, I empirically examine a purposive cross-national set of prominent civic crowdfunding case studies – historical and contemporary - as a means of identifying how mediated crowd practices leverage populist discourses to achieve their ends. Populist discourses include positive references to ‘the people’ together with negative references to elites and to ‘others’ belonging to various out-groups (Reinemann et al. 2016). I will examine four prominent civic crowdfunding projects to consider the ways these projects use populist discourses for instrumental and poetic (Larkin 2013) ends, to instrumentally fund a practical project and/or to poetically raise awareness and support for a political project. The historical project relates to the Statue of Liberty and will rely on secondary sources (e.g., Berenson, 2012). The three contemporary projects are a British crowdfunding project to create a “Greek Bailout Fund”<sup>1</sup>, an American project to fund the building of a wall between Mexico and the U.S.<sup>2</sup>, and an Israeli project to create a legal defense fund for an Israeli soldier accused (and found guilty) of killing a captured terrorist<sup>3</sup>. All three projects garnered considerable attention on mass and social media. In the case of these contemporary projects, I will examine both the project pages and related social media texts. Building on these case studies, I hope to sketch out a research agenda for studying the extent to which crowdfunding and other mediated crowd mechanisms have an affinity with populist politics and discourses.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.indiegogo.com/projects/greek-bailout-fund/>

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.gofundme.com/TheTrumpWall>

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## **Merja Ellefson: Remembering the Civil War. From Hatred to Conciliation**

In 2018, it was hundred years since the Finnish Civil War, which ended in May 16 with the White Army's victory parade at Senate Square in Helsinki. Nation is an imagined and commemorative community (Anderson 1993), and journalism functions as a social storyteller (Kitsch 2007, 2008; Zelizer 2008). Therefore, it's interesting to study how the war was remembered in military magazines *Suojeluskuntalaisen lehti*, founded in summer 1918, and *Suomen Sotilas*, founded in Januari 1919. *Suomen Sotilas* still exists, whereas *Suojeluskuntalaisen lehti*, later called *Hakkapeliitta*, was closed down in 1945. According to the peace treaty organisations Suojeluskunnat (here transited to White Guards, no generally accepted translation exists), and its sister organisation Lotta Svärd had to be abolished. The material consists of articles published in *Suojeluskuntalaisen lehti* (White Guardists Magazine) in 1918-1919, and *Suomen Sotilas* (Finland's Soldier) in 1919 and 2018.

After the civil war the White Army was reorganized into the regular army, and the voluntary auxiliary defence organisations Suojeluskunnat and Lotta Svärd. Both of them were nationwide massorganisations, and due to their size influential and visible forces in the society. Siironen (2012) sees these organizations as White Finland's most important organizational core. Lottas used the mentioned military magazines until *Lotta Svärd* magazine was founded in 1928. In 1918-1919, stories written by/of women are few, and they contain hardly any references to the enemy (Ellefson 2016). Topics in male authors' texts are similar in 1918-1919 and 2018, but the framing changes from open hatred and harsh language to understanding and more conciliatory tone. But, the authors agree that the "right" side won. Stories written right after the war naturally included many eye-witness accounts, and less flattering depictions of the Reds. Interestingly, the 2018 special issue also contains a story of female Red Guardists. Armed women in pants, the wolf-bitches, were too much to stomach in 1918, and they swiftly vanished from the collective memory until the late 1990s when they were rediscovered (see e.g. Hoppu 2008, Hakala 2006, Pekkalainen 2011).

**Merja Ellefson's** research interests: mediated memories; nationalism and construction of ethnic majorities and minorities; minority media; media, ethnicity, gender and social class; comparative press and communication history with focus on countries around the Baltic Sea.

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**Simon Ganahl:**  
**Mediating Sovereignty. The "Turks Deliverance Celebration" in Vienna  
on May 14, 1933**

On Sunday, May 14, 1933, the Austrian Home Guards held a "Turks Deliverance Celebration" (*Türkenbefreiungsfeier*) in Schönbrunn Palace Park in Vienna. Members of the paramilitary organization arrived on special trains from all over the country, setting out in the early morning from the stations to the former imperial residence and grouping in the Baroque gardens by 9 a.m. Depending on the political standpoint of the source, the participant numbers vary between 20,000 and 40,000. Once the representatives of the federal government had arrived, a catholic mass was read in the open air. The speeches commemorating the liberation from the Second Turkish Siege of Vienna in 1683 began at 10:20 a.m. and were broadcast live by *Radio Wien* until 11:05. Following an aerial parade, the troops marched to Schwarzenbergplatz in the city center, where the first men arrived at around 1:30 p.m.

The idea for the rally originated from Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg, the leader of the Austrian Home Guards, who suggested holding a military review for propaganda purposes to chancellor Engelbert Dollfuß and secured financial support from Benito Mussolini, Italy's fascist prime minister. After Adolf Hitler had taken over as German chancellor at the end of January 1933, the Austrian government used the resignation of the presidents of the national assembly in early March to adopt an authoritarian course of its own. The cabinet prevented parliament from working and governed by emergency decree. Although the 250th anniversary of the city's liberation from the Second Turkish Siege of Vienna in 1683 was not until September 12, 1933, the aim was to give a public signal of Austria as a sovereign German nation earlier in the year.

In this talk, I want to explore how the "Turks Deliverance Celebration" in Vienna on May 14, 1933, referred to an early modern concept of sovereignty in the Foucauldian sense. Press coverage, newsreels, and radio broadcasts played crucial roles in this propagandistic event. There were, however, media in a broader sense at stake, too: the former Habsburg summer residence as event location; chancellor Dollfuß as a leader figure who ought to represent the common will and mediate between god and the people; the idea of Austria as a sovereign territory; and Haydn's *Kaiserlied*, which was not only employed as the anthem for the Habsburg emperors and with new lyrics as Austria's federal anthem from 1929 to 1938, but also as the tune of the *Deutschlandlied*, declared as German national anthem in 1922.

I will argue that sovereignty might be considered as a specific modern *dispositif* of mediation. Focusing on the "Turks Deliverance Celebration" in Vienna on May 14, 1933, will allow me to identify and discuss exemplary sovereign media like the feudal residence, the divine leader figure, the territorial state, and the national anthem. The proposed paper is part of research conducted for the author's ongoing habilitation thesis *Campus Medius: Mediality as Experience, 1683–1933*, to be found online at [campusmedius.net](http://campusmedius.net).

**Simon Ganahl** researches and teaches as a literature and media scholar with a focus on digital humanities at the Universities of Vienna, Zurich, Liechtenstein, and Vorarlberg. After studies in liberal arts and social sciences in Vienna, Hamburg, and Zurich, he obtained PhD degrees both in communication science (2009) and in German philology (2012) at the University of Vienna. In 2012/13 he was a visiting researcher in the School of Media Studies at The New School in New York and in 2016 a visiting lecturer in the Center for Digital Humanities at UCLA. He heads the digital mapping project *Campus Medius* and coedits the peer-reviewed open-access journal *Le foucaldien*. His research work has received several awards and fellowships (e.g., APART from the Austrian Academy of Sciences and Schrödinger from the Austrian Science Fund). Latest monograph: *Karl Kraus und Peter Altenberg: Eine Typologie moderner Haltungen* (Konstanz University Press 2015).

