



Book of Abstracts: **Political Communication Research** Section

Social Media and Political Communication - The cases of the Portuguese Social Democratic Party (PSD) and Socialist Party (PS) in the 2009 Parliament Campaign

Sonia Sebastiao – ISCSP - UTL (Portugal), Portugal · ssebastiao@iscsp.utl.pt

The present paper intends to demonstrate how social media can be used in different ways to create more personalized or more impersonal messages in political campaigns. When everyone is waking for the potential of social media for political communication campaigns it's necessary to find alternative strategies to spread out our word and distinguish ourselves from our competition. In this point it's important to define: who do we want to persuade? With whom do we want to establish public relations? How social media can help us in our public relations campaign? Which social media are we going to use? In the year 2009, Portuguese citizens went to poles for 3 kinds of elections: European Elections; National Government and Parliament Elections; and Municipalities Elections. The two main parties: the PSD – Social Democratic Party (European Affiliation: European People's Party - EPP) and the PS – Socialist Party (European Affiliation: Party of European Socialists) were, once again, disputing victory using different sorts of messages due to its roles: the first one as opposition and trying to win power back; the second one as the governmental party. In this paper, one will focus her attention in the Parliament Campaign, where the two main Portuguese parties have used social media, and specially, social networks in two different ways. On one hand, the PSD communication strategy seems to be oriented to a global dissemination with the use of free tools used by the e-community. The PSD messages are spread into the most popular global Social Networks, with heavy use of blogging and micro-blogging, demonstrating not only the nature of catch-all party but also trying to be visible to everyone. Basically its message couldn't be missed. On the other hand, the PS have developed a more specific communication maintaining its historical message and website structure, where it has created its own social network accessed only by registered members. This way they were able to generate consistent, continuous and exclusive relations with their followers, treating them as «special ones», and reinforcing the message: «together we can do it». One will use content analysis of the main websites and social network and references like: Breakenridge, Deirdre (2008); Newman, Bruce I. & Verčič, Dejan (2002); Phillips, David & Young, Philip (2009); Sundar, S. Shyam et al. (2003); among others.

Priming and Framing Effects in the Media Coverage of the 2009 Romanian Presidential Elections

Madalina Botan – Center for Research in Communication, College of Communication and Public Relations, National School of Political and Administrative Studies, Romania · madalina.botan@comunicare.ro

Nicoleta Corbu – Center for Research in Communication, College of Communication and Public Relations, National School of Political and Administrative Studies, Romania · nicoleta.corbu@comunicare.ro

Romanian democracy, newly born after the 1989 events, has a rather short electoral confrontation tradition. In this context, the media coverage of 2009 Romanian presidential elections has a conflict specificity never expressed before to this extent. This paper presents a content analysis of the main newscasts of three Romanian TV channels: the public television, TVR1, and the most viewed private channels, PROTV and Antena1, during the

entire election campaign in October-December 2009. The theoretical background of the research is the agenda setting function of the media, with a focus on the framing and priming effects. Even though these effects have been long studied before, little is known about them in election campaigns in emergent European democracies. We analyze five types of frames, attribution of responsibility, conflict, human interest, economic consequences and morality, and we argue for a priming effect related to the character of the three main candidates, from two distinct perspectives: competence and integrity. We expect a prominence of the conflict frame, even though the economic global context would argue for a dominant economic frame. In the same time, we analyze the prominent topics of the campaign grouped into "media packages" (Gamson, Modigliani, 1989), and their evolution from the beginning to the end of the campaign. One prominent package is related, for the first time in the history of Romanian media presidential campaigns, to the media themselves, presented during the entire campaign, as corrupted and biased by the incumbent president. Gamson, William A., Modigliani, Andre (1989), "Media Discourse and Public Opinion on Nuclear Power: A Constructionist Approach", *The American Journal of Sociology*, 95(1), pp. 1-37.

The Cyber Left: Indymedia and the Making of Twenty-first Century Struggle

Todd Wolfson – Rutgers University, United States · twolfson@rci.rutgers.edu

There is growing consensus across the social sciences that the last thirty years have borne witness to seismic shifts in the configuration of the global economic order. Characterized as a transformation from fordism to flexism, this new system is differentiated by the speed and mobility of capital, goods, people and ideas (Harvey 1990). The fluidity of both objects and ideas has led to varied forms of analysis—including rescaling notions of state power, remapping forms of sovereignty and reconfiguring modes of subjectivity. At the same time, there has been a significant lack of attention to the way these structural shifts have impacted social movements. In this paper, I analyze the shifting logic of 21st century socio-political resistance through the vantage of the indymedia movement. Provoked by transformations in globalizing capitalism, new digital technologies and a consolidated mass media, the first Independent Media Center (IMC), a physical and virtual space for the creation of grassroots journalism, was launched during the World Trade Organization protests in 1999. As "The Battle of Seattle" intensified, the IMC platform for producing and distributing media captured the imagination of activists, journalists and citizens leading to the rapid development of IMCs worldwide. At present the indymedia network claims over 200 locally based collectives publishing news (Internet, radio, print and TV) in over 30 languages on six continents making it the largest alternative communications infrastructure in the world. Due to the accelerated growth and experimental nature of the indymedia network, it inspired academic excitement, and consequently an abundance of scholarship. The first wave of research focused on the history and ideological roots of indymedia while the second wave focused on discrete attributes of this and other parallel movements. In this paper I take a broader view, arguing that indymedia is exemplar of a new stage in social movements, which I call the Cyber Left—a distinctive socio-political formation that, although motivated by some of the same questions, is divergent from the Old and New Left. In specific, I analyze the way new communication tools have shifted spatial and temporal configurations within movements, creating new possibilities for 1) governance - local, national and global application of direct, participatory democracy, 2) structure - decentralized network formation, and 3) strategy - utilization of new technologies and other strategies to bind a distinctive diversified global social movement. Taken alone none of these aspects are entirely new, however woven together they form the countenance of new and distinct phase in social movement building. That said, the paper also examines some of the limits of this new logic of resistance My research focuses on the Philadelphia node of indymedia as it intersects with national and global expressions of the network, and involves both traditional and virtual ethnographic methods to grapple with the fluid nature of political structures and cultural forms.

Walking on EggShells in MENA: Revisiting the Political Context Model

Ibrahim Saleh – Center For Film & Media Studies, University of Cape Town, South Africa · isaleh@aucegypt.edu

The Middle East and North Africa is one of the contradictory media scene as a reflection of its rather contrasting, and troubled societies that suffer from the negative effects of imposed democracies, and the internal triple-edged syndromes of illness, poverty and illiteracy. There is an urgent need to voice out our inner vices and put to an end the current self denial, no matter how confused, self-doubting or ambivalent we are. I perceive the current happening as a syndrome of Borderline Disorder in the media apparatus in the region. I also see the need for an empowered civil society and sound communication as the only means of stop walking on eggshells! Indeed, we may not like the sound of the truth, and we often let it murmur just outside our consciousness without listening or revisiting our intact ideas and beliefs, though our careful attention, and facing our worries and fears might lead us toward wisdom, health and clarity as a condition of not just our integrity, but also our progress towards real local governance. How can a popular government movement strengthen democracy to avoid eventual collapse into military or business rule at the expense of the grassroots, while challenging a mechanism for empowering democratic institutions. The absence of well-oriented state, and presence of effective media will always have a weak civil society, and generally a vulnerable societal fabric that is either demolished completely, or at least suffers from exacerbating inequality. Indeed, there is an obvious clash between empowering civil society and sound media structure on one hand, and the socio-political and economic context of the Middle East. In almost all the time, speaking truth to authorities is very dangerous because politicians contradict their acclaimed care and dust for authenticity. Hence, media and communication in the region suffer from the milieu of setback in many aspects that vary from finance, resources, and technology, but most importantly the obscene for real functionality of media that make the process a tamed journalism or even just protocol news. The research paper aims to find new ways or even visit other models that emphasize the progressive role of civil society through media that could allow people to share a bottom-up communication that can resonate in the well-fare of the society. As mentioned by (Achebe, 1987,45) that the real dilemma remains in the ambiguity of what's up and what's down, though there is a collective sense of being fed up of everything, and a growing sense of alienation within societies in the region. The way is difficult to attain these basic goals, and the current autocrats are always fighting and punishing an serious attempt of liberating the media. A situation that gave way to displacement of the discontented public into unregulated informal underground sectors, and illegal activities like different kinds of extremism including religious, social and human trafficking. I think that the region suffers from a general phenomenon of 'crisis of governance' a term mentioned by (Dumont, 1996, 65) that has resulted from the 'etatist' approach and the weak indigenous business class, and the professed commitment to social equality! Indeed, the patriotism and the acute external threat have substituted the self-discipline of a rationalist elite for the extreme discipline of a strong vigilant civil society. Having said so, the research paper draws a metaphor of the walking on eggshell to address the key domestic issues of social inclusion, democracy and economic setting that have shaped the nature of media and color its performance with a borderline syndrome.

The Internet as an alternative to traditional-mainstream media among social change organizations in Israel

Carmit Wiesslitz – Ben Gurion University of the Negev, Israel · carmitw@zahav.net.il

The objective of this research is based upon a rich theoretic discourse regarding the singularity of the Internet and its ability to generate changes in the participation of social groups and organizations in civil-political life. This may result from the possible circumvention of traditional gatekeepers and the transformation of citizens into creators and disseminators of information. When discussing alternative media in general, scholars point to those media's ability to present agendas different from those found in mainstream media outlets and to generate egalitarian content-production processes that challenge the centralized-hierarchical practices of the media (Atton, 2002, 2004; Downing, 2001, 2003). Research questions: The questions arise from the academic discourse focus on whether the Internet use demonstrates an attempt to create discourse alternative to that existing in mainstream media. In other words, does the Internet provide an alternative means of communication to that of

mainstream media, and is it perceived as such by the organizations participating in this research? **Methodology:** This research employs a case-study approach and comparatively examines nine Israeli organizations for social change. Those organizations were selected on the basis of degree of institutionalization, field of activity (i.e., human-rights, environment), and orientation. The present research combines a thematic content analysis of the organizations' websites with semi-structured in-depth interviews with their representatives. **Findings:** The participating organizations are interested, first and foremost, in breaking into mainstream media as a result of their perceived importance in promoting the organizations' causes. With that, they have difficulty either gaining access or getting unbiased news coverage. Given these difficulties, the organizations recognize the advantages their websites have over mainstream media outlets as a stage for alternative discourse. As the operators of their websites, one can argue that the organizations have replaced the traditional media gatekeepers and become gatekeepers themselves: They decide who is authorized to write content and post it on their sites, what appears, and how it is presented. It is possible to say that the participating organizations wish to present a media agenda different from the one prevailing in mainstream media, and some have adopted comparatively democratic-participatory content-production processes. Most of the organizations, however, continue to adopt traditional norms of reporting and disseminating information and adopt existing professional conventions. Therefore, rather than forge an alternative media, it can be argued that the organizations preserve the status of the traditional media as arbitrator of content-production norms. Moreover, despite their disappointment with mainstream media, most of the organizations use the Internet in ways that preserve the existing structure and relative strength between the two. The desire to break into mainstream media at any cost and skepticism regarding the Internet's ability to undermine the dominance of the media only help preserve the status quo, even if unintentionally. **References:** Atton, C. (2002). *Alternative media*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage. Atton, C. (2004). *An alternative Internet: Radical media, politics and creativity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. Downing, J. D. H. (2001). *Radical media: Rebellious communication and social movements*. Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage. Downing, J. D. H. (2003). *The Independent Media Center movement and the Anarchist tradition*. In N. Couldry & J. Curran (Eds.), *Contesting media power: Alternative media in a networked world* (pp. 243-257). Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield.

Share it and bring it home - Open source, fiber age and Commons in the case 'Pirate Bay' and Pirate Party
Alessandro Cozzutto – Department of Political Studies, Italy · ale.cozzutto@gmail.com

Mass endorsement of the new technologies of information and communication appears to outline, inside the world-system, the surfacing of altogether innovative – and potentially democratic – political, economic and socio-cultural relations, in the long run carrying from the binary language to the FOSS movements and the "Web 2.0" This study attempts to inquire into what, quite far from representing something new, appears instead as the surviving of quite strict relational dynamics peculiar to modern age, in the passage from techniques to technology and in the substitution of the pyramid with the symbolic representation of power relationships. The analysis focuses in particular on the concept of 'Commons', as emerging currency on the hands of the actors which cooperate and compete within the world wide web. The article finally examines, according to such analysis, the recent case of the Swedish 'Pirat Party', which have been able to get a seat in occasion of the European Elections of June 2009, by making awareness about issues like free access to knowledge, but also thanks to the emotional wave engendered in Sweden by the sentence to one year of jail each operator of the site 'piratebay.org'. In the transformation, in the resistances and in the new categories associated to the capitalist historical system, new interesting outlooks for comprehensive social sciences are opened.

The Strategic Communication of hijackings: some lessons from how the Spanish government managed the crisis of the Alakrana

ROCIO ZAMORA – , · rzamora@pdi.ucam.edu

LOSADA JOSE CARLOS – , Spain · jclosada@pdi.ucam.edu

In early October 2009, the "Alakrana", a Basque tuna trawler was hijacked by an obscure group of somali pirates near the Indian Ocean, with 36 member crew, 16 of them were spanish. Just a few months before, also near the coast Somalia pirates hijacked the tuna "Playa de Bakio" (April) and suffered an attempted kidnapping the "Playa de Anzoras" (September). During the 47 days of the Alakrana hijacking, all the social and political actors had an evident presence on mass media in order to frame this crisis. The main political actor, the Spanish government of Rodriguez Zapatero, showed from the beginning a weak position in the public information flows related the negotiation process with the hijackers and implicates. The political discourse related the Alakrana hijacking was disseminate among mass media and event families quite slow, with contradictory or even no contrasted information, and a lack of message coordination among different Ministers affected. The Alakrana crisis resolution came when the Basque tuna trawler was liberated, after a suspicious pay –no recognized by the Spanish government- and with the failed in the capture of the Somali pirates when they tried to escape. This paper seeks to shed light on some of the communication management mistakes related to how the Spanish government managed this crisis. Additionally, the aim of this paper is to extend framing theory (generic news frames from Semetko and Valkenburg's (2000) to the issue of hijackings. A systematic content analysis was performed on news stories and editorials spanning 47 days from two main spanish newspapers –El País and El Mundo- in order to examine how the Alakrana crisis was framed. Results support evidences for how political actors should manage kidnapping in the future considering how mass media trend to frame hijackings as a public issue.

The Deliberative Quality of Referendum Coverage in Direct Democracy: Findings from an Analysis of Swiss Media

André Donk – University of Münster (Germany), · adonk@uni-muenster.de

Frank Marcinkowski – University of Münster (Germany), · frank.marcinkowski@uni-muenster.de

In recent years many authors have stressed the role of information, mediation, and reason giving in direct democracies (Hahn/Kamieniecki 1987, Cronin 1989, Butler/Ranney 1994, Budge 1996, Kirchgässner et al. 1999, Schiller 2002, Kriesi 2005, de Vresse 2007). However, relatively little is known about the actual performance of news media in referendums campaigns and their effects on the political communication processes in direct democracies. This is an important research gap for the following reasons: 1) From an international perspective, there is an increasing number of referendums, both in countries and states that have a long-term familiarity with this participation instrument as well as countries without such traditions. The decisions to be taken in referendums have often far-reaching consequences. Therefore, knowing more about political communication in referendum is crucial for a better understanding of modern democracies. 2) Considerable efforts have been made for developing theories for election research, but it is doubtful that the concepts and insights from this research (e.g. personalization, emotionalization) can be easily transferred to referendum research. 3) From a normative point of view, the role of referendums for modern democracies is contested. Some scholars postulate that referendums promote deliberation by focusing on issues and arguments, rather than personalities. Others are more sceptical and concerned about the considerable impact of simplistic political campaigns that provide heuristics and shortcuts, rather than arguments. The presentation will address these questions from both a theoretical and empirical perspective. It poses the following research question: RQ: Does the mediated political communication in direct democracies meet the basic normative principles of the Habermasian public sphere-model? Following Habermas' (1992; 2006) approach, the performance of news media can be measured against specific requirements derived from discourse theory, e.g. support public debates with rational, impartial arguments or open the public for all speakers in the same and equal way (Chambers 2001; Ferree, Gameson, Gerhards & Rucht 2002; Marcinkowski 2004; Strömbäck 2005, Wessler 2008). On the

one hand, due to economic competition, news media are no longer able to meet these theoretical claims completely (Habermas 2008) which manifests in phenomena like horserace-journalism or boulevardization. Thus media do not exclusively refer to the institutional settings of direct democracies and follow their own logic. We therefore have to analyse the effects of these developments on Swiss referendum democracy (Bonfadelli et al. 2004; Imhof 2000; Imhof/Ettinger 2000). On the other hand, one can argue that journalism got “educated by direct democracy” (Smith/Tolbert 2004) and developed an elaborated news processing programme for the coverage of referendums. We therefore propose these hypotheses to find out whether media logic affects the deliberative quality of Swiss news: H1: News reporting on Swiss referendums campaigns is focussed on substantive policy. H2: Political journalism in Switzerland meets direct democratic requirements for a long period of time. It shows a high amount of deliberativeness. The methodological basis of the present study is a systematic and standardized content analysis of ca. 4.500 newspaper articles, which cover 11 national referendums in Switzerland between 1983 and 2004. The coding-scheme reflects some basic concepts of discourse theory – regarding normative principles of deliberation – as well as established categories from recent research on media frames (Vreese/Semetko 2004; Matthes/Kohring 2004). The results of the study underpin the famous notion of Mancini that “journalism does not grow up in a vacuum” but reflects the political and institutional setting in which it is embedded. We discuss the results against the background of the assumed homogenization in news coverage around the world. Literature Bonfadelli, Heinz/ Leonarz, Martina/ Meier, Werner A. (Eds.) (2004): Informationsgesellschaft Schweiz. Medien, Organisationen und Öffentlichkeit im Wandel. Zürich. Budge, Ian (1996): The New Challenge of Direct Democracy. Cambridge. Butler, David/Ranney, Austin (Eds.) (1994): Referendums around the World. The Growing Use of Direct Democracy. Basingstoke/London. Chambers, Simone (2001): Constitutional Referendums and Democratic Deliberation, in: Mendelsohn, Matthew/Parkin, Andrew (Eds.): Referendum Democracy. Citizens, Elites and Deliberation in Referendum Campaigns, New York et al., pp. 231-255. Cronin, Thomas E. (1989): Direct Democracy. The Politics of Initiative, Referendum und Recall. Cambridge/London. Habermas, Jürgen (1992): Faktizität und Geltung. Beiträge zur Diskurstheorie des Rechts und des demokratischen Rechtsstaates, Frankfurt a.M. Habermas, Jürgen (2008): Medien, Märkte und Konsumenten – Die seriöse Presse als Rückgrat der politischen Öffentlichkeit. In: Ach, Europa. Frankfurt a.M. Hahn, Harlan/Kamienecki, Sheldon (1987): Referendum Voting, Social Status and Policy Preferences, New York. Imhof, Kurt (2000): Strukturwandel der Politik durch den Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit. In: Blindenbacher, Raoul/Letsch, Bruno (Eds.): Vom Service Public zum Service au Public. Hrsg. von der Schweizerischen Bundeskanzlei, Bern, pp. 324-331. Imhof, Kurt/Ettinger, Patrik (2000): Die Kommunikationsereignisse Wahlen und Abstimmungen als Indikatoren sozialen Wandels., In: Bohrmann, Hans/Jarren, Otfried/ Melischek, Gabriele/Seethaler/ Josef (Eds.): Wahlen und Politikvermittlung durch Massenmedien, Wiesbaden, pp. 251-272. Kirchgässner, Gebhardt/Feld, Lars P./Savioz, Marcel R. (1999): Die direkte Demokratie. Modern, erfolgreich, entwicklungs- und exportfähig. Basel/Genf/München. Kriesi, Hanspeter (2005): Direct Democratic Choice: The Swiss Experience. Lexington. Marcinkowski, Frank (2004): Deliberation, Medienöffentlichkeit und direktdemokratischer Verfassungsentscheid - Der Fall Liechtenstein. Beiträge Liechtenstein-Institut Nr. 21/2004. Ferree, Myra Marx/ Gamson, William A./ Gerhards, Jürgen/ Rucht, Dieter (2002): Four Models of the Public Sphere in Modern Democracies. In: Theory and Society, Vol. 31, pp. 289-324. Matthes, Jörg/ Kohring, Matthias (2004): Die empirische Erfassung von Medien-Frames. In: Medien & Kommunikationswissenschaft, Vol. 32, pp. 56-75. Schiller, Theo (2002): Direkte Demokratie. Eine Einführung. Frankfurt/New York. Smith, Daniel A. / Tolbert, Caroline J. (2004): Educated by Initiative: The Effects of Direct Democracy on Citizens and Political Organizations in the American States. Ann Arbor. Strömbäck, Jesper (2005): In Search of a Standard: four models of democracy and their normative implications for journalism. In: Journalism Studies, Vol. 63: pp. 331-345. Vreese, Claes H. de. (2007): Context, elites, media and public opinion in referendums: Why campaigns really matter, pp. 1-20. In C.H. de Vreese (Ed.): The dynamics of referendum campaigns in international perspective. London. Vreese, Claes H. de/ Semetko, Holli A. (2004): Political Campaigning in Referendums: Framing the Referendum Issue. London. Wessler, Hartmut (2008). Investigating deliberativeness comparatively. In: Political Communication, Vol. 25, pp. 1-22.

The lack of political interview on the mainstream Press.*Nilza Sena* – Technical University of Lisbon, Portugal · nilzasena@netcabo.pt*Raquel Carrilho* – Technical University of Lisbon, Portugal · raquelcarrilho_gijo@hotmail.com

The political interview is an instrument of power, which almost allows a real contact between the political agents and the body of electors. The journalist plays the role of moderator and constant supervisor of the statements' contents of the political agents, co-operating to a better news service and to support democracy as well. In 2009 Portugal experienced a cycle of three elections: European Parliament, Representative Assembly and local autarchies – in this context political information was in the limelight throughout the several types of media. With this case study we intended to analyse the interviews published by the weekly editions in order to verify the prominence of politics in this particular journalistic media type. Do newspapers show different levels of party coming in sight, in spite of proclaiming themselves independent of political power? Does the legal rule of a share for women in the electoral list, based on the Parity Law, have an influence upon the kind of interviewee? Are the suffrages the main subject of the interviews, in electoral context? Which suffrage has major relevance in the political and media agenda? These are only some of the questions which gave rise and led the present study, developed through the analysis of the content of the newspapers *Sol* and *Expresso* during the first quarter of 2009. We examined the published interviews, using the standard type question-answer, categorizing them by their content, by their substantial data and by the profile of interviewees. The results prove that the majority of the interviews have economical purposes both for the interviewee and the newspaper; this is reported by the supremacy of promotional interview in the economical and cultural fields. Only 10% of published interviews are related to national politics which reflects its rareness in the Portuguese mainstream press during electoral period. Political interviews focused on the current main subjects with special attention to the government decisions, inter-party politics and elections. Legislative elections, with 69% of votes, were the most debated ones, so it's obvious the influence and notability of this suffrage on the political agenda. Among all of the published interviews, only one was given by a woman, and this fact is relevant to prove that men and women aren't yet on an equal footing from the political point of view, therefore women are short of significant prominence on media.

Towards a Non-Hierarchical Campaign? Testing for Interactivity as a Tool of Election Campaigning in France, the US, Germany and the UK*Eva Schweitzer* – University of Mainz, Germany · eva.schweitzer@web.de*Nigel Jackson* – University of Plymouth, United Kingdom · nigel.jackson@plymouth.ac.uk*Darren Lilleker* – Bournemouth University, United Kingdom · DLilleker@bournemouth.ac.uk

Interest in the Internet and its role within political communication and election campaigning has now an established body of theoretical and empirical history, with mixed predictions and findings. The bulk of the empirical research has been in single countries, and where there has been comparative research it has tended to use a range of methodologies conducted by different authors. Largely, empirical studies have agreed with the politics as usual thesis, that political communication online is of a similar if not identical style to offline: top-down, information heavy and designed to persuade rather than consult with voters. The mass take-up of Web 2.0 tools and platforms challenges this approach, however. Internet users now have opportunities to interact with a range of individuals and organisations, and it is argued that such tools reduce societal hierarchies and allow for symmetrical relationships to build. Theoretically democratic politics is a fertile environment for exploring the opportunities potentiated by Web 2.0, in particular the notion of interactivity between the campaign (candidate, party and staff) and their audiences (activists, members, supporters and potential voters). Conceptually, Web 2.0 encourages co-production of content. This research focuses on the extent to which interactivity is encouraged through the use of Web 2.0 tools and platforms across a four year period focusing on four discrete national elections; determining take up and the link to national context as well as assessing lesson learning between nations. Using the Gibson and Ward coding scheme, though adapted to include Web 2.0, we operationalise the models of interactivity proposed by McMillan (2002) and Ferber, Foltz and Pugliese (2007). This methodology

allows us to assess whether election campaigns are showing evidence of adopting co-created campaigns based around conversations with visitors to their websites or online presences, or whether websites remain packaged to persuade offering interactivity with site features (hyperlinks, web feeds, search engines) only. Indications are that the French election was largely politics as usual, however the Obama campaign took a clear step towards a more co-produced and interactive model. There may well be a clear Obama effect within the German and UK contests, or parties may adopt the look if not the practice of the US election. This paper will assess the extent to which an interactive model of campaigning is emerging as well as detailing a methodology which can capture and rate the levels and types of interactivity used across the Internet. Whilst specific political cultural and systematic factors will shape the use of Web technologies in each election, we suggest that an era of Web 2.0 is replacing that of Web 1.0. Within this era there is evidence that campaigners learn from previous elections on how best to utilise the technology.

