2015 International Journal of Press/Politics Conference –Overview

Hosted by Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford

Wednesday 16th at Wadham College

18.45-onwards	Dinner at Wadham college

Thursday 17th at St Anne's College

8.00-8.45am	Registration and coffee
8.45-9.00	Opening remarks *Tsuzuki Lecture Theatre*
9.00-10.30	Keynote lecture by Frank Esser *Tsuzuki Lecture Theatre*
10.30-10.45	Break
10.45-12.15	Panels 1a and 1b
12.15-13.00	Lunch
13.00-14.30	Panels 2a and 2b
14.30-15.00	Break with coffee
15.00-16.00	Birds of a feather sessions
16.00-16.30	Break
16.30-18.00	Panels 3a and 3b
18.45-onwards	Dinner at Jam Factory

Friday 18th at St Anne's College

8.30-9.00am	Arrival and coffee
9.00-10.30	Panels 4a and 4b
10.30-10.45	Break
10.45-12.15	Panels 5a and 5b
12.15-13.00	Lunch
13.00-14.30	Panels 6a and 6b
14.30-15.00	Break with coffee
15.00-16.00	Roundtable with IJPP Editorial Board Members *Tsuzuki Lecture Theatre*
16.00-16.15	Closing remarks *Tsuzuki Lecture Theatre*

Panels marked "a" to take place in *Seminar room 7*
Panels marked "b" to take place in *Seminar room 8*

2015 International Journal of Press/Politics Conference – Details

THURSDAY THE 17TH

Keynote by Frank Esser: 9.00 – 10.30

Panels 1a and 1b 10.45 – 12.15

Panel 1a: Protest, Activism, and Civil Society

Chaired by Katrin Voltmer

Prospective journalism redux: The new life of political magazines in the digital age Francisco Seoane Pérez, University of Castilla-La Mancha

Experiential Learning, Standby Citizens and the Redundancy of Slacktivism: Exploring the Day-to-Day Use of Social Media for Political Participation. James Dennis, Royal Holloway, University of London

The engineering of dissent: How international NGOs use digital tools to craft oppositional politics. Matthew Powers, University of Washington – Seattle

We doth protest too much, methinks (perhaps): Does the concept of the 'protest paradigm' truly capture the predominant features of the reporting of protest? Ian Taylor, University of Leicester

Panel 1b: Comparing Media Systems and Cross-National Influences

Chaired by Paolo Mancini

Media influence upon Global South development institutions. Felipe Rodrigues Siston, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ)

Comparing Defective Media Systems in Southeast Asia. Melanie Radue, Friedrich-Alexander University Erlangen-Nuremberg

Critical and multiperspectival investigation in political news coverage: Is Mediterranean journalism better than its reputation? Edda Humprecht and Frank Esser, University of Zurich

The Impact of Trust in the News on Online News Interaction in 11 Countries. Richard Fletcher, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford and Sora Park, University of Canberra

Panels 2a and 2b 13.00 – 14.30

Panel 2a: Contentious Politics and Media Audiences in Transitional Societies (I)

Chaired by William Porath

Contested transitions: Journalistic interpretations of democracy in Egypt and South Africa. Katrin Voltmer, University of Leeds

The Ripple Effects of International Broadcasting: How Activists Interpret the Role of International Broadcasting in the Egyptian and Syrian Protests. Ben O'Loughlin and Billur Aslan, Royal Holloway, University of London

Volatile Politics and the Dynamics of Media Audiences: A Longitudinal Study of News Consumption in Egypt. Nael Jebril, Bournemouth University

New Politics of News Circulation and Reception in Turkey. Suncem Koçer, Kadir Has University, Istanbul

Panel 2b: Media Logic, Crises, and Strategy

Chaired by Ralph Schroeder

News Media Logic on the Shift. How new media actors shape the printed news. Maria Karidi and Michael Meyen, University of Munich

Comparing Reactions to News Aggregators´ Practices. Sarah Anne Ganter, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford

Values Priming and Press Performance: How Media Crises Activate Latent Attitudes and Shape News Evaluations. Erik P. Bucy, Texas Tech University and Paul D'Angelo, The College of New Jersey

Execution as a Strategic Tool: Fear and Legitimisation in ISIS Media Agenda-Setting. Andrew Barr and Alexandra Herfroy-Mischler, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Birds of a feather sessions: 15.00 – 16.00

Panels 3a and 3b 16.30-18.00

Panel 3a: Digital Media and Changing Patterns of News Consumption

Chaired by Michaela Maier

Rethinking Digital Media and Political Change. Ralph Schroeder, University of Oxford

The Ubiquitous Bigfoot and the new Digital Audiences: Contesting negotiations in the literate networked publics in India. Vibodh Parthasarathi, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi; Ananda Mitra, Wake Forest University, and Sanjay Mamani, Redinfi LLC

The History of Social Sharing of News. Jonathan Bright and Scott Hale, University of Oxford

GlobalCOM. Juan Luis Manfredi-Sánchez, University of Castilla-La Mancha

Panel 3b: Journalists, News Media, and the State (I)

Chaired by Jesper Strömback

Relations between political actors and journalists: Media instrumentalization in Serbia. Ana Milojević and Aleksandra Krstić, University of Belgrade

Press Offices and Political Parallelism in Spain. Links Between the Professionalisation and Increase of Political Control of the Media. Andreu Casero-Ripollés and Pablo López-Rabadán, Universitat Jaume I, Spain

Corollaries of relations between political actors and journalists on journalism and democracy in Nigeria. Rodney Ciboh, Benue State University, Nigeria

In the shadow of state power: Citizenship rights, civil society and media representation in China, 1978 – 2012. Na Liu, Sichuan University and Tsan-Kuo Chang, City University of Hong Kong

Panels 4a and 4b 9.00 – 10.30

Panel 4a: Agenda-Setting and Social Issues

Chaired by Bilge Yesil

Taking News at Face Value? The Effect of Deserving and Undeserving Exemplars in News Coverage of Welfare State Reform. Christian Elmelund-Præstekær and Morten Skovsgaard, University of Southern Denmark

Poverty Discourse in the United States, 2004-2014. Lori Young, University of Pennsylvania

The Schizophrenic Mass Media: Contingencies of Coverage of Welfare State Reforms. Morten Skovsgaard and Christian Elmelund-Præstekær, University of Southern Denmark

African Newspaper Coverage of AIDS: Comparing New Models of Press-State Relations and Structural Factors in Sub-Saharan Anglophone Africa. John C. Pollock, D'Angelo, Paul, Burd, Amanda, Kiernicki, Kristen, and Janna Raudenbush, The College of New Jersey

Panel 4b: Journalists, News Media, and the State (II)

Chaired by Frank Esser

How the national context and presumed media influence shape the orientations of political actors towards news media: Evidence from four European contexts. Peter Maurer, University of Vienna

Why the media matters for politicians. A study on the strategic use of mass media in lawmaking. Lotte Melenhorst, Leiden University and Peter Van Aelst, University of Antwerp

Governmental communication in the wake of mediatization. Magnus Fredriksson, University of Gothenburg and Josef Pallas, Uppsala University

Between media and political power: perceptions of government intermediaries caught in the cross-field. Ruth Garland, LSE

Panels 5a and 5b 10.45 – 12.15

Panel 5a: Contentious Politics and Media Audiences in Transitional Societies (II)

Chaired by John Pollock

Corruption in the press coverage: Audience segmentation and the lack of shared indignation. Paolo Mancini, Marco Mazzoni, Alessio Cornia and Rita Marchetti, Università di Perugia

Is populism the hegemonic political communication style of the 21st century? The impossible cases of Hugo Chávez and Nigel Farage. Ralph Negrine, University of Sheffield and Elena Block, University of Queensland

Press and Politics in a Neoliberal Islamist State: The Case of Turkey. Bilge Yesil, City University of New York

From Contentious Moments to Everyday Politics of Mundaneness - Researching digital media and contentious politics in China. Jun Liu, University of Copenhagen

Panel 5b: Media Freedom, Professionalism, and Accountability

Chaired by Raymond Kuhn

"It's so cool what we've created here": How the fact-checking movement became international.
Lucas Graves, University of Wisconsin

New professionals for a new genre. Freelance journalists in China's public debate. Emma Lupano,
Università degli Studi di Milano

**Negotiating tolerance: Freedom of expression, secularism, and contemporary political
communication.** Charlotte Elliott, University of Leeds

**Doing International Politics Under Domestic Public Pressure – A Model of the Relationship between
Public Opinion, Published Opinion and Political Decision-Making in an International Context.**
Christina Köhler and Philipp Weichselbaum, Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz

Panels 6a and 6b 13.00 – 14.30

Panel 6a: Campaigns and the Democratic Process

Chaired by Ralph Negrine

**Political Parties' and Media's Interplay in Politicizing EU Integration: A six-country analysis of party
communication and media coverage in the 2014 EP election campaigns.** Michaela Maier and
Melanie Leidecker, University of Koblenz-Landau; Silke Adam and Beatrice Eugster, University of Bern

**Media and the Mobilizing Effects of Election Campaigns – Comparing Election Campaigns to the
National and European Parliament.** Jesper Strömbäck, Gothenburg University and Adam Shehata,
Gothenburg University