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**Jacinto Godinho:**  
**May 68 and Coimbra 69 in RTP. Why Did the Portuguese Television Censor the Portuguese Students Protests But Showed the Revolts in Paris?**

This paper reflects about the political impact of television journalism during the final period of the Portuguese dictatorship (1968-1974). The public television, RTP, has been thought of as one of the last bastions of the regime of Salazar and Caetano, used primarily as a mean of propaganda. The dominance of men close to the regime in the board of the television information and the governmentalization of the news programs with the exclusion of topics related to the opposition or any other matter that displeased the government, lead to the conclusion that RTP was merely an instrument to prolong the dictatorship. This paper focus in two similar cases of students protests, "May 68" in France, and the "academic crisis of 1969", in Coimbra, in which RTP covering strategy was completely opposite. Analysing the television news, especially Telejornal, we find that RTP covered largely the events in France that led to the closure of the Sorbonne University in May 1968, but a year later, in April 1969, decided not to cover any of the students protests that also led to the closure of the University in Coimbra, besides police brutality and the arrest of dozens of students.

The same pattern of editorial decision was taken regarding Portuguese colonial war in Africa. While the war in Vietnam was reported every day, with graphic descriptions of the fighting, the Portuguese colonial war was summed up in a dry short bulletin informing about the liberated areas and the terrorists dead or imprisoned. This information was solemnly read by the pivot and presented without images.

Based on this analysis, we conclude that RTP showed international events and concealed internal ones. What reasons can explain this strange information strategy?

The most controversial subjects were only mentioned by the politicians themselves, live on television, or through official notes read in the news or by commentators authorized by the regime. As a conclusion, it is usually assumed that RTP, the most important organ of communication of the time, was controlled in a suffocating manner, helping to prolong the regime of Salazar and Caetano.

This presentation suggests a new interpretation of the New State image policy and we raise the hypothesis that television in Portugal has been an evanescent mediator of the dictatorial regime and an indirect contributor to the restoration of democracy in Portugal.

**Jacinto Godinho**, PhD in Communication Sciences from FCSH-UNL, is an assistant professor at the Department of Communication Sciences, at the New University of Lisbon where he teaches since 1993. He is a resident researcher at ICNOVA currently working on the project History of Portuguese Telejournalism.

He published, among others the books, *The Origins of Reportage – Press* (2009) and *The Origins of Reportage – Television* (2011)

He has also been an investigative journalist for RTP (Radio and Television of Portugal) since 1988. As a special reporter, he has made several award-winning research reports for the programs *Reporteres*, *Special Envoy* and *Frontline*.

He produced and directed several documentary series, such as *Memories of Portuguese Cinema – 100 Years of History* (2001); *Here They Go – A History of Portuguese Emigration* (2006); *PIDE Before PIDE – A History of the Political Police of the Dictatorship* (2016); *When the Army Directed RTP* (2017) and *The Mysterious Record of the Wild Assembly* (2019).

He was twice awarded the most important and prestigious journalism prize in Portugal, the Gazeta Award of the Journalists Club.

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**Juraj Kittler:**  
**The Origins of the Populist Print in Europe. Captured in the Collection of  
Ferdinand Columbus in Seville**

This study claims that while the newsletters produced by the late medieval merchants may be seen as predecessors of contemporary economic newspapers (i.e., *The Wall Street Journal*), and the roots of the modern political press can be traced to the dispatches of 15th century Italian ambassadors, the origins of the modern sensationalistic tabloid press can be similarly identified with the cheap pamphlets circulating through Europe shortly after the launch of the printing press in the 1450s. Within the next half century 4- or 8-page octavo pamphlets, which mocked defeated enemies or lampooned secular and religious adversaries, were among the most disseminated forms of media in Europe. They were sufficiently cheap, even the lowest paid shipyard workers in the Venetian Arsenal were able to purchase one for their hourly wage. Such pamphlets were composed in simple stanzas, which made them easy-to-remember even for the semiliterate masses, and they almost always featured a woodcut in the form of a political cartoon on their front page. In the Italian popular parlance, they were known as *frottole* (a previously used term for cheap secular songs that were performed and sold in print by street artists) or *fogli volanti* (flying sheets of paper).

One of the largest surviving collections of such political ephemera was assembled by the son of Christopher Columbus and is preserved today in the Archdiocesan archives in Seville, Spain. During his lifetime, Ferdinand Columbus (1488-1539) attempted to build the largest library in the Western world, using the resources generated by his family's New World possessions and trading privileges. When he died, his collection contained about 15,000 books – not just highbrow literature or highly valued prints, but also lowbrow ephemera such as the above-mentioned cheap political pamphlets. Between 1512 and 1530, Ferdinand Columbus travelled several times to Italy and his extended sojourns always resulted in the expansion of his library collections. The ephemeral political pamphlets that were part of his purchases may also be found in very limited quantities in other European archives, however, the pamphlets in the Columbian collection in Seville are unusual not only by their quantity, but also by the fact that Columbus noted on the back of each pamphlet the date and place of purchase, as well as the cost – often in local as well as in Spanish currency.

For a scholar, the Columbian collection therefore offers a unique glimpse into the production and distribution of the earliest mass-produced populist ephemeral press. This study argues that the content of such pamphlets usually pandered to the tastes of the masses by tapping into and further reinforcing cheap stereotypes of various ethnic and religious groups. At the same time, they challenged the authority of the worldly or religious authorities (the pope was an especially frequent object of satirical scorn). Overall, such pamphlets proved to be an incredible asset in capturing and further reinforcing populist moods. They prepared the ground for the ensuing Reformation

battles in the German lands, which were to a large extent waged through pamphlets and political cartoons.

**Juraj Kittler** is Associate Professor at St Lawrence University. His research focuses on the comprehensive history of the public sphere. It traces the gradual transformation of the institution of the Greek agora – both as a normative ideal as well as social reality – from classical Athens through the sequence of hegemonically positioned urban centres of the Western world. In the past ten years, his focus has been on the nexus between early merchant correspondence, emerging diplomatic networks and the nascent postal service in the context of the Republic of Venice – from the Late Medieval Period through the High Renaissance.

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**Erik Koenen:**  
**The League of Nations in the Fight Against Public Hate Campaigns, False News  
and Propaganda. Remarks on an Almost Forgotten Chapter in the History of  
International Communication and Media Politics**

The contribution is assigned to the topic „media governance and democracy“ mentioned in the call for paper and pursues the questions raised there using the example of the League of Nations' (LoN) struggle against public hate campaigns, false news and propaganda.

The political idea behind the founding of the LoN was to replace violence and war as a means of resolving international and interstate conflicts with diplomatic instruments and political strategies for peaceful conflict resolution. Peacekeeping, collective security and international cooperation were the explicit political goals of this normative reorganization of international relations. Thus, the preamble of the Covenant of the LoN stated that international cooperation „should be promoted, among other means, ‘by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations’“ – by ‘open’ was meant no less than „that public opinion should become an important factor in international relations“ (Kubka/Nordenstreng 1986: 70).

