

*Discourses and Counter-discourses in the Times of the Coronavirus Crisis*

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**Abstract**

The situation of the global coronavirus crisis affects different areas of human life and also influences the use of language. A new kind of discourse is emerging, in which politics, health care, the media and many other actors participate. In our article, we deal with the "coronavirus discourse" from the point of view of right-wing populist parties who create a special narrative that is often directed as a counter-discourse against the rhetoric of official political decision-makers or the mass media. This constellation of speech and counter-speech can be examined methodologically from the position of critical discourse analysis in the sense of Michael Foucault. In addition, the performative aspect of linguistic utterances in the tradition of John Austin can also be considered in this context. In a combination of the two methodological approaches, our study examines which effects, with which linguistic means and with which intentions are constructed by language in this pandemic situation.

Keywords: Covid-19, Right Wing Populism, Political Discourse, Frequency Analysis, Contextual Analysis

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## Introduction

This short study is part of a larger research project dedicated to a broader analysis of language strategies among right-wing populist parties at the level of lexicon, text and discourse. Our contribution is derived from an analysis of postings published in the Freedom Party of Austria's (FPÖ) Facebook page, which focuses on them complemented with visual material. It takes a look at the specific discourse led by the FPÖ after the outbreak of the COVID-19 coronavirus pandemic. Out of a total 388 text-image units appearing between January and December 2020, 195 mention the pandemic, political solutions thereto and the impact on society. Even though the coronavirus was only discussed for the first time on the FPÖ's Facebook page in February 2020 and it can theoretically cover almost the entire calendar year, the pandemic cannot be seen as clearly dominant because of the relatively large space devoted to other themes (identified in the remaining 193 examined units), with migration, immigration and Islam having been by far the issues most frequently discussed. In some cases, as will be shown later, they even overlapped with the COVID-19 pandemic crisis. In addition to the two thematic areas mentioned, some specific political situations within Austria (mostly associated with criticism from opponents) and very marginal environmental issues sporadically appear.

Within the examined units themselves, we concentrated on messages that had been included in graphics or images because they were supposed to attract the attention of recipients. These text units – predominately passwords, short sentences and word combinations – were then transcribed, evaluated for frequency and interpreted from narrower thematic contexts with information from accompanying posts contributing to the interpretation. Once they had been analysed for frequency and context, we then sought to draw attention to the performative aspects of language conversations and at the end analyse from the perspective of critical discourse and an ideologically critical view of the phenomena that has appeared over the course of the present coronavirus crisis.

## Frequency Analysis

A frequency analysis of individual words in a graphic or image show the most commonly used terms (excluding articles, prepositions, auxiliary verbs, and similar non-meaningful terms) to be *schwarz* ("black" in 7<sup>th</sup> position), *nicht* (no, not – 10<sup>th</sup> position) and *Österreich* (Austria - 11<sup>th</sup> position). The term *Corona* was found in 13<sup>th</sup> position, followed by the expressions *ÖVP* (Austrian People's Party, 15<sup>th</sup> position) and *grün* (green, 21<sup>st</sup> position). Examining how often words occur from the perspective of expanding semantic fields, the following expressions dominate (see Table 1). These frequencies empirically affirm existing characteristics and findings concerning the language of right-wing populism (see for example Decker & Lewandowsky 2017, Štefančík & Dulebová 2017, Müller 2019, Schuppener 2019 and others). First and foremost, it includes political and populist rhetoric toward building identity based itself on opposition to a political adversary. Logically differentiating us versus them should, as a rule, be accompanied by the semantic principle of negation. This field could be theoretically expanded to include other expressions with negative connotations that relate to the actions and decisions of a government and its political parties such as *versagen* (deny) *Verdacht* (suspicion) and *Skandal* (scandal).

	Semantic field	Expressions	Occurrences
1.	competing political parties, expressed by their abbreviations and symbolic colours	<i>schwarz, grün, ÖVP</i>	171
2.	negative expressions	<i>nicht, nichts, kein, nein, gegen, niemals</i>	135
3.	own identity	<i>FPÖ, wir, uns, unser ... (excl. party logo)</i>	95
4.	migration, refugees, asylum, Islam	<i>Migranten, Migration, Flüchtlinge, Flüchtlingspolitik, Asyl, Asylwerber, Islam, Islamismus, Muslime ...</i>	79
5.	Austria	<i>Österreich, Österreicher...</i>	76
6.	corona	<i>Corona, Coronavirus, Covid...</i>	56