Televised debates in parliamentary democracies. Nick Anstead, LSE

Cross-Media Strategies in Online Petition Campaigning. David Kapf, George Washington University

Panel 6b: Politicized Individuals

Chaired by Jay Blumler

The mediatization of presidential leadership in France. Raymond Kuhn, Queen Mary University of
London

**Three types of political personalisation in the press and in political advertising during election
campaigns: Chile 1970 – 2009**. William Porath, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile and Dr. Juan-
Cristóbal Portales, Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez

**From the Presidential Spouse to the First Lady - how have the media created a new political actor?
A comparative study of the political rise of the First Lady in France, Spain, Poland and the US.** Ewa
Widlak, University Pompeu Fabra

**"Hands Up, Don't Shoot": A Comparative News Analysis of the Michael Brown's Shooting in Four
Countries.** Suman Mishra and Elza Ibroscheva, Southern Illinois University

Roundtable with IJPP Editorial Board Members 15.00 – 16.00

Closing remarks 16.00-16.15

2015 International Journal of Press/Politics Conference – Abstracts

THURSDAY THE 17TH

Panels 1a and 1b 10.45 – 12.15

Panel 1a: Protest, Activism, and Civil Society

Chaired by Katrin Voltmer

Prospective journalism redux: The new life of political magazines in the digital age

Francisco Seoane Pérez, University of Castilla-La Mancha

Abstract

Political magazines offer a vantage point for evaluating the present and future of in-depth journalism in the digital age. The death spiral of newsweeklies overshadows the increasing influence of political magazines in the national and global debates. Publications like The Atlantic or The Nation keep on advancing policy solutions and inoculating debates on other more mainstream media as they have done for more than a hundred years, but they are also being reshaped by the new digital environment: their online readers are more numerous but less loyal than their print subscribers, and their publics have become more international, with one-third of their audiences coming from outside their home country. This paper reports on the views of journalists and editors from American political magazines regarding three issues: the role of their publications in the public sphere (inter-media agenda setting, prospective policy solutions), the differences between their print and digital versions (in terms of audience and content), and their economic sustainability (reflecting on the ethical conundrums of native advertising and events businesses). Cases studied include The Atlantic, The Economist, The Nation, Bloomberg Businessweek, and The New Republic.

Experiential Learning, Standby Citizens and the Redundancy of Slacktivism: Exploring the Day-to-Day Use of Social Media for Political Participation

James Dennis, Royal Holloway, University of London

Abstract

Slacktivism has become synonymous with a negative perception of the political value of social media. However, the critique is flawed by an overtly narrow focus. In order to critically analyse the relationship between social media and political participation we must first develop a comprehensive understanding of the environment in which these new forms of political expression take place. By drawing on a mixed-methods research design in which evidence of citizen behaviour on Facebook and Twitter is contextualised with interviews and reflective weekly diary entries collected over three months, this paper explores how 30 participants use social media within their day-to-day lives.

This paper offers a typology that challenges both the attitudinal and behavioural logics that sustain the slacktivist critique. "Instigators" and "contributors", those participants who most closely represent slacktivists, engage in digital micro-activism by way of refining their political identity. They are also more likely to engage in instrumentalist forms of political action. This paper also calls into question the hypothesis that social-networking sites invoke a self-expressive logic by virtue of their design. The majority of participants reflect "listeners", using social media to consume political information but refraining from public forms of expression. Instead, they take to private spaces to discuss politics. When listeners do undertake acts of digital micro-activism they are not easy, low-threshold acts, but painstakingly deliberated over given the real and imagined audience.

The engineering of dissent: How international NGOs use digital tools to craft oppositional politics

Matthew Powers, University of Washington – Seattle

Abstract

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) form the organizational core of international civil society. In this role, they are tasked with presenting civic demands that challenge (to varying degrees) the political and economic status quo. For both practitioners and scholars, this fact has long raised questions about *who* NGOs represent when presenting such demands. In this paper, I explore some of the ways that NGOs are using digital tools to craft an oppositional politics that seeks to challenge the status quo while addressing this problem of representation. Drawing on a combination of qualitative case studies and interviews with NGO professionals, I identify a strategy whereby NGOs repackage existing research and advocacy materials around a core value proposition (e.g., Save Darfur, Make Tax Fair, etc.). This value proposition, as well as the support of key spokespersons (e.g., musicians, actors, etc.), is then launched as an online campaign to capture the attention of citizens otherwise unaffiliated with their organization. When campaigns succeed in garnering attention, NGOs go to political elites and point to this public as evidence of the need to take action on an issue. Together, this strategy reveals an effort by NGOs to engage in what I call "the engineering of dissent" – that is, the use of digital tools to strategically create public support for civic demands that challenge the political and economic status quo. Such an approach raises important analytical and normative questions about how the contemporary information environment is being used to spur new forms of representation in international civil society.

We doth protest too much, methinks (perhaps): Does the concept of the 'protest paradigm' truly capture the predominant features of the reporting of protest?

Dr Ian Taylor, University of Leicester

Abstract

Previous literature addressing the media's coverage of protest has identified a 'protest paradigm' that serves to 'delegitimize, marginalize and demonize' domestically based protests and the protesters who partake in them by articulating a number of recurrent variables across the reporting and commentary of protests. The first part of this paper identifies eleven such variables that are said to make up the 'protest paradigm', and it also reflects on the reasons for their significance. The second part of the paper is based on original content analysis of UK press of coverage of four recent domestic protests: anti-fracking protests, the Occupy protests, anti-tuition fees protests, and those staged in opposition to the Iraq War (No. of articles: 1197). The purpose here is to find out how frequently each of the eleven 'protest paradigm' variables actually arose in the coverage, and to investigate whether they bore any relationship to negative portrayals of protest. Key findings are that the press's overall treatment of the protests veered only slightly towards unfavourable treatment, and that many of the 'protest paradigm' variables appeared only very rarely. The paper also argues that although the presence of these variables tended to coincide with unfavourable press treatment of protesters, there is still a measure of uncertainty as to whether those variables lie at the root of any unfavourable treatment. Consequently, this paper challenges many prevailing assumptions about the reporting of protest.

Panel 1b: Comparing Media Systems and Cross-National Influences
Chaired by Paolo Mancini

Media influence upon Global South development institutions

Felipe Rodrigues Siston, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ)

Abstract

The investigation offers an overview of international media and Global South bureaucracies' interactions, more specifically those of National Development Banks of five emerging economies: Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. What do those bureaucracies do or say regarding news circulating globally about them?

In order to answer this question the study test a method using the concept of symbolic power, as expressed by Pierre Bourdieu to explain the creation (or not) of reality. The method here consists on building narratives based on interviews and questionnaires disseminated within two groups of actors: the bureaucrats in charge of the public relations and the international media professionals that produced news features about those financial institutions. Both cases respect a period of July-December 2014.

In July 2014, the Sixth BRICS Summit resulted in agreement to establish a New Development Bank (NDB), granting equal power for each member. This new political actor may bring methodological, theoretical and even empirical problems to the field of political communication research. How to compare and analyze data in countries that exposes many limitations to the role of the media regarding development and democracy? How to hold accountable a paradigm of development that seems to attribute to the State the role of a market manager.

Thus, the purpose of going comparatively is to better understand and cluster the types of discourses about change and resistance within those national development banks, controlled by emerging economies from areas that lacks studies in the field.

Comparing Defective Media Systems in Southeast Asia

Melanie Radue, Friedrich-Alexander University Erlangen-Nuremberg

Abstract

The academic acknowledgement of systematic categorization of media systems emerged with the normative approach of "Four Theories of the Press" by Siebert, Peters and Schramm (1956). Their contested theory laid the cornerstone for new comparative studies of media systems to challenge this ideologically biased approach. Hence, Hallin and Mancini (2004) provide an empirical comparative framework for the categorization of media systems within Western democratic contexts. Though often applied for comparison of media systems beyond the Western world, analyses reveal deficiencies of their well-recognized theoretical framework for the categorization of non-democratic media systems beyond Western contexts and indicate that other models are required. Blum followed this call in 2014 with the "pragmatic difference-approach" and provides new models, namely the Liberal-, the Public-Service-, the Clientele-, the Shock-, the Patriot- and the Commando-Model, for the categorization of media systems in each world region, on the basis of the assessment of eleven criteria.

With respect to these approaches this study compares the defective media systems of Myanmar and Malaysia and highlights benefits and limitations of the presented approaches hence gives comprehensive insights in the media policy and the characteristics and changes of the two media systems. Aim is to validate the sufficiency of Blum´s "pragmatic difference-approach" for the categorization of media systems with these cases representative for defective Southeast Asian media systems. The analysis and comparison of defective media systems of Malaysia and Myanmar is basis for a comprehensive comparative study of Southeast Asian media systems.

Critical and multiperspectival investigation in political news coverage: Is Mediterranean journalism better than its reputation?

Edda Humprecht and Frank Esser, University of Zurich

Abstract

When comparing political news coverage internationally Mediterranean countries often perform poorly. French and Italian journalism, for instance, has been found to be less objective but more emotional and negative compared to U.S. journalism (Esser and Umbricht, 2014). These findings are often explained with reference to journalistic traditions that in the Mediterranean case favor opinion journalism and media partisanship (Kuhn, 2014; Mazzoleni, 2004). Moreover, media system research characterizes polarized-pluralist systems by low journalistic professionalism and high political parallelism (Hallin and Mancini, 2004).