Walking on Eggshells: The Political Mediation in Egypt

Dr. Ibrahim Saleh – University of Cape Town (UCT), South Africa · Isaleh@aucegypt.edu

The street in Egypt seldom empowers the expression of public opinion and collective sentiments as a result of the continuous brute force expressed in riots and mob violence. However, the Egyptian political and media scene street represents a complex entity wherein sentiments and outlooks are formed, spread and expressed in a unique fashion. Of course, the authorities keep on trying to exert a pervasive power over public spaces through police patrols and similar authorities. The Egypt media and political arena suffer from a general phenomenon of 'crisis of governance' that has resulted from the long years of adopting the 'etatist' approach and the weak indigenous business class, and the professed commitment to social equality! And the repercussions of the continuous process of legitimizing coercion, political PR-ization of the media, and the use of social taboos block investigative reporting and entrapped the field into contrasting odds and vicious circles of liberalization and de-liberalization. 'False Starts' could be one of the reasons for what we are currently witnessing because the imposed rule by colonial and semi colonial powers have transplanted institutional models from the metropolis of the host cities with the political traditions, cultural linguistic diversity lacked organic connections. The problem in Egypt is sometimes the issue of resources, but it is often the lack of vision, and serious steps to attain it. The elite in Egypt, whether we refer to the traditional military or the new business one, often obstruct state-directed reformism with the pretext of defending liberty, and the efficacy of market forces. Besides, the obscene of well-oriented state, the bourgeois, and the civil society have been demolished completely, and in the best scenarios suffer from exacerbating inequality. In Egypt, almost all of the players follow the 'patrimonial mechanisms' governance that are predominately characterised by factional maneuvering, clientalistic relations, and the exclusion of middle class, which means a chain of personal loyalties, and coercion.

Plurk politics: How Microblogging has been changing the landscape of political communication in Taiwan

Chia-Shin LIN – , · luc48kimo@gmail.com

Prof. Naren Chitty – , · naren.chitty@mq.edu.au

The new democracy in Taiwan is being watched with interest by the People's Republic of China. Studies of political communication in Taiwan have a special importance in this context. This is particularly true of hitherto un-researched area of the use of social media as venues for political communication. The American microblog named Plurk, belonging to a family of microblogs first launched in 2006, is used not only by netizens but also politicians in Taiwan. Microblog is a relatively new web 2.0 tool and research object; most researchers focus on the better known Twitter and rarely explore it in the context of political communication. Due to the uniqueness of the internet culture in Taiwan, Plurk has become the leading brand and many significant politicians such as former premier Su and Hsih own Plurk accounts, using them for purposes of political communication. It is

believed that Plurk is used strategically by national, county and city level Taiwanese politicians as a venue for a seemingly dialogic political communication. This study seeks answers to the question 'how do Taiwanese politicians see the utility of Plurk?' In-depth interviews were conducted with nine Taiwanese politicians at various levels - including a former minister, a national-level legislator, directors of a national political party, an aide to a former prime minister, a local county candidate and Taipei city councillors. It was discovered that the broad pattern of political communication via Plurk may be characterised in Habermasian terms as strategic, through information broadcasting, public opinion formation and political mobilization. Additionally there was information and idea collection which had an element of dialogic character. Respondents were positive about Plurk's ability to offer politicians and the Internet users a venue to communicate sans boundaries, changing the texture of political communication. Human interaction is multi-textured, involving affect and reason. Critically, emotions play a dual role in influencing decision-making. On Plurk, internet users can befriend as well as build up emotional connections with each other. With this enhancement, politicians can share their thoughts more easily. Taiwanese politicians apply increasingly for Plurk accounts in order to get closer to internet users who are also voters. Political communication in this context cannot be described in pure Habermasian terms. Rather it needs to be viewed as a hybrid form of strategic and dialogic communication. This study provides baseline data for Taiwanese politicians' views of the use of Plurk in 2009. It can be built on with further studies that look at political supporters' views of the use of Plurk as well as changing perceptions over time.

Internet Use in Election Campaigns: The Municipal Angle

Azi Lev-On — , · azilevon@gmail.com

The paper analyzes the use of websites in the municipal election campaigns that took place in Israel in November 2008 in 156 different municipalities, and involving some 600 candidates. I study the general scope of website usage, the features available in candidates' websites, variables predicting website usage, and the perceptions of candidates regarding its effectiveness. The study presents the scope and character of website usage for political purposes, in a country-wide scope, focusing on strategic, socio-economic and other factors that may impact candidates' decisions to use the Internet. I conclude by focusing on the Interactive usage of the Internet, asking if the Internet fulfills the hopes to function as a new arena of bi-directional discourse between publics and their representatives. Studies of online campaigning have focused almost exclusively on high-visibility candidates and races, i.e. for presidential, parliamentary and gubernatorial offices. This is the first country-wide effort to study the use of websites in low-visibility political campaigns, for municipal offices.

Many-to-one or One-to-many – How NGOs, business associations and trade unions use the internet

Kathrin Voss — University of Hamburg, Germany · kathrin.voss@uni-hamburg.de

When it comes to the question of how the internet is changing the communications of intermediary organizations, some are extremely enthusiastic, some are extremely skeptical. Some predict that the internet will be the gravedigger of traditional NGOs, because it will undermine their dominance as they rival with new net-based organizations. On the other side of the spectrum, the assumption is that traditional organizations will benefit of the advantages of online communication. That goes along with the idea that more participatory web 2.0 technologies will create positive organizational change within NGOs, associations and trade unions as those applications can be used to integrate the views of members as well as non-members into the work of those organizations. My paper examines how NGOs, business associations and trade unions use the internet today. It will depict research results from a survey conducted last autumn among 135 German organizations. I will contrast those findings to those from similar surveys from different parts of the world. In addition, some selected examples both from Germany and from the USA will illustrate the topic in order to answer the question which of those contrasting perceptions of the influence of the internet on NGOs is right. At this stage, one cannot vote

clearly for one or the other, but it is undisputed that the internet has changed NGO communication and still does as online communication is constantly developing. The paper will show that different types of organizations make different use of the new communication possibilities and that only a few organizations use dialogue-oriented web 2.0 applications.

Need for Orientation and Attribute Agenda-Setting During a U.S. Election Campaign

Lindita Camaj— Indiana University, United States · lcamaj@indiana.edu

David Weaver— Indiana University, United States · weaver@indiana.edu

Traditional agenda-setting research has long recognized audience characteristics as important contingent conditions in this process. Studies have shown that the amount of media exposure and attention help to explain the variations in media effects while need for orientation provides a psychological explanation for why people engage in information seeking in the first place. The concept of the need for orientation predicts that people who have high interest in certain subjects, but are also uncertain about them, tend to increase their use of news media in order to satisfy their need for information. This consequently leads to their susceptibility media agenda-setting effects. However, important questions remain unanswered regarding the interaction between NFO and media orientations and their consequences for second-level agenda-setting. This study seeks to answer two main questions. First, we explore whether need for orientation is a better predictor of media exposure or media attention. Second, we analyze the role of need for orientation as a contingent condition for second-level agenda-setting effects. These questions are explored with the 2008 American National Election Studies survey data and content analysis of media coverage of the 2008 presidential candidates. In the first part of this study, we distinguish between audience exposure and attention to news media as separate dimensions of media orientation. The relationship between audience NFO and media orientation is explored through one-way ANOVA tests. Squared Eta tests show that NFO predicts a larger amount of variation for media attention than for media exposure, suggesting that NFO is a better predictor of media attention than sheer frequency of media use. Relying on the theoretical framework of second level agenda-setting, this study further checks the robustness of the relationship between media and the public attribute agenda by controlling for stimulus type and audience characteristics as potential contingent conditions. Multiple regression analysis is used to investigate the relationship between media emphasis of Obama's and McCain's attributes and public perceptions of those attributes, while controlling for type of medium, media exposure, media attention, and NFO. We hypothesize that high need for orientation and high media attention will be significant predictors of second-level agenda-setting effects.

How Germany See America: Anti-Americanism Before and After Obama

Lars Willnat— Indiana University, United States · lwillnat@indiana.edu

Thorsten Quandt— U of Hohenheim, Germany · thorsten.quandt@uni-hohenheim.de

Eike Rinke— U of Mannheim, Germany · rinke@uni-mannheim.de

Foreign perceptions of the United States reached record lows during the George W. Bush presidency. The U.S.-led war in Iraq and other foreign policy blunders by the Bush administration all but eliminated the international support and solidarity that characterized foreign relations in the months after the 9/11 terrorist attack. Empirical evidence for such a resurgence of anti-American attitudes has been found in a number of international surveys (e.g., Eurobarometer, 2003; Gallup, 2002; Pew, 2002). Despite the widespread anti-Americanism observed in these polls, most analyses of anti-Americanism indicate that people differentiate their political opinions from their more general attitudes toward American culture. The Pew Global Attitudes Project (2002), for example, found that respondents were more critical of U.S. policies than they were of U.S. values. In nearly every country surveyed, most people blamed differences their country had with the United States on policy disputes rather than

on fundamental differences over values. To gain a better understanding of how perceptions of the United States are formed and how they have changed during the past 12 months of the Obama administration, this study analyzes survey data from more than 1,500 German university students. The data come from two online surveys that were conducted in October 2008, about four weeks before the US presidential election (N = 824), and again in December 2009 with as sample of demographically similar students (N = 750). The survey's main goal was to test the relationship between media use and feelings of anti-Americanism among young people—and how this relationship has changed during the past year. Because anti-Americanism is generally considered a multi-dimensional concept (Hollander, 1992; 2004), this study evaluated the perceived impact of political and cultural influences on anti-Americanism in October 2008 and in December 2009. Specifically, the survey included a battery of questions that measured the respondents' agreement with six U.S. foreign policies and their approval of various American ideas, customs and products. Perceptions of the United States were measured by asking respondents whether they perceived Americans as competent, tolerant, knowledgeable, honest, creative, generous, confident, friendly, independent, trustworthy, intelligent, or sincere. This approach was considered more "precise" than asking respondents how they evaluate the United States overall – which could mean a lot of things to different people. Based on the assumption that perceptions of the United States are, at least partially, determined by respondents' media exposure, the survey questionnaire also measured respondents' use of local and U.S. news and entertainment media. Finally, to control for possible effects of respondents' demographic background, respondents were asked to report their age, sex, religion, minority status, length of study, and direct experience with the United States. The data of these two repeated-measure surveys are currently being analyzed. The results of these analyses will be available in the next couple of months and ready for presentation at IAMCR 2010. We expect to find that media use will be associated with respondents' level of anti-Americanism and that political and cultural dimensions of anti-Americanism will be related strongly and consistently with perceptions of Americans. Due to the favorable image President Obama has enjoyed around the world in his first year in office, we also expect to find much lower levels of anti-Americanism among respondents in 2009 as compared to 2008.

The new European Parliament communication strategy: 'Violent' videos on Youtube

Lucia Vesnic-Alujevic – Ghent University, Belgium · lucia.vesnicalujevic@ugent.be

Sofie Van Bauwel – Ghent University, Belgium · sofie.vanbauwel@ugent.be

This year, the European Parliament included the online communication with citizens in its electoral strategy for widening participation on the European Parliament elections, held June 4-7, 2009. It consisted of the campaign led on the official website and also on five social network sites (SNS). One of these SNS was YouTube. Drawn upon a linkage between politics, popular culture, audio-visual communication and interactive facilities of web 2.0 technologies, this paper analyzes three videos made by DG Communication of the European Parliament, their reception, and coverage. These videos, often called 'shocking' or 'violent' and described as controversial and surprising, were published on YouTube in May 2009. When discussing the organization of one campaign, given the complexity and exceptional dynamics of the phenomena, local specifics and limited validity, politicians and their advisers can only assume (and not know precisely) the role of the set of all available media on a specific market. This explains why the electoral campaigns are multimedial. All the available media tools are used, in order to get the best features of each of them, because they do not act on the same target. Linked with it is the question of aesthetics, as an ad must contain knowledge and generate pleasure, which is not easy to achieve, taking into consideration time constraints in which significance and persuasion techniques should be developed (Corner, 1995). The audio-visual communication is different from other formats (newspaper/poster), because it includes speech, action and music (Corner, 1995). Television has been the predominant but also the most influential tool for communicating with public (Teruggi Page, Duffy, 2009), but it is, nowadays, assisted by YouTube that provides the same type of communication with the electorate. Through the use of qualitative content analysis method, this paper's objective is to explore the videos, to search for their target group and to analyze the message they are transmitting as well as the comments posted on YouTube, i.e. to analyze the online behavior of YouTube public. Important is also to understand how these videos were interpreted by other media,

which testifies about the connectivity between the traditional and new media. From our findings, we can conclude that the target group of those videos is younger audience, that YouTube public doesn't make many comments, but they were prevalingly positive, and the discussion intense, as the videos provoked opposed extreme emotions. Not only had they success by number of times the ads were seen on Youtube, but also by the coverage of other media. As the obvious conclusion, we can say that the strategy of making shocking videos, as something that will make either directly an impact on citizens or indirectly by influencing other media, was rather successful.

The influence of verbal and visual information on candidate evaluation in presidential debates

Barbara Wolf — , Germany · b-wolf@gmx.net

Thomas Koch — , Germany · koch@ifkw.lmu.de

Andreas Fahr — , Germany · fahr@ifkw.lmu.de

„I had concentrated too much on substance and not enough on appearance. I should have remembered that a picture is worth a thousand words“. With these words, Richard Nixon (cited in Schroeder 2000) famously mused that he had merely lost to John F. Kennedy due to his sickly and unshaven appearance during the televised debate in 1960 (Kraus 1962). The same myth continues to fuel worries that televised debates represent rather insubstantial stageplays, which are decided by superficial appearances of the candidates rather than their issues (Vancil & Pendell 1987). Despite substantial and multifaceted research into the perception of political candidates, the importance of visual information in televised debates still appears as an unanswered question (e.g. Druckman 2003, Kraus 1996). Empirical studies are rare and do not support firm conclusions. This paper contributes to filling this void, focusing on the relative influence of verbal and visual information on candidate image, vote preference and the perception who 'won' the debate. The study uses an experimental design, exposing participants to one of three conditions (visual information only, verbal information only, and both visual and verbal information) of a presidential debate. In order to reduce the influence of prior knowledge and attitudes, we used excerpts from a debate between two Austrian party leaders (Alfred Gusenbauer, SPÖ, and Heinz-Christian Strache, FPÖ), and presented these to 174 German participants (Mean age = 30,5; 50% female), who were generally unfamiliar with the two candidates. Participants who had watched the original broadcast were excluded. The original debate had been broadcasted during the 2006 Austrian Nationalrat electoral campaign, from which 15 minutes were selected as stimulus material. As dependent variables, we measured voting intention, candidate image, and perceptions who was the 'winner' of the debate. During exposure, we recorded perceived competence and sympathy towards the candidate, using real-time-response (RTR) measurement. Control variables included prior attitudes towards and knowledge about the candidates, as well as general political interest and a range of socio-demographic variables. Results indicate that there are no significant differences between the two conditions that included verbal information, whereas the visual-only condition differed markedly, both with regard to voting preference and the perceived winner. The additional presence of visual information does not add to explanatory power once verbal information is accounted for. The same pattern, albeit less pronounced, emerges for candidate image, as well as the RTR measures. If only visual information is available, participants are still able to form judgments; however, there are no significant differences between candidates. Only when the candidates' statements are available, candidate evaluations polarize and lead to a strong preference for Gusenbauer as opposed to Strache. Verbal information clearly dominates voting preference and judgments. Hence, this study adds to the accumulating evidence against the aforementioned myth that TV debates are decided by the appearance and nonverbal behaviour of candidates. Contrary to common expectations, visual cues do not appear to have a major impact on the perception of televised debates.

Postmodern, traditional or crossbreed? Political campaigning style in Portugal

Rui Novais — University of Porto/university of Liverpool, Portugal · rualais@gmail.com

Several studies claim that we are experiencing a 'third age' or 'post-modern' campaigning period marked by the political communication becoming turbulent, fragmented, personalized, decentralized, and the electorates adopting increasingly cynical attitudes towards politics. Campaign strategies also had to adapt to the ongoing 'centrifugal diversification' within the media domain, favouring the selective interest of the ever more atomised consumers. Consequently, framing of the campaigns has gradually changed to adopt a sort of politics on demand style, with the elections being portrayed as a 'game' or a 'horse-race'. 'Postmodern campaigns', therefore, consist of decentralized efforts directed to niche segments of the electorate, resorting to specialised media and database techniques and permanently concerned with the feedback from the audiences. This article assesses whether the interconnected set of changes that were transforming the nature of political campaigns worldwide also applied to the recent elections in Portugal. More concretely it gauges if the Portuguese case displays the tendency towards the 'Americanization' of campaigns and political communication characterized by infotainment-journalism or 'hybridization of news'. To achieve it dwells on the media coverage of two maverick candidates of the 2009 general ballot (with distinctive organizations and media-centric strategies) complemented with extensive in-depth interviews will be conducted with different actors from the limited universe of key respondents with direct involvement in the episode under analysis. The latter aims at getting some of the Communication and PR agencies, as well as the editors and journalists involved in the campaign coverage at the time, recounting their experiences and assessing the impact of the new technologies. It concludes that postmodern politicking has not yet supplanted traditional methods of campaigning, rather new technology were adapted and blended together with preexisting modes of campaigning, resulting in a typical Portuguese hybridization style of campaigning.

Opening the sluice-gates? The public sphere and the national DNA database in the UK 1991-2010

John Downey – Loughborough University, United Kingdom · j.w.downey@lboro.ac.uk

Mike Stephens – Loughborough University, · m.r.stephens@lboro.ac.uk

Jan Flaherty – Loughborough University, · ssjef2@lboro.ac.uk

Habermas' amendments to his public sphere model have been recognised by a number of scholars in recent years (Habermas, 1996; Habermas, 2006; Downey and Fenton, 2003; Schlesinger, 2003; Davis, 2009). His earlier thesis of a decline of the public sphere and imperviousness of systems of instrumental rationality of money and power to criticism from the life-world has been modified, under the influence of Bernhard Peters (1993, 2005, 2007), to incorporate the possibility at least of public action from the periphery of the public sphere influencing, if not determining, decisions made at the administrative core. This is known as the 'sluice-gate' model of the public sphere and the more the gates are prone to open, the more democratic the society. While Habermas' modification has been noted, there has been little work on exploring the model, which suggests that civil society actors can on occasion exert great influence, possibly because observing the operation of the sluices requires a longitudinal approach to the public sphere. The purpose of this article is to examine the role of civil society actors in the public debate about the existence and extent of the national DNA database in the UK from 1991 to 2010. The erosion of civil liberties has been successfully placed on the political agenda in recent years and government policy has altered but it is not clear to what extent this is a consequence of the operation of a sluice-gate model of the public sphere.

Congress, the Smith-Mundt Act & Public Diplomacy

Emily Metzgar – Indiana University School of Journalism, United States · emetzgar@indiana.edu

This paper considers the role of the United States Congress and its members in the creation of and amendment to legislation governing the American public's access to government-funded public diplomacy materials such as Voice of America and Alhurra Television. The Smith-Mundt Act of 1948 and its later amendments effectively

prevent domestic audiences from having direct access to public diplomacy materials created by the American government for dissemination to foreign publics. Despite the legislation's continuing impact on U.S.-based academic and policy-oriented efforts to assess the effectiveness of the country's public diplomacy practices, there is a recognized dearth of analysis focused on the Act's history and original intent. This research fills that gap, revisiting legislative debate surrounding the bill's passage and detailing Congressional concerns about the dangers of domestic circulation of government-sponsored propaganda and the risk that government-produced content would have an unfair advantage in the American media market.

Media Power, Counter Power and Social Change

Natalie Fenton – Goldsmiths, University of London, United Kingdom · N.Fenton@gold.ac.uk

Des Freedman – Goldsmiths, University of London, United Kingdom · D.Freedman@gold.ac.uk

Gholam Khiabany – London Metropolitan University, United Kingdom · g.khiabany@londonmet.ac.uk

Milly Williamson – Brunel University, United Kingdom · milly.williamson@brunel.ac.uk

This panel brings together 4 papers that discuss in different but related ways how we conceive of and theorise power in the field of media studies. Power is indelibly connected to issues of consensus and change, crisis and control and it is to these themes that the papers speak. The panel begins with an overview of our approach to media power and how power is negotiated, concentrated and resisted. We then move on to two papers based on empirical analysis that look at the longstanding concentration of power in celebrity journalism and the place of class politics followed by resistance to those in power and the role of new media in the facilitation of protest in the recent demonstrations in Iran. The panel ends with a reflective paper that attempts to bring together some of the organising themes and critique the role of the media in a counter-rational configuration of the political.

Papers: 1. Media Power: Left critiques Des Freedman, Department of Media and Communications, Goldsmiths, University of London Abstract Media power is a crucial, although often taken for granted, concept whose meaning is subject to multiple contrasting political interpretations. Conservative commentators refer to the power of the 'liberal media' while radicals focus on the media's power to naturalise hegemonic ideas and to confine discussion to a narrow and artificial consensus. Yet can media power be confined to the economic and political prowess of particular 'media moguls'? Does it refer to the media's capacity to modify attitudes and beliefs, transform social circumstances and exert influence over other social institutions? Or does it point to a concentration of symbolic influence that is mobilized in everyday macro- and micro-social contexts? Are we to believe that the media are increasingly the locus of power or do media provide the space in which power circulates? This paper will seek to identify the many approaches and concerns that make up a 'left' critique of media power and to offer a definition that is neither reductive nor relativistic. This requires acknowledging the contradictory nature of the media industries: they are cautious but depend on innovation; they celebrate 'originality' but commodify creativity; they are deeply connected to powerful corporate and governmental interests but, in order to retain legitimacy with their audiences, on occasion find themselves challenging these interests. A left critique of media power may involve many features but, at its heart, is the recognition that it is by no means predictable or smooth and that we need to investigate the processes through which power is negotiated, concentrated and resisted. 2. The popular press and class politics: the history of celebrity journalism and media power. Milly Williamson, Department of Film and Television, School of Arts, Brunel University, London, UK. One of the key areas for discussions of media power today resides in the analysis of contemporary celebrity. Many left commentators consider the burgeoning of celebrity journalism to mark a serious cultural decline, an unprecedented deterioration in press standards and in its civic role or, for some, a symptom of a transition to a more ephemeral and 'liquid' epoch. However, the conventions of reporting that shape celebrity journalism are not a recent phenomenon but developed simultaneously with the emergence of the mass circulation press in the US in the late nineteenth century. These conventions were part of a raft of innovations in the recently industrialised newspaper business which sought to attract readers in their hundreds of thousands. However, these conventions are contradictory. For rather than simply providing the 'masses' with entertainment values, these newspapers were also obliged to adopt radical (if populist) political stances on all of the issues of key

importance for working class and immigrant readers. Often, the same conventions of reporting that framed the famous, such as scandal and human interest, were also used to mock the rich and the powerful heads of the hated municipal trusts. This paper offers an alternative left critique of celebrity journalism which does not consider it as a new departure in journalism, but rather sees it as a longstanding and contradictory element in reporting. Rather than a symptom of civic decline, the targets and icons of celebrity journalism provide an insight into the balance of power between social classes in different historical moments. Today, in an atmosphere of increased poverty and decreased social mobility in the US and UK, those celebrities who are targeted in the press are not the rich and powerful, but come from the raft of 'ordinary' celebrities who are vilified for their perceived lack of taste and working class backgrounds. This is not an opening up of the public sphere to new classes of citizens, but instead marks a return to open disdain for the working class.