Table 1: Word Occurrences (Semantic Fields)

An essential component in the identity of populist parties is their patriotic nature and closeness to the people, where they are understood to be primarily a national entity. For this reason, too, it is understandable for national identity (Austria, homeland) to be among the most frequently cited topics. National self-confidence, like party identity, is formed from its relationship to anything foreign. Migrants, asylum-seekers, refugees and adherents of Islam constitute a unified set of ideas that describe something “foreign”, over which own identity and nationality is triumphing (on the problem of Islam in right-wing populism cf. Schuppener 2020 or Fraštková 2019). This method of creating subjectivity corresponds to the theory expressed by Jacques Lacan and his psychoanalytical clarification of identity and subject formation in the so-called “mirror stage”, in which the constellation of “*I*” and “*other*” play a critical role (Horatschek 2013).

A certain paradox is apparent at first glance in connection with the coronavirus discourse, to be pursued further here. Even though about half of the analysed units could have been assigned to this thematic area, the frequency analysis showed the semantic field to be smaller in comparison to the others and not to correspond to the frequency of the topic as such. A closer contextual analysis and identification of the themes and subthemes associated with the examined discourse could shed light on why this is the case.

### Contextual Analysis

Mention of the COVID-19 pandemic was first posted by the FPÖ on its Facebook page in Figure 1, with Chairman Norbert Hofer predicting that, were it to reach Austria, it would already be too late. The illocutionary act of his utterance was a certain warning, or rather a challenge, to provoke a perlocutionary act of action and response to the situation. The party simultaneously published a survey (Figure 2), asking respondents whether the government was currently putting adequate measures in place against the pandemic. Yet the question itself rather seeks to cast doubt about the government's ability (illocution) and expects such an attitude from recipients of the message (perlocution).



Figure 1



Figure 2

Postings that immediately followed the two above confirmed this intention. The party was now proposing its own solutions, such as border controls (Figure 3) and then joined both premises together (casting doubt about what the government's actions and proposing its own solutions) (Figure 4).



Figure 3



Figure 4

The connection between them intensifies the narrative that has been created and, in its own way, multiplies the possible perlocutionary acts. Here the binary of thinking and contradiction are used to the fullest, thereby contrasting the government's actions and the coronavirus threat, and so verbalised in the phrase *trotz großer Gefahr* (in spite of the grave danger). Simultaneously, other logical conclusions are implied. The expression *Gefahr* (danger), while bound primarily to the coronavirus, is transmitted in parallel to the word combination of "*offene Grenzen*" (open borders), hence the danger becomes open borders and not COVID-19 as such. In addition, the binary logic system arranges these oppositions on a vertical axis. The lexical unit *etw. über etw. stellen* (superimpose sth. on sth.) evokes a government putting its open border policy before the welfare of its citizens. In this case, Austrian citizens (the recipients of the message) have been now positioned at the bottom of the hierarchy, with open borders, COVID-19 and the danger stacked above them. This development comes together with a government which, by virtue of its governance along with the power to make decisions and privilege certain elements, such as open borders before people, now stands above the people and occupies the same level as COVID-19 and the threat of contracting it. By evoking one of the basic features of populism in the context of COVID-19 discourse, thematising and recalling the constellation and popular opposition (as the FPÖ acts on behalf of the people) while pitting it against the ruling elite in thinking *us* versus *them*, such an environment of competition becomes, as our frequency analysis above shows, the number one thematic unit.

The basic strategy leading to such an objective combines partial and seemingly isolated phenomena and problems into higher thought units, which can produce several logical conclusions depending on the chosen thought process. This enables thematisation and addresses one agenda with another. The FPÖ's first solution to the COVID-19 outbreak – border controls – is not entirely without precedent. The thematisation of national borders and “protecting” them had been one of the main topics of the pre-COVID-19 period, as documented in Figure 5. In this context, the border becomes a symbolic boundary for one’s own national, cultural and religious identity, with right-wing populist rhetoric describing foreigners – migrants and asylum seekers – as a clear and present danger. Addressing the issue in the wake of the new threat of global pandemic enables the FPÖ, in a simplified and figurative way, to “kill two birds with one stone”.