For the LoN, the most important medium for achieving the goal of openness in international relations was the press. The Information Section of the League of Nations stated in an official brochure: „Nowadays publicity as a rule means the press. The League works in public – that is to say, in the presence of and with the press“ (Information Section 1928: 7). The cooperation between the LoN and the press was not least about a strategic communication partnership in the public mediation of the peace policy-oriented reorganization of international relations (cf. Nordenstreng/Seppä 1986; the establishment and diffusion of internationally respected „new discursive norms on peace, and truth“ (Tworek 2010: 22). In this sense, the LoN supported a series of international conferences (Geneva 1927, Copenhagen 1932, Madrid 1933), where fundamental measures were discussed to „improve the possibilities of the press to promote a peaceful world“ (Lange 1991: 69). At these conferences, challenges and problems of journalistic ethics and practice played a central role. Among the ethical questions, the main one discussed was the disorder of world peace through tendentious news coverage and the dissemination of false news (Nordenstreng/Seppä 1986: 72ff.; Lange 1991: 69ff., 93ff.; Tworek 2010: 22ff.). One measure, for which the press was to be won over, aimed to „moral disarmament“ as a strategy for dismantling hostile attitudes (cf. Nordenstreng/Seppä 1986: 80ff.; Lange 1991: 101ff.; Tworek 2010). Parallel to the political process of material disarmament, moral disarmament dealt with stereotypes and prejudices against other countries and their populations.

On the basis of the current state of research and own in-depth research, the talk presents and critically debates the goals and practices of the communication and media politics of the LoN with regard to public hate campaigns, false news and propaganda. Furthermore, the presentation discusses with the knowledge of today's comparable phenomena after the success and failure of these efforts.

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**Benjamin Krämer:**  
**Ahistorical and Historicized (Research On) Right-Wing Populism**

This contribution reflects on the historical character of right-wing populism both by analyzing the relationship between this ideology and history and by discussing whether and how research on right-wing populism (and the media) has taken the historical dimension into account. Varieties of right-wing populist ideologies and discourses are related to the status quo and to history in different ways. I position them on a continuum that ranges from conventionalism via traditionalism to revolutionary conservatism. While I would define conventionalism as the unquestioned insistence on a common way of living (allegedly threatened by oppressive elites and immigration), traditionalism already implies a stronger sense of temporality: one's culture is inherited from an idealized vague foretime and if tradition is challenged or threatened, it is defended based on a historical identity and continuity. Conservative revolutionary ideologies aim to create a new social order which is inspired by an idealized past that is not to be recreated but has to be imagined and brought about by political and meta-political means.

At present, proponents of such ideologies (in certain wings of right-wing populist parties and in other movements or intellectual elites of the New Right) do not only revive nationalist historiographies but also construct a particular historical narrative: the centuries-long fight of Western nations and Christianity against Islam, with its decisive battles, heroic figures and moral characterizations of both sides (Islam as archaic and cruel, the West as noble but also decadent and weakened). This vision of history is expressed, for example, in intellectual contributions, traditional campaign materials and speeches as well as social media posts based on popular cultural symbolism (e.g. memes, comics etc.).

I then shortly introduce three types of research on populist communication. Two of them (the quantitative social-scientific and the social-psychological approach) rely on very formal and somehow ahistorical definitions of their objects and are very much centered on the present media system, today's media coverage and/or the individual processing of populist messages. The third approach, focusing on populism as a discourse, can be rather formalist as well but also investigates the concrete historical articulations of specific ideologies.

But how are these different types of historical and ahistorical political and scholarly reasoning connected? Obviously, populism research that takes a historical perspective can trace back and understand the development and diffusion of right-wing populist discourses and symbols. It also allows for a deconstruction of the historical imaginary of right-wing populism if such research is not only preoccupied with the measurement of a thin concept of populism but aims to reconstruct ideologies and discourses in detail. And, at the same time, historical reflection can unveil the arbitrariness of naïve conventionalism or traditionalism inherent in rather ahistorical populist discourses. However, discovering the essence of a phenomenon in its history is also a main trope in New Right discourses which aim for intellectual legitimacy by taking the form of

scholarly discussion. Therefore, I argue that populism research needs to complement historical reconstruction with abstraction and deconstruction.

Dr. habil. **Benjamin Krämer** is a postdoctoral researcher at the Department of Media and Communication at LMU Munich, Germany. He received a PhD in communication in 2012 and the Venia Legendi in communication in 2019 at LMU Munich. 2015 to 2016, he served as an interim professor for empirical methods of communication research at Friedrich Schiller University Jena. His research interests include political communication, (right-wing) populism and the media, online communication, media reception and -socialization, media change and -history, music and the media, sociological and normative theories, and research methods.

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**Ely Lüthi:**  
**Media as Swiss Defence Forces. The Role of Radio and Supercomputing in the  
Preservation of Democracy**

Aim of this paper is to present how the Swiss government used media as tools for preserving its democracy and defending it in several historical times. In particular, focus of this paper is a precise approach Switzerland has to communication, using as case studies the role of radio during the Second World War and that of supercomputers at the end of the 20th century. Through governmental sources (Federal dispatches and official letters), this paper will highlight the role and function the Swiss government attributed to these media and, following a *political economy of communication* approach, it will underline how Switzerland saw in media the perfect instruments for defending and preserving its long lasting democracy, attributing them a specific pattern of ideas and values in different historical times.

*Political economy of communication* was chosen as the theoretical background since it focuses on describing power relationships between global forces on the one side, and on best determining society's communication needs on the other (Wilkin, 2001, pp. 29-31). It also highlights the impact politics can have on guiding media's development by regulating them differently according to national and international forces (Winseck, 2016, p. 82).

The first case study, taken from my Bachelor thesis, highlights the way Swiss government used radio before and during the Second World War as a defence instrument against the raising Nazi-Fascists propaganda. If radio as always been considered important in Switzerland as an instrument for national cohesion (Swiss Federal Chancellery, 1924b, p. 399), and highly regulated since 1924 (Swiss Federal Chancellery, 1924a, p. 200), in 1938, with increasing propaganda coming from neighbouring countries, the Swiss government saw in radio the ideal medium to protect and preserve its democracy, as well as to defend itself from potential invasions. Broadcasting hours and news bulletins were augmented, and the various channels were requested to work together to contrast this propaganda by broadcasting Swiss culture and values, as well as underlining the country's neutrality (Swiss Federal Chancellery, 1938, pp. 1017-1020).

The second case study regards the roles of Swiss National Supercomputer Centre and of academic network SWITCH in the 1990s as instruments to connect distant parts of Switzerland, lowering geographical distances by favouring communication between them. This study is part of a Swiss research project, "Digital Federalism", to which I am currently working as a Student Assistant. Through the analyses of several archive materials (mostly Federal dispatches and official letters), this project highlights how Switzerland saw in supercomputers and telecommunication networks tools for enhancing exchanges between people, involving peripheral regions in highly relevant national research and development projects, and preserving democracy from potential threats, such as geographical and cultural differences (Swiss Federal Chancellery, 1985).