However, concepts like objectivity and opinion orientation are often discussed from a distinct Anglo-American ideal of news journalism (Benson, 2013). Or study poses the counter-question whether Italian and French news coverage has other strengths that may sometimes be overlooked.

We compare online news from France and Italy with news from the UK, USA, Germany, and Switzerland and found a higher share of news stories probing questions at officials in Italy than in other countries. Furthermore, Italian news outlets produce more articles that reveal a critical perspective towards responsible actors. French news stories, in contrast, contain significantly more speakers with opposing viewpoints on a controversial issue. We conclude that the strengths of these types of opinion-centered journalism are the ability to scrutinize cases of failures or incompetence from an advocatory perspective and to give a multiperspectival account of debated issues that matches the demands of polarized pluralist democracies (Christians, Glasser, McQuail, Nordenstreng, and White, 2009).

The Impact of Trust in the News on Online News Interaction in 11 Countries

Richard Fletcher, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford & Sora Park, University of Canberra

Abstract

People in many countries can now access a diverse range of online news sources. Furthermore, when compared to traditional offline forms of access, online news consumers can more directly participate in the production, dissemination and evaluation of news content by self-publishing, sharing and commenting. A range of demographic and structural factors have in the past been linked to levels of trust in the news. However, few studies have used a correlational design to explore the impact that trust might have on how individuals interact with the news specifically within the online environment. Fewer still have explored how the role of trust might vary from country to country. We use data from 11 countries (n=21,524) collected as part of the 2015 Reuters Institute Digital News Report to explore the link between trust in the news and the use of different types of online news source, as well as the link between trust and online news sharing. We find a link between trust in the news and both news use and news sharing in most countries, but also national variation in the strength of the association.

Panels 2a and 2b 13.00 – 14.30

Panel 2a: Contentious Politics and Media Audiences in Transitional Societies (I)
Chaired by William Porath

Contested transitions: Journalistic interpretations of democracy in Egypt and South Africa

Katrin Voltmer, University of Leeds

Abstract

Research on democratisation has largely focused on institutional change, while less attention has been given to the discoursive underpinnings of transitional politics. This paper argues that for an emerging democracy to grow roots, it has to be brought to life through communication in the public realm where the meaning of democracy is debated, contested and negotiated. Journalists play a key role in shaping the discourse of democracy in transitional societies. They select the voices that can be heard in the public arena and provide the arguments supporting or resisting democratic change.

This paper explores journalistic discourses of democracy in Egypt and South Africa – two countries that mark contrasting points in democratic transition. While Egypt is an example of a stalled transition following the capture of a dramatic uprising by old elites, South Africa is confronted with persisting problems of social inequality and limited citizenship twenty years after the first democratic election. The study combines data from semi-structured interviews with journalists on the one hand and the media content these journalists have produced during crucial moments of contestation during the transition on the other. The comparison of individual perceptions and professional output sheds light on the constraints and opportunities of journalism in an environment of political power struggles and social unrest.

The data have been collected in the context of the project 'Media, Conflict and Democratisation', funded by the European Union under its Framework Seven programme (grant agreement 613370).

The Ripple Effects of International Broadcasting: How Activists Interpret the Role of International Broadcasting in the Egyptian and Syrian Protests

Ben O'Loughlin and Billur Aslan, Royal Holloway, University of London

Abstract

Despite much research of social media in the Arab Spring, and some content analysis of news coverage in the region, the role of international broadcasting has been relatively neglected. Based on 45 interviews with activists in Egypt and Syria since 2011, we argue that international broadcasters played a number of roles and with various effects at different stages of the protests and conflicts in each country. Although the political context varied in each country, we find similar impacts: cultivating citizen journalists, publicizing blogs and bloggers, mobilising protestors, and generating international connectivity around the issue by providing 'templates' of action from other 'Arab Spring' events that fed into citizens' actions and expectations in Egypt and Syria. In addition, we consider how role changing and various roles of international broadcasters created 'ripple effects' through the ecosystems of the region, altering the role of other actors: wire services, social media services like Facebook, and audiences. The analysis illuminates a period of transition and changing interdependencies for protestors and journalists alike. Through qualitative coding of transcripts through Nvivo, our original data allows for analysis of activists' reflections, emotions, assumptions; in short, their voice.

Volatile Politics and the Dynamics of Media Audiences: A Longitudinal Study of News Consumption in Egypt

Nael Jebril, Bournemouth University

Abstract

During periods of transition or turmoil, individuals' searches for information are indications of their engagement with the transition process. Media are important facilitators to this process.

How do citizens of transitional societies use media to make sense of potentially profound changes in the political environment? Are such media choices consistent across local, regional, and international developments? How are traditional and new media users influenced by major political changes and transitions? Do media pull in new audience members or set audiences that are easily identifiable by socio-demographics?

This paper examines the effects of volatile political environments on news consumption and audience demographics in Egypt. It builds on nationally representative surveys (2008/9, 2011, 2012) regarding the media habits of Egyptian adults using face-to-face methodology.

The paper investigates a) how media choices and preferences for political information are formed and influenced by a host of individual and structural factors, b) changes in individual media use patterns and audience profiles /demographics of different media, and c) changes in news interest and trust in domestic, regional and international coverage. With only scattered evidence available about the manner in which citizens consume media in transitional contexts, the analysis gives new insights about audience behavior in volatile political environments. The findings are presented in the light of research on non-mechanical media effects and the on-going debate on the relationship between new media and politics.

New Politics of News Circulation and Reception in Turkey

Suncem Koçer PhD, Kadir Has University, Istanbul

Abstract

Considering news as a discursive construct that is produced and received by culturally, historically, and politically situated agents, in this paper I discuss how news media in Turkey have become an increasingly significant subject of public debate and action. Several events in recent years have revealed the extent to which news acts as a genre of reality making designed to justify the grounds for dominant governmental politics. On December 28th 2011, for instance, Turkish army jets bombarded a convoy of Kurdish smugglers at the border of Iraq and Turkey, killing thirty-four people. The Turkish news media chose not to report on the massacre for several hours. The news silence was criticized massively on social media. Two years later, during the anti-government protests in the summer of 2013, several protestors were killed, injured, and illegitimately taken into custody by the police. After mainstream Turkish media deliberately ignored the news, thousands of white collar workers and business people gathered in front of NTV, a national news channel, to protest this and other examples of submission by popular TV channels to the micromanaging of news by key authority figures.

After establishing this trend, I argue that news reception and circulation have turned into a political practice that individuals overtly acknowledge in a new way. People actively seek out media channels for news that is not filtered by authorities. They produce discourse about news as a political construct in their daily lives. They circulate news on social media as a political act. They identify with the news media they follow and condemn others through public actions on the streets or on social media. Based on an ongoing ethnographic study on news culture in Turkey, the paper uses data obtained through surveys, focus groups, and interviews with university students and white-collared workers to suggest that attitudes and behaviors towards news have changed in marked ways in Turkey as a direct response and counter-move to government-backed control measures.

Panel 2b: Media Logic, Crises, and Strategy

Chaired by Ralph Schroeder

News Media Logic on the Shift. How new media actors shape the printed news.

Maria Karidi and Michael Meyen, University of Munich

Abstract

The study asks for changes in German news media logic, which resulted from new actor constellations arising from altered media system structures. Based on Schimank's approach of actor-structure dynamics and the concept of news media logic, it can be assumed that due to novel modes of interaction (caused for example at the macro level by the introduction of commercial broadcasting), news media logic has changed from normative to market logic. Drawing on the importance of the German mass circulation press for constituting the public sphere, this shift would be significant for democratic theory, as it could prove to have consequences for opinion-forming processes.

To investigate how news content has changed over time, we conducted a quantitative content analysis from three German newspapers in 1984 and in 2014. Drawing on previous research, a set of indicators was identified which guided the construction of the codebook. The sample included all regular news beats. A total of 3979 systematically sampled news items have been coded.

The findings suggest that German newspapers report increasingly on conflicts, scandals, experts and celebrities. Compared with the past, news content is emotionalized, narrative and visualized nowadays. Politics both decreased and changed over time. Further results are linked to journalists' role performance. The study also shows that changes address especially the leading national newspaper. Therefore, the findings indeed point to implications for the shape of public opinion. It is likely that similar media systems experience similar changes in news content.

Comparing Reactions to News Aggregators´ Practices

Sarah Anne Ganter, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford

Abstract

Business models, based on the distribution of digital press content have been in the focus of press publishers around the globe over the last decade. Particularly the distribution of press content via globally acting news aggregators has led to an increased activity of press publisher associations and governments. There are some emblematic cases around the globe reaching from the publishers´ joint decision to "drop out" from google news to regulatory reactions. National case studies on the German case (Ganter & Maurer, 2015) show that belief systems of the stakeholders involved become manifest over three dimensions: Macro (Regulation vs Self-regulation), Meso (Protection of business models of internet services vs Protection of business models of press publishers) and Micro (Protection of alternative usage and production forms vs protection of journalistic work). Based on these findings, a comparative framework for juxtaposing emblematic cases along these centrelines is suggested. That way, alternatives to metrics commonly used for comparisons are considered and the values and pitfalls of such a belief system based comparison in the case of comparing reactions to news aggregators´ practices are discussed.

