

ULRIKE KLINGER

PUBLICATIONS

Books

Klinger, U. (2011): *Medienmonopole in defekten Demokratien: Media Governance und die Aushandlung von Pluralismus in Italien und Mexiko. [Media Monopolies and Defective Democracies. Pluralism Governance and the Quality of Democracy in Italy and Mexico]*. Baden-Baden: Nomos.

(*Best Dissertation Award 2012, German Political Science Association*)

Klinger, U. (2008): *Die geteilte Republik. Demokratiezufriedenheit und Legitimitätsproduktion in Ostdeutschland. [The Divided Republic. Satisfaction with Democracy and the Production of Legitimacy in East Germany]*. VDM, Saarbrücken.

Edited Volumes and Special Issues

Klinger, U. Bennett, L. Koc-Michalska, K & Römmele, A. (2021): *Digital Campaigning in Dissonant Public Spheres*. Special Issue in Political Communication.

Klinger, U. Waldherr, A. & Pfetsch, B. (2021): *Spaces, places and geographies of public spheres*. Special Issue in Media and Communication.

Journal articles (peer reviewed)

Martini, F. Samula, P. Keller, T. & Klinger, U. (2021): *Bot, or not? Comparing three methods for detecting social bots in five political discourses*. *Big Data & Society*, 8:2, <https://doi.org/10.1177/20539517211033566>.

Klinger, U. & Svensson, J. (2021): *The power of code: women and the making of the digital world*. *Information, Communication & Society*, 1-16, DOI: 10.1080/1369118X.2021.1962947.

Waldherr, A. Klinger, U. & Pfetsch, B. (2021): *Spaces, Places, and Geographies of Public Spheres: Exploring Dimensions of the Spatial Turn*. *Media and Communication*, 9:3, 1-4.

Klinger, U. & Koc Michalska, K. (2020): *Populism as communication: A cross-sectional and longitudinal comparison of election campaigning on Facebook*. *Mots. Les langages du politique* (forthcoming).

Keller, T. & Klinger, U. (2018): *Social bots in election campaigns: Theoretical, empirical and methodological implications*. *Political Communication* 36:1. pp. 171-189, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2018.1526238>.

Klinger, U. & Svensson, J. (2018): *The end of media logics? On algorithms and agency*. *New Media & Society* 20:12. pp. 4653–4670, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444818779750>.

Klinger, U. (2018): *Aufstieg der Semiöffentlichkeit: Eine relationale Perspektive. [The rise of the semi-public. A relational perspective]*. *Publizistik* 63:2. pp. 1-23.

Klinger, U. & Rußmann, U. (2017): *“Beer is more efficient than social media”—Political parties and strategic communication in Austrian and Swiss national elections*. Journal of Information Technology & Politics 14:4. pp. 299-313, DOI: 10.1080/19331681.2017.1369919.

Leupold, A. Klinger, U. & Jarren, O. (2016): *Imagining the city: How local journalism depicts social cohesion*. Journalism Studies. pp. 1-23, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2016.1245111>.

Klinger, U. Rösli, S. & Jarren, O. (2016): *Hype in the city? An inventory of participatory online communication in Swiss cities*. SCOMS - Studies in Communication Science 16:2. pp. 141-147, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.scoms.2016.11.001>.

Klinger, U. & Svensson, J. (2015): *The emergence of network media logic in political communication: A theoretical approach*. New Media & Society 17:8. pp. 1241-1257.

Klinger, U. & Rußmann, U. (2015): *The sociodemographics of political public deliberation*. Communications – The European Journal of Communication Research 40:4. pp. 471–484.

Klinger, U. Rösli, S. & Jarren, O. (2015): *To implement or not to implement? Participatory online communication in Swiss cities*. International Journal of Communication 9; Special Issue: Qualitative Political Communication. pp. 1926-1946.

Klinger, U. Rösli, S. & Jarren, O. (2015): *Beyond 'potential': Swiss city administrations and their use of ICT for participation* [in Chinese]. International Media Industry Review 11. pp. 45-73.

Klinger, U. & Rußmann, U. (2014): *Measuring online deliberation in local politics: An empirical analysis of the 2011 Zurich City Debate*. International Journal of E-Politics 5:1. pp. 61-77.