Figure 5



Figure 6

In terms of frequency, it is even found among the topics most represented in creating the contextual framework for the coronavirus discourse. Several narratives can also be identified therein. Following up on the symbolism of the border, passage across it becomes two-way – open to asylum seekers but closed to Austrian residents (Figure 6). In this case, the expected perlocutionary act is acquiring a sense of injustice and unequal treatment. Like the example in Figure 4, the government is again referenced as having originated the situation and resulting vertical stratification. Besides becoming an intermediary in feelings of injustice and privilege, foreigners appear now in another narrative to be a direct epidemiological threat, carrying a dangerous disease, with action needed to be taken against shelters as sources for the outbreak of infection (Figure 7 and 8). Such active discourse mechanisms thereby contribute toward the creation of a clear stigma reminiscent of how migrants and asylum seekers were earlier stigmatised as terrorists and rapists. This is because both stigmas pose an immediate threat to life and limb. The force and intensity of such stigmatisation can be justified, among other things, by its direct relationship to the Foucault term “bio-power”.



Figure 7



Figure 8

As a modifier at other levels, the COVID-19 crisis starts appearing in the migration and asylum policies that are the FPÖ's main platform. The significantly accelerated digitisation of various areas of society now allows applications for asylum to be submitted electronically, a development right-wing populists see as a new potential issue to exploit – *Cyber-Schlepperei* (cyber-smuggling of aliens) and which of course they refuse to countenance (see Figure 9). The end result is COVID-19 seen as a cover-up manoeuvre and distraction from “true” problems, such as the violence the FPÖ blames on migrants. Here, the connection becomes apparent only secondarily in the accompanying posting.



Figure 9



Figure 10

Throughout 2020, asylum seekers; migrants and, in direct connection, Islamism were accomplices in the FPÖ's political discourse, even separate from COVID-19, with clear escalation after the terrorist attack that took place in Vienna on 2 December.

Returning to the COVID-19 discourse and the focus on identifying other contexts and thematic links, the main points of discussion in this paper, the economic impact of the coronavirus pandemic can be described as significantly resonant and the most commonly occurring subtopic. The high frequency is quite understandable because the economic aspect directly affects ordinary people and offers a strong potential not only for criticising the government as the main “enemy” but also enables formation of a strong coalition of the dissatisfied. In response to such dissatisfaction, the FPÖ turns mainly to emotional strategies based on (pseudo-) empathy and solidarity. Word combinations they use include expressions such as “*the government doesn't make it easy*”, “*the government is destroying jobs*”, “*the government mustn't touch our savings*”, “*there's a new wave of poverty coming*”, “*they've ruined our economy*”, “*they're bringing people to their knees*” and more. The instrumentalisation of emotions can be documented in the following two postings, which concurrently point out the internal conflict between the emotional and rational sides of this strategy. Figure 11 criticises government measures, hyperbolically likening them to a tsunami that may ultimately create among recipients of the message a sense of danger and panic, which the poster wants to see stopped. The paradox of this utterance is that the locutionary act itself denies having incited the perlocutionary act. In the same way, the utterance deconstructs itself. Figure 12 once again characterises the pathos of the climax (*Only after the last person has lost their job and the last inn has been closed down*) and accordingly the paradox of the climax culminates in an event that preceded its first two stages (when they learn that Chancellor Sebastian Kurz should never have been elected to the post), so initiating the entire climax.



Figure 11



Figure 12

A similar example involves the creation of logical connections in situations where they would not be expected. Both of the postings in the next row (Figures 13 and 14) do not directly thematise the COVID-19 crisis. It is only referenced in the accompanying text. Yet they suggest lifting the ban on smoking in restaurants and payment in cash will alleviate the crisis in the restaurant and catering industry (because of the coronavirus crisis). In both cases, their main argument is the invocation of civil liberties, guaranteeing people a choice of whether or not to eat at a restaurant where people smoke and whether or not to use something other than cash. Both trends (no smoking and the spread of noncash payments) are seen here as detrimental to businesses.



Figure 13



Figure 14

While the use of unusual or paradoxical logic may have no significant impact on those receiving the message, Figures 15 and 16 are nevertheless unambiguously stigmatising. As analysed earlier, these examples seek to create complex thematic links, stating that the economic impact of the COVID-19 crisis on people in Austria and Europe has a connection with people living in other regions of the world (such as Africa and Syria in the Middle East). The aim here is to evoke a sense of outrage that, even though “we” in Europe are having it bad enough (*every penny is needed, there is a lot of unemployment here*), others are getting financial support and profiting at “our” expense.