3. Media Power, People Power and Politics of Media in Iran Gholam Khiabany, Department of Applied Social Sciences, London Metropolitan University The contestation of the result of the June 2009 presidential election and its on-going aftermath is an indication of the failure of the Islamic state to impose its monopoly over the legitimate use of symbolic violence and its continuing struggle to manufacture consent to its rule. Yet many on the left were convinced that the US and Western governments were involved in Iranian affairs during the demonstrations, and if there was a coup it was not so much an electoral coup by the core of the state but by reformist candidates and their western backed supporters. It was claimed that the "western media" had somehow generated the uprising. New technologies and in particular twitter were assumed to be used by the west to destabilise Iran! On the other hand the use of wide range of media and communicative platforms, the innovative use of image, sound and music to inform, organise and mobilise dissents and demonstrations, and in particular the circulation of information via Facebook and Twitter prompted many commentators to suggest that it is impossible to comprehend the political nature of the existing protests in Iran without recognizing the centrality of the new technologies. Headlines such as 'Twitter Revolution', 'Twitter Revolutionaries', 'Revolution will be Twittered', 'The Iranian Twitter-lution', and many more highlighted the alleged significance of technologies in Iran during and after June 12 presidential election. While it is impossible to dispute such claims of 'media power', or the contribution of new technologies in informing and generating acts of solidarities, both versions of media power by focusing solely on technologies ignore the wider context of the recent uprising in Iran, the disempowerment of the state media, and above all the true agents of social change and transformation, the people. Iranian protests were certainly good for Facebook and Twitter's business, but how good were these businesses for the people?

4. New Media, Social Change, and Counter Rationality Natalie Fenton, Department of Media and Communications, Goldsmiths, University of London Ways in which power can be resisted are critical to concerns of crisis and change and central to the development of social critique. In the digital age the role of all media and new media in particular in challenging institutionalised power is crucial. Many claims have been made for the ability of new media to allow citizens to watch over, monitor and hold to account the powerful. New media are also said to bring forth a new age of creative production that is open to all, breaking down the barriers between production and consumption and welcoming a new participatory and increasingly democratic communicative commons – a new politics for the digital age. But in Western developed democracies this takes place in a context where those in power engage in enclosing this communication commons for the expansion of for-profit entertainment and the commodification of personal freedom; where the logic of the market prevails and provides the basis of neo-liberal rationality. This paper will address the antagonism within and between creativity and cooperation and commercialism and competition in 'new media power' exemplified in the use of social media. I will argue that in a context of fast capitalism and neo-liberal individualism the freeing of creativity in social media resides mainly in the possibilities for self-expression. The dominant form of self expression is unlikely to lead to a freeing of the social imaginary and the development of a counter politics. Rather it is experienced as a form of technological tyranny - a need to be connected at all times; a tethering to a constant neo-liberal production of self that is compliant in the fetishisation of social media as co-operative and participatory, that deflects the deep subcybernetic commodification of all of our digital presences. The paper will end by arguing that networks are not inherently liberatory and that the identification of injustice and the monitoring of democracy retains the hegemonic principals of a certain type of democracy. Social media are not first and foremost about social good or political engagement; their primary function is expressive and as such they are best understood in terms of their potential for shaking the stability of political environments rather than revitalising the structures that uphold

them. A radical critique in media studies, geared towards progressive social change, requires a different counter-rational configuration of the political based on a notion of critical democracy that challenges these norms and practices.

The axiological vector. Some notes on the anti-communist Portuguese discourse under the Estado Novo's Parliament

Rui Pereira – Universidade do Minho, Portugal · ruiampereira@gmail.com

During thirty nine years, (1935-1974) the Estado Novo's Parliament produced a long conversation of 52.000 pages, compiled on its official journal, «Diário das Sessões». Based on some crossed research on this material, using a selected key expressions method, we discuss these Portuguese representatives discourse as part of the long creation of a political and moral culture in Portugal, organized between two major polarization operations: the positive one, around the direct and indirect quoting and reference of Salazar's and Caetano's speeches; the negative one, structured by the intensity and kind of its approaches to the Communism. Instrumentally used, it became a political culture, perfectly matching with the western most general anti-communist propaganda. Trying to establish the fundamentals of the anti-communist Portuguese political culture, this paper inscribes itself in a wider PhD project on Discourse Analysis that studies the relationship between some of the Portuguese most important political newspapers and the Communist idea during the so called period of «democratic normalization» (1980 and 2005), after the 1974 coup d'État, and subsequent political events. We specifically intend to examine the continuity relationship (if any one) occurred between these two different moments of treatment of the «communist object», and how it worked.

From Bush-Bashing to Obamania. Coverage of the U.S. presidential elections campaigns 2004 and 2008 in the German press.

Reimar Zeh – U of Erlangen - Nuremberg, Germany · zeh@wiso.uni-erlangen.de

Christina Holtz-Bacha – U of Erlangen - Nuremberg, Germany · christina.holtz-bacha@wiso.uni-erlangen.de

How the media covers election campaigns is one of the most popular research questions in the field of political communication. It is mostly through the media that voters learn about what is at stake in an election, about the issues and the candidates. What voters learn will somehow influence their attitudes towards issues, parties and individual candidates, and these may have an impact on their voting decision and, more generally, on the image citizens hold of the political system and of politicians. However, how the media covers election campaigns in foreign countries seems to be a less popular research topic. There has been an ongoing discussion, in the media but also by political communication researchers, about the Americanization of campaigning in other parts of the world. Meaning, above all, the assumption that campaign managers elsewhere take the U.S. as a role model and adopt campaign techniques and strategies. It is to be expected that election campaigns in the U.S. also attract attention to feed this line of discussion. Moreover, politicians abroad will usually have their first information of a new president from the press, in this way the coverage might even frame future relations to a new administration. Research Question This paper presents an analysis of the German press coverage of the last two presidential elections in the USA. While the election and the election night in particular attract the attention of all media outlets, it is mostly the quality press that covers the campaign. Since the coverage of foreign elections is not a well defined research area in political communication, our study primarily serves exploratory purposes. Our main aim is to reveal the structure of the coverage and the changes that can be observed from 2004 to 2008. Method Our quantitative content analysis focuses on the two opinion leading newspapers in Germany. The *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* also cover the moderate political spectrum from left to right in terms of editorial position. The analysis starts with the first (usually democratic) convention and ending with the week of the election itself. Every article on a presidential candidate was coded. In each article

evaluations of the candidates served as a second unit of analysis. Findings The U.S. presidential elections generally draw a lot of media attention. However, over the course of the campaign, the reporting is clearly event-oriented. Except for Obama, these opinions are on the whole negative to neutral and they don't reflect the editorial position. Against our expectations this study hints to considerable amounts of issue coverage. Clearly 2008 was a special election in many ways, our data demonstrates that the German media underwent a love affair with Barack Obama.

Monitoring officials: the new function of Internet in China

luan yimei – China National Radio, China · exlily@sina.com

China is becoming a country with the world's largest number of Internet users. For such a country, the internet is becoming a new platform in monitoring the behavior of politicians in China. In this paper, the author puts forward three important concepts: "social channelised politics", "monitory democracy" and "civil politician platform."

Then the author elaborates the three core ideas respectively: First, in addition to the previous traditional "political channel", the Chinese Communists in the Internet Age improve their ability of governing through the new media and new channels; Second, a new type of "monitory democracy" is emerging extensively, such as report, disclosure and evaluation through Internet, Internet-based Grassroots Search etc., there is a variety of ways to monitor whether the conduct of government officials is legitimate; Third, the internet is playing a role of "civil politician platform". This paper proposes a hypothesis – China can break the existing personnel and organizational structure through the operation of a "civil politician platform" on the internet which is independent of the government, so that numerous civilian politicians can emerge! They will carry out two main activities through the internet: 1) expressing their political views 2) gathering their political supporters. They are likely becoming "the third task force" in China's democratization process. All these changes will profoundly affect the political environment of China, China's politicians as well as the road to democratization in China. Literature Index: 1、 Shao Daosheng: "the whole force "and" implementation crisis ", www.people.com.cn, 2004.3.29 2, Dai Tingting: "Construction of the mechanism of democratic supervision through public opinion on Internet

The Interaction between New Media and Old Media: Influencing the Politics of China

Hong Liu – Professor, China · liuhong31@hotmail.com

In the end of last century, when the new media first appeared in China, most people considered it as a horrible thing. Some professionals believed that the new media in China would overthrow the old media in China. However, the new media have not replaced the old ones as the mainstream media by far, at least not yet in China. But to some extent, the new media exert an interesting effect on pushing the old media to transform into the public media. There are three aspects embodying the transformation as follows. First, the concept of interaction brought forth by the new media has a considerable impact on the old media, nowadays the broadcast television largely use cellular phone vote and messages as means of interaction; Second, the great latitude of free speech created by the new media has held back the old media's control on public opinions. In the past, the dominated speech in China's speech field was the standard official speech, with the editorial of People daily for representing. But now, the network speech in China is building a Chinese characteristic public sphere, and at the same time it stands for public opinion to a certain degree; Third, the new media has broken the information blockage set by the old media. The new medium is inspired to improve the ability of information integration while without the news interview right. Internet has broken up the Chinese traditional region concept in some way. While the place protection of information can still prevent the old media in China, it means nothing to the new media. The new medium makes a fresh view about the impact of the globalization of information. This kind of interaction between them has greatly influenced China's politics. First of all, it has become difficult for the Chinese government to block news. Of course the local government is more difficult than the central government

to control the flow of information dominated by the new media. But recently the government has established more specific measures to prevent the media's cross land public opinion supervising, but these measures are not suitable for the new media, as the new media does not always appear in a standard place entity form in China, on contrary, it is flowing, anonymous and individual, it is everywhere and inseparable, it brings great difficulties to the media management. Secondly, Chinese have more alternatives and platforms to express their views. Finally, the public voice is becoming part of the expressions of China's political voice. The idea of the Harmonious Society recently advocated by Chinese government can be easily interpreted by the Western World as the Civil Society, which cannot be established without the support of the public media. Therefore, the present publicizing of the Chinese media redounds to the construction of the political civilization with Chinese characteristics.

Bottom-up contesting citizenship: media, political participation and environmental issue in urban China

Yang Chen – School of Journalism, Renmin University of China, China · ericaychen@gmail.com

Seen as a state without politics, post-socialist China always top-down establishes the social policy and the common people have little chance to participate in the policymaking process. Recently environmental issues have caused strong social reaction and public discussion. Based on the case of the conflict and struggle around the building of a waste incineration plant in Guangzhou in south China, this paper focuses on the following questions: " Why does the state-controlled media construct the pro-public frame, instead of the pro-state one, when covering the controversial issue? How does media avoid of the censorship from party-state? " How does the emerging middle class as participators and organizers of mass incident in urban China gain access to media in order to advance their interest? " What is the social consequence of public opinions constructed by mass media? With the discourse analysis to the media content, journalist's interpretation of their own work, and participators' statement of their activity, main findings of this study are as follows: " Because the party-state fails to construct a hegemonic value system with which most of Chinese media identity after the decline of communist ideology, and the journalism education in university moving towards professionalism, as well as the market-oriented media transformation has acquired editorial independence to some extent, mass media construct the pro-public frame when covering the controversial issue. However, media still cannot defy the state, but package the controversial issue in a state-tolerant way. Journalists are aware of the boundary, have a tacit understanding of what kind of story cannot be reported, and make self-censorship when necessary. " The organizers and participators of the mass incident are the emerging middle class in China. They are well educated, having a decent job, could afford to the expensive living cost in city, and growing up with the cultural products imported from the West when China is undergoing the opening policy. Albeit lacking any media literacy training in established education system, middle-class organizers are aware of their relationship with media since they are the potential target audience of advertisement and mass-appealing media. They inform media about their opinion, initiate public protest in coordination with media production rhythm, and make private contact with journalist to get more coverage space. To media, active citizens provide the appropriate information for a good news story attracting more audience. " Comparing with the similar incidents in other cities in China, a tolerant local government who is willing to provide a restricted space for citizens to express their opinions, as well as taking advantage of the inner incompatibility among the government agents, is crucial to the civic success. Therefore, the 'public' opinion constructed by mass media is the state-approved opinion, rather than the free speech organized by the citizens of their own accord. Bottom-up political participation still lacks of institutional protection, which implies a long way to reach democratic media institution in China.

The role of personal involvement and media input in framing people's attitudes towards governmental anti-crisis measures - an experiment

Mathias Weber – Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Germany · mathias.weber@uni-mainz.de

Oliver Quiring – Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Germany · quiring@uni-mainz.de

The current economic crisis provoked an intensive engagement of western governments to stabilize their national economies. Some of the measures involve intervention into the economic cycle and are subject to public debate. The question arises how the intense media coverage of governmental intervention influences people's attitudes towards these measures. Dependency theory states that personal involvement limits media effects (Ball-Rokeach/DeFleur 1976), while cognitive priming suggests that personal involvement makes people more susceptible for those effects (Demers et al. 1989). This study investigates whether or not framing effects differ between subjects with varying degrees of involvement regarding consequences of the economic crisis. Procedure: Three groups of subjects were recruited for an online-experiment in 12/2009 and 01/2010: a) Employees of Opel (GM) in Germany who were highly affected by the economic crisis, as Opel faced bankruptcy, and appealed for financial aid (factual involvement, $n = 38$), b) members of Opel related fan-clubs (emotional involvement, $n = 65$) and c) a third group of subjects without any particular relation to the brand or company (no involvement, $n = 190$) as a control group (pseudo-independent variable). Participants from each group were randomly assigned to one of two basic conditions (actual independent variable): Both groups were presented the same basic newspaper article covering a company at risk that had applied for financial aid by the federal government. Versions differed in the framing (positive vs. negative) of these financial aids. Afterwards participants had to give their judgments on governmental intervention indicators (dependant variables). Cases were weighted for analysis. Results: Statements about governmental intervention were condensed to three factors ($KMO=0.77$) representing 1) strong influence of the government on the economy in general, 2) nationalization of crucial economic sectors and 3) concrete single interventions (e.g. financial aid for certain companies). MANOVAs were calculated for each factor as dependent variable. Stimulus and subject's involvement were entered as independent variables. For 3) (concrete single interventions) subject's attitude was explained by both their personal involvement and the stimulus frame (main-effects with $F=20.06/F=4.34$). Yet the interaction-effect failed significance. Involvement did neither limit nor foster the framing effect. Attitudes towards 1) general interventions only showed a significant main-effect for the stimulus frame ($F=7.42$) which was again not influenced by subject's involvement. For 2) nationalization no effect could be measured. Discussion: The results support neither dependency theory nor cognitive priming. Subject's involvement was important for their approval of concrete governmental interventions but only as far as it set different points of departure for the framing effect. Independent from their own experience the media frame succeeded to influence subject's attitudes. We conclude that a careful monitoring of media coverage is crucial for understanding the development of public opinion in the context of governmental anti-crisis interventions. Limitations of the design (number and distribution of subjects, short term effects) will be discussed. Ball-Rokeach, S./DeFleur, M. (1976): A Dependency Model of Mass-media Effects. In: *Communication Research* 3, 3-21. Demers, D. et al. (1989): Issue Obtrusiveness and the Agenda-Setting Effects of National Network News, in *Communication Research* 16, 793-813.

The Role of Political Parties' Internet Campaigning in the 2009 German Bundestag Election

Nicole Podschuweit – University of Mainz, Germany · podschuweit@uni-mainz.de

Hans Kepplinger – University of Mainz, Germany · kepplinger@uni-mainz.de

Since "President 2.0" Obama we can hardly imagine election campaigns without the internet. That applies to German election campaigns as well. In the run-up to the German Bundestag Election 2009 the local political parties adopted several new forms of online communication, e.g. micro-blogging on twitter, social networking on facebook, and broadcasting via their own party channels on youtube. Obama's internet campaign helped to connect, administer and mobilize partisans. Furthermore, Obama raised about 200 million dollars, respectively a

quarter of all funds, via the internet. Against this background, this paper draws on the effectiveness of political parties' internet campaigning in the 2009 German Bundestag Election. The main question is, whether parties' online presences constitute a supplement or a replacement of their offline presences. The study is based on two sets of data: (1) intensive discussions with campaign managers of the national parties and (2) quantitative analysis of parties' internet presences. In July 2009, the aims, the organization, and the effects of the online campaigns were discussed with campaign managers and internet experts of the five national political parties represented in the German Bundestag: "CDU" (Christian Democrats), "SPD" (Social Democrats), "FDP" (Liberals), "Bündnis 90/Die Grünen" (Green Party), and "Die Linke" (Leftist). From May until the Election Day in September 2009, quantitative data about the reach of parties' online and traditional offline media were collected and analyzed. Parties' internet campaigns are judged by four criteria: First, the reach of central forms of online communication, e.g. parties' websites, is compared to the reach of traditional forms of communication such as newspapers and newscasts. According to theories of media effects, contact and attention are preconditions for more far-reaching effects. Second, the quality of discussions among voters on parties' forums is analyzed and judged by requirements for a deliberative discourse. Third, forms of regulations of discussions among voters by the political parties are investigated. Fourth, the extent of voters' mobilization in e.g. social networks is compared to traditional forms of mobilization. The mentioned criteria are interpreted as indicators of success and quality of parties' online activities. The results can be summarized in four conclusions: First, the reach of parties' online presences is relatively low compared to the reach of their offline presences, e.g. media coverage or nationwide spread election posters. Second, discussions in parties' forums lack central conditions for a deliberative discourse. Third, the extent of voters' mobilization via internet is relatively low. Fourth, small parties gain more benefit from their internet activities than big parties. Campaign managers are well aware of the limited success of their internet activities. In the 2009 German national election, political parties' internet campaigning only served as a supplement to the still predominant offline campaign. Reasons are explained by differences between the political systems and political cultures as well as between the media systems of the U.S. and Germany.

Framing women politicians: a comparative perspective between Spanish and Polish print media

Nuria Fernandez Garcia – Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB), Spain, Spain · nurfergar@gmail.com

Radoslaw Sajna – Kazimierz Wielki University in Bydgoszcz, Poland, Poland · r.sajna@ukw.edu.pl

Different studies examining newspaper coverage of women politicians found women to be disadvantaged compared to men: women received less substantive coverage than men, women received more coverage on their appearances, news stories of women politicians often emphasized traditional gender roles, language used to describe women politicians often trivialized them, etc. This paper explores the media treatment of Spanish and Polish politicians through an analysis of print media in both countries, Spain and Poland. Do women politicians receive the same treatment from the media? How politicians are described or framed by newspapers? Does exist differences on women framing between Spain and Poland? To answer these important questions, we compare newspaper coverage of five women and five men politicians in both countries. Our analysis will focus on how male and female politicians are described – framed – by Spanish and Polish newspapers. The analysis is based on a sample of news from *El País*, *El Mundo*, *La Vanguardia* and *ABC*, the four main Spanish newspapers, and from *Wprost*, *Newsweek Polska* and *Polityka*, the three main Polish political weekly newspapers. We choose newspapers articles because they are ideal for tracing media depictions of politicians and because of their impact on other news sources. The newspapers are selected not only for their circulation size but also because they are from across the ideological spectrum. We adopt the framing perspective as a theoretical framework to analyse the media representation of women politicians. The media use subtle feminine stereotypes when conventional political frames are applied to female politicians. This implies that media use a more filtered picture of women politicians and that this filter will be gendered, reflecting traditional masculine conception of politics. This is a useful theory for the present study because it allows examining different types of frames (e.g. women as outsiders, women as novelties, women as star politicians, etc.), and these types are important for understanding media treatment of female politicians. Our analysis asked if newspapers framed female politicians differently

from her male colleagues. For this study, content analysis is used to examine newspaper coverage. We make a qualitative analysis of the coverage analyzing different indicators. First, we analyze the visibility / invisibility of the politicians (we analyze the amount and prominence of politician coverage). Secondly, we examine the personal information in the news (we analyze if female politicians appearance and personal background are the focus of considerable more attention than befalls their male colleagues). Third, we compare the negative and positive traits associated with female politicians. Fourth, we analyze the issues, which are associated women politicians. Fifth, we analyze if the gender of the politician is highlighted in the news. Finally, we examine if the women politicians are named by their first name in the news more often than their male colleagues. The results point out that there are similitude and differences between both countries, and that there are also differences between the media analyzed. In sum, press coverage put an asymmetrical emphasis on the female condition of the women politicians.

El contexto migratorio como moderador del efecto cognitivo y afectivo de los encuadres noticiosos. Estudio trans-cultural entre México y España.

Carlos Muñiz – Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León, Mexico · carmuniz@hotmail.com

José Antonio Otero – Universidad Europea Miguel de Cervantes, Spain · otero@uemc.es

Melisa Peña – Tecnológico de Monterrey, Campus Monterrey, Mexico · megan_tj@hotmail.com

El impacto que tienen los encuadres noticiosos de las noticias sobre las cogniciones y actitudes de su audiencia ha sido ampliamente demostrado por la investigación sobre el efecto framing. Sin embargo, cada vez es más habitual encontrar estudios que proponen la moderación de los efectos mediáticos debido a las predisposiciones (Ho, Brossard y Scheufele, 2008), los esquemas previo o estructura de conocimiento del individuo o, por ejemplo, la relación con el asunto informado (Shen, 2004). Tomando como referencia esta base teórica, se realizó un estudio cuasi-experimental para evaluar el impacto del contexto migratorio sobre el efecto de los encuadres noticiosos. Para ello se tomaron dos muestras, una de España (alto contexto inmigratorio) y otra de México (bajo contexto inmigratorio), a fin de observar el impacto de la lectura de noticias elaboradas con encuadres sobre las consecuencias positivas o negativas de los inmigrantes para el país. Los resultados muestran un fuerte impacto de los encuadres sobre las respuestas cognitivas y actitud hacia la inmigración, mayor en el caso del país con baja recepción de inmigrantes (México). Se discuten los resultados a la luz del papel moderador que, en parte, se ha detectado del contexto migratorio.

The personal in political television biographies

Rosa van Santen – ASCoR, University of Amsterdam, Netherlands · r.a.vansanten@uva.nl

Liesbet van Zoonen – Loughborough University, United Kingdom · E.A.Van-Zoonen@lboro.ac.uk

This article analyzes the different themes and styles of personal narratives of politicians. In discussions about the question whether the private lives and personal considerations of politicians hinder or facilitate a more substantial understanding of political processes, television has received the most critical comments, both from academics and journalists. Yet, there is very little empirically and historically grounded analysis of what exactly the themes and styles of personal narratives of politicians enclose, whether they have expanded or changed over time, and whether they depend on the narrator, the medium, the genre or the topic at hand. In fact, what is meant by 'personal narratives', or 'personalization' in politics differs across disciplines and researchers. In addition, there is little sense of cultural and historical specificities. In this article we investigate the claim that personalized stories have become ever more dominant to the detriment of substantial attention for political issues, and we examine the television portraying of politicians in the Netherlands in the past 50 years. We approach the television portrait with a threefold understanding of personal narratives that we found in the literature, and look at stories about individual competence, private lives and emotional reflections. Additionally,

we approach the portraits from angles derived from the specificities of Dutch television, political and cultural history. Presenting a qualitative content analysis of 23 portraits of Dutch politicians at the national political level or higher, from various political parties, interviewed by a wide range of journalists, in a diversity of programs, broadcasted by different networks, these expectations are addressed. Initially, conversation, camera motions, program elements and audio-/ visual characteristics were literally transcribed and described. Next, these transcripts were coded, identifying topics, themes and technical characteristics that emerged from the data. In the final phase an interpretative analysis of the programs took place, linking codes with the theoretical concepts of individualization, privatization and emotionalization. The analysis produces a complex picture of continuity and change that contradicts many contemporary criticisms. Personal narratives were present as early as 1961 when we found the first television portrait of a Dutch politician. In addition, personal narratives always comprised individual and private stories, with emotional accounts only slightly increasing in the recent period, and still not very strongly present. Finally, personal narratives – whether individual, private or emotional – always are primarily articulated with the political ideas, activities and goals of the guest politicians, and kept being embedded in the political and societal affiliations of the politician. Personal narratives in politics thus seem a historical continuity in Dutch television portraits, rather than the effect of the alleged contemporary video malaise.

Citizens' participation and public governance. Institutionalizing public debat in France.

Sylvie Bresson Gillet – Université Nice Sophia Antipolis France, France · sbresson@unice.fr

In its task of informing the public and as part of the debate about the knowledge society, the Commission nationale du débat public (CNDP), which is both a medium for discussion and a discussion process, lays down the principle of public participation in project development. This implication of citizens in debates or controversies before political, social, economic or scientific decisions are made is recent and inevitably transforms relations between state and society. The institutionalization of public debate, a consultation procedure wherein viewpoints can be compared and contrasted and many-sided information can emerge accounts for these new interactions between citizens and the state. The CNDP posits that "public debate is a stage in the project development process. Things are not all decided from the outset and your opinion will contribute to the decision made. It is therefore important that you make your opinions known". In doing so it follows the principle of participative democracy, governing the conditions of "communicative action", that is, the emergence of public opinion that is reflected as a communicative power having the privilege, or even the right, of guiding the use of public power in a particular direction. But what does this mean in concrete terms? What are the material impacts of these arrangements in terms of their influence on the agents involved? How is what citizens say worked into the decision making processes? How do associations take account of this participatory procedure in their communication actions? Being an eminently social subject, with its specific context, its challenges and its actors, the public debating procedure is a perfect illustration of the complexity of our contemporary world and leads us to reflect on the nature and effects of these new hybrid arrangements, allowing us to gauge their characteristics. An interdisciplinary approach is fully justified: first because of the specific nature of the subject matter given the decisive challenges it involves for analysing objectives pertaining to economics and to power and in relation to the central position of information, knowledge and communication in the debate; second because of the communicative challenge of the public debate whose "scope" and "effects" in the public arena provide understanding that the information-communication processes set up by the authorities play a major role in the development of collective socio-political representations and practices and that ascribing meaning remains an attribute of power. Moreover, this study in communication sciences sets out to continue and the supplement the capitalization work conducted on these new mediation techniques, accounting for a new way of communicating and stage managing public decision making with a view to rebuilding trust in a context of uncertainty inherent to the risk society. "Communication is sought out for emotional and cognitive purposes alike: restoring trust and informing".