Klinger, U. (2014): *Media Governance im interregionalen Vergleich: Informelle Regulierung in Italien und Mexiko*. Lauth, H. & Bröchler, S. (eds). Von Government zu Governance: Informelles Regieren im Vergleich. Sonderheft 4 der Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Politikwissenschaft (ZfVP) 8:1 Supplement. pp. 35-59.

Klinger, U. (2013): *Mastering the art of social media: Swiss parties, the 2011 national election and digital challenges*. Information, Communication and Society 16: 5. pp. 717-736.

Klinger, U. (2011): *Democratizing media policy: Community radios in Mexico and Latin America*. Journal of Latin American Communication Research 1:2. o.pp.

Czepek, A. & Klinger, U. (2010): *Media pluralism between market mechanisms and control: The German divide*. International Journal of Communication 4/2010. pp. 820-843.

Book chapters

Borucki, I. & Klinger, U. (2021): *Germany: Between a Patchwork and Best-Practice*. In: Lilleker, D. Coman, I. Gregor, M. & Novelli, E. (eds). Political Communication and COVID-19 Governance and Rhetoric in Times of Crisis, Routledge.

Keller, T. & Klinger, U. (2020): *The needle in the haystack: Finding social bots on Twitter*. In: Hargittai, E. (ed). Research Exposed. How Empirical Social Science Gets Done in the Digital Age. Columbia University Press, New York, NY, <https://cup.columbia.edu/book/research-exposed/9780231188777>.

Klinger, U. (2020): *Algorithmen, Bots und Trolle: Vom Ende der demokratischen Öffentlichkeit, wie wir sie kennen*. In: Massing, P. Kost, A & Reiser, M. (eds). Handbuch Demokratie. Wochenschau Verlag.

- Klinger, U. (2020): *Diskurskiller Digitalisierung? Warum das Internet nicht an allem schuld, aber trotzdem ein Problem ist*. In: Russ-Mohl, S. (ed). *Streitlust und Streitkunst. Diskurs als Essenz der Demokratie*. Band 3 der «Schriften zur Rettung des öffentlichen Diskurses» Köln. Herbert von Halem Verlag. pp. 48-65.
- Klinger, U. (2019): *Myth busted: Likes and shares reliably indicate popularity*. In: Kettemann, M. & Dreyer, S. (eds). *Busted! The Truth About the 50 Most Common Internet Myths*. Leibniz Institute for Media Research. Hans-Bredow-Institut, Hamburg.
- Klinger, U. & Rußmann, U. (2019): *"Beer is more efficient than social media" — Political parties and strategic communication in Austrian and Swiss national elections*. In: Lilleker, D. Koc-Michalska, K. Negrine, R. Gibson, R. Vedel, T. & Strudel, S. (eds). *Social Media Campaigning in Europe (Article 2)*. Routledge, London.
- Klinger, U. & Svensson, J. (2018): *What media logics can tell us about the Internet*. In: Hunsinger, J. Klastrup, L. & Allen, M. (eds). *Second International Handbook of Internet Research*. Springer.
- Klinger, U. (2018): *Semi-Öffentlichkeit und politische Mobilisierung: Vom Tahrir Platz bis Pegida [The semi-public and political mobilization: From Tahrir Square to Pegida]*. In: Hepp, A. Kubitschko, S. Marszolek, I. (eds). *Die mediatisierte Stadt: Kommunikative Figurationen des urbanen Zusammenlebens*. VS Springer. pp. 195-209.
- Jarren, O. & Klinger, U. (2017): *Öffentlichkeit und Medien im digitalen Zeitalter: Zwischen Differenzierung und Neu-Institutionalisierung [The public sphere and media in the digital age: Between differentiation and new institutionalization]*. In: Gapski, H. Oberle, M. Staufer, W. (eds). *Medienkompetenz als Herausforderung für Politik, politische Bildung und Medienbildung*. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, Bonn.
- Klinger, U. & Pentzold, C. (2017): *Kulturell-kognitiv hergestellte Erwartungen an Big Data [Cultural cognitive expectations about Big Data]*. In: Kolany-Raiser, B. Heil, R. Orwat, C. & Hoeren, T.(eds). *Big Data und Gesellschaft. Eine multidisziplinäre Annäherung*. VS Springer, Wiesbaden. pp. 189-198.
- Klinger, U. & Svensson, J. (2016): *Network media logic: Some conceptual considerations*. In: Bruns, A. Enli, G. Skogerbø, E. Larsson, A. & Christensen, C. (eds). *Routledge Companion to Social Media and Politics*. Routledge, New York & London. pp. 23-38.
- Riesmeyer, C. Zillich, A. Geise, S. Klinger, U. Müller, K. Nitsch, C. Rothenberger, L. & Sehl, A. (2016): *Werte normen, Normen werten. Theoretische und methodische Herausforderungen ihrer Analyse [Values and Norms: Theoretical and methodological challenges of their analysis]*. In: Werner, P. et al (eds). *Verantwortung – Gerechtigkeit – Öffentlichkeit. Normative Perspektiven auf Kommunikation*. UVK, Konstanz. pp. 373-394.
- Klinger, U. (2015): *Accountability mechanisms and the control of public service media in Europe*, In: Arriaza Ibarra, K. (ed). *Public Service Media and Politics in Europe: Media Relations with the State, the Market and the Public*. ECREA Series. Routledge, London. pp. 189-208.
- Klinger, U. (2015): *Mastering the art of social media: Swiss parties, the 2011 national election and digital challenges*. In: Enli, G. & Moe, H. (eds). *Social Media and Election Campaigns. Key Tendencies and Ways Forward*. Routledge, Abingdon.
- Klinger, U. (2012): *Veto players and the regulation of media pluralism: A new paradigm for media policy research?* In: Just, N. & Puppis, M. (eds). *Trends in Communication Policy Research. New Theories, Methods and Subjects*. Intellect, Bristol. pp. 139-153.
- Klinger, U. (2008): *Vom Betrug des Wahlbetrugs: Medienperformanz und die mexikanischen Wahlen 2006. [The fraud of fraud: Media performance during the 2006 Mexican elections]*. In: Aydin, E. et al.