Figure 15



Figure 16

Activating the scheme of “us” versus “them” can arouse envy, i.e. provoke a perlocutionary act. But even at the bio-power level, it can initiate the “natural” instinct of self-preservation. Nonetheless, direct biological metaphors are also used in the complex relationship between the economy and the impact of the COVID-19 crisis on it. For example, Figure 17 sends a message about the *death knell of the restaurant industry* and Figure 18 calls members of the governing ÖVP-Green coalition *the gravediggers of Austria*, where the context of the latter posting speaks not only about the economy, but also education and the rule of law, which the coalition government is allegedly burying.



Figure 17



Figure 18

Both of these areas can be considered further thematic subheadings appearing in connection with the COVID-19 discourse. The issue of education can be more or less narrowed down exclusively to whether schools should remain open or be closed (denying children the right to education) and if children in school should be required to wear masks. Again, monitoring the plane of their reasoning is rather intriguing in the examination of their explanation of why the wearing of masks would not be appropriate. The reason is *rapid fatigue in children and worsened concentration*, or as Figure 19 shows, to give children the opportunity of learning how to recognise mimicking behaviour. Two postings with different aspects seek to guarantee these two points. The first of them shows two women holding doctorate degrees and refers to mothers, while the other posting points out that neither of the government coalition leaders have children of their own, so they lack the competence to decide about them. Hence, the FPÖ utilises biology and the weight of authority to bolster their argument, yet they are only based on the social roles of these doctorate mothers (one a lawyer and the other a medical physician) and not on verifiable facts.



Figure 19



Figure 20



Figure 21



Figure 22

Obviously, adults have also been caught up in the issue of wearing face masks and especially in western countries this symbol can be compared to the face of the god Janus. While the face in one direction is beaming at the solidarity of people as they combat the pandemic, the face in the other direction is concerned about civil liberties limited by forced government measures. This duality can also be observed in the FPÖ's changing rhetoric. While in the initial phases of the pandemic in March 2020, masks were displayed neutrally either with no connotations whatsoever or positively (*vitally important medicinal products*) (see Figure 21), it had turned by sometime after May 2020 into a rejected artefact (Figure 22). Interestingly enough, right-wing populists can equally instrumentalise both positive and negative connotations to make them tools for strengthening patriotism. Patriotism likewise plays a major role in connection with the earlier outlined context of the COVID-19 pandemic's impact on the economy, mainly in calls directed to support the national economy and also to reinforce self-sufficiency, particularly in the food industry. Notwithstanding, the pandemic has fuelled the expansion of the right-wing populist agenda into health, which now ranks first in the list of outlined focal points, such as in Figure 23 (*Protect Austria. Health. Jobs Economy*).



Figure 23



Figure 24

However, the patriotic and national aspect, as evidenced in the frequency analysis, still “plays second fiddle” to the political aspect, primarily the definition of the party’s own identity in contrast to the political competition and government elites. The preceding analysis of the economic context has in turn hinted at the exploitation of these problematic situations and the population’s dissatisfaction with the government and its actions to combat the pandemic, in order to build a common alliance and win the sympathy of potential voters by taking their side and finding a mutual enemy. A much broader area for populists, outside of the economic impact of the COVID-19 crisis and the arrival of the opportune moment to criticise the governing coalition, is the opportunity to establish a grassroots alliance aimed at combating the state’s overall intervention in people's daily lives. This chance comes and can be seized because, during a crisis or national emergency, government’s power and options naturally escalate the constellation of *us* (the defenceless and powerless) against *them* (the virtually omnipotent). In times of crisis, a populist politician will enter the scene as a saviour, like the man in Figure 24 analogous to the messianic feature found in populism. He not only brings solutions, but also bears the truth (Figure 25), which can catch fire and spread, provided freedom of opinion and expression can be guaranteed (Figure 26).



Figure 25



Figure 26

Accordingly, it represents rationality and common sense in contrast with *us* versus *them* (with *us* being the right-wing populists). Now the government, cast in the role of “*them*”, stand accused of *deception, illogicality, madness and chaos* in their decisions and regulations, raising questions about legitimacy. It is exactly in such extreme situations that populism returns to its key concept, the people. Talking directly about government of the people (democracy) in the depths of the COVID-19 crisis, populists thematise the boundaries of democracy and reach for lexical units such as “*Parlament entmachten*” (parliament stripped of its powers), *Propaganda* and *Diktatur* (dictator), highlighting the dysfunction of fundamental government institutions such as Parliament, the Austrian Government and the President (see Figure 27 – 30).