Values Priming and Press Performance: How Media Crises Activate Latent Attitudes and Shape News Evaluations

Erik P. Bucy, Texas Tech University and Paul D'Angelo, The College of New Jersey

Abstract

Media researchers for decades have been interested in understanding and measuring the dimensions that individuals apply in evaluating the credibility of news. But aside from tracking the vicissitudes and credibility ratings of each new platform, the area has received little conceptual development. We address this deficit by theorizing news evaluation within a general framework of priming research, specifying a dynamic process of *press-priming* that plays out when a media scandal, press crisis, or other noteworthy event generates metacoverage that brings press values and media attitudes into play.

Our model hinges on two important insights (see Figure 1). First, news performance evaluations should be *situationally defined* in relation to the transgressive events and media missteps in which credibility emerges as a salient consideration. Second, the enduring values and attitudes that citizens develop towards media are key moderators of news assessments like credibility and trust. In this paper we identify accountability coverage—stories about the press that criticize news organizations and journalists for overstepping or violating professional standards and ethical norms—as the content mechanism that activates latent attitudes or normative expectations about press behavior.

The model focuses on two core values: press freedom and media responsibility, which we operationalize as scale items into a typology of four different media outlooks. Press-priming effects are hypothesized to occur among those whose media attitudes are activated in the processing of paying close attention to scandal coverage (Bucy, D'Angelo, and Bauer, 2014). We thus sketch an integrative theory of news evaluation while explicating real-world relevance by using survey responses to recent media scandals in the US (Brian Williams' resume stretching; *Rolling Stone's* misreporting of an alleged rape at U. Virginia) and UK (the Jimmy Savile scandal at the BBC, phone hacking in the tabloid press) to demonstrate the utility of the model in predicting media perceptions.

Execution as a Strategic Tool: Fear and Legitimisation in ISIS Media Agenda-Setting

Andrew Barr and Dr. Alexandra Herfroy-Mischler, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Abstract

This article offers a bottom-up understanding of the Western media's role in global political communication from the perspective of an Islamic extremist group, the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). This empirical study provides content and visual analysis of ten videos edited in 2014 and 2015 that represent major visual media production efforts by ISIS. Through this examination, this research identifies how an emergent terrorist group views itself and communicates its message in a globalised world, setting a political agenda and strategic outlook that relies on western democratic tools to be both spread and accessed. Data analysis suggests a threefold strategy directed towards: 1.) Legitimization of the need and ipso facto the establishment of a sovereign state entity; 2.) Propagation of its political goals; and 3.) Intimidation of religious and political outsiders, relying on an "us versus them" narrative. Further, this analysis contextualizes the unique duality of ISIS's media strategy: first, its purpose is to spread a political message aimed at local, global and western consumption asserting its claim to state legitimacy through the mimicry of capital punishment as a function of state and political power. Second, ISIS's use and production of graphic violence serves to create a psychology of fear, inducing terror in both local and global audiences that, in some circumstances, may augment its political claims. Finally, this article discusses the role of western media in drawing public attention to ISIS media productions and the effect this engagement has upon ISIS's propagation and legitimisation agenda.

Panels 3a and 3b 16.30-18.00

Panel 3a: Digital Media and Changing Patterns of News Consumption

Chaired by Michaela Maier

Rethinking Digital Media and Political Change

Ralph Schroeder, University of Oxford

Abstract

The role of new digital media in politics has often been discussed for individual countries and technologies, or at a general level. So far, there are few studies which compare countries and treat new media in the context of the whole media system, including traditional and new digital media.

The main contribution of the paper is to compare two countries at the extremes of the political spectrum and also with quite different media systems, the United States and Sweden. It synthesizes what is known to date about digital media in these two cases, including about uses of Twitter, Facebook and other new media. The paper discusses the shortcomings of existing analyses of political communication and the lack of a model of how digital media work in a way that is different from traditional or mass media. The paper gives an account of political communication in Sweden and the United States and their respective media systems, putting new digital media into context. The paper argues that new media expand input from people into the political systems only at the margins, circumventing agenda-setting and gatekeeping mechanisms. What analyses of these changes overlook, however, is that media and political elites also use new media to gauge public opinion and respond to it. The paper develops a framework for understanding digital media which highlights how they extend and diversify the public sphere, even as this sphere is monitored and limited in terms of the visibility of political issues.

The Ubiquitous Bigfoot and the new Digital Audiences: Contesting negotiations in the literate networked publics in India

Vibodh Parthasarathi, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi; Ananda Mitra, Wake Forest University, and Sanjay Mamani, Redinfi LLC

Abstract

What are the dynamics of negotiating political opinion among the literate networked public of India? This is a study of two crisscrossing negotiations on Twitter: viz. ubiquitous journalism's response to political currents, and new digital audiences' engagement with the interpretational capacity of dominant news actors. In examining opinion making, this paper shifts focus away from political actors and their electorates, as is common, to media actors and their audiences---not least because of a scholarly void in India, especially concerning interactive news platforms. We begin by unravelling the shifting opinion of two leading TV anchors in their tweets over a twelve-month period---one that culminated in the national elections of May 2014. This explores the extent to which attitudes towards formal actors and formal institutions are tempered by the evolving political landscape, especially the unfolding electoral dynamics. We then examine the changing attitude of the Twitter followers of these anchors. At first glance, the 25 million new digital audiences of Twitter may pale against the 700 million old digital audiences of Cable TV. Nevertheless, followers of these two anchor-journalists proximate the audience of smaller TV news channels---and exceed the circulation of many a newspaper. Their novelty as digital audiences resides in being individual amplifiers of news as also collective contestants of the authority of news-producers. Bearing on inquiries beyond electoral politics, our ongoing development of methodological tools and analytical frameworks contributes to two sets of debates---viz. on enumerative challenges in media governance, and in theorisations on the networked public sphere.

The History of Social Sharing of News

Jonathan Bright and Scott Hale, University of Oxford

Abstract

Social media are become increasingly significant for news consumption, becoming one of the major sources of traffic to both local and national news websites. Yet academic research has only started to scratch the surface of both micro level motivations for online news sharing, and especially how these add up into macro level patterns of online attention.

This article leverages a unique database of millions of news articles published online in the period 1996 - 2010 to explore the historical development of social sharing of news and information, particularly on Twitter and Facebook (which of course were founded and massified respectively in 2006). It addresses two particular questions. First, it explores the evolution of both how social sharing grows over time and, using automatic topic classification, how different types of stories receive different levels of attention, as these platforms themselves grew rapidly and transitioned from niche to mass market user bases. Second, by taking contemporary sharing information and applying it to historical articles, we explore the small group of outlier articles which managed to achieve mass social sharing a long time after they were published, looking to explain what it is that makes some types of news shareable a long time after it was published. Overall, the research advances our knowledge of how the underlying dynamics of social sharing developed in the earliest days of social media platforms.

GlobalCOM

Juan Luis Manfredi-Sánchez, University of Castilla-La Mancha (Spain)

Abstract

The main objective of GlobalCOM is to analyze and to assess how digital technologies are used on websites of municipalities; to explore and try new approaches, methodologies and tools, and to collaborate to develop the Map Infoparticip@ (www.mapainfoparticipa.com) publishing the results assessment to promote improvements and facilitate citizen participation. So far, we have evaluated more than 2.000 city councils' websites. This map will provide comparable information and develop a set of concrete proposals for improving governance and municipal information.

We start from two basic assumptions:

(1) The websites of the Spanish councils reveal deficiencies accountability lead by governments. Such lack of information affects its role as trustee sources of information media, blurring and sometimes contaminating public debate, and creating distrust among citizens.
(2) Digital technologies can reduce these deficiencies and thus to reawaken interest among citizens in the assessment of political activity and democratic control.

(2) The ultimate goal is to promote good practices in the field of communication and information in municipal corporations. It means to promote such good practices among elected political representatives , the municipal officers and journalists. Finally, the project pursues to facilitate citizen participation in the management control governments.

Panel 3b: Journalists, News Media, and the State (I)

Chaired by Jesper Strömback

Relations between political actors and journalists: Media instrumentalization in Serbia

Ana Milojević and Aleksandra Krstić, University of Belgrade

Abstract

This paper examines the interplay between the state, political elites, media owners and journalists in the post-communist context. Building on Örnebring's findings about clientelistic political patterns impacting the media independence and the quality of journalism, as well as Štětka's argument about instrumentalization of the media in CEE countries (Örnebring, 2012; Štětka, 2012; Štětka and Örnebring, 2013), this paper aims to place the case of Serbia into this framework. The examination of the CEE region has been rather vivid in recent decades. However, Serbia has been underreported in these studies, although it shares many characteristics of the media systems of CEE, especially political parallelism. Outlined goals will be met through secondary analysis of the recent research findings including data from: 1) survey with 51 media owners and 260 journalists (2011); 2) in-depth interviews with 32 media owners or top managers of public media outlets (2012-2013) and 3) in-depth interviews with 25 journalists and editors (2014-2015). The survey mapped out main actors that interfere with media work: political parties, local governments and business elites. The mechanisms for practicing their influence were revealed through the analysis of the interviews. This paper identifies four types of media instrumentalization: 1) *political alliance* – editorial policy supporting ruling political parties' ideologies and high level of journalistic self-censorship; 2) *sophisticated political pressure* – concealed political influence exercised through corporative and commercial pressures; 3) *direct political pressure* – rare, but detected in several specific cases; 4) *sophisticated state's economic pressure* – allocation of financial support to media on rather non-transparent and biased principles.