(eds). Düsseldorfer Forum Politische Kommunikation. Schriftenreihe DFPK Bd. 3, Berlin. pp.125-149.

Book reviews

Klinger, U. (2020): Book Review: Schmidt, F. "Populistische Kommunikation und die Rolle der Medien. Der Umgang der Presse mit Parteien- und Medienpopulismus im Europawahlkampf 2014". Halem Verlag, Köln. In: Publizistik 65:1.

Klinger, U. (2019): Book Review: Stephens, K. "Negotiating control. Organizations and mobile communication". Oxford University Press, New York. In: Journal of Communication 69:6.

Klinger, U. (2017): Book Review: Kolleck, A. „Politische Diskurse online. Einflussfaktoren auf die Qualität der kollektiven Meinungsbildung in internetgestützten Beteiligungsverfahren“. Schriftenreihe Politische Kommunikation und demokratische Öffentlichkeit. Bd. 14. Nomos 2017, Baden-Baden. In: Publizistik 4/2017.

Klinger, U. (2014): Book Review: Dahlgren, P. "The Political Web". Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan 2013. In: European Journal of Communication 29: 6. pp. 749-751.

Klinger, U. (2013): Book Review: Potschka, C. "Towards a market in broadcasting. Communications policy in the UK and Germany". Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan 2012. In: Publizistik 1/2013. pp. 113-114.

Klinger, U. (2011): Book Review: Rademacher, P. „Politische Inhalte im Internet“. Köln 2010. *Rezensionen: Kommunikation: Medien r:m:k*.

Other publications

Klinger, U. (2021): *Digital Democracy and Public Discourse. Dissonant, Disrupted and Unedited*. RODA Panel 4.

Klinger, U. (2020): *Haartrockner gegen Corona? Soziale Medien und die Infodemie [Hair dryers against Corona? Social media and the infodemic]*. In: TV Diskurs 3/2020.