Figure 27



Figure 28



Figure 29



Figure 30

Various examples of government exercising its power, by forcing people to wear masks and to undergo vaccinations, testing and lockdowns, are joined along with lexical units such as “chicanery”, “duress”, “betrayal”, “intolerance”, “failure”, “misfortune”, “chaos”, “scandal”, “inability” and “neglect”. These are negative connotations that correspond with often-used negative expressions, as it also developed at the beginning of the frequency analysis. All of these expressions simultaneously characterise political adversaries and the government elite, attributed to *social coldness*. The posting in Figure 31 poetically points out the parallel between the first letters of the German words *soziale Kälte* and the initials of Austrian Prime Minister Sebastian Kurz, tagged at the end of 2020 along with his interior minister with the title of “*Kerkermeister der Österreicher*” (jailer of Austria) in Figure 32. The text accompanying the posting radically compares the restrictions on freedom of movement and the health policy to the apartheid system that once existed in South Africa.



Figure 31



Figure 32

## Conclusion

Looking at the analysed material as a whole, it could be said that it creates a narrative arc. The story begins with affirmative utterances highlighting the need to act, followed by appeals from the FPÖ for cohesion and asking people to stand together. Exceptionally, it even exemplifies their failure to comply with government measures to stem the outbreak as a reckless threat to others. The feeling of solidarity is multiplied by numerous thanks to various professional groups for their work and the struggle against the pandemic. Nevertheless, the coronavirus discourse was linked even at this very early stage to the party’s own political agenda, with migration, asylum policy and Islam forefront issues in contrast to their own national interests and patriotic attitudes. In this respect, it became subject to strategic re-contextualisation and political instrumentalisation. Some authors have pointed out that some of the exaggerated panic in response to the COVID-19 pandemic was strongly incited by racism, for example when COVID-19 itself was called a Chinese virus (Agamben 2020, on the other hand cf. Žižek 2020). Our analysed examples accuse foreigners and representatives

of other nationalities of carrying the threat of disease and concurrently benefiting from double standards, symbolised by the permeability of boundaries from the outside in, but not from the inside out. Another important aspect of the response to the COVID-19 pandemic is the element of social control. While initially affirmative, the motivating rhetoric dissipates into a narrative that exacerbates the conflict between ordinary people and Austrian citizens on one side and the ruling elite on the other. Where the initial act of illocution was a call to act quickly and respond to the pandemic threat, there was an ever-growing discourse toward criticising and permanently negating any act of state power, with the right-wing populists seeking to form an alliance with the dissatisfied and attempting to win them over. At the same time, they were purposefully using emotional strategies and activating the logic of hierarchical opposition. What they primarily underscore is suppression of rights and liberties, bullying by the state, the creation of different categories of the population, double logic in the government's failure to comply with measures they put in place themselves and finally classifying asylum seekers as common enemies. In general, the discourse is dominated by negatively connotated lexical units. Thus, the entire narrative arc shifts the need for protection from the coronavirus to the government itself and its measures, transforming a biological and natural danger to a political threat. Yet in both cases, right-wing populists have the opportunity to express their messianic traits and offer a path to salvation. In essence, populist discourse creates a counter-discourse to the existing government discourse, but without itself acting subversively toward deconstruction of power because it is essentially itself pursuing objectives of power, instrumentalising individual elements and components of the discourse. Upon a closer analysis of right-wing populist language and rhetoric, it is noticeable that lexical units are often used ambivalently and evoke at once both positive and negative connotations, depending on whether they relate to “*us*” or to “*them*”. Accordingly, they are used to connect thematic units to more complex units utilised to activate and multiply a wider spectrum of perlocutionary acts and also to mask their own logical inconsistency.

Penetration into geopolitical and historical discourse likewise plays a certain role here, when “modern” dictatorships and propaganda are compared to practices of states designated as East Bloc or to dictatorial and racist practices of the past.

From a comparative perspective, the study provides further space to compare Austrian discourse specifically with the situation and developments in other countries. Because the authors of this study come from Slovakia, there is no failure to notice several parallels with its own domestic political scene in terms of both general rhetoric and specific details (thematically summarised in government measures for the restaurant industry, fitness centres and in the conduct of weddings and funerals, as well as by scandals caused by government officials failing to comply with their own measures, two-metre social distancing, the threat to traditional and Christian holidays and the contradiction and illogicality of decisions, among other things). These aspects may be the subject of further research.

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