How do French citizens get informed (and... is the internet changing anything)?

Josiane Jouet – Institut Français de Presse, France · jjouet@club-internet.fr

Thierry Vedel – Cevipof Sciences Po, France · thierry.vedel@sciences-po.fr

Jean-Baptiste Comby – Institut Français de Presse, France · jbay20@gmail.com

With the development of the internet, important changes may be expected in the processes of political information. The internet not only offers a wide array of news websites, but also allows users to exchange news or ideas and to discuss political issues in forums, newsgroups, or through comments on blogs. The aim of the paper is to analyse which sources are used by French people to get informed in this digital context. It is a contribution to the academic debate on how the internet may affect political information patterns. While some argue that the internet can contribute to a diversification of political sources of information and make citizens (especially young citizens) more interested in politics (Delli Carpini et Keeter 2003, Chadwick 2006), others (Prior 2007, Hindman 2009) argue that the internet generates a greater political divide among citizens and increases polarization. Our findings are based on two sorts of data. First, a telephone survey among a sample of 1750 individuals, over 15 years old, which is representative of the French population and was conducted in December 2009. Second, a series of 38 in-depth interviews conducted with internet users of various social profiles in July and December 2009. The paper will tackle the following issues: - The respective roles of traditional media and of the internet as a primary source of information in the general population, - The different patterns of political information depending on media usage and on users' profiles, - The impact of socio-economics factors (especially age) in shaping citizens' news consumption, - The opposition between two models of information uses on the internet: news browsing and searches related to in-depth inquiries, - The difference between face-to-face discussions and online exchanges about politics and current events. Our first findings show that, while the internet is a growing source of information (having now surpassed print media), television or radio remain the primary sources of information. However, the internet has now spread in almost every part of the society and more than 70% of French people say that they use it on a regular basis. The paper will attempt to analyze, on the basis of the findings, the benefits and the limits of the internet in fostering an active citizenship among the general population. This paper is one of the first outcomes of the multidisciplinary project "MEDIAPOLIS," which combines a media studies and political science perspective. This project is a joint effort by the Center for Political research (CEVIPOF) at Sciences Po and the Center for the Interdisciplinary Analysis and Research of Media (CARISM) at IFP/ Paris 2 University), and is funded by the French Agency for Research.

Chadwick A. (2006). *Internet politics. States, Citizens and New Communication Technologies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Delli Carpini M. X. et Keeter S. (2003). "The Internet and an Informed Citizenry". In Anderson D.M. et Cornfield M. (dir.). *The Civic Web. Online Politics and Democratic Values*. Lanham, Ma: Rowman & Littlefield, p. 129-153. Hindman M. (2009). *The Myth of Digital Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Prior M. (2007). *Post-broadcast democracy : how media choice increases inequality in political involvement and polarizes elections* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Barack Obama's election: A Digital Communication success?

Lucilene Cury – USP, Brazil · lucurys@yahoo.com.br

The paper analyses Barack Obama's Internet Strategy for Presidential Election that collaborated on his victory in 2008. The candidate has announced his American politics plans through digital communication and, at the same time, people search and browse information about the candidate and his plans in the Internet. The social communication applied has afforded an interactive process to guarantee citizenship participation. The central issue discussed in this paper is the performance of the media and its influence in the Presidential election results, including the effective popular participation in the campaign. The citizenship participation has been the base of the campaign. Another important point is the novelty of the candidate personality and ideas, not only for

the American population but also for the worldwide population. The paper describes the use of the medium in the Obama's campaign and the successful result of the communication strategy. The theoretical base of the research is the theory of communicative action and the public sphere of Habermas as well as Boaventura de Souza Santos ideas about participative democracy. The paper is supported by the theoretical conception, the observation of the international press (online and printed) and the ideas of the authors about the Obama's program of government. An expected result of the observation of Obama's and the population behaviour in the modern medium, constitutes the basic hypothesis of the research: the media had a significant importance and the victory can be seen as a result of public participation through digital communication, also considering the abilities of the candidate and his educational background, multicultural origin. It is important to consider that the main characteristics of the interactive media like interactivity, instantaneous exposition and speed, can cause us to jump at conclusions, as it is common to read in the press: Is Obama only a YouTube celebrity? This paper accentuates the use of the news media as social communication politics and its influence for citizenship participation.

El humor en la campaña electoral: legislativas 2009 en Portugal

Ana Cabrera — , Portugal · cabrera.anacabrera@gmail.com

Esta comunicación tiene como objetivo discutir el humor en la campaña a partir del análisis de la serie de televisión "Gato Fedorento esmiúça os sufrágios." El estudio se enmarca en las teorías que explican la crisis de las democracias (Rawnsley: 2005 y Gimsborg 2008) y sus efectos sobre la crisis del periodismo. La comunicación se estructura también en torno a los estudios que han examinado los programas de humor político (Paletz: 1990, Boskin de 1990, Bayam 2004 y Brants Kees: 2005). Destinadas a hacer frente, desde el análisis de ese programa de entretenimiento, nos cuestionamos en qué medida el humor puede ser visto como una forma de intervención política.

Clowns as critical inquirers in Mexican national television: Political humor and satire in the weekly nightly show "El Notifiero"

Jose-Carlos Lozano — Tecnológico de Monterrey, Mexico · jclozano@itesm.mx

After a long history of self-censorship and complex direct and concealed governmental pressures over private television networks, political humor and parody has become a central feature in electoral processes and everyday political life in Mexican television. Comedy shows, stand-up comedians and even telenovelas (soap operas) have made fun of politicians, candidates and political parties, providing audiences with accessible and entertaining ways of getting information and critical analysis of the political sphere. This paper discusses the particular case of the weekly nightly program "El Notifiero," based on political humor and parody hosted by the clown "Brozo", who since the late 1980s has had an influential role in the incorporation of political satire in Mexican national television. The paper is based on a content analysis of 16 programs, aired between August and December 2009 in a national network of the Mexican media conglomerate Televisa. The program started on January 19, 2007. It is a parody of a television news program in which the main national and international political news are discussed and made fun of through the sarcastic and acid sense of humor of the clown "Brozo." Interpreted by journalist and comedian Victor Trujillo, Brozo is a fictional character that has had a long history of critical political satire in Mexican television. Trujillo created it in 1988 for a television program of the public network IMEVISION called "La Caravana." In 1999 Trujillo as "Brozo" started a television news program that would become an extraordinary hit: "El Mañanero" ("The morning one," a pun with sexual connotations). First on the then independent Channel 40 of Mexico City and from 2002-2004 in Televisa's national network Channel 5, "El Mañanero" reached high ratings and become a humoristic news program where the main Mexican national politicians would go to be interviewed by Trujillo dressed as a clown. From 2007 to 2009, every Friday night, the

character Brozo appeared in Televisa's national network Channel 2 sarcastically analyzing the week's news. The paper includes an analysis of the political and economic context in which the television network and the program operate, its form and content, its institutional practices and context and its political value for Mexican television audiences. The chapter concludes with a general discussion about the role political humor and satire on television has played in Mexico's political transition.

Opening the 'black-box': Exploring Immediate Audience Responses to Rhetorical Strategies in Televised Debates

Marko Bachl – U of Hohenheim, Germany · marko.bachl@uni-hohenheim.de

Arne Spieker – U of Hohenheim, Germany · spieker@uni-hohenheim.de

Televised debates are the single most important event during an election campaign (McKinney & Carlin, 2004). Before the German general election 2009, the debate between Chancellor Merkel and challenger Steinmeier attracted more than 14 Million viewers - by the broadest audience of all political TV programs. There is a large body of research on debate effects on the electorate, as well as on debate strategies. However, there is only little empirical research which bridges the gap between debate content and immediate audience responses (for exceptions Maier, Maier & Stromback, 2007; Reinemann & Maurer, 2005). Debate effect studies mostly focus on changes occurring after the debate using research designs with pre- and post-debate surveys. Debate strategy analyses focus on describing and explaining which strategies are used. The way citizens respond to certain statements during the debate remains an empirical black-box (Racine Group, 2002). Rhetorical strategies can be categorized as follows (Martel, 1983): (1) Substance strategy: what is mentioned in the debate (e.g. policy issues or candidate characteristics). (2) Relational strategies: how tries a candidate to separate her/himself from her/his opponent. According to Benoit (2007), three kinds of statements can be distinguished: acclaims, attacks and defenses. Our paper focuses (but is not limited to) the analysis of the immediate audience responses to the debaters' use of relational strategies. The literature suggests three types of effects: (1) Main effects of strategies, if the audience responses to statements differ significantly only depending on the rhetoric strategy and regardless of viewer characteristics. It is suggested that both attacking (Gawronski & Walther, 2008) and defending (Benoit, 2007) causes negative audience responses. (2) Other literature points to the assumption that the audience responses to different strategies are moderated by viewer characteristics like the partisanship. We can assume that attacks polarize audience responses – they are approved only by the speaker's own partisans but rejected by other viewers (Lau & Pomper, 2008). (3) Interaction effects between the categories of debating strategies are assumed. For example, attacking on issues should be more favorable as attacks on the opponent's character (Pfau & Burgoon, 1989). The assumptions are tested in a quasi-experimental study. 179 participants rated their impression of Merkel and Steinmeier during the General Election debate 2009 with a real time response measuring device. All participants were surveyed before and after the debate. To identify rhetorical strategies, a standardized content analysis of the debate was conducted. Finally, all data were matched to create a dataset that covers debate content and audience information. The results reveal some evidence for the assumptions: The whole audience rates defenses of both Merkel and Steinmeier negatively. Steinmeier's attacks lead to polarized audience responses. Moreover, both candidates achieve favorable ratings from all partisans when attacking the financial industry. But overall, the explanatory power of the rhetoric strategies variables was at most mediocre. The findings will be discussed with regard to their generalizability, accounting for the specific conditions of the 2009 election campaign (economic crises, both candidates from a grand coalition). Finally, the methodological and statistical challenges of a design combining RTR measurement and content analysis data are reviewed. Acknowledgements All data was gathered within the German Longitudinal Election Study, founded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG). References Benoit, W. L. (2007). *Communication in political campaigns*. *Frontiers in Political Communications*: Vol. 11. New York: Lang. Gawronski, B., & Walther, E. (2008). The TAR Effect: When the Ones Who Dislike Become the Ones Who Are Disliked. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 34(9), 1276-1289. Lau, R. R., & Pomper, G. M. (2001). Effects of Negative Campaigning on Turnout in U.S. Senate Elections, 1988-1998. *Journal of Politics*, 63(3), 804. Maier, M., Strömbäck, J., & Maier, J. The Use and Effectiveness of Negativity in Televised Debates. Paper presented at the International

Communication Association annual conference, May 21-25, Chicago, USA. Martel, M. (1983). Political campaign debates: images, strategies and tactics. New York: Longman. McKinney, M. S., & Carlin, D. B. (2004). Political Campaign Debates. In L. L. Kaid (Ed.), *Handbook of political communication research* (pp. 203–234). Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum. Pfau, M., & Burgoon, M. (1989). The efficacy of issue and character attack message strategies in political campaign communication. *Communication Reports*, 2(2), 53–61. Racine Group. (2002). White paper on televised political campaign debates. *Argumentation & Advocacy*, 38, 199–218. Reinemann, C., & Maurer, M. (2005). Unifying or Polarizing? Short-Term Effects and Postdebate Consequences of Different Rhetorical Strategies in Televised Debates. *The Journal of Communication*, 55(4), 775–794.

The build-up of a candidature: Marina Silva and the Brazilian weekly news magazine

Mauricio Caleiro — Universidade Federal Fluminense (UFF), Brazil · mauricio_m_caleiro@yahoo.com.br

The presidential candidacy of Marina Silva, announced on last August, was greeted by the media as a novelty capable of putting an end to the 16-year-old power dichotomy between the “Partido dos Trabalhadores” - the moderate left-wing Labour Party of president Luís Inácio Lula da Silva - and the rightist Brazilian social democratic party (PSDB). Overwhelmed by such a binary and Manichaeist political atmosphere, sectors of the Brazilian society began to see the candidacy of the internationally renowned and awarded environmentalist as a third-party solution. Senator for the remote Amazonian state of Acre (where she began her political career together with the mythic unionist Chico Mendes), Marina has resigned a year before from her work as environmental minister (2003-2008), due to divergences with the administrative sectors of the federal administration. Besides the controversy provoked by such decision, her candidature for the Partido Verde [Green Party] raised, for the first time, the possibility of a Brazilian presidential election disputed by three women, awakening, in the press, striking – and sometimes scarily discriminatory - debates on gender questions, as this article will demonstrate. But at the same time that her candidacy was – in the blogosphere and in the media watching networks - put into question and eventually accused of being at service of the social democratic leader José Serra, it received a huge and uncommon attention from the weekly news magazine, often including positive approaches extremely rare for a political figure originated from - and longly associated to - the left-wing. Thus, it constituted a keen but ephemeral communicational phenomenon, which sometimes did not allow the distinction of the bounds between press coverage and political marketing. This article analyzes such journalistic coverage of Marina Silva’s presidential pre-campaign during the first month after it was announced. The related research, whose theoretical basis combines media watching methodologies to the French Analysis of Discourse, concentrates its focus on the three major Brazilian news magazines (*Veja*, *IstoÉ* and *Época*), also taking into account related critical inquiries produced on the context of the country’s media watching networks.

An Election Campaign that Was None? Press Coverage of the German Parliament Elections 2009 in a long-term comparison.

Melanie Leidecker — Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Germany · melanie.leidecker@uni-mainz.de

Jürgen Wilke — Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, Germany · juergen.wilke@uni-mainz.de

Already during the German Parliament Election Campaign in 2009 the impression spread around that this campaign was none. It was called “boring”, “faceless”, “lacking a contour” etc. Like in earlier campaigns we conducted a content analysis of the election coverage by which we can check if these reproaches are right. Four main dailies were analysed over four weeks before Election Day. Yes, we found several indicators which confirm the impression: the amount of coverage was much lower than in the recent elections before, there were less evaluative assertions of the candidates, less polarization etc. On the other side earlier trends continued in German election coverage: more “subjective” reporting, fewer news agency material, more pictures. In general presenting these results we wish to answer two questions: 1. How did the election campaign and its coverage

2009 differ from the campaigns before? In which respect do we observe linear trends and in which ups and downs? 2. How can we explain the “boredom” of the campaign? Which were the reasons: The political situation of the two big competing parties which had worked together in a common government for four years? The missing perspective of a change in government? A distinctive strategy of the leading governing party and its candidate, the chancellor Angela Merkel? The study confirms the assumptions that the situational and contextual factors determine election campaigns to a high degree. So we cannot be sure what will happen next time.

National Identity in Post-Beijing-Olympic Era: A Comparative Study of Hong Kong and Mainland China

Hanyun HUANG — , Hong Kong · huanghanyun@gmail.com

Olympic Games in Beijing raised a new wave of nationalism in China: from torch relay, to brilliant opening ceremony, to top 1 golden metal number, every Chinese people no matter at home or abroad, proud of motherland from the bottom of heart. Hong Kong, as British colony before and now part of China, must experience different nationalism from mainland China. After Olympic Games, when Chinese people were proud again for the launch of spacecraft Shenzhou VII, they suddenly shocked by the poison-milk scandal. So at this point of Post-Beijing-Olympic Era, what is the view of both Hong Kong people and mainland Chinese on their national identity? What are the differences on their self-identity? Whether Beijing Olympic Games had impacts on the self-identity of both Hong Kong and mainland Chinese? Are those impacts different? These are all interesting questions waiting to be answered. This research based on in-depth interview of 15 Hong Kong people and 15 mainland Chinese to investigate the above questions. Results showed there were significant differences between the opinion of Hong Kong and mainland interviewees. Hong Kong interviewees can be classified into four groups. Chinese-identity Group who identified themselves as both Chinese and Hong Kongese, and they thought Beijing Olympic was a big event of “our country”. Against-Chinese-identity Group who identified themselves as Hong Kongese and thought they neither had national flag nor had national anthem. Withdrawn Group identified themselves as both Hong Kongese and Chinese, but they were deeply hurt by Poison-milk Scandal and disappointed about the country. Wait-and-see Group did not deny their Chinese identity but were still waiting and drifting among two identities. For mainland Chinese, they had a unified self-identity as Chinese and most of them were very proud of Beijing Olympic Games although some of them confessed they criticized sometimes. Mainland Chinese can be classified into three groups. Identity-reinforced Group were formed by patriots, they were proud of China for holding such a big event and their patriotism was reinforced. Identity-activated Group thought their patriotism was inspired by the Beijing Olympic Games and the obstacles the country came across during this process. Cynical Group criticized things all the time but they criticized because they loved and cared about the country. Overall speaking, Beijing Olympic Game accelerated the national identity of some Hong Kong people, reinforced and activated the national identity of mainland Chinese. Because of differences in political system and value between Hong Kong and mainland China, how strong the national identity Hong Kong people have in fact will largely depend on how strong China will be. Details will be discussed in the full paper.

Using Social Movement Theories in Order to Study the Appropriation of Digital Communication for Political Contention

Marco Braeuer — Ilmenau University of Technology, Germany · marco.braeuer@tu-ilmenau.de

Imke Hoppe — Fraunhofer Institute for Digital Media Technology, Germany · hpe@idmt.fraunhofer.de

Cyber-utopians as well as cyber-pessimists have attributed the Internet to have a significant impact on societal, political, or economic development per se. Especially resource-weak actors, like e.g. many social movement organisations, are expected to have enhanced possibilities of information, communication, and mobilisation. Traditionally it is assumed that they have faced difficulties in gaining appropriate mainstream media coverage. With the help of the Internet they can create their own public profiles and hence bypassing established

gatekeepers. Furthermore, their traditionally weak position in comparison with the political elites is said to strengthen. Recent studies however showed that social movement organisations do not make use of the full potential of online options (Kenix, 2008; Stein, 2009). This paper aims to provide impulses for analysing the appropriation of traditional and new media for political engagement by drawing on theoretical approaches from the field of social movement research, avoiding technology-deterministic causal assumptions. It is argued that digital forms of contention (e.g. wikis, newsletters, websites, weblogs, twitter) are in the process of becoming part of the standard repertoire of contention and hence may serve as potentially available resources. As many social movements, like e.g. the environmental movement, can be regarded to represent transnational or global movements, new forms and patterns of online protest may diffuse even faster into local practices and alter them. However, digital media environments have not necessarily become the crucial sites for the contention between opposing political and/or business interests. Contention takes place in different locations and media environments and many social movement organisations depend on e.g. street-level activities and mass media coverage. Hybrid strategies may be applied, combining offline practices with newer forms of online engagement. Social movement theories help to frame the appropriation of such “mixed” repertoires of contention consisting of “offline” as well as “online” strategies. The appropriation of such specific repertoires can be modelled as a result of the ability of social movement organisations (SMOs) to mobilise the needed resources, the estimation of the efficacy of digital communication and of the respective goals, beliefs, and underlying ideologies. Furthermore, with the notion of the “repertoire” (based on Tilly, 1978) the dichotomy between offline and online contention can be overcome. The paper develops a framework how to analyse empirically the appropriation of online communication from the perspective of social movement research.

Who are you working for?: Fiction as a field of study for Political Communication

Alberto López-Hermida Russo – Universidad de los Andes, Chile · alhr@vtr.net

In previous years, the study of Political Communication has found in audiovisual fiction a broad and unexplored field of study that has produced several discoveries. One of them – and possibly the richest, considering the era we are living, in which message and format diversify very often- in which fiction has provided Politics with Civic Pedagogy, Proximity and Personalization, qualities once hard to accomplish by it. Any other Political Communication tools have hardly given this three “P” to Politics. Today, the electorate knows more and more what’s behind the political process in each governmental decision and feel those decisions more proximate – even though they might not share them- when they realize that they are a sum of human actions, for which they are perfectible, and, in last, they see the politician as human being, made of flesh and bones, with the same virtues and flaws of any other citizen. The West Wing and Commander in Chief are a clear example of this premise.

PR officers and political reporters; new conditions for power, citizenship and democracy

Goran Palm – , · goran.palm@lnu.se

Hakan Sandstrom – , Sweden · hakan.sandstrom@lnu.se

In Sweden we witness an exponential growth of PR, press and information officers within the higher echelons of state power; in the ministries, at various governmental agencies and, not least, within the inner circles of political power; the cabinet and the prime ministers office An increasing number of these communication strategists and spin officers are recruited from the field of political journalism; a lot of well known Swedish political reporters are at the moment servicing the power-holders and institutions they once were set out to cover, report on and critically access. The advantage of this arrangement – from the view of political power – is clear and distinct. It is not just a question of the knowledge about the journalistic field that is internalized into the political machinery, the question is more complex and intriguing: what about the relations between the former actors on the

journalistic field and those who stayed behind? The balance of power – or the media-source relationship – seems to be increasingly biased towards the political field and its communication strategists. Add to that the structural changes inside the news organisations, where different productivity measures means lesser resources in the hands of reporters - this imbalance can be seen as a serious democratic deficit from a citizen point of view. All this forms the starting point for a study on PR officers, their communication strategies and their relations to (elite) news rooms and political reporters. The methods used is a mix of network analysis and in-depth interviews, and in this paper we present the structure of the social networks established between PR officers and reporters with an emphasis on power balance and concerning questions like agenda-building, framing and discourse construction. We can see the contours of a complex web of interaction servicing both political reporters and PR officers, networks that seems to blur the distinction between media and source relationships, mixing politics and political reporting in new and problematic ways. New forms of political communication are established with great impact upon the exercise of citizenship and democracy.

Public diplomacy and global citizenship: How national actors address foreign citizens in a globalized world. An empirical case study on the structures, strategies and instruments of public diplomacy in Germany

Martin Loeffelholz – Ilmenau University of Technology, Germany · martin.loeffelholz@tu-ilmenau.de

Claudia Auer – Ilmenau University of Technology, Germany · claudia.auer@tu-ilmenau.de

Sylvia Krichbaum – Ilmenau University of Technology, Germany · sylvia.krichbaum@tu-ilmenau.de

Alice Srugies – Ilmenau University of Technology, Germany · alice.srugies@tu-ilmenau.de

Starting points and objectivesThe term public diplomacy was firstly coined by Edward Gullion, Dean of the School of Law and Diplomacy of the Tufts University, in 1965 (cf. Cull 2009). Since then the term has been applied heterogeneously in different national contexts, yet a definition of public diplomacy that is both empirically grounded and internationally consented is still missing (cf. Snow/Taylor 2009). In most Asian, African and South American countries, the term and the related concept of an external communication aiming at improving a country's image abroad has not been applied at all or since a few years only. Similarly some nation-states in Eastern and Western Europe are also at the very beginning of exploring the relevance of addressing foreign citizens by means of public diplomacy, e.g. in Germany (cf. Zöllner 2009, Plumridge 2005). Against this background, the study at hand is providing empirically grounded insights into a nation-state experimenting with structures, strategies and instruments of public diplomacy aiming at addressing not only governmental actors but a heterogeneous global audience. The findings show that particularly the cooperation (networking) of various political, cultural and economic organizations involved in shaping a nation's image in a globalized world is an important driving force of successful public diplomacy.