Klinger, U. (2019): *Wahlmanipulation in sozialen Netzwerken: Wer seid Ihr und wenn ja, wie viele? [On election manipulation in social media: who are you, and how many?]*. Urania Magazin 9/2019, Berlin.

Klinger, U. (2019): *Bürger oder Bots? Automatisierte Kommunikation im Bundestagswahlkampf 2017. [Citizens or Bots? Automated communication in the 2017 German national election campaigns]*. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, <https://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/digitales/digitale-desinformation/290557/buerger-oder-bots-automatisierte-kommunikation-im-bundestagswahlkampf-2017>

Klinger, U. (2018): *Wer hat Angst vor Algorithmen? Meinungsbildung in der digitalen Öffentlichkeit [Who's afraid of algorithms? Opinion formation in digital public spheres]*. Forum Wohnen und Stadtentwicklung 5/2018. Schwerpunkt-Heft „Meinungsbildung vor Ort – Chancen für Stadtentwicklung und lokale Demokratie“, Berlin. pp. 235-238.

Leupold, A. Klinger, U. & Jarren, O. (2017): *Wie lokale Medien soziale Kohäsion abbilden [How local media report on social cohesion]*. Forum Wohnen und Stadtentwicklung 3/2017, Berlin. pp. 158-162.

Klinger, U. & Svensson, J. (2014): *Vernetzung als Problem: Social Media in der Politik [Networking as a problem: Social media in politics]*. European Journalism Observatory. Published online 16.12.2014, <http://de.ejo-online.eu/digitales/vernetzung-als-problemsocial-media-der-politik>

Klinger, U. (2007): *Voto por voto, casilla por casilla? Democratic consolidation, political intermediation and the Mexican election of 2006*. ZENAF Arbeits- und Forschungsbericht Nr.1/2007. Zentrum für Nordamerika-Forschung, Frankfurt am Main.

Conference presentations and papers

(with Knüpfer, C. Bennett, L. Voskresenskii, V.): *Multi-stage information flows in hybrid media systems: How a new Indexing process converts disinformation into mainstream news*. Fifth conference of the International Journal of Press/Politics. Loughborough University. 15-17 September 2019.

(with Koc Michalska, K.): *Populism as Communication: A Cross-sectional and Longitudinal Comparison of Election Campaigning on Facebook*. ECREA political communication section interim conference. Poznań, Poland. 12-13 September 2019.

(with Martini, F. Keller, T. Samula, P.): *Social Bots and how to find them: New actors and new tools in political discourses on Twitter*. ECREA political communication section interim conference. Poznań, Poland. 12-13 September 2019.

(with Schäfer, M. Keller, T. & Mahl, D.): *Social bots in science communication: Bot prevalence and activity about ten science-related issues on Twitter*. ICA Jahrestagung 2019. Washington, DC. 28th May 2019.

(with Martini, F. Keller, T. Samula, P.): *Social Bots and how to find them: Human-machine communication in political discourses on Twitter*. ICA Jahrestagung, Preconference Human & Machine Interaction. Washington, DC. 24th May 2019.

(with Keller, T. Martini, F. Samula, P.): *Social Bots als Diskursteilnehmer: Eine vergleichende Perspektive*. DGpuK Jahrestagung. Münster. 9-11 May 2019.

(with Bennett, L. Hoffmann, M. Knüpfer, C. Martini, F. Samula, P. Voskresenskii, V.): *Disinformation in dissonant public spheres: The case of the campaign against the UN Global Compact for Migration*. Konferenz Transformation of the public sphere. Hildesheim. 25-26 April 2019.

(with Keller, T. Martini, F. Samula, P.): *It's complicated: Methoden zur Identifizierung von Social Bots im Vergleich*. DGpuK, FG Politische Kommunikation, Jahrestagung. Duisburg. 7-9 February 2019.

Social media in the rise of the populist parties? 2017 election campaigns in France, Germany and Great Britain. Cut the Bullshit! Conference on Communication, Populism and Electoral choice in the new media environment. Cadenabbia, Italy. 22-23 June 2018.

(with Keller, T.): *Social bots in Germany's 2017 national election campaign: Theoretical, empirical and methodological implications*. ICA Annual Conference 2018: Voices. Prague. 24-28 May 2018.