Both case studies relate to the call for paper by showing examples of how Switzerland used (and still uses) media as tools for preserving and defending its democracy in different historical periods. These media, indeed, were used to enhance communication and debates, as well as to counter foreign radical political forces, therefore defending and preserving Swiss democracy over time.

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**Mykola Makhortykh & Juan Manuel González Aguilar:  
Re-Mixing Histories, Re-Shaping Protests. Internet Memes as a Form of  
(Counter)Resistance in Ukraine and Venezuela**

Internet memes are important part of today's digital culture. Defined by Shifman (2011) as digital content units sharing common characteristics of content, form and stance, memes are often discussed as online entertainment products. Yet, memes' functionality goes far beyond entertainment: by re-mixing and re-interpreting existing cultural objects to produce new pieces of online content, meme-makers shape cultural and political identities. Under these conditions, internet memes increasingly become an effective means of political communication, being used to frame political statements in a humorous and amateurish way and embed them into viral online content.

The qualities of internet memes make them particularly effective tools of online protest campaigns. By arousing strong affective reactions, memes facilitate mobilization of supporters and contribute to protesters' identity building by conveying a variety of social, cultural, and political meanings. These memetic affordances are especially important for non- and partially free media systems where citizens often have limited possibility to comment on pressing societal issues and employ means of participatory culture for political and cultural self-expression. Memes, however, can also lead to societal polarization by evoking emotional responses to stigmatize specific social groups and forming their negative identities. In the latter cases, memes often instrumentalize cultural objects related to historical traumas and conflicts for amplifying and contextualizing their aggressive message.

In our paper, we examine how internet memes were used during protest campaign in Ukraine in 2013-2014 and in Venezuela in 2018-2019. Our choice of case studies is based on two reasons: firstly, existing research rarely adopts comparative perspective and primarily focuses on Western democracies, whereas the role of memes in non-Western contexts remains under-investigated. By looking on Ukraine and Venezuela, we compare the use of memes in Eastern European and Latin American media systems which share a number of similarities (e.g. limitations of press freedom, the bursty rise of internet penetration and use of digital media for political self-expression). Secondly, both Ukraine and Venezuela recently experienced significant societal upheavals accompanied by the intense instrumentalization of digital culture products by pro- and anti-regime actors. Yet, how different or similar are these instrumental practices depending on the political leaning of their agents is currently an open question.

Using qualitative content analysis, we analyzed a large set of memes produced and distributed by pro- and anti-regime activists in Ukraine and Venezuela through major social media platforms (e.g. Vkontakte, Facebook and Twitter). We employed inductive coding approach to identify features of internet memes related to their a) content features: what kind of cultural objects were re-mixed to produce the meme; b) political features: what was the political message behind a specific memes; c) historical features: what kind of historical references were used to amplify the meme's message. Our

analysis indicated that despite significant differences in terms of specific cultural objects used for

memes construction, the ways political and historical features were used turned to be similar (e.g. in both countries pro-regime activists were more eager to deploy references to the past traumas).

Dr. **Mykola Makhortykh** defended his PhD in 2017 at the University of Amsterdam. In his dissertation, he examined the use of online platforms for framing political and historical issues in Eastern Europe. Currently, he is a postdoctoral researcher at the Institute of Communication and Media Studies at the University of Bern, where his research is focused on the formation of populist attitudes in the high-choice information environment. In his recent work, he has also explored interactions between historical memory and propaganda during the Ukraine crisis and the impact of algorithmic biases on online news consumption.

**Juan Manuel González Aguilar**, predoctoral fellow from Universidad Internacional de La Rioja. He has a degree in communication by the Universidad de las Americas Puebla (Mexico) and did a Master in Audiovisual Heritage at the Complutense University of Madrid. His research work has focused on television studies with a project about the history of the television in Spain since the end of the dictatorship.

Recently he has opened other lines of research on political communication and social networks. His first projects are about populism on Twitter and memetic information as a tool to support or attack political movements.

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**Hendrik Michael:**  
**“The Poor are Pigs!” Populist Discourse and the Social Question in American  
Periodicals of the Gilded Age**

It is evident that narrative strategies in journalism help to process our increasingly complex social reality by means that the standard information model of journalism cannot suffice (Hartsock 2015). However, with an emphasis on personalized and dramatized storytelling and a focus on the mundane, narrative journalism sometimes supplies simple answers for complex problems. Thereby, it is also susceptible for populist discourse. In fact, narrative journalism can be an adversary or amplifier of populism.

I want to discuss this problem by way of example. Therefore, the analysis focusses on the United States during the Gilded Age and the populist discourse about the poor in mass periodicals of this period.

The Gilded Age defined American culture after the Civil War until the turn-of-the-century. During this period, the country saw rapid industrialization, substantial progress in media technologies and transportation, and an exponential increase of its population. American cities, like New York, became the focal points of these developments, a social setting where class boundaries and tensions became most visible. In political and cultural publications populist discourse about wealth and poverty emerged in response to the growing social inequality, especially between the American upper and middle classes and a working class, increasingly comprising immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe (McGerr, 2003).

Although research in journalism history has established that the popularization of narrative strategies and human-interest content contributed to the mass appeal of periodicals (Schudson 1978), an analysis of the significance of narrative journalism with respect to stories of working-class poverty during the Gilded Age remains a research gap.

How do journalists portray poverty and how do populist ideas about the poor influence narrative strategies?

To answer these questions, I conducted a textual and formal analysis of narrative pieces, published in New York mass periodicals between 1870 and 1900. Pragmatically, the collection of data is limited to two periodicals: *Harper's Weekly* and *Scribner's Magazine*. Both were among the best-selling periodicals of the era and addressed a national middle class readership. Yet, the former was a conservative flagship, published since the 1850s, and the latter was a relatively new publication with a more progressive ideology (Wilson, 1985). The corpus contains 45 texts.

The analysis captured different narratological core categories (i.e. narrative situation, characters, narrative time and narrative space) and included visual elements and style. Results show that many rhetorical possibilities exist to approach the issue of poverty by narrative means. However, the majority of texts reproduce dominant metaphors of poverty that attempt to mediate the Otherness of underclass to a middle class

readership by biological and medical analogy. Such metaphors also dominated other publications that tapped into a populist discourse about the poor (Gandal, 1997). Although some of the analyzed texts have an investigative intention and try to pose progressive solutions for the social question, journalistic narrative about the poor overall is prone to misrepresent the socially weak and construct a semantic difference between an ingroup (the middle class reader) that is supposedly threatened by a perilous outgroup (the poor).