Theoretical approaches and working definitionBased on the differentiation between 'soft' and 'hard power' by Nye (cf. 2004, 2008), public diplomacy is theoretically defined as part of the resources foreign policy commands. The term 'soft power' comprises mainly communication based resources and activities, can be delineated from propaganda-related concepts under-standing communication as an asymmetric process (cf. Bussemer 2005) and covers aspects of both public relations and marketing, especially with regard to the communication tools employed. This idea of public diplomacy goes beyond the marketing-oriented approaches of nation branding (cf. Anholt 2003, 2005), resembles however theoretical ideas of political public relations (cf. Gramberger, 1994). As a matter of fact, both public diplomacy and public relations aim at long-term oriented, two-way symmetrical communication based on mutual understanding (cf. Grunig/Hunt 1984) and are directed at specific target groups (cf. Grunig 1997). Hence, Signitzer and Coombs state a „conceptual convergence“ of these two fields of public communication, yet without providing empirical evidence (cf. Signitzer/ Coombs 1992). If public relations and public diplomacy do have conceptual similarities or differ in terms of structure and function; if public diplomacy can be reduced to a subcategory of political public relations or whether it rather refers to an independent part of foreign political communication has to be answered empirically. Taking into consideration that no empirical studies have been conducted on structures and functions of public diplomacy in Germany yet, our research project operates with a comparatively wide understanding of public diplomacy. According to our working definition, public diplomacy

describes communication strategies, methods and activities of governmental and non-governmental organizations representing different currents and fields of interest within a nation-state (cf. Schimank 2000) in order to explicitly or implicitly contribute to shaping and maintaining a positive image of Germany abroad by reducing stereo-types and prejudices, evoking understanding and sympathy for the ideals, goals, political programs and governmental agencies and establishing long-term partnerships. On the basis of Giddens' structuration theory (cf. Giddens 1986) we assume that the structure of public diplomacy actors and the strategies as well as the methods they apply mutually depend on each other and, as demonstrated by Schimank in his analysis of the reflexive constitution of co-actions (2007), can be altered by observing and influencing actors and negotiations between those actors. Research design and findings Over a period of two years, from April 2008 to March 2010, the research team conducted the most comprehensive empirical analysis of actors, conditions, objectives, strategies and tools of Public Diplo-macy in Germany to date. The sample of the study consists of 31 organizational actors with headquarters in Germany addressing citizens in other countries and which can be, according to the working definition stated above, associated with public diplomacy. Based on the typology brought forward by Leonard et al. (2002) the study includes organizations from the following fields: politics, media, culture, science, development cooperation and economy. In addition to the analysis of publicly available documents, guided interviews were conducted with representatives of all institutions. By means of a half-standardized questionnaire the researchers interviewed those representatives of an organization who held specific knowledge on 'communication and international rela-tions'. The questionnaire centred on the follo-wing aspects: conceptual perception of external communication, individual and organizational understanding of public diplomacy, its integration in organizational structures, the relevance of the American way of conducting public diplomacy on the understanding of the concept in Germany, human resources, professional background of employees, goals and sub-goals of public diplomacy activities, timing (long-, mid- and short-term activities), key messages, target groups and their prioritization, national (German) citizens and organizations as target groups, instruments and tools, application of tools depending on the timing, prioritization of tools according to the key success criteria of the organizations, relevance of internet-based media, partnering abroad, areas of cooperation, relevance of partners (especially EU level), cooperations within the own country, future challenges. Data analysis and interpretation of findings will be completed by March 2010. Therefore, the full paper will include an elaboration of the theore-ti-cal background and the research design, but particularly focus on the results of the study. References Anholt, S. (2003): Brand new justice: the upside of global branding. Amsterdam: Elsevier. Anholt, S. & Hildreth, J. (2005): Brand America: the mother of all brands. London: Cyan. Bussemer, T. (2005): Propaganda: Konzepte und Theorien (Propaganda: Concepts and theories). Wiesbaden: VS. Cull, N. J. (2008): Public Diplomacy: Taxonomies and Histories. In: The annals of American academy of political and social science, 616, 31-54. Cull, N. J. (2009): Public diplomacy before Gullion. The evolution of a phrase, in: Snow, N./Taylor, P. (eds.): Handbook of public diplomacy. New York, London: Routledge, S. 19-23. Fisher, A. & Bröckhoff, A. (2008): Options of influence. Global campaigns of persuasion in the new worlds of public diplomacy. London: Counterpoint. Giddens, A. (1986): The constitution of society. Outline of the theory of structuration. Berkeley: University of California Press. Grunig, J. E. (1997): A situational theory of publics: Conceptual history, recent challenges and new research. In: D. Moss, T. MacManus, & D. Vercic (eds.): Public relations research: An international perspective. London: International Thomson Business Press, 3-48. Grunig, J. E. & Hunt, T. (1984): Managing public relations. Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College Publishers. Leonard, M./Stead, C./Smewing, C. (2002): Public diplomacy. London: The Foreign Policy Centre. Nye, J. S. (2004): Soft Power. The means to success in world politics. New York: Public Affairs. Nye, J. S. (2008): Public diplomacy and soft power. In: The annals of the American academy of political and social science, 616, 94-109. Plumridge, H. (2005): A survey of current EU member state public diplomacy. In: Gouveia, P.F. de/Plumridge, H. (eds.): European Infopolitik: Developing EU public diplomacy strategy. London: Foreign Policy Centre, 29-55. Schimank, U. (2000): Handeln und Strukturen: Einführung in die akteurszentrierte Soziologie (Actions and structures. Introduction to actor-centred sociology). Munich: Juventa. Schimank, U. (2007): Handeln in Konstellationen: Die reflexive Konstitution von handelndem Zusammen-wir-ken und sozialen Strukturen (Acting in Constellations. The reflexive constitution of co-acting and social structures). In: Altmeppen, K.-D./Hanitzsch, T./Schlüter, C. (eds.): Journalismus-theorie (Journalism theory) – Next Generation. Wiesbaden: VS, 121-137. Signitzer, B./Coombs, T. (1992): Public relations and public diplomacy: Conceptual convergences. In: Public Relations Review, 18(2), 137-147. Snow,

N./Taylor, P. (eds.) (2009): *The handbook of public diplomacy*. New York, London: Routledge. Zöllner, O. (2006): A quest for dialogue in international broadcasting: Germany's public diplomacy targeting Arab audiences. In: *Global Media and Communication* 2006 (2), 160-182. Zöllner, O. (2009): German public diplomacy. The dialogue of cultures, in: Snow, N./Taylor, P. M. (eds.): *Handbook of public diplomacy*. New York & London, Routledge, 262 – 269.

Communication: strategic communication "in the Colonial war under Salazar, 1961-1968"

José Rei – , Portugal · jrei@utad.pt

José Belo – , Portugal · jbelo@utad.pt

Mónica Santos – , Portugal · mlobutterfly@hotmail.com

Communication: strategic communication "in the Colonial war under Salazar, 1961-1968" This paper examines Salazar communications about the Colonial war in the Portuguese and foreign press, 1961 to 1968, characterized as strategic communication. The analysis includes a distinction between texts (as interviews) and images (especially posters). The first ones, after considering themes and objectives, were classified and quantified according a text typology: interviews, official notices, speeches, communiqués, press conferences, newspaper articles, private messages, and so on. So initially, is defined for this strategic communication, then move to the lifting of these communications, divided by years, by newspapers and magazines, for target audiences (national or foreign). The second ones were stratified according the reasons that build them up: human figure, animals, natural elements - rivers, trees, vegetation, landscapes -, civilization elements – the Portuguese flag, weapons, maps, the cross, ships, houses, dams, statues, coins... Methodology followed closely content analysis on a free mode, having proved suitable for the analysis of the corpus. The analysis shows that Salazar has often used this type of strategic communication. However, its distribution is not balanced during the years of its governance, appearing to be more frequent during the first three years (1961-1963) and in 1966. The countries of the media in which such communications appear, besides Portugal, with most of them, we find the USA with 6 communications, France with 3, England with 2, and then Canada, Italy and Argentina with one. Finally, as conclusion, we note that communication creates power, but can also oppose power. This explains why, both Portugal and "overseas", had intellectual and military resistance. Communication, as well as rhetoric and eloquence, are not positive or negative concepts; it is the purpose with which they are used that dictates its purposes and gives them a positive or negative tone.

Framing of the president: newspaper coverage of the candidates in 2010 presidential elections in Croatia

Marijana Grbesa – Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Zagreb, Croatia · grbesa@fpzg.hr

Using content analysis, the paper examines the media coverage of the two front-running candidates in the second round of the presidential elections in Croatia in 2010. The paper first examines if there were any differences between Ivo Josipović (the candidate of the Social Democratic Party (SDP)) and Milan Bandić (independent candidate) in terms of their visibility in the newspaper reports. Secondly, the paper investigates if and how newspapers employed valenced frames to report about the candidates. The results have revealed that three valenced news frames dominated the news coverage about Croatian presidential elections: competency (competent – incompetent), integrity (honest – corrupt) and suitability (suitable - unsuitable). The findings further suggest that Milan Bandić was by far the most visible candidate. Yet, the overall valence was systematically favourable towards Ivo Josipović who was in vast majority of the news stories framed as competent, honest and suitable while at the same time Milan Bandić was predominantly framed as incompetent, corrupt and unsuitable for the position. The paper finally discusses how this may have affected the outcome of the elections which were won by Ivo Josipović.

Media Coverage on a President's Death and its Political and Ideological Meanings in Korean Society - A Semiotic Network Analysis of TV Coverage on a Former President's Death -

Seon-Gi Baek – Sungkyunkwan University, Korea, Republic Of · baek99@skku.edu

The purpose of this study was to investigate patterns of media coverage on the death of former president Moo-Hyun Roh, and its social, political and ideological meanings in the context to Korean society. He had been a central figure who would turn the Korean society into very severe conflicts politically as well as ideologically. Nonetheless, after this death, the Korean society changed rapidly from the atmosphere of criticizing him into the climate for cherishing his great contribution. The author raised three research questions as follows. 'Were there any differences in covering his death among TV stations? If there were differences, what were they?', 'What were differences in types of representations and discourses among TV coverages?' and 'What were ideological meanings in such kinds of different types of representation and discourse?' In order to answer these research questions, he collected news items of three TV stations - that is, KBS 1-TV-1 TV, MBC TV and SBS TV - from May 23, 2009 to June 10, 2009, and analyzed them through semiotic research methods, especially, Seon-Gi Baek's 'Semiotic Network Analysis(SNA)' and 'Discursive Structure Analysis(DSA)'. As a result of this study, first of all, it was found that there were differences in covering his death among three TV stations on the basis of its own ideological position and favor for or disfavor against him. Second, Korean TV media tended to pay attention to causes of his commit suicide as if it would be a normal incident of commit suicide in order to depoliticize it, even though it would be connected to a kind of family bribery with very serious political impacts. Third, they tended not to focus various meanings of his death personally but to emphasize on political and ideological meanings of his death socially in the context to the Korean society. In conclusion, the Korean media had a tendency of covering his death differently on the basis of its own political and ideological position: that is, the one tried to emphasizing ideological and political meanings on his death, while the others were inclined to get rid of such kinds of meanings on his death through de-politicizing meanings of his death.

Changes in the Source Structure of Australian Newspapers' Political Reporting 1956-2006

Rod Tiffen – University of Sydney, Australia · r.tiffen@usyd.edu.au

A long-term systematic content analysis of Australian newspapers in the half century after the introduction of television in 1956 shows that newspapers changed substantially in their political reporting, and specifically, as explored here, in their use of sources. Generally by the end of the period they used more sources per story; more often cited sources conflicting each other; drew on a wider range of sources, including from the bureaucracy and interest groups; and were more likely to say they were relying on confidential sources. The paper will elucidate these trends, and also explore differences between papers and key periods of change.

Campaigning for Europe. Political advertising in France, Germany and the UK during the European election campaign

Christina Holtz-Bacha – U of Erlangen-Nuremberg, Germany · christina.holtz-bacha@wiso.uni-erlangen.de

Jacob Leidenberger – UPEC - Université Paris-Est Créteil Val de Marne, France · jacob.leidenberger@univ-paris12.fr

Philippe Maarek – UPEC - Université Paris-Est Créteil Val de Marne, France · maarek@univ-paris12.fr

Susanne Merkle – U of Erlangen-Nuremberg, Germany · susanne.merkle@wiso.uni-erlangen.de

The European election is a unique occasion for comparative research: The same event takes place at the same time in all 27 EU member states. The campaigns, however, are national and thus particularly lend themselves to

cross-national comparisons. This paper analyses visual and verbal strategies of TV advertising during the European election campaign 2009 in France (n=44), Germany (n=38) and the UK (n=45) and discusses the findings against the different political and cultural backgrounds. There are, for instance, differences among the three countries in their attitudes towards the EU. In 2009, Germany was in a special situation because the European election was held just a few weeks before the parliamentary election. Previous studies showed that parties tend to use the same strategies for campaigns on the national and the European level. These are just some factors why it seems justified to assume that the ads in these three countries may have been very different. The study provides data from content analyses according to a codebook that was applied for all TV ads broadcast during the campaign in the three countries. The main objective of the study is to assess similarities and differences in the way campaigning is done in the three countries. The fact that the campaigns target at the same event suggests the use of similar strategies. However, since (political) advertising is always also an expression of the (political) culture of a country, differences are expected that can be explained by the political context (e.g., the different attitudes towards Europe; different electoral systems), the legal background (for broadcasting spots on TV) and cultural idiosyncrasies. As the design and the contents of TV spots are determined by the parties or candidates themselves and are not subject to any changes by journalists or the broadcasting companies (as e.g., appearances of politicians in the news or talk shows), they can be expected to reflect the unadulterated strategies of the contenders and thus are particularly suited to compare the parties' campaign efforts.

Rethinking the Arab State and Culture: The case of Syria

Dina Matar – SOAS, United Kingdom · dm27@soas.ac.uk

Drawing on ongoing research on contemporary Syria, this paper argues for broadening and deepening the analysis of Arab media, culture and society by incorporating an historical analysis of the dynamic and changing links between the state and discursive forms of cultural production. A historical perspective is essential in order to appreciate the transformations in discursive practices and strategies that states, non-state actors and resistant cultures use to produce discourse and to understand the shifting power relations in societies. This approach is grounded in Michel Foucault's analysis of 'discourse' as a web of norms, presuppositions, definitions and shared systems of meaning that cannot be understood in isolation from power, and draws on Sami Zubaida's argument for the need to write 'specific histories', at least partly, in terms of general socio-economic processes to explain how for any given social formation, a series of historical conjunctures, each with its own patterns of socio-political processes, have led to distinctive configurations. The aim is to re-orient existing, and future, research into Arab media, culture and society within socio-economic, political and technological histories, which can then help us explain the shifting and complex relationship between the state and culture. The dual focus on the state and culture is based on the general view of the state (*dawla*) as a set of common political institutions that are able to monopolize violence and distribute goods and services within a demarcated territory; and of state power as performed and executed through the control of material resources and enforcement of laws and punishment, on the one hand, and through the manipulation and management of systems of signification, on the other. It also rests on the understanding of culture as a network of polyvalent practices, texts and images that generate meaning, and is therefore subject to contestation and renegotiation by various actors. The dual focus on the state and culture explains how power is not absolute, but many-sided, elusive and diffuse, as it is the outcome of shifting and complex interactions between the dominant and the subordinate, played out in various ways and in different micro-centres of power and institutions, including the media. The paper considers relevant conceptual debates around the state, and the Arab state, in particular, and then provides a brief history of the state in Syria and the evolution of its various mass media systems in order to show how the media, particularly the press and state television, have been central to state-building discourses that have helped shape the public imagination of what the state is and what it stands for. It then discusses discursive spaces and practices in which 'resistance' cultures and voices challenge what constitutes the 'political' in various ways, and yet continue to operate within contexts that toggle between state 'hegemony' and outright repression. By drawing attention to the state's

changing character, its adaptability to various socio-political and socio-economic conjunctures, it shows how states manage and control culture and adapt to changing historical contexts and challenges of new information technologies.

Infotainment, Cynicism and Democracy: Privatization vs. Personalization

Nael Jebril – University of Southern Denmark, Denmark · nje@sam.sdu.dk

Erik Albæk – Department of Political Science and Public Management, University of Southern Denmark, Denmark · eri@sam.sdu.dk

Claes de Vreese – University of Amsterdam, Netherlands · c.h.devreese@uva.nl

This cross-national study aims to examine the effects of infotainment on cynicism about politics in Denmark, England and Spain. The study distinguishes between infotainment elements that are related to the journalism shift from public to private and the representation of large social issues in terms of individual actors at one hand, and those elements that are related to the narrative style of journalism and attracting broad audiences on the other hand. The first set of elements is referred to as Privatization while the second set of elements is referred to as Personalization. Our hypothesis is that exposure to privatization increases cynicism among the general public while exposure to personalization does not. We further test if effects of exposure to infotainment content on cynicism are moderated by levels of political interest as some literature suggest that exposure to infotainment help involve the less interested in politics in democracy. The study draws on the following primary sources of data: 1) a cross national panel survey (ca. 12000 interviews) with a representative sample of populations in the three countries. The three countries are chosen as they belong to three different media and politics systems (Hallin and Mancini 2004) and therefore represent different political communication cultures and have diverse tabloidization traditions in news industry. 2) A content analysis of the most important national outlets in the three countries for a consecutive period of three weeks between both panel waves. The outlets include TV and newspapers, commercial and public service broadcasts, and tabloid and quality press. A total of 3,994 TV and newspaper news items were analyzed by twelve student coders to assess the presence of infotainment elements in news content about national politics. Factor analysis confirmed privatization (i.e. focus on private life, scandal) and personalization (i.e. human interest, emotions) are two diverse concepts. To examine the effects of exposure to infotainment (privatization vs. personalization) on political cynicism, we integrate the results of the content analysis directly into our dynamic models (regression analysis) of political cynicism between both waves of the survey. The analysis is conducted at the respondent's level so that each individual receives two separate additive scores measuring his/her exposure to privatization as well as personalization elements. These scores are determined by 1) self-report measures of exposure to a given outlet (e.g. how many days a week), 2) the presence of privatization and personalization elements in each outlet (e.g. mean scores), and 3) the total number of outlets one is exposed to (e.g. how many news outlets respondents report to use and how much personalization and privatization content each included). We control for related variables i.e. efficacy, discussion, background characteristics, country effects..etc. Our results suggest that exposure to privatization content has across the board positive effect on cynicism, while exposure to personalization elements only increases cynicism among the more interested in politics, while it decreases cynicism among the less interested in politics. The results are discussed in the light of research on media effects and political communication.

Barack Obama's first one-hundred days in office: Visual perspectives from Germany and the US

Ognyan Seizov – Jacobs University Bremen, Germany · o.seizov@jacobs-university.de

Marion Mueller – Jacobs University Bremen, Germany · m.mueller@jacobs-university.de

The first one-hundred days in office are often used as predictors of the success or failure of national governments and state heads worldwide. The media, in their dual role as government's mouthpiece and its fiercest critics, play

a major role in shaping this success or fail story. Visuals play a growing role in news coverage, as the visual technology advances and with it, the opportunities to take numerous shots and manipulate them as it fits different media outlets' agendas. No other 100 days in office were more anticipated than Barack Obama's, after his initially unlikely and later on stellar rise to power as the first African-American president of the United States. He based his campaign on the themes of hope and change, but did those themes persist into his presidency as well? This study presents a cross-national media comparison of visualizations in news items dedicated to Barack Obama from four serious weekly magazines from the US (Time and Newsweek) and Germany (Der Spiegel and Stern). The sampling period covered Obama's first one-hundred days in office, counting from the day of his inauguration. A total of 79 images were collected from the US-American sample, and 71 from the German sample. They were then coded inductively for quantitative content analysis as well as political-iconographical interpretation of the most common shot types. Results showed significant differences both in the numbers and kinds of visuals that appeared on either side of the Atlantic Ocean during the sampled period. While the US media focused on Barack Obama himself, presenting him as the inspired and affable leader he appeared to be during his campaign, their German counterparts emphasized his interactions with other political figures much more and did so in a variety of portrayals as opposed to the mostly uniform depictions coming from America. The paper presents the final results of this comparative empirical study of presidential communication and its perception in domestic and foreign media markets.

Uniquely simple? - The structure of candidates' images in voters' cognitive systems

Lukas Otto – University of Koblenz-Landau, Germany · otto@uni-landau.de

Michaela Maier – University of Koblenz-Landau, Germany · mmaier@uni-landau.de

Silke Adam – University of Bern, Switzerland · ikmb@ikmb.unibe.ch

Personalization of politics is a very popular concept. Some even claim that “personalization of politics will remain a – perhaps the – central feature of democratic politics in the twenty-first century” (McAllister, 2007, p. 585). On the one hand, personalization refers to a stronger focus on candidates and politicians instead of issues, parties or other institutions. On the other hand, personalization hypothesis claims that the non-political, personal aspects of candidate images or the personality becomes more and more relevant in media, campaigns and voting behaviour (Adam & Maier, 2010). The second proposition of personalization hypothesis is problematic because it is rather complicated to distinguish between political and non-political traits (Gabriel & Vetter, 1998). So to test this part of the hypothesis it is absolutely necessary to exactly know how the structure of candidates' personality is represented in voters' cognitive systems. Many political scientists consider the personality of politicians to be structured in four main factors: Leadership, competence, integrity and personal attributes. But if these factors are extracted through confirmatory factor analysis they are highly correlated (Vetter & Brettschneider, 1998), which could be a subtle hint for a rather simple perception of politicians' personality structure. Political psychologists also found voters' perception of politicians' personality to be uniquely simple: Instead of the well-known five trait factors participants employed in self-description and personality judgement of celebrities, they describe Italian (e.g. Berlusconi and Prodi) and U.S.-American (e.g. Clinton and Dole) politicians using only two factors (Caprara, Barbanelli & Zimbardo, 1997; Caprara et al., 2008). In our paper we present findings from a study, in which subjects rated German and U.S.-American politicians on psychological personality inventories such as the “Big Five Inventory” (John, 1991; Rammstedt & John, 2005) and instruments constructed by political scientists to assess candidate images (Vetter & Brettschneider, 1998). To validate the findings, self-ratings and ratings on celebrities were also conducted. First findings from a pre-study realized during the 2009 election campaign in Germany show, that the traits which were categorized as “political” and “non-political” in the literature so far are by no means independent but highly correlated. In addition it was not possible to extract more than two factors through exploratory factor analysis. These findings point into the direction that images of political actors are indeed less differentiated than the cognitive representations of other people which leads to interesting questions regarding the evolution of such political image structures and additional challenges when testing the second part of personalization hypothesis.

Los candidatos y las imágenes de los candidatos en las elecciones de 2009

Isabel Cunha – CIMJ/University of Coimbra, Portugal · barone.ferin@gmail.com

Este artículo pretende discutir la personalización en la comunicación política portuguesa desde la presencia de los candidatos y sus candidaturas en los servicios de noticias televisivas en la Campaña Electoral de Septiembre de 2009. Con este fin se congrega a los conceptos procedentes de las Teorías de la Democracia y Periodismo (Rawnsley, 2005; Ginsborg, 2008) para reflexionar sobre los contornos de la crisis económica de 2007/2008 y su impacto en la democracia y el periodismo. Así se congrega a los conceptos procedentes de las Teorías de la Democracia y Periodismo para reflexionar sobre los contornos de la crisis económica de 2007/2008 y su impacto en la democracia y el periodismo. A continuación, se analiza y compara la cobertura periodística en la prensa y la televisión desde la perspectiva de las aplicaciones y la construcción de la imagen de los candidatos (Sparks e Tulloch, 2000; Norris, 2002; Louw, 2005).

Political blogs and electoral information spinning

Alessandra Aldé – UERJ Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil · a.alde@uol.com.br

Political blogs have become an authentic phenomenon in Brazil, firstly noted during the political scandals of 2005, spreading in number and gaining relevance in each electoral period since then. Their influence is such that, in more than one occasion, well known representatives asserted to have changed their vote in Congress after reading comments on a political blog. Internet use is significant in our country; if it is true that access is not as widespread as in developed areas, Brazilians spend large amounts of time connected, and many people, especially amongst the young, already get most of their information through the web. Thus, political use of the web has driven politicians and journalists as well to publish sites and blogs, contributing to the circulation of political opinions. Differently from the example of the United States, where the most followed political blogs are identified as independent publishers, in Brazil the most influent are the ones linked to either big communication companies, that invite well known journalists to publish on their sites and portals, or to well established politicians, who try to influence media outcomes and to offer different versions to especially informed and active citizens – including, of course, journalists themselves. The paper proposed brings results of ongoing research on journalistic, candidate and politician blogs, relying on empirical analysis of some emblematic cases. Our goal is to analyze how political actors in different situations – candidates, representatives, journalists and citizens – occupy this new place of debate, the internet, and what are the consequences of such different appropriations in face of the political possibilities opened by web technology. This new combination of real time information with explicit political opinion and the exposition of subjectivity is our focus. Our analysis shows, as a preliminary result, changes in the circulation of political and electoral information, opening new spaces for candidates to offer to supporters and journalists their own agenda and fact interpretation, with a more intimate and subjective stile, that differs greatly from our traditional television and radio propaganda. On the other side, this new format also affects the way journalists do their job, submitting them to reader scrutiny and criticism, and giving a renewed value to explicit opinion and subjectivity, that bring into question the journalistic paradigm of objectivity.

The British General Election Campaign of 2010

Dominic Wring – Loughborough University, United Kingdom · D.J.Wring@lboro.ac.uk

This paper will discuss the forthcoming British General Election campaign widely expected to be held on 6th May 2010. Constitutionally the election must be called by early June at the latest. The discussion will consider the role and involvement of so-called electoral professionals in developing and implementing various advertising,

public relations and market research strategies to identify and target audiences within the opinion electorate. Particular attention will be devoted to analysing the opposition Conservative campaign, an effort that may end in the first change of government since 1997. Furthermore attention will be devoted to the mediation of the election be this via new or old media. Consideration will be given to online material as well as more traditional forms of journalistic reporting of events and developments during the campaign. Analysis will focus on whether and how this campaign marks a turning point in British electioneering be this in terms of recent and more distant polls.