(with Keller, T.): *Social Bots vs. kollektive Selbstbestimmung? Empirische Erkenntnisse aus der Bundestagswahl 2017*. 63. Jahrestagung der DGpuK. Mannheim. 9-11 May 2018.

(with Keller, T.): *Social bots in the public sphere: theoretical, empirical and methodological implications*. ECREA Political Communication Section conference. Zürich. 22-23 November 2017.

(with Pentzold, C.): *Reading the powerful rhetorics of 'big data' in political discourse*. ICA 2017 Pre-conference 'Data and the Future of Critical Social Research'. San Diego. 25th May 2017.

Who's afraid of Facebook? Perceptions about Social Media in Europe. Talk at CITS, Center for Information Technology and Society. University of California Santa Barbara. 26th April 2017.

Panel: *Political Campaigning Beyond Facebook and Twitter: Five European Perspectives*. ECREA. Prague. 2016.

(with Svensson, J.): *The End of Media Logics? On Algorithms and Agency*. Jahrestagung der DGPK-Fachgruppe Digitale Kommunikation. 3-5 November 2016.

Der Aufstieg der Semi-Öffentlichkeit: Ein relationaler Zugang zur Transformation digitaler Kommunikation. Dresdner Symposium „Digitale Revolution in der Demokratie“. 8-9 September 2016.

(with Svensson, J.): *Algorithms, Big Data & the Role of Network Media Logic*. ICA Conference 2016. Fukuoka, Japan. 13th June 2016.

Öffentlichkeit als Beziehung – eine relationale Perspektive. SGKM Jahrestagung 2016. Fribourg. 7-9 April 2016.

Vom Tahrir-Platz bis zu Pegida: Urbane Bewegungen und Social Media. Workshop „Medien, Stadt, Bewegung: Medienwandel und kommunikative Figurationen des städtischen Lebens“. Universität Bremen. 4-5 December 2015.

(with Magin, M.): *Über Netzwerke und Forschungspraxis*. Vortrag auf der Jahrestagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Publizistik- und Kommunikationswissenschaft (DGPK). Darmstadt. 15th May 2015.

(with Svensson, J.): *Network Media Logic and the Structural Changes of Political Communication – Some Conceptual Considerations*. Gemeinsame Jahrestagung der Fachgruppe „Kommunikation und Politik“ der DGPK, des Arbeitskreises „Politik und Kommunikation“ der DVPW sowie der Fachgruppe „Politische Kommunikation“ der SGKM. Düsseldorf. 19-21 February 2015.

Social media and political communication in Switzerland. ECREA 2014. Lissabon. 12-15 November 2014.

(with Rußmann, U.): *Civic political engagement and public spheres in the new digital era. Who deliberates online?* Conference. Centre de recherches politiques de Sciences Po CEVIPOF. Paris. 24-27 June 2014.

Beyond 'Potential': Swiss City Administrations and their Use of ICT for Participation. Conference "Smart Cities / e-Government". Shanghai, China. 05-07 June 2014.

(with Rußmann, U.): *The Sociodemographics of Political Public Deliberation: How to measure deliberative quality among different user groups*. ICA Conference. Seattle, USA. 22-26 May 2014.

(with Magin, M. & Wallner, C.): *Making Norms and Values Visible: Reflections on Media Policy Research*. ICA Conference. Seattle, USA. 22-26 May 2014.

(with Rösli, S. & Jarren, O.): *Citizen Participation and Political Online Communication: A Case for Qualitative Research Designs*. ICA Preconference: Qualitative Political Communication Research. Seattle, USA. 22nd May 2014.

(with Rösli, S. & Jarren, O.): *Hype in the City? An Inventory of Participatory Online Communication in Swiss Cities*. Workshop “Comparative Perspectives on Social Media in Political Communication”, Conference: Democratic Innovations, Democratic Crises: Is There a Connection? University of Oslo, Norway. 8-9 January 2014.

Party communication and perceptions about social media: between academic trends and political reality. ECREA Political Communication Section. Milan, Italy. 19-20 September 2013.