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**Juliane Prade-Weiss:**  
**Complaining as Speech of “The East”. Discourse Geography and Complicity in  
Populism**

Current responses to violence, terror, and war retrace ancient politics of mourning: Didi-Huberman explains the flooding of the press with images of lamenting as a worldwide medialization of wailing women which removes ritual practices from their specific context and seeks to render them an abstract generalization, an unchanging icon of all suffering—but effectively produces indifference to the image. Butler parallels the lacking “public act of grieving” for the victims on other side of the so-called war on terror with the prohibition of a burial for the public enemy in *Antigone*. Weigel sees media coverage of “public crying” at sites of violence and disasters as a return of a set of pathos formulas “almost automatically associated with the ‘East’ and the ‘Orient.’” Holst-Warhaft locates current “theatrical representation[s]” of public mourning “in the realm of ritual rather than logos.” Such characterizations of plaintive speech as eastern, female, irrational, and premodern already rule the discourse on dirges in the Greek polis. In current media and criticism, too, plaintive speech is commonly associated with whatever is taken to be in an marginal position. The reactivation of binary distinctions such as eastern versus western, modern/archaic, rational/emotional, male/female—which are all meant to culminate in the distinction of democratic versus despotic—in current responses to violence, terror, and war is problematic because they are part of a cultural geo-politics that limits rationality and governmentality to the West, while locating emotionality and ritual forms on the European or global periphery.

An instance of complicity with the escalation of political discourses, such stereotyping fuels the violence inherent to discourses of loss, be they associated with postcommunism, perceived losses associated with refugees, or of a different kind. The link between public lamenting and political polemics, which Greek authors deemed capable of causing civil war, was realized in the eastern Germany city of Chemnitz, in “mourning marches” that turned riots over immigration in 2018. The link already seemed an imminent threat to French president Hollande in his 2015 funeral oration for the victims of the Paris (Bataclan) terror attacks: Following the genre protocol set by Pericles in his speech casualties of the Peloponnesian War, commemorated by Thukydides, Hollande underlined: *La liberté demande pas à être vengée, mais à être servie*. No private revenge, but (military) service for the state is deemed a responsible answer to the attacks. The difficulty is that while populisms of all kinds claim responsiveness to populations’ complaints and oppose it to conventional political responsibility that seems to be ruled by globalized corporations (cf. Kaltwasser), condemning complaining in general as dangerous and revanchist from the public sphere leaves the devastating gap of not being able to think a form of speech capable of rendering loss and traumata communicable history.

The contribution outlines how in media and critical discourse, complaining is portrayed as a dangerous, antidemocratic form of speech and located in a realm that is defined as “Eastern,” with particular regard to the East of the European Union.

PD Dr. phil. **Juliane Prade-Weiss** is a fellow in the Department of German at Vienna University, sponsored by a European Union Marie-Skłodowska-Curie-Grant for the project “Complicity: A Crisis of Participation in Testimonies of Totalitarianism in Contemporary Literatures.” 2007-2017 she was an Assistant Professor of Comparative Literature at Goethe-University Frankfurt, where she earned her Ph.D. in Comparative Literature with a thesis on the Infantile within the human-animal distinction in philosophical and literary texts from Antiquity to Modernity. 2017-2019 she was a postdoctoral fellow in the Department of German at Yale University, sponsored by a Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft research grant to finish her habilitation thesis on the language of lamenting and complaining, which is forthcoming with Bloomsbury Publishing.

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**Paschal Preston:**  
**Mediatization and Features of Nationalism and Rightist Populism in Europe.**  
**Contrasting the 1900-1920 and 2000-2019 Eras**

This paper seeks to identify the contrasts and commonalities in the differing forms and features of Nationalism and Rightist Populism in Europe in two periods of modernity: the 1900-1920 and 2000-2019 Eras:

This paper explores how do we best understand the recent rise and recurrence of certain forms and features of strident Nationalism and rightwing populism in Europe alongside the onward march and expanding role of mediatization and other space-compressing features of modern capitalism. The paper explores the key issues by considering and contrasting the 1900-1920 and 2000-2019 Eras:

Following the introduction, Section two will consider changes in the dominant forms of [and relations between] nationalism and internationalism characteristic of liberal, conservative and social democratic theory in those two periods [the 1900-1920 and 2000-2019 periods ] and differences between imperial/hegemonic and subaltern social formations in Europe.

Section 3 of this paper will examine how successive major theorists [in sociology, political economy and geography fields], have conceptualised the space-compressing implications of modern mediatization and transportation systems alongside co-evolving trade and economic networks and divisions of labour. This will also briefly consider contrasting forms of nationalism via the lens of successive models of 'globalisation' or 'imperialism', from those originating with the classic modern "Age of Imperialism" (e.g. Hobson and Hobsbawm) to the distinctive forms of globalisation that characterise of the first two decades of the early 21st century.

The fourth and fifth section will move on to consider and engage with two specific case studies to identify certain neglected aspects of the role and impacts of mediated communication in shaping and enabling rightist political and populist discourses in those two periods.

The final section will identify some implications for contemporary understandings of political communication.

**Paschal Preston** is Professor Emeritus in School of Communication, Dublin City University. He is the author or editor of seven books and more than fifty articles in international refereed journals. His teaching achievements include being the proposer and founding director of what is now the largest digital multimedia taught programme in the Irish university sector.

Paschal Preston has been engaged in European cross-national research projects and networks since the late 1980s. He was founding Director of the Communication, Technology, Culture (COMTEC) research unit. As a pioneering (and first) social science research centre in the Irish university system, COMTEC achieved a distinct track of transnational research achievements (including

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Paschal is an Honorary Life Member of the International Assoc. for Media and Communication Research (IAMCR) and he participates in several other international associations concerned with communication and journalism studies as well technology-science-and-society and political economy studies.

Paschal Preston's research expertise and interests include : the evolving history of mediated communication; factors shaping journalism and news-making; political and economic aspects of mediated communication; the inter-relations between media technology and societal and economic change; national and supra-national public spheres and mediated communication; media and EU integration.

Paschal Preston's book-length publications include:

Preston, Paschal (Editor) (Oct. 2019) "European Communication History Handbook" . Wiley Blackwell [ co-Edited with K. Arnold and S. Kinnebrock. ].

Grisold, Andrea and Preston, Paschal (Eds) (Forthcoming, 2019) 'Media and Economic Inequality'. Oxford and New York: Oxford Univ Press.

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**Nelson Ribeiro:**  
**Using History to Exclude the ‘Other’. Nationalistic and Xenophobic Discourses in Salazar’s Regime**

The discourse that we find in many different contemporary populist movements resonates authoritarian ideals from the 1920s and 1930s, opening a wide debate on the similarities and differences between the contemporary political landscape and the emergence of fascism in Europe in the interwar period. While some scholars, such as Jason Stanley, have described what is happening in countries such as Hungary, Poland and the United States as “a rapid normalization of fascism” that makes “us able to tolerate what once was intolerable” (2018: 190), others have considered this to be an overreaction. Those who follow this second line of thought underscore that contemporary populists function within democratic regimes, and therefore are distant from the interwar fascists. While it is true that contemporary populists have not transformed democracies into dictatorships, they do undermine the rule of law and the separation of powers (Müller 2017: 99), and do present similarities with fascism when it comes to some of the tactics and rhetoric used to get hold on power.