Is Podcasting an Instrument of Agenda Building?

Stefan Geiss — Institut für Publizistik, Johannes Gutenberg-University Mainz, Germany · stefan.geiss@uni-mainz.de

Problem: Since June 2006, German Chancellor Angela Merkel addresses the electorate in weekly podcasts. The stated purpose of the podcasts is to explain considerations and current decisions of the Federal government. The policy agenda visible in the podcasts clearly deviates from the public agenda, however, and the reach of the podcast itself is too low to hope for direct agenda setting effects. Therefore, to direct public attention towards the policy affairs the podcast addresses, the mass media are needed as a mediating agenda setter. Thus, the first question is whether these podcasts successfully impact on the media agenda (agenda building), and if so, under which conditions. **Method:** Two content analyses were conducted. First, the media coverage of issues in four German quality newspapers - from June 2006 until December 2006 - was assessed. Second, the time devoted to these issues in 24 podcasts released during that period was measured. Both analyses yielded time-series data about issues addressed by the media and the podcast, and about events highlighted by the media or the podcast. The timing of the media and the podcast are compared. **Results:** The emphasis on issues in the press and in the podcasts were different, indicating that some issues (technology, family) were highlighted in the podcasts, which would allow for agenda building effects. An analysis of time-lags between weekly issue time-series of podcasts and the press was inconclusive. The analysis based on specific events however revealed that the press usually reported on these events several days before Merkel addressed the events in the podcast. This is true for announcements of future events by the Chancellor, and for reviews of past events. The time-lag between media coverage and podcast is shorter for 'future events' than for 'past events', however. Merkel usually addressed these events either shortly before or shortly after media coverage of these events peaked. When Merkel emphasized events and issues despite low prior media attention (technology, family, culture) she did not systematically raise the media's interest in these issues or in related events. **Discussion:** Merkel's podcasts often look ahead towards future events. But most of these events are easily anticipated by the media. Therefore, the media cover these events even before the podcast emphasizes them. If attempts towards promoting an event are made, no effects are visible. Setting up and timing these events rather than addressing them in the podcast seems to direct the media's attention. The podcast addresses issues when these issues reach their high point of attention. It may serve some other purpose such as justifying and explaining policy decisions, offering statements for public discourse, and demonstrating the Chancellor's openness to new technologies. The function of the podcast remains unclear, however. **Methodologically,** viewing singular events rather than recurring issues has emerged as a helpful tool in order to determine the sequence of changes of the policy agenda and of the media agenda. This should not be equated with causality, however.

Political radio and television advertisements in a young democracy:

Lynnette Fourie — North West University, Potchefstroom Campus, South Africa, South Africa · Lynnette.Fourie@nwu.ac.za

Political radio and television advertisements in a young democracy: The 2009 South African National Election Campaign A substantial amount of political communication research in the Western world has focussed on the

question whether images instead of issues are emphasised in especially political television advertisements. Relating to this issue, is the question regarding the effect of negative and / or attack messages in political advertising on the sustainability of democracy. This is especially a concern in a young democracy where a tradition of democratic values still needs to be established. In this paper, it is preferred to refer to emotional and cognitive messages and it is acknowledged that emotional and cognitive messages are interrelated and that both have a function in elections. The assumption is that typical election issues (emotional messages) should be used to attract voters' attention. However, this is not sufficient as these issues should further be explained and contextualised, thus also addressing cognitive messages. South African political radio advertisements and public election broadcasts (PEBs) have been part of South African electioneering since the first democratic election in 1994. Television advertisements, however, were first allowed in the 2009 election campaign, mainly due to the argument that not all political parties would have the financial means to utilize television advertisements. As in the case of political radio advertisements, time slots were allocated on the national broadcaster for public elections broadcasts to be aired. Against this background this paper will aim to determine the extent to which emotional and cognitive messages were integrated in the political radio and television advertisements during the 2009 South African election campaign? Method Qualitative content analysis will be done of the political radio advertisements and PEBs and television advertisements and PEBs of the main political parties broadcasted in the run-up of the 2009 South African National Elections. The analysis will focus on the different themes used by political parties in their radio and television political advertisements and PEBs. Furthermore, the different message strategies and tactics will be analysed within the context of emotional and cognitive messages. Preliminary findings: Preliminary analysis indicated that the success of social upliftment was the most important positive message, mostly promoted by the governing ANC. On the other hand, the high incidence of crime was the most important negative message and was echoed by most of the opposition parties. Regarding the tone and strategy of the advertisements, it would seem that the PEBs had a more cognitive approach and focused more on policy issues. However, especially in the case of radio they tended to be long and not expected to attract voters' attention. The paid advertisements were shorter, more emotional and in the case of radio included negative and attack messages. It was interesting that in the case of television advertisements a "softer approach" was taken. Although, the advertisements had an emotional tone, mostly positive messages were conveyed.

On-line participation in Croatia: Moving beyond citizens' cynicism. The case of the City of Pula.

Domagoj Bebic – Faculty of Political Sciences, Croatia · domagoj@quintana.hr

Bernard Zenzerovic – City of Pula, Croatia · bernard.zenzerovic@pula.hr

Building on the arguments of those who see internet as the medium for broader political participation and bearing in mind that on-line technologies may provide platform for building ties between political representatives and represented, this article examines if and how local authorities in Croatia have been using potential of the internet to engage citizens into a decision making process. The paper introduces the case of the City of Pula which is the first and the only city in Croatia which introduced E-consultations to stimulate citizens to influence City's policies (e.g. regulation of transport, development strategy of the city, restoration of the city parks etc.) Using longitudinal content analysis, the paper examines citizens' contributions related to three key city's projects, differentiating thereby between 'constructive' and 'cynical' inputs. Controlling for two variables, a) reporting of the newspapers about the E-consultations projects and b) changes in the management of the E-consultations web site, the results of the analysis suggest that certain steps may be undertaken to move beyond the citizens' cynicism default.

Tiananmen as a News Icon: Examining U.S. Elite Press's Editorial Discourses*Chin-Chuan Lee* – City Univ of Hong Kong, Hong Kong · chinchuan.lee@cityu.edu.hk*Hongtao Li* – City Univ of Hong Kong, Hong Kong · hongtaoli2@cityu.edu.hk*Francis Lee* – Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong · b200152@mailserv.cuhk.edu.hk

The Tiananmen crackdown on June 4, 1989 shocked the world through live televised coverage. The event has been a “news icon” (Bennett and Lawrence, 1995). For people within China and outside China, it symbolizes complex, contradictory, and generalized layers of meaning about China: authoritarian repression, chaos, stability, struggle for democracy, economic development amidst political dictatorship, China’s engagement with globalization (Kim, 2000; Lee & Yang, 1996; Lee et al., 2002). As such, Tiananmen has been extracted and abstracted from its original context and repeatedly invoked by journalists to make sense of subsequent events or situations. As Lang and Lang (1989) argue, history enables journalists “to delimit an era, as a yardstick, for analogies, and for the shorthand explanations or lessons it can provide” (p.127). Collective memory is “an evoking of a past to frame a present but also to conform that past to the present” (Gronbeck, 1998: 58). This is because journalists tend to assume that the past, the present, and the future are a linear progression with common causes and consequences. By evoking momentous dates, episodes, and events, the media reify them as “historical lessons” to reference, analyze, and dramatize the seemingly “relevant” or “similar” happenings. Moreover, they amalgamate the ambiguously related events or issues into a paradigmatic framework to build a narrative flow or achieve thematic unity. The historical past for use includes commemorative journalism, historical analogies, and historical contexts (Edy, 1999). Thus, a news icon becomes part of the media’s “ideological package” (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989). Given the relative vacuum in background knowledge, making use of a historical event as a news icon is particularly acute in international news. This study aims to examine what Tiananmen means to the editorials of two elite U.S. newspapers—New York Times and Washington Post—in the past twenty years. Specifically, we shall address the following research questions: (1) When, how and for what purposes do the two papers’ editorialists invoke “Tiananmen” as a symbol to interpret disconnected events or situations? (2) How does the pattern change over time? (3) How is the press discourse, in evoking Tiananmen as an icon, related to the larger contexts of U.S.-China relationship, especially to the U.S.’s policy toward China? The core data set is composed of all the editorials of the New York Times and Washington Post from June 1989 to August 2009 that contained any reference to the word “Tiananmen.” These editorials form a vital part of elite consensus in the United States, with strong implications for policy-making and public opinion. Searching through the Lexis/Nexis database has resulted in a total of 114 editorials on the Times and 78 editorials on the Post. We seek to analyze the ideological packages of these two papers with what Gamson and Modigliani (1989) calls the “constructionist approach to discourse analysis.” Our preliminary analysis reveals that references to Tiananmen have been converted from a “referential symbol” into a “condensation symbol” (Edelman, 1964) over the two decades. It is a news icon (Bennett & Lawrence, 1995) that crystallizes the underlying conflicts, values, and cultural themes associated with an event. Tiananmen is used to build historical analogies or contrasts in the depictions of “massacres” committed by authoritarian or Communist regimes. The narratives treat the Tiananmen event as a watershed to position subsequent events in a continuous flow of occurrences. However, the meaning of Tiananmen also changed over time. In the first few years following 1989, it was presented as a symbol of “Communist dictatorship.” From 1993 to 2001, it was reconstructed, more loosely, to describe “human rights abuses” in China, juxtaposed with various cases of abuse in political, religious and civic sectors. After 2001, Tiananmen was reduced to “ritualistic memory” and gradually faded away from editorial discourse. These changes seem to parallel the development of the U.S.-China ties. In sum, the life cycle of Tiananmen as a news icon serves to highlight and define the current concerns of U.S. elite, including policy makers, in the post-Cold War era. References: Bennett, W., & Lawrence, R. (1995). News icons and the mainstreaming of social change. *Journal of Communication*, 45(3), 20-39. Edelman, M. (1964). Symbolic uses of politics. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. Edy, J. A. (1999). Journalistic uses of collective memory. *Journal of Communication*, 49(2), 71-85. Gamson, W., & A. Modigliani (1989). Media discourse and public opinion on nuclear power: a constructionist approach. *American Journal of Sociology*, 95: 1-37. Gronbeck, B. (1998). The rhetorics of the past: History, argument and collective memory. In K.J.Turner (Ed.), *Doing rhetorical history: Concepts and case* (pp. 47-60). Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. Kim, S. T. (2000). Making a difference:

U.S. press coverage of the Kwangju and Tiananmen pro-democracy movements. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 77(1), 22-36. Lang, K., & Lang, G. E. (1989). Collective memory and the news. *Communication* (11), 123-139. Le, E. (2006). The spiral of 'anti-other rhetoric': discourses of identity and the international media echo. Philadelphia: J. Benjamins. Lee, C. C., & Yang, J. (1996). Foreign news and national interest: Comparing U.S. and Japanese coverage of a Chinese student movement. *International Communication Gazette*, 56(1), 1-18. Lee, C. C., Chan, J. M., Pan, Z., & So, C.Y. K. (2002). *Global media spectacle: news war over Hong Kong*. Albany: SUNY Press. (This paper is based on a larger project funded by a generous grant (RGF9041283-660) from the Hong Kong Universities Research Committee. Further support was provided by the Center for Communication Research at the City University of Hong Kong.)

Social context, institutions, and citizens' political discussion in cross-national comparative perspective

Lilach Nir – Hebrew U, Israel · Inir@mscc.huji.ac.il

Although benefits of political discussion as a catalyst for democratic citizenship have been extolled in previous normative and empirical research, little is known about its structural antecedents. Most research to-date emanates from single-country contexts, chiefly the United States, and focuses on individual-level social and psychological explanations of the proclivity to discuss politics. Few studies tested this form of political communication in cross-national comparison. My purpose is to fill this gap by proposing a model of both macro- and micro-level factors that affect discussion. I argue that political institutions condition the effect of socioeconomic resources on individuals' levels of political discussion. Specifically, because discussion is the outcome not only of individual means (resources) and motives (interest), but also of structural opportunities, rates of discussion should vary considerably, depending on features specific to the national and institutional context of politics. For example, party- and electoral systems, which affect the opportunities for citizens' talk by lowering the costs of entering a political discussion, are expected to correlate with overall discussion frequency (Hypothesis 1). Moreover, some institutional contexts mitigate or exacerbate knowledge gaps by conditioning the effect of individual-level resources on his or her discussion frequency (Hypothesis 2). I test these hypotheses with data from a large-scale international survey of EU member-states. Results derived from multivariate regression models support empirically the theoretical propositions. Implications for cross-national research on political expression are discussed in conclusion.

E-Parliaments 2.0: Opening the gates to citizens. The use of social media in parliamentary websites.

Aspasia Papaloi – Ms., Greece · apapaloi@media.uoa.gr

Eleni-Revekkha Staiou – Ms., Greece · erstaiou@media.uoa.gr

Dimitris Gouscos – Mr., Greece · gouscos@media.uoa.gr

The constant development of ICT and social media influence the way we act and communicate through the Web and have already established a new status of social behaviour. Many institutions integrate social media in their websites in order to attract more followers, to promote their services or even develop new ones, in which people will be able to interact and participate by exchanging ideas, propose changes or express disagreement. In this last category fall parliaments, which are trying to gain transparency, openness, accessibility and effectiveness. The implementation and use of ICT in parliaments' services has created a new approach for examining the new trend called "e-parliaments", which depict their digital dimension. This new trend unveils several interesting issues, concerning not only the use of ICT for the facilitation of everyday parliamentary procedures, but also the use of ICT as a medium for a more active political participation of citizens. In that sense, many forms of activities, such as the use of social media can act as a catalyst in this complicated and interesting venture. Web 1.0 was the main tool for eParliaments. With the revolution of Web 2.0, the landscape changed. Users, with applications which enable them to do what they want in their own way, without the need of technical skills, obtain

the control and require information, knowledge, participation and interaction everywhere, including official sites, as eParliaments. Web 2.0 or social media are terms to describe applications like blogs, wikis, social networking sites, forums etc, which provide a new style of information and of online communities, in which the writer and the reader can be the same person. This paper focuses in three case studies, European Parliament, Parliament of the United Kingdom and Parliament of Ecuador and it examines the use of social media by them. Several parliaments worldwide even in developed countries, haven't integrated social media yet. These three examples - one central parliament, one parliament from a western and developed country and one from a developing country - have been chosen in order to explore the state of play today. What we are trying to answer in this paper is, which is the added value of eParliament 2.0. What do they include, in what degree parliaments are using them and what do they offer more than the simple eParliaments. What is the perception of people about them? Are they aware of their existence? Do they use them? Finally, we shall try to give new ideas for research in this area, regarding the elements that are missing and those which need to be examined further.

Which political communication in a limited citizenship context?

Aurelie Bras — Paris XII University, France · brasarelie@yahoo.fr

For three years now we are implementing a research in Egypt about partnerships between local civil organisations and international organisations as a mean of access of global public sphere. As a result of our research we realize that the concept of citizenship needed to be questioned. Therefore this concept paper will address the question of limited citizenship context and its consequences on political communication in Egypt. First we will explain the reasons that lead to limited Egyptian citizenship, then deepen the question by discussing how to move from a limited citizenship toward an active citizenship as a key for good governance. Based on our research, we found three underlying causes contribute to limited citizenship: On a national level, we will highlight the lack of transparency of the election on the different stages of the process: closeness of the candidate applying process, miss of freedom of expression during the campaign, corruption and manipulation of the election itself. On a civil society level, we will talk about the mirage of visible civil society. Despite of the thousand of civil society organisations Egypt count, the existence of an active civil society is questionable. According to authors, among whom YOM, who develop the miss of activism in Arab civil societies, according to the Egyptian law which impose a long registration process on any civil society organisations and limit the right of gathering, according to the structure of the civil society itself, shared between field and advocacy organisations between whom it is hard to build bridges because of mistrust and lack of work mutualisation education. On an individual level we observe a lack of practice and understanding of what citizenship implies. The observation of community meetings and the training of Egyptian teachers are particularly relevant about this point. However leverage exist to move from that limited citizenship to an active citizenship: On an individual level, some "self-made citizens" appear thanks to the development of Internet tools like facebook, even if it is obviously not a peaceful track for those who are involved in. On an educational level it is important to note that, to our mind, citizenship is a question of education far away from the political communication as we define it among information and communication researchers. Civic education is the start point of a healthy and understood political communication in the public sphere otherwise political communication is mixed with manipulation. To conclude that abstract, we would like to approach a vision of political communication beyond political ideologies, a political communication focus on active citizenship rather than promoting ideologies, in the frame of global communication and good governance that the global public sphere opened through the globalisation of the world. Aurélie Bras, Junior researcher University Paris XII, Val de Marne brasarelie@yahoo.fr +0022 (0)166841389

The electoral information in the infotainment era: Enemy construction in the Catalan media

Nereida Carrillo – UAB, Spain · nereida.carrillo@gmail.com

Carme Ferre – UAB, Spain · carme.ferre@uab.cat

Our research is aimed to prove and describe how infotainment is changing electoral news in Catalonia by mixing data up with show elements. The fact-based reports in campaign coverage are being increasingly replaced by fiction-based reports in which stories and images created by politicians (and their spin doctors) and also by media are the most remarkable component. We focus on the dramatic treatment of the enemy in electoral news on Catalan media in 2008 election. We study how the construction of the political enemy emerges on electoral news, as a literary or movie plot antagonist being, probably searching a similar emotional reaction among citizens. We propose a content analysis, with both quantitative and qualitative approaches, in a sample of 450 elements framed in 2008 general election (Spanish parliament) campaign. The sample includes pieces of news published or broadcasted in three newspapers, a radio station, a television channel and a news website in Catalonia, all of them reference Catalan media, public and private. We focus on the verbal discourse and not in the iconic one and we study print and audiovisual medium. Our content analysis is designed taking into account several theoretical contributions about political spectacle in news report. We have specifically designed for this research six indicators that allow us to detect show elements in electoral news. The first one aims to check when the enemy appears as the main subject in campaign news. Other indicators are focused on the construction of the enemy in media discourses and in the political ones. Finally, we state the attacks collected in news coverage. We approach the construction of the enemy in media and in political discourses by listing faults and negative values attributed to them. Our findings allow us to state that the political enemy in electoral information on analysed Catalan media is constructed in a dramatic way. This fact proves the presence of spectacle elements in news and confirms infotainment influence. First of all, we ascertain that the enemy (and his construction) is the main subject in nearly 40% of the news revised. Secondly, we can affirm that enemy construction, by stating faults and negative values, can be observed in both media and political discourses but it is more frequent in the second ones. Finally, our findings confirm the relevant role of attacks, which are placed in 62.5% of news revised. Our research can promote debate about show in political news and its influence on citizenship. Our assessments pose several questions: are politicians promoting negative images of their colleagues and at the same time complaining about the negative image of politicians nowadays in Catalonia? Could this spectacularized information discourage citizens? And are media and politicians promoting a spectacle that can discourage citizens when their public aim is to promote democracy?

Communication aspect of the activities of the antiterrorist structures of Germany under the conditions of the economic and social crisis and the interests of a civil society

Darya Bazarkina – Communication Management Centre (CMC), Russian Federation · bazarkina-icspsc@yandex.ru

The urgency of crisis communications has obviously increased since the beginning of global economic crisis. Under the direct influence of crisis occur the growth of civil activities in many countries of the world as well as reciprocal activities of the governments. Under such conditions it is necessary to distinguish the mass protests caused by an unfair or inefficient policy of the big business or the governments, from the real acts of extremism, and, moreover – the terrorism, capable to break unique architectonics of the Common European House. The contributor of the paper will try: • To analyze the level of terrorist activities in Germany under the conditions of the world economic crisis; • To analyze the communication strategy of antiterrorist units in Germany and the principal changes in it in the atmosphere of crisis; • To evaluate the changes in the interpretation and connotation of the term "terrorism" in the governmental publications and the pro-governmental German media during mass protests of 2009; • To allocate positive and negative sides of communication strategy of antiterrorist units of Germany from the point of view of interests of a civil society. In the present paper is used the toolkit of historical research for the analysis of changes of communication strategy of the antiterrorist organizations in

process of the crisis phenomena. From the point of view of methodology of communication management it is easier to define expediency of changes of communication management of antiterrorist activities. The case study of Germany is taken for the analysis because this country is one of leaders in the European Union, and the crisis phenomena in Germany, anyhow, infringe on interests of all EU. The law-enforcement structures of Germany are highly professional and well equipped, but the politicized society more and more disclaims some obsolete measures accepted by the authorities. This problem is not in the first place the communication one, but certainly competent communication strategy could minimize the reputation and political risks and ease social tensions in the society

Marketing or Modernization? Gender features in the 2009 Portuguese general election campaign

Rita Figueiras – Catholic University of Portugal, Portugal · ritafigueiras@fch.ucp.pt

In recent decades, Portuguese women have made significant progress in the electoral arena. However it was only in 2009 that, for the first time, a woman, Manuela Ferreira Leite (MFL), ran for Prime Minister. Even though formal obstacles to the women's participation have been removed and equality of opportunity is mandatory under Portuguese law, women's under-representation has not changed in many spheres of decision, such as politics. For the present debate, it is furthermore important to take into account the persistence of gender-based roles in Portuguese society. There are cultural elements that shape women and men's social representations in "essentialist" terms. These representations keep women away from the decision-making processes and from public participation. They are generally not chosen for some positions, and they tend to exclude themselves from the aforementioned processes, owing to the fact that they have internalized a set of possible for themselves, which are anchored in a traditional and strict gender conception. Moreover, literature on gender and campaigns stresses that there are differences in male-female candidates regarding their attitude towards campaigns, due to a set of factors such as political socialization, media and voter's expectations. Thus, the way candidates present themselves and how the media cover their campaigns are central elements in the influence of voters' choices. This paper focuses on the role played by gender in Portuguese campaigning and aims to discuss whether or not gender was an issue addressed by candidates and by the press during the 2009 campaign; whether dominant cultural gender stereotypes structured candidates' campaigns; and if Portuguese mainstream press coverage was gendered-oriented. Television interviews and mainstream Portuguese press electoral campaign coverage are the corpus for this research. Analyzing television interviews will allow identifying candidates' themes, strategies and features. Considering that news are related to culture, of which they are both a reflection and a representation, mainstream press coverage will reveal the dominant understanding on gender and campaigns in Portuguese society. For these purposes, traditional quantitative content analysis techniques were used. Three variables were defined, and sub-divided into a set of indicators built on a binary comparison between male and female stereotypical characteristics: campaign themes (economy, security policy, finance versus education, health, culture); campaign strategies (negative versus positive campaigning, attacking opponents versus positive self-observations); and candidates' features (toughness, competence, leadership abilities versus warmth, sensitiveness and understanding). Was gender a relevant issue during the 2009 election? Did the gender of the candidates play a role in their campaign strategy? Did the press present candidates as more than a stereotype or did they perpetuate expectations regarding the sexual roles? Based on the literature on gender and campaigns and the characteristics of Portuguese society, this study argues that gender was not a central topic during the campaign; that MLF avoided explicit correspondence with female traits; and that, on the other hand, the press portrayal of candidates was gender-based, rather than structured around their personalities. This research aims to reveal the gendering process in Portuguese elections and to see how candidates were both socially and culturally gendered, while comparing its results with the international literature on the subject.

A Convergence model of e-government and governance from developing countries*Veena Raman* – Pennsylvania State University, United States · wr101@psu.edu

In keeping with the conference theme about rethinking communication and citizenship, this paper proposes a convergence model of digital governance to address the challenges faced by developing countries. Convergence requires governments to rethink e-government. Traditionally, governments have defined e-government as computer-based interfaces, though there are more mobile phone users than computer users in many developing countries. With the development of third generation cellphones, the distinction between computer-based and phone-based access is blurring, though most governments regulate mobile phones and Internet services differently. With convergence, citizens expect to connect to their governments in a variety of modes and platforms. Secondly, the emergence of governance has built expectations that there will be opportunities for citizens to provide feedback and participate in the policy process whether it is through receiving information to be used for face-to-face participation or e-consultation and e-voting. While these issues are relevant to many governments, those in developing countries face distinctive challenges- information and communication technologies (ICTs) have to be made relevant to local contexts in spite of digital divides. There is an ethical dimension to this issue, since ICTs can be used to shut out people who are not part of the information economy. Governments represent all their citizens and digital governance should not exclude whole sections of society. This paper draws upon specific examples from India, Sri Lanka, Chile and Philippines, and argues that if e-governance is defined as ubiquitous access to government information, services, and officials, most developing countries will not be able to achieve it. Instead, if it is seen as a continuum, with various degrees of use to facilitate citizen participation, the concept becomes useful. Thus, there is a need to reevaluate how we define e-governance in the developing world, in the context of citizen engagement and empowerment. In most of the developing world, a majority of the population has to deal with issues of physical access to technology, lack of infrastructure such as reliable electricity, lack of relevant content in local languages and disparate skill levels. If we assume that for successful e-governance there is need for educated citizens, appropriate technical infrastructure and online services that meet citizens' needs, most developing countries will have to wait a very long time before citizen engagement and civic empowerment happen. With ethnographic data from Bangalore City, India, the paper argues that if we think about governance as the process where citizens mobilize, network and influence their governments, it is already happening in developing countries without extensive use of information technologies. Thus, empowering them in the governance process through information technologies is a question of small changes within strategic areas in government to provide access to information and opportunities for participation. Finally, the paper examines the resource and technical challenges developing countries face and concludes by offering policy suggestions that emerge from examining creative solutions used by governments, such as public-private partnerships that harness phenomena such as crowd sourcing, and brain circulation.