Press Offices and Political Parallelism in Spain. Links Between the Professionalisation and Increase of Political Control of the Media.

Andreu Casero-Ripollés and Pablo López-Rabadán, Universitat Jaume I, Spain

Abstract

Political information is configured as a key element in the functioning of the democratic system by its ability to set the public agenda and stimulate civic participation. All the processes involved in its production are of great interest in scientific and democratic terms. Among them, the current development of press offices stands out as a key factor in the process of journalistic work.

The aim of this paper is to study the activity of the press offices as strategic intermediaries of between journalists and politicians. From the point of view of the actors involved, we propose to study three specific aspects: type of regular contact; degree of influence assigned; and impact on the media agenda and informative frame. Our study focuses on the Spanish case, very significant and dynamic example of the polarized pluralist model of Hallin and Mancini. The methodology is based on the application of in-depth interviews. The novelty of the article is to analyse not only the views of journalists but also the perceptions of political actors. The sample consists of 45 interviewees: 22 journalists, 16 political actors and 7 spin-doctors.

The results confirm a high degree of professional activity of press offices and remarkable consequences of their activity on media system. First, journalists and politicians clearly recognize the existence of a mixed structure of contacts, where prevails formal management relations through the filter of press offices and remarkable ability to control the news agenda. Second, mainly journalists warn that these cabinets represent a powerful tool to brake for professional activity and its role as fourth state. In sum, press offices professionalization is confirmed as a key factor towards strengthening the political parallelism in countries that are part of the polarized pluralist model.

Corollaries of relations between political actors and journalists on journalism and democracy in Nigeria

Rodney Ciboh, Benue State University, Nigeria

Abstract

Journalists are known to rely heavily on official government sources to gather information especially in situations of conflict and policy. Undoubtedly, this institutionalised dependency and intertwined relationship between political actors and journalists has obvious implications on the news media's effective functioning in democratic societies. Therefore, this article investigates the relations question between political actors and journalists and how these affect professional journalism and the democratic process in Nigeria. It explores the issue first through a content analysis of newspaper sources to stories on significant issues in the 2015 elections. Then a survey of journalists and politicians is conducted to authenticate their perceptions of how the nature of such relations defines the news and influences the democratic process. The pertinent questions are: how do journalists and their official sources operate? How do journalists and politicians perceive each other? How do they try to manipulate each other? What kind of journalism results from this relationship? What are the implications of these on Nigeria's seemingly fragile democracy?

In the shadow of state power: Citizenship rights, civil society and media representation in China, 1978 – 2012

Na Liu, Sichuan University and Tsan-Kuo Chang, City University of Hong Kong

Abstract

In an authoritarian country like China where the state power dominates all aspects of life, civil society has increasingly become vibrant. To what extent and in which ways do the state power and the expanding civil society interact with each other? Using citizenship rights as the locus of research, this study seeks to examine the interplay between the state and civil society by focusing on how the Chinese news media represent the issue. A set of longitudinal data was collected from both the party and market newspapers from 1978 to 2012 for analysis. Media representation of citizenship rights was scrutinized in connection to the Internet development, economic growth, status of social conflict, and increase of civil society organizations in China.

The results show that the party newspapers incorporate the Western idea of citizenship rights into the context of the socialist state development, therefore enhancing the performance legitimacy of the Chinese Communist Party. The market newspapers, however, contextualize the rights issue against the discursive field of civil society. As such, there is a conceptual and practical coexistence between the state power and the emerging civil society in China. The driving force of the expanding civil society is mostly attributed to the Internet, the market newspapers and civil society organizations because of their power of communication, mobilization and symbolic contestation to challenge the state power.

If the media representation of citizenship rights in China is any indication, the growth of civil society is largely influenced by the competing and shifting balance of the political and social forces. The critical obstacle to developing civil society, however, is the one-party-authoritarian structure. Civil attempts to cross over this boundary tend to be severely suppressed by the party-state. Although the issue of citizenship rights has increasingly become more visible in the media and vocal among activists, the growth of civil society in China is unlikely to be advanced at the expense of the state power. Instead, mutual reinforcement and dynamic coexistence between the two seems a more realistic prospect.

Panels 4a and 4b 9.00 – 10.30

Panel 4a: Agenda-Setting and Social Issues

Chaired by Bilge Yesil

Taking News at Face Value? The Effect of Deserving and Undeserving Exemplars in News Coverage of Welfare State Reform

Christian Elmelund-Præstekær and Morten Skovsgaard, University of Southern Denmark

Abstract

Journalists often include exemplars in news coverage to illustrate general political problems. Evidence suggests that usage of exemplars is consequential to the public perception of an issue as people tend to misinterpret abstract statistical information when accompanied by concrete and personalized illustrations. Also the use of exemplars tends to distort audience perceptions of the proportion of a problem. However, little is known about potential effects on public opinion. We suggest that the use of exemplars in coverage of welfare state retrenchment affect public opinion towards the reform. Specifically, we argue that deserving exemplars decrease public approval of the reform (and *vice versa*), and that the effect is moderated by the audience's identification with the exemplars. We test our propositions in two survey experiments on national representative samples of Danish citizens. In both studies we employ three conditions, i.e. constructed newspaper articles featuring either a deserving or an undeserving exemplar – or no exemplar at all. All information about the consequences of the two reforms is identical across conditions. The first study explores exemplar effects in a fictive reform of a low-salient issue (student allowance) while the second study is a hard case using a real reform of a high-salient issue (social assistance). Preliminary results suggest that journalists' choice of exemplar moves public opinion in the expected direction. We conclude that journalists' use of exemplars creates structural political bias in the news despite journalists' adherence to the objectivity norm if one category of exemplars is generally preferred over the other.

Poverty Discourse in the United States, 2004-2014

Lori Young, University of Pennsylvania

Abstract

In this study I analyze ten years of poverty coverage in U.S. news media. I make use of both manual and automated content analytic methods to explore the nature, tone, and structure of poverty discourse. An assessment of the prevalence of negative affect and stereotypes in the text is informed by research on attitudes about poverty and redistribution. Analysis of the structure of the text is rooted in Bakhtin's notion of dialogism, which refers to the interactive and relational nature of communication. To explore this notion, dialogic frame analysis is employed to identify who is speaking, and who is being spoken to. Results suggest that exclusion of the subjects of poverty discourse is a pervasive feature of news media in the U.S. That is, news about poverty is consistently structured from the point of view of those who are not poor, and written about 'others' who are poor. Further, the tone and content of exclusive texts is more negative than texts that employ inclusive language, even when speakers are sympathetic toward the poor or critical of government policies. This suggests that dialogic structure may be a powerful determinant of content and tone, above and beyond ideological or partisan differences. Speaking, and being spoken to, affords a great deal of discursive power. Including the voices of – or simply addressing – people living in poverty allows them to contribute to the construction of discourse about their own lives. The inclusion of these voices could fundamentally alter the nature and tone of poverty discourse.

The Schizophrenic Mass Media: Contingencies of Coverage of Welfare State Reforms

Morten Skovsgaard and Christian Elmelund-Præstekær, University of Southern Denmark

Abstract

The press in most Western democracies adheres to a critical watchdog role vis-à-vis the powerful. This has led to suggestions that the media logic leads to negative news coverage when governments propose policy reforms – and that the media in turn serve on a break on reforms. We argue that this view is too static. Specifically, we argue that news coverage of political reform is contingent on the type of reform, as well as the particular phases of the policymaking process. First, reforms that alter services and benefits (*policy reform*) and thus affect citizens directly attract more news coverage than reforms which alter the governing structures (*institutional reform*). This type of reforms only indirectly affects people's lives – and thus these reforms are less interesting for journalists, partly because it is difficult to compile information on concrete consequences and to identify 'victims' of the reform. Next, we argue that reform coverage is more critical towards reforms when a concrete proposal is tabled *(post-proposal phase)* because the potential consequences for citizens are clear and victims of the reform are easier to identify, which is not the case in the *pre-proposal phase.* In this phase journalists rather cover examples that show why current policies are insufficient (due to the watchdog role). We study these propositions by means of a content analysis of the coverage of four Danish labour market reforms (two policy reforms and two institutional reforms) in Danish national broadsheet and tabloid newspapers as well as national television.