(with Svensson, J.): *The Emergence of a Network Media Logic in Political Communication: A Theoretical Approach*. ECREA Political Communication Section. Milan, Italy. 19-20 September 2013.

„Social Media are Overestimated” – *Political Parties, Communication Strategies and Electoral Campaigns*. Jahrestagung der IAMCR 2013. Dublin, Ireland. 25-29 June 2014.

(with Rußmann, U.): *The Quality of Public Online Participation: How to measure participatory online communication among different user groups*. Jahrestagung der IAMCR 2013. Dublin, Ireland. 25-29 June 2014.

(with Svensson, J.): *Network media logic – a theoretical challenge in mediatization studies, Mediatization and New Media*. International research workshop by ECREA TWG Mediatization. University of Copenhagen, Denmark. 15-16 March 2013.

Ein Tweet macht noch keine Revolution: Ein analytischer Zugang zum Vergleich von Medienwandel und Medienstrukturen in Demokratisierungsprozessen. Workshop des Netzwerks Medienstrukturen. Jena. 19-20 October 2012.

High Perceptions, Low Performance: Do Political Parties Fail on Social Media? ECREA 2012. Istanbul, Turkey. 24-28 October 2012.

Mastering the Art of Social Media: On Swiss Parties, the 2011 National Election and the Digital Challenges. ECPR Joint Sessions 2012, Workshop 20: Parties and Campaigning in the Digital Era. Antwerp, Belgium. 10-15 April 2012.

Mediatisierung und die Ausdifferenzierung von Medienlogiken: Wie Social Media Schweizer Parteien herausfordern. Gemeinsame Jahrestagung der Fachgruppe „Kommunikation und Politik“ der DGPK, des Arbeitskreises „Politik und Kommunikation“ der DVPW sowie der Fachgruppe „Politische Kommunikation“ der SGKM. Zürich, Switzerland. 9-11 February 2012.

Manufacturing Media Reforms: Towards a Model of Corporate Influence on Media Policy-Making. ICA 2011 Conference. Boston, USA. 26-30 May 2011.

Mediatization in the Age of Online Communication: Still a useful paradigm? ECPR Joint Sessions, Workshop: After Mediatization: How Parties and Governments legitimize and communicate political action. St. Gallen, Switzerland. 12-17 April 2011.

The Limits of Media Power: Why Media Concentration Does Not Impede Fair Electoral Coverage. ECREA 2010 – 3rd European Communication Conference Transcultural Communication – Intercultural Comparisons. Hamburg. 12-15 October 2010.

Regulating under Influence? Media Concentration and its Effects on Media Policy-Making. IAMCR-Conference Communication and Citizenship: Rethinking Crisis and Change. Braga, Portugal. 18-22 July 2010.

Legalizing Community Communication: Mexican Community Radios and their Struggle for Participation and Participative Regulation. IAMCR-Conference Communication and Citizenship: Rethinking Crisis and Change. Braga, Portugal. 18-22 July 2010.

Veto Players and the Regulation of Media Pluralism: A New Paradigm for Media Policy Research? Workshop of the ECREA's "Communication Law and Policy" Section: New Directions for Communication Policy Research. Zurich, Switzerland. 6-7 November 2009.

Media Pluralism between Market Mechanisms and Control: The German Divide. ECREA (European Communication Research and Education Association), 2nd European Communications Conference. Barcelona, Spain. 25-29 November 2008.

Challenging Media Power: The Emancipation of Media Policy in the Mexican Democratic Transition. ICA (International Communication Association) InterAmericas Council: Congress of the Americas II. Mexico City. 9-11 October 2008.

Structural Media Pluralism in Germany: The Broadcast Sector. COST A 30 Konferenz. Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina. 5-7 June 2008.

Machiavellian Rule or Fourth Estate? Challenges and Strategies of Equilibrating Media Concentration in Mexico and Italy. International Summer School „Political Communication and Electoral Behaviour“. Milan, Italy. 2-9 July 2007.

Vom Betrug des Wahlbetrugs: Medienperformanz und die mexikanischen Wahlen 2006. Düsseldorfer Forum Politische Kommunikation. Düsseldorf. 13-15 April 2007.

September 11, 2021