Agenda-setting in Prospective Planning for Public Policy in the Mexican National Autonomous University*Gerardo Dorantes* – IAMCR, Mexico · xulha2002@yahoo.es

Theoretical construction of policy-planning among a community like the Mexican National Autonomous University should include interactive participation of academics and students' political agenda. This paper overwrites this objective using a case study with a methodological approach that interrelates both, academic and student policy frameworks, to set and verify this hypothesis. Democratization and communication within higher education set the stage. The central research-question deals with problem resolution, under the assumption that prospective political agenda-setting over social issues will lead to a change in the course of events, having significant impact over social behaviour. If so, the underlying causes and key-players with direct inherence over public opinion, need be identified; possible scenarios need be traced; potential involvement of governmental agents for conflict resolution needs be foreseen; and overall social consequences need be assessed. This study was initiated in 2008 and finished in 2010. It deals with questions that involve the process behind decision-making. How does it happen? Who is involved? What specific weight do actors carry, and how is used? In short, how can prospective

agenda-setting benefit its implementation and diminish institutions' risk of instability. This research paper re-traces the process involved in agenda-building at the UNAM, exploring former struggles under critical construct-analysis of political scenarios described in publications throughout Latin America. It presents innovative results of multi and trans-disciplinary interaction between media, public and authorities within the UNAM. Its concrete and statistical reliability are its main asset, due to cross-sectional methodology which combines systematic, parallel data-analysis with the transversal approach of multiple disciplines, all under one common framework. The final empirical results here presented, are based on a survey applied to a university sample, with statistical representation, comprising 30,000 academics and 300,000 students. The theoretical model was previously presented at the IAMCR in Stockholm, 2008, and the preliminary results, concerning only academic staff, were presented in IAMCR Conference in México 2009, for media and public agenda-setting inherence over the decisions of power within the UNAM. This adds a dimension of practical objectivity to the theoretical construct and quantitative results, appropriating an adapted formula, proven effective, in the practice of "prospective planning". Direct and indirect variables, identified in re-formulating the empirical process of decision-making and media and public opinion, include both institutional and factual power agents of other macro-universities in Mexico. Among the outstanding characteristics that emerge from this research is the measurable distance, both faculty and students, at the UNAM, keep, between their normal activities and political agenda-building. Students participate in political decision-making within institutional collective areas. Committee involvement is not significant, when informal membership is considered. Formal consideration takes place when representation is given, either by election or appointment, in accordance with statutory regulation within the UNAM. In analytical terms about the agenda, the results show that the correlation, ranging from -1 to 1, between the public agendas of academics and students and the university power agenda is less than zero in the first case (-0.30), and greater than zero but less than 1 in the second case (0.50). These results tend to show that community opinion has a much lower influence on university status, than would be expected, specially, in regards to the faculty population. Thus, results suggest that public opinion do not have direct influence on public policy, as previously thought. Qualitative research has, yet, to further determine the direct causes of significant change in institutional life. Nevertheless, the data presented allows to conclude that in political conflict media's involvement and public opinion are more complex and less well understood. The nature and degree of their impact has not been fully determined by social research in Latin-America. Results however, allow for a re-definition of methodological validation with modular analysis that may enhance subsequent political implementation, and underline the importance of prospective agenda-setting as an early intervention strategy for future conflict resolution.

Latin-American legislative elite's (dis)trust in mass media and their influence in political decision-making

Marina Hernández Prieto – Universidad de Salamanca, Spain · marinah.prieto@gmail.com

Ángel Badillo Matos – Universidad de Salamanca, Spain · abadillo@usal.es

Given the significant role that the media play in democratic consolidation, it is interesting to know what kind of relationship they have with the parliamentary elites. Particularly in Latin America, where the vertical electoral accountability works in a highly deficient way and the societal version has become extremely important for the running and even survival of a democratic regime. In this sense, the main objectives of this research are assess the degree of confidence that mass media provokes among Latin American parliamentary elites and evaluate its influence in political decision-making. With the data obtained from the surveys that the Observatory of Latin America parliamentary elites of the Interuniversity Institute for Latin American and Portuguese Studies has made at the University of Salamanca since 1994, a statistical analysis of the opinions, attitudes and values of Latin American political elites is made through contingency tables and Chi-square test. This way, the variables "degree of confidence in the media" and "mass media's influence in political decision-making", are related to socio-demographic information such as age, sex and educational level, together with others like ideology, the membership of the government or the opposition group and the degree of political parties institutionalization in the country. The result is a descriptive but at the same time explanatory analysis of the dependent variables for countries and legislatures.

Political scandals and the changing relations between politicians and journalists in Finland

Esa Väliverronen – Professor, Finland · esa.valiverronen@helsinki.fi

Laura Juntunen – researcher, Finland · laura.j.juntunen@helsinki.fi

Scandals surrounding the private lives of politicians have become a recurring feature of political news worldwide. More and more ministers have had to resign over sex allegations. The boundaries of private and public are constantly re-negotiated in political communication. This has caused tensions between politicians and journalists. The intimate life of politicians was long a taboo subject in Finnish journalism but this has been slowly changing since the early 2000s. By the end of the decade, press revelations about politicians' private lives have also had real political consequences. Even though the media like to portray themselves as just the messenger, they do in fact have a very active role in actually creating political scandals. This paper analyses two recent cases in Finnish political journalism. The first one revolves around sex allegations concerning Finnish Prime Minister Matti Vanhanen in 2005–2009. The PM's intimate life has attracted considerable media attention, partly because he has taken legal action in a bid to define the legal boundaries of his privacy. The second case concerns the text messaging scandal in 2008 that led to the resignation of Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ilkka Kanerva. This was a landmark case, the first time ever that a Finnish politician was forced to resign over a scandal in his private life. Our concern is, firstly, with how journalists justify their intrusion into politicians' private lives and their view that this is a matter of public interest. Secondly, we explore how relationships within the media field are realigned in the event of a scandal. Even though most stories of embarrassing sex allegations start their life in the tabloid press, they can only develop into full-blown scandals if the traditional news media join the bandwagon. Indeed, scandals have the effect of softening the boundaries between different media and creating greater coherence in the media field. The Internet and text messages also play a major part in stirring up stories; text messages in particular illustrate how the private and public are the subject of constant negotiation in scandals and scandal journalism. In order to understand the characteristics of coverage of political sex scandals, we looked at scandalous media stories' components by exploring how the media framed and categorized those cases. In particular, the analysis is based on a close reading of the different types of arguments that journalists used to justify their intrusions into politicians' private lives. Based on our finding we will discuss the changing relations between politicians and journalists in Finland.

Functioning of the controllable and uncontrollable communication tools applied by the EU: Honduras coup.

Olga Polunina – Moscow State University, Russian Federation · olga-polunina@inbox.ru

Communication management is a relatively new discipline which appeared when the scientific study of our information space became necessary. And it has proved to be more and more important nowadays as means and forms of communication impact are becoming more sophisticated. Thereupon the proposed paper seems to be interesting from this point of view. The effectiveness of communication depends much on communication tools applied to spread the message. The most widely used classification of these tools is their division into controllable and uncontrollable. The usage of uncontrollable communication tools means spreading the news and messages mainly via mass media. The responsibility for the credibility and accuracy of the information here lies upon the editors and publishers. The distinguishing feature of uncontrollable tools is that the organization that initiates the message loses control at the stage of spreading the news. In contrast to uncontrollable controllable communication tools as well as the message itself are in the hands of the organizations that initiates the message. As for such organization as the EU, it has both controllable and uncontrollable tools available. It would be interesting to analyze these tools from the point of view of their realization and functioning in the information space of Europe during Honduras coup thus unraveling the role of communication management within one of the contemporary armed conflicts. To be more specific, the proposed paper basing on the content analysis of the EU media output makes • an attempt at studying exact types of controllable and uncontrollable communication

tools; • an attempt at their possible classification; • an attempt at figuring out quantitative distribution of controllable and uncontrollable communication tools in the information space of Europe. The methodology of this study applies mainly descriptive analysis, classification and quantitative analysis.

The communicative aspects of the activities of the British Intelligence Service under the military conflicts

Svetlana Zudochkina – The lecturer at the specialization “Communication management” at the Faculty of Philosophy, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russian Federation · asp.zsv@mail.ru

Nowadays communication management is broadly used in different spheres of the state’s activity. Communication management has clearly manifested itself in business and politics. As a new independent branch of special management, it is applied at the level of state institutions and transnational corporations. This paper proposes a complex approach to the study how secret services use methods of communication management to reach efficiency? Our analysis focuses on the following questions: • The general background of the activities of the British Intelligence Service under the military conflicts. • The communication methods being used to influence the decision-making of target groups. • How MI-6 use mass media and Internet in their activity. As the British secret service, MI-6 provides the British Government with a global covert capability to promote and defend the national security and economic well-being of the United Kingdom. MI-6 operates world-wide to collect secret foreign intelligence in support of the British Government’s policies and objectives. Regional instability, terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and illegal narcotics are among the major challenges of the 21st century. MI-6 assists the government to meet these challenges. This begs the question what MI-6 must do to protect the secrets of its sources and methods? Doubtless the problem of communicative aspects of the British Intelligence Service will be always actual. It is necessary to note that Intelligence service activity which is part of the communication activity plays a key role in relations between GB and other countries. It communicates with people, creates its own and country’s image. Its decision influences the forming strategies and tactics of the state.

Reprising the state-media relationship in Uganda and its implications for journalism and the deepening of democracy

George Lugalambi – Makerere University, Uganda · lugalambi@masscom.mak.ac.ug

Recent political tensions in Uganda, which arose over a conflict between the government and the Buganda monarchy, severely tested the ability of the media to weather the vagaries of politics. Riots erupted in various parts of the country after the government refused the king of Buganda, Ronald Mutebi, to visit a region of his kingdom where, according to the government, a simmering dispute over the powers of traditional leaders threatened the king’s security. This sparked off two days of lethal violence. The Broadcasting Council, citing the potential of Uganda to go down the route of Rwanda as a result of inflammatory radio messages, shut down four radio stations and suspended several journalists. A prominent talk show host is now being prosecuted for alleged sedition after he appeared on a TV talk show and lambasted the president for his involvement in the conflict. While Uganda is often held up as a model of free and vibrant media and widely cited for its liberal media environment, these developments not only raise new questions but also add fresh dimensions to old questions about the long-term sustainability of free media. This paper will discuss the conditions of the media in Uganda, highlight the sources of the persistent tensions, and explore the implications for journalistic practice. These issues are especially critical now that Uganda is entering the political season leading up to the next round of general elections in early 2011. The government is proposing sweeping new changes to media laws to rein in journalists, and there already appears to be an increase in self-censorship in the media. Journalists and key political actors/elites are being surveyed to ascertain their perceptions of current threats to the media as well as their justifications for imposing restrictions on the media. A persistent view among the political elite, especially

those who are pro-establishment, is that the media regularly abuse their freedom and often cross the boundaries of acceptable discourse. A common criticism is that the media serve as opposition mouthpieces. All these claims are being systematically put to the test through the survey and interviews. The primary questions being asked are: (i) What is the nature of the ever evolving state-media relations in Uganda? (ii) What accounts for the tensions between the media and the state? (iii) How do the journalists' perceptions of the threats to the media compare with those of political actors? (iv) What are the implications of these threats and tensions for journalistic practice and democracy? (v) Are there wider lessons to draw for state media-relations in other countries of the emergent East African Community of nations involving Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, and Tanzania? **KEYWORDS:** Uganda, media, state, journalism, democracy

Women of the world on the web - Visual constructions of national political leadership in the transnational era

Kristina Widestedt – Stockholm University, Sweden · widkri@jmk.su.se

Anna Edin – University of Gävle, Sweden · aei@hig.se

The field of political communication is increasingly conceived as part of an all-encompassing media culture, where political processes take place and political identities are expressed, constructed and reconstructed on a media arena consisting of overlapping spheres (c f Corner 2003, Ekström 2006, Negrine 2008). Politicians have to adapt to the demands of constant visibility, and allow their private sphere to be exposed in public – a balance that, as Liesbet van Zoonen has repeatedly pointed out, is particularly delicate for women. Historically, female politicians have always risked being routinely sexualized, and today if female politicians do not accept that they need to open up their private sphere to the public, they are likely to be labelled non-feminine and thus deviant (van Zoonen 2000). In fact, the current tendency seems to be that the demands for media visibility increase the unequal conditions between female and male politicians. Women are reduced to keepers of traditional perspectives on political life, not allowing them to explore the possibilities of merging private charismatic qualities and public confidence within the framework of media culture (van Zoonen 2006). With this as our main point of departure, the aim is to add a perspective that focuses on the importance of different versions of imagined national communities. The main question is: What impact do national idiosyncrasies have on political ideals and the degrees of freedom in political self-styling, and how do they affect the unequal conditions between female and male politicians in the present transnational era? Our empirical material consists of different national official websites where female politicians are presented and constructed as political personas.

On-line communication in legitimating political changes of post-Soviet Russia

Evgenie Vasilevich – Post-graduate student of Institute of Philosophy and Law of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Russian Federation · ishmenev@mail.ru

Growth of influence the Internet-communication in the post-Soviet space begins since 2000. Indicator of this process became increase in quantity of users the Internet that has allowed scientists to speak about occurrence of a new way of communications. Until recently the general tendency of studying of the Internet has been presented by attempt to compare "off-line" and "on-line" communications where the Internet was considered as more independent. The theoretical base of this comparison included arguments about independence the Internet from state and economic powers, political elite and officials. The most famous cases of study are presidential election in Ukraine of 2004, "The Georgian-Ossetian conflict" of 2008, "Moldova's Twitter Revolution" of 2009. The presented approach is limited, because doesn't consider that various types of the information can be presented on the Internet. The analysis of on-line communications in the post-authoritative countries has shown that the small demand at users in the political information leads to formation on the Internet of the same content as in "official communications". Distinction between on-line and off-line communications hasn't any political sense in the countries where users prefer not political type of the information. When users don't have interest to

political forums, chats, blogs, but they prefer entertaining and business resources more, it means that the Internet doesn't carry out tool function in the policy. It means that the Internet becomes same as traditional communications and carries out the same functions. This situation can be dangerous when status of on-line communications as more "independent" and "freedom" channel of communications can promote legitimating of political changes. Especially it's dangerous for countries with post-authoritative regime. The important place in studying of the designated problem is occupied by various types of the theory of democracy. According to the theory of "democratic transformations" and the theory of "democratic transit", conditions of legitimating democratic changes can be determined as "institutional features" of communications. Thereupon it is important to define function of communications not only as a way for propaganda and a race for power, but also as a source for formation of knowledge about political events and changes. Unlike traditional communications the Internet depends on influence of official institutes less and has possibility to present private interests of users. Therefore is important to investigate an individual involvement of participants of on-line communications. In this case, politisation degree of the Russian Internet (Runet) and interest of users to the political information are presented as the basic objects of research. Attempt to correlate two indicators is an overall objective of research. Empirical base of research include results of Russian sociologists and statistical data from FOM, Levada-centre, Gullup Media, SpyLog and fund "Public Opinion". It helped to understand how the quantity of political resources in Runet correlates with the requirement and interests of the Russian users. As a result, research has shown that the Russian Internet contains many political sources, but they have smaller visitors than websites with other types of information. The most important political sources are news websites and online papers where users have the limited possibilities for participation in discussion and statements of the opinion. Besides this, about half of news sources are the on-line version of traditional media - newspapers, magazines and TV programs. The majority of results demonstrate small difference of the Russian Internet from official mass media. As exception, it is growth of interest of Russian users to a blogosphere last 3 years. Blogosphere development in Russia has private and public features: a high educational level and political qualification of the Russian bloggers and interest of various social organizations to development of corporate blogging. Probably, development of these tendencies can define the basic features of development of on-line communications in Russia.

Communication and Migration. Political Participation and Citizenship Building Mexicans in the U.S.A

Frambel Lizárraga Salas – Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico · frambel@hotmail.com

The paper has three parts. The first section develops a theoretical argument about Web 2.0 Political Communication. This new form of interactive communication, and bidirectional horizontal establishing over the Internet and has overtaken the traditional media (print, radio and television, primarily). The second part consists of an analysis of political participation that have Mexicans living in the U.S.A and that in turn have fought for their right to vote and citizens in that country. Figures are presented on the growth of Mexicans in the U.S.A and its contribution in the economy, cultural industries and the political. Importantly, more than 10 million mexicans are living and working in USA. The third part examines the case of U.S.A presidential elections in 2008, where the hispanic vote, particularly the mexicans, was instrumental in the triumph of Barack Obama, Democratic Party candidate. The methodology used is discourse analysis of the political campaign launched on the internet that Barack Obama, and John McCain, Republican candidate in U.S. presidential elections in 2008. In addition, it presents a reflection on the development and challenges of political discourse through the Internet communication model, because through this, candidates and political parties have succeeded in mobilizing citizens through social networks.

A case study on a local and state e-initiative to create a direct and transparent way for citizens to access information.

Anne Peacock – University of Essex, Mexico · annepeacock02@yahoo.com

Erick Gonzalo Palomares – City Government of Guadalajara, Mexico · palomareserick@gmail.com

With information communication technology's undisputed impact on society, democratic governments at local, regional and international levels are incorporating Information Communication Technology into reforms which attempt to create a more participative democracy by increasing their accountability and transparency between themselves and their electorate. At the 2005 World Summit on a Information Society (WSIS), a number of governments and international bodies recognized the necessity of creating such e-governance initiatives. WSIS's Declaration of Principles states that ICTs play an important role in not only supporting participative democracy, transparency, and accountability, but also as a tool for a more accessible government. However, a research gap exists between the acknowledgement of the benefits of e-governance initiatives for the state and citizens without evaluation or reflection of the specific results these projects have on the ground. Does political communication between the federal, state, or local government and their constituents actually improve once these initiatives are put in place? How do public administrators who implement these policies evaluate the successes or failures? How are the benefits of these policies considered by local citizens? This study tries to address these gaps by examining a local case study of the city of Guadalajara, Jalisco, and its implementation of the Mexican federal e-governance initiative INFOMEX. Five years after the WSIS Plan of Action, this paper will analyze how these e-governance initiatives are working at a local level. The analysis will be based on both primary and secondary data, including interviews with municipal officials in charge of implementation and daily administration of INFOMEX, as well as a survey of citizens within Guadalajara to examine reactions to and use of INFOMEX.

Do Media Systems Shape Patterns of Trust and Exposure to Media? Evidence from 15 European Democracies.

José Pereira – European University Institute, Italy · jose.santana@eui.eu

In recent years, the academic discussion about media in the field of Political Science welcomed the concepts of media systems, and proposed several models of analysis stressing different relevant characteristics (ex.: Hallin & Mancini, 2004; Norris, 2004). However, are those characteristics relevant to explain two of the most relevant moderating variables of media impact in political attitudes – trust and exposure? This study aims at answering to this question, by means of a multilevel study of the factors of media trust and frequency of exposure in 15 European countries during the last decade. The country level variables present in the proposed model are the ones proposed by the models of Norris (2004) and Hallin & Mancini (2004); individual levels include socio-demographical, political and other attitudinal variables (see also Jones, 2003). Preliminary results show that, apart from individual factors of media trust and exposure, the country levels of freedom of press, journalism professionalization, and state intervention have a positive impact on trust, whereas political parallelism has a negative impact on trust; the impact of those variables on media exposure is also significant. This study uses individual data on media trust, media exposure and other relevant variables collected by Eurobarometer in 15 member-States of the European Union during the years of 2005 and 2006. Media system characteristics are operationalized either based on the data conveyed by Hallin & Mancini (2004) and Norris (2004), European agencies like the European Audiovisual Observatory or international institutions as Freedom House and Reporters Without Borders. The theoretical models are tested using the hierarchical regression modeling technique.

Attention, Perception And Information Processing By Users Of Political Parties Websites

José Belo – Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro, Portugal · jbelo@utad.pt

Galvão Meirinhos – Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro, Portugal · gsm@utad.pt

The goal of this research is to provide webmasters with a theoretically and experimentally valid scheme toward understanding the influence of design in the selection, processing and memory retention of specific items that give form to websites of Portuguese political parties. Within the websites at the service of parties political communication, we found a widespread ignorance on the part of the users about design serving an optimal decoding of messages published these types of communicational devices. In Portugal, the lack of literature on the subject is a valid argument justifying the need for scientific studies to overcome public ignorance of both the academic scholars and information architects and hypermedia systems. On this basis, the main goal of this research is to determine the potential of design elements as a vehicle for organizing the process of interaction between the user and the hypermedia product. The many questions that exist about the influence of design in the process of message decoding are the basis of our interest in knowing the patterns of visual behavior and information processing of users of the majors portuguese political parties on the World Wide Web presence. Therefore, our project has the following research question: The strategy of design used by Portuguese Political Parties influences the attention, perception and information processing? Our problem is related in its essence with the optimization of transmission and decoding of the message, and, therefore, we present the following statement which makes the hypothesis of this research: Attention, perception and information processing are mental processes whose intensity varies according to the strategy of design that make up the configuration of political websites. The research implements an exploratory methodology. Initially, and after the collection, consultation and drafting of the state of the art on all topics related to the subject of study, we intend to observe and measure the visual behavior of users of the portuguese political websites under assessment. The exploratory study of visual behavior will be held at the Department of Literature, Arts and Communication, University of Trás-os-Montes and Alto Douro, with a non-probability sample of 600 subjects (100 subjects per website x 6 political parties under assessment). The majors portugueses political parties in study are: Partido Socialista (PS), Partido Social Democrata (PSD), Partido Popular (CDS-PP), Bloco de Esquerda (BE) Partido Comunista Português (PCP) e Partido Ecologista “Os Verdes” (PEV). Based on the exploratory sessions using the eye-tracking device, we concluded that the subject begins its visual route using visual resources. However, the information processing is mainly based in textual resources, and images play a supportive role in the interpretation of the contents published in political parties websites.

Social Media and User Generated Content: an example of eparticipation in the Portuguese Parliament Political Campaign (2009)

Sonia Sebastiao – CAPP - ISCSP - UTL (Portugal), Portugal · ssebastiao@iscsp.utl.pt

With this study, one intends to clarify the significance of the user generated content and Portuguese involvement in a specific political web social network. Web-based Social Media has come to change Political Communication strategies thanks to the use of different tools and techniques. In this paper, one will focus her attention in the user generated content produced in the private social network of the Portuguese Socialist Party (PS): MyMov. During the 2009 political campaign, the PS maintained a more specific communication preserving its historical message and website structure, where it has created its own social network accessed only by registered members. This way the party was able to generate consistent, continuous and exclusive relations with its followers, treating them as «special ones», and reinforcing the message: «together we can do it». But what kind of message is this? How did users respond to the PS strategy? One's analysis will focus on Computer-Mediated Discourse Analysis (CMDA) of the public text messages displayed in the Social Network MyMov, using, as a consequence, a participant-based sampling.

Spreading out the political information online and offline: A two-step model of the role of the Internet in communication flow in Singapore and Taiwan

Yahhuei Hong – Associate Professor, Taiwan · hhtaiwan@ms17.hinet.net

Trisha Tsui-Chuan Lin – Assistant professor, Singapore · trishalin@ntu.edu.sg

Peng Hwa Ang – Professor, Singapore · tphang@ntu.edu.sg

Many researches had paid attention on the role of the Internet on politics; however, most of them found the impact of the new media was limited. The result might be due to the number of people who have searched the political information from the Internet was scarce. This study attempts to explore the Internet might activate the two-step flow of communication through which the Internet users become opinion leaders to disseminate the political information to more people. Besides, the authors believed that more frequently people access political-related information on the Internet, more often they will discuss public affairs or political events with others online or even offline. To prove the above hypotheses, two on-line survey were employed, one was conducted by Nielsen Company Pte Ltd with a sample consisting of 607 citizens in Singapore; the other was conducted by InsightXplorer Limited with a sample of 725 respondents in Taiwan. The two countries, Singapore and Taiwan, are selected because of their high Internet penetration rates. The survey used Nielsen's and InsightXplorer's online panels as sample sources, which span a wide spectrum of demographic segments of the adults in Singapore and Taiwan. A broadcast email was sent to the randomly selected respondents, inviting them to participate in the survey through the direct URL link in the email. Quotas were set on key demographic variables (gender, age and education) to ensure that the samples represent Singapore and Taiwan Internet users. And respondents were prevented from filling out the questionnaire more than once by the login function. The two-step model of the role of the Internet in communication flows is strongly supported. The results show that, by controlling the demographic and political interest variables, as people access political-related information on the Internet more often, they are more likely to discuss public affairs or political events with their friends online or offline both in Taiwan and Singapore. In addition, people with higher political interest tend to have more discussions online and offline in both countries. Furthermore, in Singapore, male, younger people with higher political interest tend to discuss such issues online, while people with higher education, higher income, and higher political interest are more likely to discuss politics offline. In contrast, the demographic variables do not have significant impact on people's discussion online or offline in Taiwan.