African Newspaper Coverage of AIDS: Comparing New Models of Press-State Relations and Structural Factors in Sub-Saharan Anglophone Africa

John C. Pollock, D'Angelo, Paul, Burd, Amanda, Kiernicki, Kristen, and Janna Raudenbush, The College of New Jersey

Abstract

The immediate objective of the proposed paper is to systematically compare AIDS coverage 2001-3 and 2005-7 in six major English-language newspapers in six sub-Saharan African countries (631 articles) displaying high and low prevalence of AIDS, after placing these countries in the context of the three distinct media system models (two countries for each model). The three models adapt Hallin and Mancini's three models of media and politics, describing patterns in US/Western Europe (*Comparing Media Systems*, Cambridge University Press, 2004) , to circumstances in sub-Saharan Anglophone Africa. After defining three African models as "Contained Democratic", "Instrumentalized Democratic" and "Repressive Autocratic" (two countries for each model, one with high, the other with low AIDS prevalence), the paper develops a research design comparing "media system" explanatory factors with "structural" factors (level of Gross Domestic Product, literacy rate, infant mortality rate, AIDS prevalence, etc.) to compare the explanatory power of both media system and structural levels of analysis linked to two dependent variables: level of reported "progress" in fighting AIDS and level of media support for "government" (as opposed to "society") efforts to fight AIDS. Regression analysis supports two umbrella hypotheses:1) The higher the level of (media system factor) government press control in a country, the greater the decline in reported progress fighting AIDS; 2) The higher the level of (structural factor) AIDS prevalence in a country, the more the reported government activity/responsibility in combating AIDS. Both media system (levels of press freedom) and structural factors (AIDS prevalence) make a difference in reporting on AIDS.

Panel 4b: Journalists, News Media, and the State (II)

Chaired by Frank Esser

How the national context and presumed media influence shape the orientations of political actors towards news media: Evidence from four European contexts.

Peter Maurer, University of Vienna

Abstract

This paper seeks to understand the contextual and perceptual antecedents of political actors' satisfaction with news media impact on democracy. It analysed responses from N = 566 political actors from four European democracies (Austria, France, Germany and Sweden). We assumed that perceptions of overly powerful and politically partial media outlets spur sceptical attitudes towards media's democratic role performance measured by an index of three single-items. In addition, previous research on politician's media perceptions indicates that context also matters (Van Aelst et al. 2008, Maurer and Pfetsch 2014). We found using independent sample t-tests that satisfaction with media's democratic role performance was indeed higher in Sweden and Germany than in France and Austria. We also found in a regression that political actors' presumed media influence had a negative impact on satisfaction with media's impact but that its strength varied between the countries.

Hence, we conducted a small-N comparative analysis to isolate the contextual factors which account for the country effect. In it the impact of several media and political system structures was tested using a fuzzy set. Context-variables included were system of broadcasting, audience of public-service broadcasters, presence of state aids to the media, circulation of tabloids and quality newspapers, journalistic norms, political involvement of media outlets, system of government, party system and corporatism. Austria and France who scored low on the satisfaction scale are set apart from Germany and Sweden by the presence of a particularly strong anti-system party as well as media outlets which frequently campaigned against leading parties/candidates.

Why the media matters for politicians. A study on the strategic use of mass media in lawmaking

Lotte Melenhorst, Leiden University and Peter Van Aelst, University of Antwerp

Abstract

Previous work on media and politics pays relatively little attention to the reasons *why* politicians use the mass media in their work. This study addresses this subject in the context of lawmaking, a fundamental element of politics. We ask what type of information is provided by the media to MPs considering bills, and why they respond to or use media coverage during lawmaking processes. We conducted two rounds of in-depth interviews with legislators in both Houses of Parliament in the Netherlands, in the context of two case studies. Both bills received ample media coverage, but they concern rather different topics: one bill regulates top salaries, the other governs dismissal. We argue that the media serve both as a source of information and as an instrument used strategically by political actors during legislative debates. Media coverage provides information about societal problems, public opinion and the positions of other actors. As an instrument, the media are primarily used for policy objectives, like influencing the political agenda and the position of other political actors. Electoral objectives, like reaching visibility and showing responsiveness, seem not to be of primary importance to political actors during legislative processes.

Governmental communication in the wake of mediatization

Magnus Fredriksson, University of Gothenburg and Josef Pallas, Uppsala University

Abstract

Mediatization is a way to describe how the norms, values, principles and working routines of the media have become central for the way public administrations - are governed and organized (Pallas, Jonsson, and Strannegård, 2014; Schillemans, 2012). But also how public administrations conceptualize and relate to their communication activities, how these activities are organized, what they communicate, to whom, when, why and how (Fredriksson, 2014; Pallas and Fredriksson, 2011). In many ways mediatization is to be seen as a general process. But there is reason – both empirical and theoretical - to believe that the extent to which public administrations are mediatized varies between different types of administrations, and that mediatization unfolds unevenly when it is translated into specific contexts (Czarniawska and Sevón, 1996).

The aim of this conceptual paper is two-fold. First, we present three hypothesis suggesting what it is that makes public administrations run by career managers more media-oriented compared to agencies run by field professionals; Secondly, the paper discuss what consequences this might have for how public administrations deal with and respond to the pressures of mediatization; and what consequences this have for their communication activities in general and media activities in particular.

Between media and political power: perceptions of government intermediaries caught in the cross-field

Ruth Garland, LSE

Abstract

The way in which elected governments interact with the mass media, and now increasingly social media, has attracted relatively little academic attention (Sanders, 2011), is a "strangely neglected" subject (Strömbäck, 2011), and is seen as "chronically under-researched, despite its increasing centrality to democratic governance"(Moore, 2006). I will present insights from 21 in-depth interviews with long-serving senior civil service media managers and policy journalists, and some archival research, to examine the complex and changing inter-relationships between the media, ministers, and the government communications machine, taking the UK since 1997 as a case study. Rather than ask how and to what extent electoral politics is influenced by media logic, this study asks how mediatized politics is articulated within a government bureaucracy in routine times, and who has the strongest claim to represent the interests of the public: elected politicians, public officials, or journalists.

The findings challenge conventional narratives of political spin that largely demonise, and hence underplay, recent profound and historic changes in government relations with media, that are widely thought to have intensified with the arrival of New Labour in 1997, and which have largely been attributed to the activities of a new breed of strategic communication intermediaries. I will argue that this intensification of media engagement within government continued and deepened beyond 2010, and that an understanding of the *mediatization of government* can help us to more clearly dissect the concepts of politicisation, personalisation and professionalization, and to evaluate how they may facilitate, challenge or even attempt to bypass, the democratic ideal of a well-informed public.

Panels 5a and 5b 10.45 – 12.15

Panel 5a: Contentious Politics and Media Audiences in Transitional Societies (II)

Chaired by John Pollock

Corruption in the press coverage: Audience segmentation and the lack of shared indignation.

Paolo Mancini, Marco Mazzoni, Alessio Cornia and Rita Marchetti, Università di Perugia

Abstract

In our paper, deriving from a larger EU funded project, we focus on how corruption is reported in both well established democracies and in transitional democracies (UK, France, Italy, Hungary, Slovakia, Latvia, Romania) in the period 2004-2013. Four newspapers in each country have been selected, and more than 215 thousands news articles on corruption have been analyzed through computer-assisted content analysis. In this paper we present, first, general data on the amount of coverage, its evolution over time and then we focus more in depth on the cases of Italy, UK and Romania. Through a dedicated software (T-Lab) we shall investigate the most frequent words associations. Results show how in Italy the representation of corruption focuses on politics, and especially on few dramatized national cases. British newspapers talk of corruption mostly in relation to foreign countries and sport. Sport, together with politics is also very present in the Romanian coverage.

The last part of the paper deals with the issue of audience segmentation: the observed newspapers propose a very different representation of corruption that appears to be linked to their specific readerships: political segmentation prevails in Italy and Romania while in UK clear differences emerge between elite and tabloid newspapers and between competing media conglomerates. These different types of segmentation may prevent the construction of a shared sentiment of indignation in face of corruptive practices mostly in countries featured by high level of political parallelism and in transitional democracies.

Is populism the hegemonic political communication style of the 21st century? The impossible cases of Hugo Chávez and Nigel Farage

Ralph Negrine, University of Sheffield and Elena Block, University of Queensland

Abstract

The rise of right- and left-wing populism in countries as dissimilar as the UK, Venezuela, Spain, France, the Netherlands, to name a few, continues to capture the imagination of commentators.

In this paper, we address two key questions:

1) How do populist leaders develop the ability to build, through manifold channels of political communication (that include but not exclusively the media), culturally welding, mimetic bonds with their constituencies?

(2) Do such bonds give rise to new or refashioned collective identities, and are these the outcome of the weakening of liberal democratic ways of doing politics and/or the means for including the formerly excluded and alienated?

We seek to answer these questions by drawing on an in-depth comparative analysis of two contemporary , albeit ridiculously different: the bloke-ish right populism of MEP and UKIP leader Nigel Farage and Bolivarian left populism of communicational maestro late President Hugo Chávez. The issue here is not so much that both leaders, in their own ways and from completely opposite positions claim to be one with the people for the sake of their respective nations, but rather that entire groups

of people have come *to identify with them*, e.g. Farage leading the 'ukippers' and 'the people's party' or the "I am Chávez" moment during Hugo Chávez's 2013 street inauguration in his absence.

How these outcomes are achieved is at the core of this paper. Lastly, whether or not this style could be used to examine other cases (e.g. France's Le Pen, Netherlands' Wilders) will also feature in our concluding discussion.