Departing from this context, and focusing on the case of the Portuguese New State (Estado Novo) led by Oliveira Salazar, this paper proposes to look into the past to learn more about the similarities between the rhetoric of interwar fascism and contemporary populism. It will be demonstrated how an idealization version of the Past was central to the regime’s rhetoric, along with the production of media events that ensured constant visibility to its leader and high officials on both newspapers’ and radio news bulletins. These events echoed Salazar’s nationalistic and colonial discourse and contributed to the dissemination of his main propaganda line according to which his main mission was to make Portugal a great nation again. In his own words, this implied going back to the traditional values of Portugueseness, and thus excluding those who originated from different cultural backgrounds.

By exploring how an idealized version of the Past was used by Salazar’s regime we hope to learn how history can be used as a tool for those aiming to foster nationalistic and xenophobic discourses.

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**Sanna Ryyänen:**  
**Bad For Any Good Reason. The Jews in the Finnish Press During 1819-1939**

Attitudes towards the Jews have not been especially tolerant or warm in Europe during the current era (Jokisalo 1996; Laitila 2014, p. 8; Meer 2019, p. 291; Rattansi 2007, p. 57). The darkest hour for the Jews was, of course, the holocaust. It was preceded by hardening views and talk: In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, prejudice, distrust, and contempt about the Jews spread through religious and educational texts, novels, and media (Duckitt 1992, p. 103; Jokisalo 1996, pp. 129, 132–133; Laitila 2014; Matikainen 2003, pp. 241–242).

In Finland, the number of Jews has always been very small: In the 1880s there were around 800 Jews in the country (Laitila 2014, p. 37). Their amount reached its peak during the 1920s and 1930s, even then being only about 2 000 (Kantor 2012). Thus, they formed no “threat” to Finland or the Finns. Yet, the ideas of the “invasion of the Jews and Jewish capital”, familiar from European media, spread also in Finnish papers. The intimidation could not have been successful without a prior, extremely negative image of the Jews that had followed the trends of other Europe and Russia (Duckitt 1992, p. 103; Jokisalo 1996, pp. 123–124; Kushner 2005, p. 217; Laitila 2014, pp. 43, 51; Rattansi 2007, pp. 57–58).

In my presentation I will go through preliminary findings from my PhD study on how the Finnish newspapers and magazines represented the Jews during the years 1819–1939. The data consists of articles from five newspapers that appeared during the years 1864–1939 and from 21 magazines that appeared during the years 1819–1939. These papers were targeted to general audiences and had the largest circulations or importance of their time (Uino et al. 1991). The articles for the study were selected from a national journal archive using a search engine frase “juutalai\*” for Finnish texts and “jude\* judisk\* judar\*” for Swedish texts.

The study shows that the Jews were always depicted in a negative manner – only the reasons given for the antipathy varied as times, needs, and ideologies changed. First, it was their religion: It was either deemed hostile to Christianity, inferior, outdated, or rotten. Later, religion lost its explanatory power, and the image of a greedy, voracious Jew became prevalent. As the amount of Jews seeking asylum increased, the representations changed again and assumed strikingly familiar forms: They are too many, they are too different, they will not assimilate, they will not be good for our country.

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Paper "Yes, but is it racism?" has been accepted for publication in the CEECOM 2018 Conference Proceedings. Examines the meanings and differences between closely related terms: racism, discrimination, prejudice, xenophobia, and othering.

Written a biography about a Finnish artist called Meri Genetz. (Meri Genetz – Levoton sielu. 2019. Helsinki: Avain.)

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**Christian Schwarzenegger:**  
**Radical Media. The Historical Transformation of a Concept Between Progressive Counter-Publics and Antagonistic Disinformation Ecosystems**

Communication research does not simply observe, reflect, or represent phenomena of the social world, past or present. Instead, by the use of certain concepts and notions over others and through applying certain theoretical lenses and methodological tools communication studies itself becomes an interpretative power for the perception of social realities. Against this backdrop, this contribution addresses the last area of the call for papers and presents a study on the role of communication studies as a constructivist agent in shaping our understanding of alternative media used for “radical” political ends. The paper asks how radical alternative media were imagined and conceptualized as alternatives to meandering media mainstreams over time and what the implications for research on radicalism and henceforth the acknowledged legitimacy of political stances were. In this trajectory the contribution aims to identify the role of creating and muting media and their users as antagonists, adversaries or amplifiers of populism and radical politics.

The term “radical media” (also “radical alternative media”) was coined by John Downing. In his seminal book (1984) on rebellious communication and social movements he conceptualized radical media as differentiated from conventional mass communications as challenging hegemonic powers, propagating progressive contents, and characterized by a participatory culture of production. Further they would typically follow non-commercial orientation of production and circulation. Downing proposed the notion of radical alternative media to dissolve a binary between alternative and mainstream and to overcome the banality that everything at some point is alternative to something else. Instead he aimed to emphasize media which serve as vessels for political subversion, critique and thus on the long run for social change. Radical media critically engage with politics and typically were associated with social movements for progressive politics and a rather left leaning orientation. As such they were mostly seen inherently democratic and good, an idealization reproduced through scholarship (Atton 2006, Haller & Holt 2019). Only recently in historical terms, with the proliferation of the web and social media and a new wave of populist and right-wing alternative media emerging, the originally idealized notion became contested also in academic work. Acknowledging that alternative media are not necessarily progressive had an impact on how radical media are discussed and conceptualized in communication research.

The presentation probes this assumption and builds on the analysis of articles on radical media (and synonymous concepts) from 1985 to 2015 taken from 10 media and communication journals. Following the academic discourse about alternative media over time the paper identifies the shifting contexts to sketch when and related to what media what events and which mainstream the notion of radical media or alternative media changed over time or was used differently depending on context of research. Thus in the analysis we asked whether and on which grounds radical media were considered arenas for positive democratic struggle and romanticized as counter-publics or rather framed

as problematic populism or part of disinformation ecologies; results indicate that research on radical media is not only media-centric and oftentimes lacking historical depth, but also creating and changing implicit or explicit normalizations of political views, of means of political communication and of political participation in society at large.

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**Josef Seethaler & Gabriele Melischek:**  
**The Collapse of the First Democratic Republic in Austria and Germany. Leading Newspapers as Indicators of Political Crisis**

During the first phase of the democratization process in Austria and Germany, it was primarily the daily newspapers that systematically integrated citizens into processes of political will-formation and decision-making, and thus contributed greatly to the expansion and consolidation of the public sphere. The prerequisite for this was mass circulation, which became possible through technical and economic developments, as well as more liberal press laws from the last third of the 19th century onwards. However, unlike in the Anglo-American world, the expansion of the mass-circulation press occurred parallel to the formation of political parties because of the late-arriving process of parliamentarization and democratization of public life.

The effects of these emerging parallel structures between newspapers and political parties – typical of democratic-corporatist media systems (Hallin & Mancini 2004) – on the communication power of the press are the focus of a comparative study on political press coverage in Vienna and Berlin during the latter years of the First Austrian Republic and the Weimar Republic, when democracy slipped into a serious crisis. The wide range of newspapers on offer in the late 1920s and early 1930s (during this period there were over 20 newspapers published in Vienna and over 30 in Berlin, with a total circulation of on average 1.3 and 2.6 million copies respectively) illustrates the relevance of the press as the most important medium of political communication, thus indicating the impact newspaper reporting likely had on politics and citizens. Based on this assumed impact, Hamilton (1982) has argued that a “right-wing” press climate aided and abetted the rise of National Socialism.