Press and Politics in a Neoliberal Islamist State: The Case of Turkey

Bilge Yesil, City University of New York

Abstract

This paper explores the (re)configuration of the Turkish press in the 1980s and more so in the 2000s. Informed by the critical political economy literature as well as the works of Nicolas Poulantzas, David Harvey and Paul Gilroy, I argue that Turkey's current press system is the outcome of the ongoing conflicts between the state's authoritarian tendencies and the twin forces of globalization and neo-liberalization since the 1980s. Based on an analysis of the political economic transformations over the past three decades, I discuss the instrumentalization of the press in light of the shifting contours of power (from the military to the Islamist politicians). Contrary to conventional wisdom that frames the relationships between state, society and culture in Turkey in terms of binary oppositions (East vs. West, modernity vs. tradition, secularism vs. Islam), this paper emphasizes the interpenetration of state and capital, the overlapping of patronage structures with market imperatives, and the push-pull forces of centralized state authority and democratization demands. While the primary focus is on Turkey, I nonetheless direct attention to similarities between Turkey and other non-Western media systems. For example, I map out the connections between Turkey, Russia and China in regards the articulation of state power with the power of capital and neoliberal elements; and between Turkey, Egypt and Pakistan in regards the contentious political relationships between Islamists and military elites in the context of late modernizing countries.

From Contentious Moments to Everyday Politics of Mundaneness - Researching digital media and contentious politics in China

Jun Liu, University of Copenhagen

Abstract

Information and communication technologies (ICTs) have become an essential part of contentious politics in China. Although quite a few studies have explored this topic, they tend to focus on the analysis of discrete contentious events, failing to reveal the long-term influence of the use of digital media for contentions. This study proposes a new research agenda by shifting the focus from contentious events to *"everyday politics of mundaneness."* The agenda suggests, first, to investigate the power dynamics underlying the *mundane* use of digital media, as the ICTs are increasingly mundane, not developed specifically for contentious moments. The focus on mundane use of digital media will not only reveal "everyday forms of resistance," but also place the use of ICTs in contentious moments into "a big picture" to understand its political potential in everyday life. Second, the agenda argues to scrutinize the adoption of *mundane* expressions for political contentions in China. To circumvent government censorship, people increasingly appropriate mundane expressions for political mobilization, which becomes a prominent part of the mobilization mechanism of contentions. Third, the agenda proposes to examine *mundane* experiences of ICTs and political contentions to understand how digital media become part of the "repertoire of contention." Digital media not only mobilize social movements, but also facilitate the dissemination and articulation of the experience of political contentions, which encourages the emergence of assimilation and forms opportunities for broader and recurring contention. Addressing *everyday politics of mundaneness* will provide a nuanced understanding of ICTs and political contention in China.

Panel 5b: Media Freedom, Professionalism, and Accountability
Chaired by Raymond Kuhn

"It's so cool what we've created here": How the fact-checking movement became international

Lucas Graves, University of Wisconsin

Abstract

The last five years have witnessed what the Washington Post called a "global boom" in political fact-checking, reporting that specializes in debunking political misinformation. A growing occupational movement, originating in the US but increasingly international in scope, has sought to legitimize fact-checking as unbiased journalism, to establish common standards and practices, and to secure reliable funding for this cost-intensive genre of news. This paper traces the shifting boundaries and definitions of fact-checking that have accompanied — that in a sense constitute — the growth of that movement. The dedicated fact-checking outlets which pioneered the genre in the US struck a careful balance to win acceptance from journalistic peers, muting their own sharp media critique while advertising their difference from political groups engaged in comparable work. However, two related developments have begun to destabilize that equilibrium: professional fact-checkers' deepening ties to the nonprofit sector, and their growing involvement in an international fact-checking milieu that includes not just journalists but academics, activists, and media and political reformers. Drawing on fieldwork from the first international gatherings of fact-checkers, I survey competing understandings of the target, the mission, and the practices of fact-checking that the global movement encompasses, and detail the ideological work done to reconcile these divergent approaches. I argue that this *internationalization* of fact-checking challenges a tacit division of labor between the media and political spheres entailed in the American practice of objective journalism.

New professionals for a new genre. Freelance journalists in China's public debate

Emma Lupano, Università degli Studi di Milano

Abstract

With the media reform launched in 1978 to change the financial management of news companies and reinforce media credibility, Chinese newspapers, which formerly lived on state funds, had to adopt a business mind-set and strive to generate profits.

The trend had significant effects on the evolution of journalistic genres. New "commercial" papers, financially independent and only indirectly controlled by Communist party authorities, led the change relying on the most appreciated types of articles to win readers and advertisers.

The genre of "commentary on current affairs" (shiping 时评), an article that expresses the author's opinion on social or political issues, has been identified by both Chinese and foreign researchers as particularly innovative and appreciated in China since the end of the 1990s.

To raise the quality and variety of commentaries in order to improve their own selling performance, Chinese papers increasingly utilized independent writers, the so-called "freelance editorial contributors" (自由撰稿人 ziyou zhuangaoren), a profile of workers previously unseen in a media system where journalists have to be Chinese Communist Party loyalists acting as "throat and tongue" (喉舌 houshe) of the leadership.

To what degree are Chinese freelancers free to express their ideas? This study, based on qualitative interviews to Chinese freelancers as well as on the analysis of linguistic features of a corpus of news commentaries published on Chinese papers, argues the potential of freelancers to inject original opinions in the media, discussing their role in widening the spectrum of public and political debate in China.

Negotiating tolerance: Freedom of expression, secularism, and contemporary political communication

Charlotte Elliott, University of Leeds

Abstract

Safeguarding freedom of expression entails the protection of democratic values and values of national identity. When controversial speech acts involving religious and ethnic groups challenge these notions, the particular understanding of secularism becomes a crucial factor to consider. In France, *laïcité* decrees the separation of church and state. In Denmark, secularism is practiced in the form of a democratic philosophy of egalitarianism. This paper draws on two cases that present an opportunity to consider how these issues intersect with processes of political communication: the cases of Danish poet Yahya Hassan and French comedian Dieudonné. They are both ethnic minorities who are performance artists, and they have both performed speech acts which have aggravated the place of religious and ethnic people in their respective countries, consequently igniting debates on the parameters of free expression. If we consider freedom of expression and secularity to be cornerstones of (Western) democracy, then how governments address such controversies directly influences the political climate of a given country. This then raises some interesting questions. What do media debates on such expressive genres reveal about the limits of tolerance in each country? Does this affect how freedom of expression is framed in each country's contexts? Based on a qualitative content analysis of online newspaper articles and interviews from France and Denmark, this paper focuses on the deliberative aspects of freedom of expression by moving such controversies from a normative-philosophical aspect to a realist-constructivist aspect by exploring how a society re-constructs the meaning and practice of free expression.

Doing International Politics Under Domestic Public Pressure – A Model of the Relationship between Public Opinion, Published Opinion and Political Decision-Making in an International Context

Christina Köhler and Philipp Weichselbaum, Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz

Abstract

In times of globalization, questions of climate change, economic growth and security threats can no longer be solved by national politics only. Hence, political decisions with an everyday relevance for citizens are increasingly made on an international level. Examples are the bargaining on TTIP, the Treaty of Lisbon, and the meetings of the United Nations Climate Change Conference. Whilst international bargaining has been characterized by back-room policy-making of national governments out of the public view, studies on the media's influence in international relations suggest that the mode of political interaction on the international level is changing. Since the mediatization of politics extends to the realm of international relations as well, it can be assumed that international policy bargaining is increasingly contingent on the national climates of opinion that exert pressure on the political actors.

Research on the media's role in international policy-making – widely discussed as the CNN-effect – has focused on situations of *conflict*. We propose a case-independent model that explains the relationship between the mediatization of international politics and the increased dependency of international bargaining on national public sentiments during *routine* politics. We apply Coleman's (1990) and Esser's (1993) basic macro-micro-macro models of social change in explaining the relationship between the macro phenomena of mediatization and growing dependency via mechanisms of opinion-building on the meso-level of national publics. There, it is the interplay of public and published opinion that increasingly puts politicians under pressure – in the sense of restricting their range of possible actions (micro-level) in the international relations context.

Panels 6a and 6b 13.00 – 14.30

Panel 6a: Campaigns and the Democratic Process

Chaired by Ralph Negrine

Political Parties' and Media's Interplay in Politicizing EU Integration: A six-country analysis of party communication and media coverage in the 2014 EP election campaigns

Prof Michaela Maier and Dr Melanie Leidecker, University of Koblenz-Landau; Prof Silke Adam and Dr Beatrice Eugster, University of Bern

Abstract

In this paper, we investigate the interplay of strategic party communication and media coverage regarding the politicization of European integration in the run-up to the 2014 European Parliamentary elections. Politicization hereby means that a topic turns into an issue to which salience is publicly attached and positions are voiced (De Wilde, 2007).

Building on the agenda-setting approach (Cohen, 1963; McCombs and Shaw, 1972), we analyze a) which issues and positions related to matters of European integration are voiced by political parties and b) by leading mass media as well as c) interrelations between both issue agendas. Empirical research has provided first evidence that on the one hand, mass media agendas influence strategic communication of political parties (e.g., Edwards III and Dan, 1999; Van Aelst and Walgrave, 2011; Van Noije, et al., 2008). On the other hand, communication of political actors – especially mainstream parties – has been shown to be one of the core external factors influencing media agendas (e.g., Bennett, 1990; Jalali and Silva, 2011; Van Noije, et al., 2008).