To examine this assumption, we make use of the aforementioned ideological structure of the media system, and combine it with a hierarchical structure, in which certain media outlets act as opinion leaders, whose comments on the political situation are subsequently adopted by other media (Schulz & Kindelmann, 1993). Under the conditions of a well-functioning public debate, this leading function is based on reciprocal co-orientation among the various “elite media”. Accordingly, it can be hypothesized that, at a time when democracy is in crisis, the cohesion of this group of leading newspapers is lessened (because of polarization) and its composition is dominated by anti-democratic forces.

A content analysis of post-election coverage by all Viennese and Berlin newspapers after all elections between 1927 and 1932 was used to identify all citations of newspapers commenting election results. Post-election coverage was chosen because media plays a central role in the public interpretation process of the election results, providing a definition of the new balance of political power. The citations were analyzed using the sociometric approach established by Jacob Levy Moreno (1934; 1951) The results indicate an increased fragmentation of the public sphere: co-orientation among leading newspapers was generally at a rather low level in Vienna and diminished

sharply in Berlin. These changes in group cohesion were accompanied by a reduction in size and a polarization of leading newspapers, mostly in favor of National Socialist and right-wing extremist newspapers, thus contributing to polarization and escalation of political conflict and creating a suitable climate for the rapid growth of the National Socialism.

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**Gabriele Melischek** is a co-founder of and consultant for the Institute for Comparative Media and Communication Studies (CMC) at the Austrian Academy of Sciences. She also serves as a consultant for the Austrian Federal Ministry for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs, and for various academic institutes and associations. Her research focuses on political communication with special emphasis on media and elections. At present, she is conducting a long-term project on continuity and change in Austrian campaign communication since 1966.

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**Stephanie Seul:**  
**The Woman War Correspondent as Accomplice of Militarism? The Charges of Austrian Satirist Karl Kraus Against Photojournalist Alice Schalek During World War I**

Focussing on the Austrian press as an accomplice of militarism during World War I, this paper analyses the ferocious attacks of the influential writer and journalist Karl Kraus (1874-1936) directed against the photojournalist Alice Schalek (1874-1956). Well-known in her days, Schalek was accredited as a war correspondent with the Austro-Hungarian military during 1915-1917, covering the Italian, Galician and Serbian fronts for the prestigious Viennese daily *Neue Freie Presse* and other Austrian and German periodicals. Her early war reports, written in naive and romanticising language, depicted the war as a harmless, great adventure and revealed as yet little about the realities of warfare. During 1916 and 1917, however, Schalek experienced real shelling and witnessed the suffering of the soldiers. Her reporting became much more realistic and critical. With emotional language she described the war's destructive impact on soldiers, civilians, and landscapes in the battle zones and exposed the horrors of modern warfare. The Austro-Hungarian War Press Office disapproved of her honest reporting, which had the potential of demoralising the public, and dismissed Schalek in September 1917.

The Viennese writer and journalist Karl Kraus was one of the 20th century's most significant satirists. His primary target was the Austrian press, but Kraus equally despised nationalism, provincialism, and militarism. In 1899 he founded his own satirical journal, *Die Fackel* (The Torch), which he published until his death. The influential publication, which appeared three times a month, ridiculed some of the leading literary and journalistic figures of the day, and in particular representatives of the Viennese liberal press such as Moritz Benedikt, the editor and proprietor of the *Neue Freie Presse*. Although Kraus despised the nationalist right and its press, during World War I he directed the bulk of his satire and criticism at the liberal and social democratic press, which in his view was responsible for prolonging the war by supporting military romanticism and stirring up public opinion in favour of continuing the conflict.

Next to Moritz Benedikt, Kraus singled out Alice Schalek as a special target for his sarcasm. From May 1916 onwards he ridiculed her in *Die Fackel*, calling Schalek the worst example of a warmongering journalist. Moreover, Kraus gave Schalek a devastating representation in his documentary play *Die letzten Tage der Menschheit* (The Last Days of Mankind). The central part of the play, written during 1915-1922, is a harsh critique of the mass media and its role in prolonging the war by agitating and manipulating public opinion, thus becoming an accomplice of militarism and warfare. Schalek appears under her own name – *Die Schalek* (The Schalek Woman) – in as many as 11 scenes. She is depicted as an overeager, naive, thrill-seeking journalist who visits the trenches and provokes enemy fire just to have the experience of real warfare and to get a story to write for her urgent newspaper deadline. Kraus often took direct passages

out of Schalek's press articles and included them in his play so as to illustrate her alleged fact-lacking reporting style.

Although Kraus' critique was based entirely on Schalek's early war writings from the Tyrol in 1915, and not on her later reports, which were much more critical of the war, his devastating judgment of Schalek as a warmongering journalist was to dominate her historical reputation for many decades.

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**Balázs Sipos:**  
**How to Turn an Enemy into Friend – and Vice Versa. Pro-Soviet and Anti-Soviet  
Extreme Right Propaganda in Hungary**

The relations of the various East-European extreme right parties with Russia can be described as ambivalent ones. On the one hand, according to the extreme right there is a cultural or civilizational gap between 'Europe' and Russia. On the other hand, there are 'positive' factors: admiration to the strong power and to the close link between church and nationalism, and in some cases irredentism, as Miroslav Mareš mentioned it. These 'positive' factors have historical roots. My case study on the Hungarian extreme right propaganda in the late 1930s and early 1940s focuses on these 'positive' aspects of the representation of the Soviet Union. I built my argument on the content analysis of books about the Soviet Union authored by Hungarian extreme right 'experts' of Russia and of Magyarország ('Hungarianness'), a daily newspaper published under this title between 1920 and 1944.

The researches on the extreme right propaganda about WWII and the Soviet Union always focus on the anti-Soviet media outlets. These articles, caricatures, books, and movies followed the pattern of *Mein Kampf* and were about the 'Jewish-Bolshevik-plutocratic alliance' (as, for example, A. Kallis mentioned it in his monograph titled 'Nazi Propaganda and the Second World War'). The propaganda of the Hungarian extreme right ('Nyilaskeresztes' – Arrow Cross) movement used the same simplistic image until August of 1939. The journalists and politicians created the antitheses of the Christian 'we-group' and the 'Jewish-Bolshevik' 'they-group'.

This situation changed in August. The Hungarian extreme right journalists and politicians knew nothing about the purpose of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and they thought that the Soviet Union would be the friend of the Nazi Germany. They tried hard to explain this situation. It was not easy to construct a new image of the former 'Jewish-Bolshevik' enemy. Since the former image was based on oversimplified categories, the new one had to be very simplistic too. The easiest way was to use just the very opposite of the former statements. According to the new extreme right propaganda the Soviet Union became a national socialist (nationalist and racist) state where the private ownership was important and the former Jewish party leaders had disappeared. Hungary and the Soviet Union became allies as well because Romania was their common enemy which state had 'stolen' territories from either Hungary or the Soviet Union after WWI. Only the so called winter war between the new Soviet friend and the 'Finnish brothers' confused this 'friendship'.

To sum, in the presentation I show the historical context of the various government propaganda campaigns in Hungary like the revisionist and the anti-Soviet ones. On the second place, my aim is to share the result of the content analyses of the extreme right media outlets (their anti-Soviet and pro-Soviet propaganda) and interpret these shifts based on the theory of R. Koselleck and C. Schmitt. My last topic is the problem of the authenticity of Magyarország from the viewpoint of the readers.

**Balázs Sipos**, PhD, Dr. habil. is associate professor at Eötvös Loránd University, Department of Modern and Contemporary Hungarian History, head of Women's History Research Centre of Eötvös Loránd University, and leader of Press History Committee of Hungarian Academy of Sciences. His research interests focus on media history and women's history. He has authored five monographs about modern and contemporary Hungarian media and women's history. His latest monograph: *Women and Politics: Nationalism and Femininity in interwar Hungary* (2019).

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**Stefani Šovanec:**  
**Antifascist Discourse. Values Through Discourse Strategies**

The aim of this research is to show usage of communication strategies in the antifascist discourse in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia prior to the Second World War. The subject of the research is the daily newspaper "Dan" which was published in region of Vojvodina, in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. At the time, "Dan" was the only legal daily newspaper published in Serbian language and it was printed during the seven years preceding the Second World War – from 1935 until 1941, when the War first started in Yugoslavia. The year that was selected for this presentation is 1938, given the importance of historical events such as the merging of the areas of Sudetenland and Czechoslovakia to Germany, Anschluss, the Crystal Night and other acts against the Jews. Methodology used in this research was Critical Discourse Analysis of Teun A. van Dijk. Furthermore, we used the Viennese discourse-historical analysis approach which is very important as the research covers the analysis of racist, antisemitic and ethnical discrimination through the written language. Discourse strategies were defined after consulting authors Reisigl and Woodak, as „more or less accurate and more or less intentional plan of practices (including discursive practices) adopted to achieve social, political, psychological or linguistic aim“ (Reisigl & Woodak, 2005 :44). We classified discourse strategies in three groups: micro-strategies, strategies of treatment/action and strategies of construction of otherness. The subject matter of this paper is the presentation of the strategy *propagating the opposite values*, which belongs to the second group of discourse strategies – strategies of action towards the enemy. In the entire corpus consisting of 901 units of analysis, *propagating the opposite values* was found in 191 texts, and in the year of 1938 we found 20 texts containing mentioned strategy. *Propagating the opposite values* is marked in the texts which had the aim to popularise values of antifascism and democracy. Some of the main values that were found as the opposites are: the tolerance towards all forms of diversity, freedom, internationalism, the diminution of the significance of differences in politics and in the moral and other evaluations of a person. One of the main findings of this part of the research is that the macro concept of democracy was, in the highest percentage, presented as the main opposition to fascism and national socialism. In the research results we can see two other emphasized topics - the discourse against racism and the negative discourse on the conflict between states and the World War. Also, in this presentation we will summarize and chronologically illustrate the values propagated during the seven prewar years and show how they changed through the time. Through the analysis we found which discursive means were used in the antifascist discourse and in what way the promoted values are contrary to those propagated through the regime of dictatorial policies.

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**Hanna Suh:**  
**Media Governance and Democracy. The Case of South Korea**

Korea is one of the newly independent states that were born after the end of Second World War. Located at the very forefront of the Cold War era, South Korea's geographical location has made its media role, especially the Journalism as an ideological national institution, to be considered very important for the protection of democracy against its communist neighbour North Korea. However, due to these political-geographic characteristics, the history of political democratization and the changes in the media governance have taken an extraordinary step. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to historically investigate how media governance in the name of preserving and defending democracy in South Korea has taken place to keep North Korea in check. During the military dictatorship from the 1960s to the 1980s, critical reporters against the coup were forced to leave and journalists have been taken to intelligence agencies for alleged violations of anti-communism law sometimes involving physical violence and torture. Interference in the editorial process of newspapers and broadcasting focused on spreading anti-communist ideology through editorial guidelines given from the government. In 1980, this anti-communism law was merged into the National Security Law (NSL), which had existed since 1948. The controversial NSL bans "acts that benefit the enemy" North Korea but does not clearly define what constitutes such acts. Besides, it also allows blocking registration of leftist, pro-North Korean parties and candidates. Recently, in December 2014, the constitutional court has ordered the dissolution of a small leftist political party, United Progressive Party, accused of supporting North Korea. Amnesty International argued in a 2012 report that the NSL "continues to be used as a tool to attempt to silence dissent, and to harass and arbitrarily prosecute individuals and civil society organizations who are peacefully exercising their rights to freedom of expression, opinion and association". At the same time, media technology has also grown swift in South Korea by its rapid economic growth thanks to the work of electronics and information and communication technology (ICT) companies such as Samsung and LG. And the development of these technologies brings another aspect of control. Communicator controls that were aimed at journalists spread to social media users such as Twitter and blogs on the internet. A right-wing website also appears and one of the most notable website called Il-be has been crowded with users of "disgust". One of its most frequently used keyword is Jong-buk (Followers of North Korea discourse in South Korea). When youth unemployment and social inequality are overflowing, potential populists exaggerate anger and hostility towards North Korea's threats and the presence of North Korea is at risk of mobilization as an object of anger. As this will be part of my dissertation project, I would like to gain some helpful feedbacks how to elaborate my ideas in applying the Discourse-Historical Approach to this Jong-buk discourse analysis.

**Hanna Suh** is currently a Ph.D. Candidate at Seoul National University, South Korea. Born in Münster, Germany, SUH was educated at Ewha Womans University,

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**Dominic Wring & David Deacon:  
Partial Accounts. A Century of Newspaper Editorialising by the British Press**

Recent complaints by populist insurgents about the bias and distortions of the ‘mainstream news media’ are but the latest manifestation of long-standing complaints over the political partisanship and opinion-leading ambitions of news organisations in democratic systems. Typically, these concerns are most acute during ‘first order’ election campaigns, where it is believed this kind of advocacy can influence the future distribution of legislative and executive power. Comparative research shows that sensitivity to these matters varies across national contexts, depending on the structure of media systems, their governing institutions, regulatory framework and the strength of ‘political parallelism’ within each given culture. What has been signally under-investigated is how this kind of partisanship has altered over time, raising the question of the extent to which contemporary trends represent a departure from earlier periods.

This paper will contribute to redressing this gap by providing a unique analysis of national press partisanship in the UK over the last century. It will do so through detailed scrutiny of the election editorial declarations by all national daily newspapers for each of the 27 UK General Elections held since the country became a mass democracy courtesy of the 1918 Representation of the People Act. This analysis will go beyond the crude categorisations of partisanship by political party to map the strength of editorial endorsements over the course of a hundred-year period. The resulting distribution of press affiliations will in turn be linked to circulation data for all titles in every campaign. In combination, these data will enable us to assess the extent to which recent declines in the readership and reach of newspapers have served to intensify print partisanship (as a means of shoring up loyal consumers) or ameliorated it (as a means of broadening appeal to a wider pool of potential buyers).

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