Based on a quantitative content analysis of a) all press releases published by political parties twelve weeks preceding the 2014 EP elections in six European countries (Austria, Germany, Greece, Netherlands, Portugal, UK) and b) coverage of two leading newspapers (one left-leaning, one right-leaning) per country, we estimate mutual impacts and interdependencies of strategic party communication and media coverage. Special attention will be given to the question whether mainstream parties have a stronger impact on the media issue agenda than challenger parties.

Media and the Mobilizing Effects of Election Campaigns – Comparing Election Campaigns to the National and European Parliament

Jesper Strömbäck, Mid Sweden University and Adam Shehata, Gothenburg University

Abstract

From a democratic perspective, one key function of election campaigns is to mobilize people politically. In this context, the news media play a key role. At the same time, research suggests that the transformation to high-choice media environments has made it easier for those less interested in politics to avoid following the news media. This implies that the mobilizing effects of election campaigns and following the news media cannot be taken for granted, but also that they might differ between groups. The mobilizing effects of election campaigns and following the news media might also differ between elections. In this context, the distinction between first- and second-order elections is key, as first-order national election usually is considered to attract more attention from political actors as well as the media and citizens than second-order elections such as the election to the European Parliament.

Against this background, the purpose of this study is twofold: first, to compare the mobilizing effects of election campaigns to the European and the national parliament, and second, to investigate the role of news media consumption in shaping the mobilizing effects of these election campaigns. Empirically, the study will focus on Sweden that, in 2014, held elections to both parliaments. By using a panel study, we have the opportunity to compare the role of the media and the mobilizing effects of the campaigns to both parliaments among the same sample of individuals.

Televised debates in parliamentary democracies

Nick Anstead, LSE

Abstract

In discussing televised election debates, UK politicians and commentators have always fixated on the US example. Prior to 2010, the idea of televised debates were frequently dismissed on the grounds that they were incompatible with the constitutional logic of parliamentary democracy and that they would represent a further step towards the presidentialisation of UK elections. Even when debates where agreed to by the three major parties in the run-up to the 2010 general election, commentators continued to obsess on the American experience, often seeking to explain the televised debates to their readers, listeners and viewers by citing the example of the 1960 broadcast between Richard Nixon and John F. Kennedy.

However, this focus on the US neglects something very important: in many European Union and Commonwealth parliamentary democracies, televised debates have been a staple of election campaigns since the 1960s and 1970s. Employing comparative methods, this paper will argue that the history and form of these broadcasts point towards a logic of televised debates in parliamentary democracies that is distinct from that found in presidential systems. Furthermore the experience of other parliamentary democracies has the potential to inform how the UK organises and understands its own televised debates in future elections, offering solutions to difficult questions such as which parties will be invited to appear and various formats that might be considered, which have proved to be very controversial in the run up the 2015 general election.

Cross-Media Strategies in Online Petition Campaigning

David Kapf, George Washington University

Abstract

Do online petitions affect policy decisions? Researchers, public intellectuals, and journalists have all spent a great deal of time puzzling over this question. Digital petitions have become synonymous with "clicktivism" or "slacktivism." They are alternately depicted as a pointless exercise in featherweight citizen participation and as a driving force in many successful present-day collective action campaigns. The simple answer is "it depends." The goal of this paper is to look at the role that these digital tactics play in broader cross-media strategies.

This paper will explore three important features that determine policy success among digital petitions: the **goal** of the petition-based campaign, the **target** of the petition-based campaign, and **media organizations** that act as secondary targets. The paper relies upon a unique dataset of the top "featured" petitions at Change.org over a six-month timespan. I hypothesize that the petitions that are most likely to succeed are petitions that are designed to attract cross-media attention, which in turn creates leverage over the target. I also hypothesize that successful petitions are more likely to be targeted at non-elected officials and low-level officials.

Along with describing the determinants of success for individual citizen petitions, the paper also highlights the hybrid logic of digital issue campaigning. Cross-media pressure is an explicit strategy for these organizations. The theory-of-change is that digital petitions will attract media, which will amplify the petition and create leverage on the targeted decision-maker. The paper concludes with a discussion of how the cross-media strategy differs from contemporary depictions of "clicktivism" and its flaws.

Panel 6b: Politicized Individuals
Chaired by Jay Blumler

The mediatization of presidential leadership in France

Raymond Kuhn, Queen Mary University of London

Abstract

According to Strömbäck and Esser an important dimension of the mediatization of politics 'refers to the extent to which political institutions, organizations and actors are guided by media logic or political logic' (2014: 6). More specifically, in recent years there has been a growing academic interest in the impact of the media on executive political leadership in advanced liberal democracies. This paper examines the mediatization of politics with reference to the French president (political actor), who enjoys certain resources structurally embedded in the office and exercises power within a set of institutional constraints, both political and media.

The paper critically applies the concepts of media logic and political logic to executive leadership in the France, with a particular focus on the presidencies of Nicolas Sarkozy and François Hollande. The paper thus has an explicitly comparative focus, contrasting the impact of media logic on two recent holders of the top political office. The central argument is that Sarkozy's presidential leadership, both symbolically and substantively, was influenced much more by media logic than Hollande's. The paper therefore emphasises the importance of agency (the relative autonomy of the incumbent) as an important variable in any assessment of the impact of media logic on executive leadership in France and, by extension, in other advanced liberal democratic polities.

Three types of political personalisation in the press and in political advertising during election campaigns: Chile 1970 – 2009

Prof. Dr. William Porath, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile and Dr. Juan-Cristóbal Portales, Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez

Abstract

Based on the literature, we can identify three different dimensions of political personalisation in the press throughout electoral campaigns: Visibility of the candidates' campaign activities; stronger focus on their individual competencies and performances (political attributes); and "privatisation:" focus on the candidates' personal or private lives (see, for instance, Van Aelst et al., 2011; Adam and Maier, 2010; Van Santen, 2012).

To test the usefulness of such distinctions, we conducted a content analysis of national newspaper coverage of four presidential campaigns in Chile: 1970, the last election before the military coup of 1973; and three from the post-authoritarian era: 1989, 1999 and 2009. We examined reference newspapers and compared them with the popular press or tabloids. In addition, we content-analysed the television ads of the main candidates in the post-authoritarian period. For the 1970 elections, the study included paid advertisements in the press.

The results showed that in 1970, only a single newspaper tended to strongly personalise the campaign. For the post-authoritarian period, we observed that the press goes from focusing on the activities of the candidates in 1989, to emphasize their private lives ("privatization") by 2009. As for the electoral advertising, the study reveals a stronger emphasis on the individual political competencies of the candidates in 1999, to then focus on their private lives in 2009 as well.

From the Presidential Spouse to the First Lady - how have the media created a new political actor? A comparative study of the political rise of the First Lady in France, Spain, Poland and the US.

Ewa Widlak, University Pompeu Fabra

Abstract

Many authors have demonstrated various ways in which media influence politics going from setting political agenda (Combs, Shaw, 1972) to making and breaking political careers (Foerstel, 2001). Nevertheless, few have researched on the media power on creating new political actors. The First Lady is an example of such a (at least partial) media creation.

The development of mass media contributed to grant private life a greater importance in political reporting. The First Lady became a new object of public attention, her ability to comply with the social demands being of capital importance for the good image of her husband. Notwithstanding this gendered public image, progressive change in media frame allowed the First Lady to emancipate herself as a powerful "outsider" of the public stage.

The presented paper is based on results and conclusions of a four-year PhD research entitled "The First Lady: From the kitchen to the podium. How the gender equality revolution and the media forged a new political actor in democratic systems" regarding the media impact on the First Ladyship. The methodology is constructed on the basis of a mix of various investigation's techniques: qualitative and quantitative analysis of the press (sample of more than 3500 press articles), 52 in-depth interviews and extensive documentary research in the fields of political, media and gender studies and political communication.

"Hands Up, Don't Shoot": A Comparative News Analysis of the Michael Brown's Shooting in Four Countries

Suman Mishra and Elza Ibroscheva, Southern Illinois University

Abstract

This study examines the framing of Michael Brown's shooting in Ferguson, Missouri in prominent news media in the United States (The New York Times), Great Britain (The Guardian), Russia (Komsomolskaya Pravda) and France (Le Monde) in order to understand how a local racial unrest in Ferguson, Missouri in the United States turned into a global event garnering supporters and protesters from around the world. Through a comparative framing analysis of the print media coverage in four geopolitical powers, this paper highlights the intersection of geopolitics and longstanding historical, cultural and political contextualization of race within each locale. It illustrates that news texts are powerful fore where the language of race and geopolitics is produced, iterated, and legitimized. It argues that an analysis of journalism outside of the political and social structure is futile because journalism does not exist as an abstract phenomenon devoid of historical context. Rather, it must be understood within its relationship to concrete social, cultural and class structures.

Participants

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Christina Koehler	Nael Jebril
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Elena Block	Paolo Mancini
Emma Lupano	Paul D'Angelo
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Ewa Widlak	Philipp Weichselbaum
Felipe Siston	Ralph Negrine
Francisco Seoane Perez	Ralph Schroeder
Frank Esser	Rasmus Kleis Nielsen
Ian Taylor	Raymond Kuhn
James Dennis	Richard Fletcher
Jay Blumler	Rodney Ciboh
Jesper Strömback	Ruth Garland
John Pollock	Sarah Anne Ganter
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Juan Luis Manfredi Sánchez	Suncem Kocer
Jun Liu	William Porath