Moral controversy of moral sense in the electoral political discourse

brigitte sebbah – Ceccopop / Largotec, EA 24/74, France · brigittesebbah@yahoo.fr

The 2007 electoral french campaign illustrated a new and unusual personalization of the political realm. In addition to the successful candidate's political program, the appeal to citizens, and what has been called the peopolization, a discourse based on values and morality emerged, together with a new way of presenting the candidate. We will analyze this phenomenon by concentrating on the following two themes : the moralization of political discourses, and the new communication strategy. To begin with, we will compare the new communication strategy of the candidates Sarkozy and Royal. Then we will see to what extent the intrusion of questions of morality onto the political stage is a vector of a new form of personalization of politics. Is the moral a new rising argument, a political basis ?

Going Virtual?: MEPs' Constituency Outreach Online

Jordanka Tomkova – European University Institute, Florence, Italy, Italy · jordanka.tomkova@eui.eu

"Though we love our constituencies, we do not study them – not up close, in detail and over time. Can we be satisfied that we know enough about the process by which politicians get recruited and then accumulate (or dissipate) name recognition, reputation, and trust bit by bit, in multiple intra-constituency contexts over time?" (Fenno, 1986: 4) An American political scientist Richard Fenno observed that in order to thoroughly understand

legislators' behaviour requires to observe them in the 'capital city as well as at home, in their constituencies' (Fenno 1980:3). This paper walks in Fenno's footsteps yet adds another dimension to it. It examines how members of the European Parliament (MEPs) conduct their constituency outreach in a relatively new space - online. On the one hand, very little is known about the ways MEPs incorporate Internet usage in their constituency work. On the other, because MEPs represent larger constituencies with high MEP-constituent ratios, are more geographically remote, receive lower media coverage and are less publicly visible than their national counterparts (Franklin & Vander Eijk 1996), it is feasible to think that they may resort to using the Internet as a distance mitigating, cost-efficient, direct, and interactive medium in offsetting the mentioned detriments linked to their constituency outreach duties. Moreover, few empirical studies exist in this direction. Constituency outreach will be defined in this paper as the attitudes and activities that MEP undertake to cultivate linkages with their constituencies in terms of four dimensions: (i) resource allocation; ii) explaining their political work; iii) conducting casework and iv) online interactivity (Fenno 1978; Mayhew 1974; Wilson and Gronke 2000; Johannes 1983). In view of this definition, the paper subsequently focuses on two principal questions: Do MEPs use the Internet in terms of the four constituency dimensions? If so, how? Do they perhaps use the online platform for some of the dimensions more than for others? Moreover, presuming a certain level of variance in Internet usage among MEPs, the second question asks are some MEPs more pro-active users of the Internet for constituency purposes than others, if so, what determines those differences? To address these questions the paper adopts an empirical approach. It draws on the author's cross-sectional study of 159 MEPs serving in the 2004-2009 EP session. The data used derive from the author's MEP online survey (2009, N=159), parallel website(s) coding and 47 interviews with MEPs. To identify the determinants of MEPs' Internet online constituency orientations, OLS and logistic regression analyses will be used. Online proxies for the four 'constituency dimensions' will serve as the (four) dependent variables while five groups of demographic, attitudinal, institutional, constituency characteristics, electoral system indicators will serve as the independent variables. Given the lack of existing empirical approaches in this field, the paper's conclusive remarks subsequently aim to contribute to a more insightful and empirically backed understanding of MEP's online behaviour.

The political parties' websites as a source of information during electoral campaigns

Joaquim Serra – University of Beira Interior - LabCom, Portugal · pserra@ubi.pt

Whatever one's perspective on the Internet, there seems to be an agreement on the idea that the network of networks has led to profound changes in the various fields of contemporary societies (Castells, 1996; 1997; 1998; 2001). One of these fields is the political parties' communication. Since the mid nineties, all the parties have been launching and improving their websites. With Web 2.0 (O'Reilly, 2005), and all the informative, interactive and participatory functions it allows, Internet became an increasingly important communication tool for political parties and candidates. Accordingly to this, a post-electoral report of the Pew Internet & American Life Project, that stresses the growing importance of the Internet as a political campaigning tool, namely in what refers to news and information, concludes that "30% of all internet users visited the Obama/Biden campaign website", and "21% of internet users visited the McCain/Palin site"; and, moreover, that "nearly half (45%) of online Obama voters and one-third (32%) of online McCain voters visited the website of their "team" for news or information during the campaign" (Smith, April 2009, p. 81). In order to analyse the importance of the Portuguese political parties' websites as a source of political, electoral news and information, we developed a study on the political parties represented in Parliament - PS, PSD, BE, PCP and CDS-PP – during the campaign for the European Parliament election (from May 25, to June 5, 2009). This study sought to answer three main questions: i) What is the importance of the political parties' websites as an information source for voters? ii) What is the intermediatic influence of the political parties' websites on the mass media (since mass media, namely television, remain the main source of political information)? iii) Is there any correspondence between the development of political parties' communication on the Web and electoral participation (percentage of voters)? To answer the first question, we analyzed data from a survey conducted during the electoral campaign (Netsonda, 2009). To answer the second question, we made a content analysis of the newspapers *Diário de Notícias* and

Público, as well as the television channels RTP1, SIC and TVI during the electoral campaign, with the aim of identifying news with references and quotations about the political parties' websites. To answer the third question, we carried out a simultaneous examination of the growth of the Internet in Portugal (2000-2009) and of the several election results (1987-2009). The key findings of our study can be summarized as follows: i) A percentage of 44% of voters answered they had already visited the websites of political parties; ii) The political parties' websites have little intermediatic influence over the mass media; iii) It is not possible to establish a correlation between the growth of the internet and citizen's electoral participation.

Rhetoric of Politicians and Journalists in a Colombian Presidential Electoral Campaign

Adriana Angel— Doctoral student, United States · aa159909@ohio.edu

In this paper the researcher analyzes the rhetoric used by the main presidential candidates in Colombia for the period 2006–2010 and by the journalists who interviewed them in the main broadcasting stations of the country. To achieve this purpose, two different objectives were accomplished: first, to analyze the impact of journalists' and politicians' fields (Bourdieu, 2000) and habitus (Bourdieu, 1995) in their rhetorical constructions; and second, to analyze intradiscursive mechanisms through which candidates and radial journalists construct their rhetoric. Research questions were answered through discourse analysis of radio interviews in which journalists and politicians participated. However, this analysis was not limited to intradiscursive aspects, but it also included examination of extradiscursive aspects; this last point compelled to the researcher to determine the influence of both field and habitus on speakers' discursive productions. The correlation of both kinds of analysis (intra and extradiscursive) allowed the researcher to do a correspondence analysis (Bourdieu, 2000) that is, an homology between habitus and fields in one hand, and discursive mechanisms that impact the discursive constructions, in the other. After examining more than 20 interviews it is possible to affirm that a common structure underlies the political and journalistic discourses studied, which corresponds (with some variations) to the structure of folk tales (Verón, 1987, 2004). This structure means that both political discourse and stories' structures present a story in which a character pursues an objective with the collaboration of a helper and the impediment of an opponent; all of this is presented in the traditional form of beginning, middle, and ending. Rhetorical mechanisms used by politicians include extremism allusions, accreditation of self-image, use of empirical discourse, and use of emotional ideas to engage audiences. Rhetorical mechanisms used by journalists are related to the construction of the idea of impartiality, imposition of authority in the control of the interview, use of empirical discourse, extremism allusions, and manichean references

Independent Internet Media: A Force for Accountability During the US Bank Bailout (2008-2010)?

Mark Farha— Georgetown University, School of Foreign Service, Qatar, Qatar · maf36@georgetown.edu

This paper shall examine the role of independent media in unveiling the lack of transparency during the massive bailout of leading US financial institutions from 2008-2010. These media have argued that the unprecedented, publically funded bailouts by the US Treasury and Federal Reserve, amounted to a disenfranchisement of the US citizen under both Republican and Democratic administrations. In response, a range of internet media sources, largely, though not exclusively alternative and non-corporate, have articulated a critique across political orientations. The paper analyzes the coverage of the financial crisis to gauge the ambivalent impact of independent, internet journalism as a source of accountability in the context of obfuscation and opacity on the part of decision makers in government and finance. The paper further examines to what degree the critique of the independent media, spanning the political spectrum from left (counterpunch.org, motherjones, Michael Hudson), to center (Matt Keiser, Huffingtonpost, Salon) to right (Bloomberg, Peter Schiff, Justin Raimundo, Marc Faber, Marketticker.net) heralds if not a bridging, then at least a narrowing of of the accustomed rifts between the camps of left and right, and the champions and opponents of globalization. While the emphasis in the left's

critique of the bailout has been more focused on the lack of regulation as opposed to the right's lament of the bailout as an excess of state interventionism, both media find themselves in unison in their opposition to the overall pattern of crony capitalism and lack of transparency which violate both the principles of free markets and social justice. Moreover, several cases demonstrate how the bailout critique articulated by these ostensibly fringe, non-specialist media anticipated mainstream reporting. The most salient example was the investigative report "The Great American Bubble Machine" into Goldman Sachs' by Matt Taibii published in Rolling Stone. While the magazine usually is confined to its coverage of music and entertainment, the conspicuous lack of any similar in-depth coverage by the mainstream media of this financial behemoths multiple ties to decision makers in Washington led Tabii's article – and thus the accusations against the collusion of Goldman and the government – to be cited profusely by established media such as The Wall Street Journal and The Financial Times. The paper thus argues that independent internet media (including even sites of "infotainment") have, at least in the context of the 2008-2010 financial crises, could make an important contribution to political communication, raising awareness of the public sphere, and exerting pressures for accountability. Bloomberg's lawsuit attempting to force the Federal Reserve to reveal the recipients of 2 trillion USD in interest-free loans provides one case in point for a direct challenge to the prevailing system. While acknowledging the potential power of independent internet media, the paper tempers this positive reading of the "digital revolution" with several caveats. Firstly, the readership of these media generally has remained far below that of the mainstream sources, thus lessening the mobilizing power. Second, independent investigative reporting on the internet has thusfar not prevented the financial crisis from resulting in an unprecedented concentration of financial and political power (rather than the distribution of power predicted by acolytes of media globalization). The paper further submits to question the nexus between the financial bailout and corporate media companies as a reason for the comparative lack of critical investigation into the terms of the bailouts. The 139 Billion USD extended to GE capital, the parent company of MSNBC, has been cited as being one reason for the TV channel's reluctance to critically examine the Obama administration's policies. However, while this charge had some validity in the first weeks of the bailout under the Obama administration, subsequent reporting suggests some revision of an erstwhile purblind editorial line. The paper further examines how the ongoing socio-economic bifurcation of the US economy will lead to a readjustment of the system, and whether "Main Street" may mount a challenge and bring the diarchy of New York's "Wall Street" and Washington's "K Street" to account. The lack of communication, often deliberate, between the decision makers in New York and Washington on the one hand, and the US citizenry on the other, has resulted in an erosion of trust, perhaps the most precious commodity in a polity. Left out of the loop, the US citizen has also been saddled with the long-term costs of the bailouts under the Bush and Obama administration. The citizen thus has become "divested" in a financial, political. The systemic shortfall of the American democracy is related to deregulation, but also suggests a profound and growing alienation of the citizen from the political process. While the Obama administration has sought to exploit the growing public disenchantment with the profligate bailout and the profiting banks, overall the latter continue to benefit disproportionately from government largesse. The paper shall examine to what degree these independent media outlets have been able to exert pressures of accountability on a media-savvy power elite.

Locals before citizens: immigrants in Irish politics

Neil O'Boyle – Dublin City University, Ireland · neil.oboyle@dcu.ie

This paper examines political participation by immigrants in the Republic of Ireland (hereafter Ireland), focusing on the recent local elections in 2009. In Ireland, the Electoral Act of 1992 permits all ordinarily resident adults to both vote in and contest local elections, regardless of nationality or ethnic/cultural background. In 2004 a number of immigrant candidates emerged. The two that were elected (both Africans) were former asylum seekers and neither were Irish citizens. In the more recent 2009 local government elections, 40 immigrant candidates contested, again with fewer than five being elected. Although a very limited number of studies have examined political participation by immigrants in Ireland, these have emphasized the importance of "localism" – understood as familial and associational relationships, encounters and networks within a tangible knowable space – as both an influence on an immigrant's decision to contest elections and as a factor in explaining

responses to them. In fact, the importance of spatial (and familial) ties is often noted in analyses of Irish politics more broadly, which is depicted as strongly clientelist and localist. This paper draws on a very recent study of immigrant political participation in Ireland that uniquely focused on immigrant actors (through the use of interviewing) as well as considering responses by political parties. The aims of the research, inter alia, were to identify factors that influenced immigrant political participation. The most common reason given by immigrant candidates for entering local politics was a wish to promote the needs of the locality in which they lived, followed by a desire to promote integration. This paper incorporates interview material and an analysis of the websites of several African immigrants who contested the 2009 local government elections in Ireland. Whilst one of the recommendations of the study drawn upon is that active promotion of naturalisation is vital for successful integration in Ireland – and the majority of immigrant candidates interviewed wished to become Irish citizens – these generally stressed the importance of local community above other foci of allegiance/identification (such as the national or the ethnic). Furthermore, the emphasis on locality was used as a means of commenting on and criticising generic and decontextualised (or delocalized) notions of integration. This paper investigates the (offline and online) prioritizing of the local above the national by immigrant candidates in Ireland. Drawing on a selection of studies that have examined self-presentation in virtual spaces, this paper also examines how, in the case of African candidates in particular, personal websites are used to enact selves foreclosed by visible difference.

TV Political Talk as a Mode of Governance

Shih-che Tang – National Chung Cheng University, Taiwan · shihchet@gmail.com

From the revelation of the former president's scandals which led to his inglorious indictment, to relentless gossips of partisan infighting and political back-stage maneuvering, TV political talk shows in Taiwan have emerged as the most salient emblem of political democracy since their appearance in the mid-1990s. Yet the constituent role of this genre of programs in Taiwan's political democratization has instigated conflicting valuations. While some praise it as the crown jewel of deliberative democracy, more reservation were voiced lately against its resort to populist sentiment and its relatively domineering effect over the other fields of professional practices, such as journalism and the law. The article attempts to address the latter concern. Concurring with Cook (1998), Schulz (2002), and Meyer (2002), who identify media or journalistic practices as a form of government, and various media theorists who propagate for the constitutive role of the electronic media in modern democracy, (Schudson; 2001; Sliverstone, 1996, Thompson, 2000; Couldry, 2000) the article argues that the routine practice and the format of message transmission has made televised political discussion the locus of political power with a deep-seated governing function. Information in the talk show forum is not only delivered or voiced, but 'articulated' with purposes serving political ends. In the case of exposé frequently staged in Taiwan's political talk show, it not only substitutes investigative reporting by creating agendas for news coverage to follow, its capacity to simulate participatory transparency by unfolding voluminous back-stage details of political maneuvering has made it susceptible to political interventions. Political or judicial institutions has learned to accommodate to the new-found influence of political talk shows by letting out cover-ups laden with informational value aiming to displace, dilute or crowd out the other more relevant issues or concerns. Strategies and tactics, in this case, are not reflected upon, but have become the very fabric in the manufactured political reality of the talk show participants' deliberative practices. If governance necessarily involves the mobilization of available resources for political ends, the article suggests that mediated debate and discussion has emerged as a new mode of governance that begs the question concerning its impact upon the very foundation of the liberal democracy.

Political culture, journalism culture and the reporting of corruption in the Nigerian press

Muhammad Yusha'u – Sheffield University, United Kingdom · mjuryushau@yahoo.com

Comparative political communication research emphasises the role of culture in the practice of journalism. It sees journalism as a product of the system in which it is being practiced. Media systems are influenced by

history, politics, economic system and culture. This paper will explore the role of political culture intra-nationally by looking at the influence of culture in the practice of journalism between northern and southern Nigerian journalists using the reporting of corruption. The paper highlights the influence of culture in the selection of stories, and how cultural traits are imported into the newsroom.

How the Media Shape Perceptions of Right-Wing Populist Leaders

Linda Bos – University of Amsterdam, Netherlands · L.Bos@uva.nl

Wouter Van der Brug – University of Amsterdam, Netherlands · W.VanderBrug@uva.nl

Claes de Vreese – University of Amsterdam, Netherlands · C.H.deVreese@uva.nl

It has often been argued that right-wing populist party leaders are dependent on the media for their public image, which in turn, is key for their electoral success. This study addresses this assumption by testing the effects of the media coverage of two Dutch right-wing populist leaders, in terms of their perceived effectiveness and legitimacy, on the perception of these leaders, in terms of their depicted prominence, populism and authoritativeness, in a real-life setting by tracking campaign developments. We employ panel survey data (n=410), in which public images of party leaders are measured twice, two months before and immediately before the Dutch elections of 2006. To assess media appearances, we use a systematic content analysis of 17 media outlets of the eight weeks before the elections: we analyse broadsheet newspapers, tabloids and free newspapers, news programs, current affairs programs and infotainment programs with a total of 1,001 stories. Our results show that the content of media coverage has significant effects on the public image of right-wing populist party leaders. Right-wing populists who are prominent in the mass media are perceived to be more effective and legitimate. Moreover, right-wing populist party leaders who are depicted as more authoritative are perceived to be more effective. However, using a populist style or rhetoric has no positive effect, which was not expected. The findings are discussed in the light of extant research on right-wing populist parties and media populism.

STRATEGIES OF UKRAINIAN POLITICAL IDENTITIES ON THE INTERNET: THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN 2010

Valentyna Dymytrova – Université Lumière Lyon 2, France · valentyna.dymytrova@univ-lyon2.fr

This paper will present one of the theoretical and practical issues of my current PhD research namely “The media and the construction of identities: the case of contemporary Ukraine”. We will focus for this presentation on the strategies of Ukrainian candidates for the presidential election 2010 on the Internet. We will analyse in what way Ukrainian politicians use their personal sites for electoral campaign, how their communicative strategies are influenced by modern media and what vision of a citizen/a visitor they suppose. In this way the innovation and normalization paradigms of e-campaigning will be explored (Schweitzer; 2008). Background Since the presidential election 2004 the presence of Ukrainian politicians on Internet grew up considerably. It is difficult to say whether it is an answer to the increasing number of Internet users in Ukraine, to the proliferation of e-campaigning from other countries, especially the USA, very covered by Ukrainian traditional media, or whether it is a sign of inevitable professionalization of political communication. On the eve of the presidential election 2010 personal sites of candidates, sites of their parties, web blogs, forums, Web TV, video files posted on You Tube accessible from the sites of candidates enlarge structurally traditional forms of political communication. The main inquiries are: → In what way Ukrainian candidates use their personal sites in terms of innovation or normalization? → How do they construct their public? → What ethos (image of themselves) and what visions of state/ nation do they produce discursively and visually on the Internet? Methods Our semiotic and discursive analyses will consist in four points. We will start with the study of addresses URL of personal sites of candidates and the structure of the homepage. The communicative strategies are the most visible with these elements that establish the general symbolical framework chosen by the candidate or her/his expert in communication and are the first to be discovered by a visitor. The next step will consist in the analysis of types of documents published

on the site (video, audio, text documents, and photos) in order to answer the question concerning the specific use of the Internet by politicians. The semiotic and discursive analysis of communicative strategies expressed by visual and discursive elements of the web sites will establish the positioning of the candidates. Finally, we will compare the results of this investigation with the discursive analysis of candidacy statements of a politician presented on the electoral meetings in order to observe the coherence or the incoherence on this level and establish the place reserved by politicians to modern media in their communication. Findings Lack of strong ideological divides and distinct political programs the presidential campaign 2010 plays mostly on the ethos of candidates by means of different communicative strategies. The analysis of the strategies mobilized by the candidates to presidential election on their personal/official websites are rather representative of their general campaign strategies. In this context, the analysis of the website of the candidate was sufficient to understand her/his positioning. For the moment, the Internet doesn't change a lot the traditional schemas of electoral communication (top-down), all politicians adhered to metacommunication or negative campaigning (normalization). Interactivity and information density (innovation) were underutilized by all candidates.

Framing the Crisis: the Case of the Chicago Press.

Fabrizio Ceglia – University of Illinois at Chicago, Italy · fabrizio.cegla@gmail.com

Bruno Reis – Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, Portugal · reysbr@gmail.com

José Manuel Duarte – Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, Spain · maguardarte@gmail.com

In this study, we analyze one of the most debated issues of this financial crisis: the financial bailout. In fact, this represents the perfect case of study, focusing the attention of public opinion and influencing the choices of politicians in the middle of the campaign. By a news framing analysis of the Chicago press, this research studies the valuation that journalists made of the bailout. In particular we compare the coverage of the two most important newspapers of the State of Illinois: The Chicago Tribune and the Chicago Sun-Times. The choice of the Chicago press was due to the important role played by the city of Chicago in 2008 presidential election. The presence of Obama, junior United State Senator from Illinois and candidate for president of US, increased the attention of the Chicago media for the political and economic issues related to the electoral campaign. Another approach we use to explain how officials could easily impose their frames to the media, using their powerful position as privileged sources and interpreters of the facts, is the model of cascade activation of Entman. Even if Entman used his model to investigate the coverage of foreign policy, we think that could be a good model also for this kind of analysis. In fact, as in the cases studied by this scholar, we analyze a context of crisis where media is generally more dependent on the official sources. Finally, we try to determine whether the interpretation of the media on a particular issue gives priority to the audience opinion or, on the contrary, gives more credit to the position of the political leaders. For this reason, we compare the analysis of the press with surveys realized in the same period of time, describing the aggregated public opinion.

Asian Image as “pro or anti-Japan” and Nationalism in Japan

Seongbin Hwang – Rikkyo University, Japan · seongbin@rikkyo.ac.jp

This study aims at investigating how the Japanese media have covered the Japan-Asia related issues from the perspective of “media framing”; principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters. From my researches in the past, I found some nationalistic inclinations in the public discourse concerning the historical and current issues in/between Japan and Asia not only on the Internet but also in the traditional media. Due to the trans-nationalization of the news media and the expansion of the border-less Internet, public discourse could easily cross the border and people could find obstacles less frequently to communicate with the people of the other countries. Nevertheless, the content of the public conversation or the position people take in the discussion have strong tendency of going

nationalistic, barricaded in the shell of the state or nation. I have collected a wide range of media materials from the high-to the lowbrow, to put it differently, from editorial of major newspapers and TV networks' evening news to weekly magazines with strong tabloid taste and Sunday morning shows which cover a wide variety of topics. For the presentation, some news items which are related to the discourse of the East Asian Community will be chosen and analyzed in terms of the discursive construction of the Asia as "pro or anti Japan" and its relevance to the Japanese national identity. In so doing, I will be particularly concerned with popular perception or understanding of Asia; hence conversation or commentary in the TV studio and comments on the weekly magazines will be mainly introduced and examined in terms of what those really mean in the context of Japanese society.

Comparing media system and political communication studies: the normative bias

fabro steibel— University of Leeds, United Kingdom · ofabro@ofabro.com

Rethinking crisis and change in communication requires, first of all, achieving the ability to compare media and democracy in several countries. This paper is a critical review comparing media-systems theoretical frameworks, in particular Daniel Hallin and Paolo Mancini's work "Comparing Media System" (2004). Comparative frameworks such as that suggested by Hallin and Mancini promise to address the question "why the press is as it is", which is oriented to provide a non-normative descriptive analysis of media system models. However, based on a policy discursive analysis I argue that these comparative frameworks fail to deliver this "neutral" methodological approach due to an unavoidable normative bias. I argue that comparative frameworks should be considered as theoretical discursive framing oriented to understand not only "why the press is as it is" but also to justify "why the press is not as it should be". Nevertheless, I argue that not all comparative frames are the same, and offer theoretical criteria to suggest that Hallin and Mancini's framework provides an excellent normative and descriptive starting point to understand media system models in a pluralist democracy framework.

Television and political debate : Where political communication is crossing boundaries, political research communication needs to cross them, too

Eva Pujadas Capdevila — Pompeu Fabra University, Spain · eva.pujadas@upf.edu

This proposal aims to present the main features of a research project named "Television and political debate" (TEDEPO) developed within Pompeu Fabra's Department of Communication and financed by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Education. Spectacularization, banalization and simplification are general characteristics of political communication, specially on Television; since this particular medium plays a major role on political socialization, political disaffection and increasing abstentionism in political elections are some of the most visible consequences, which get increasing attention not only from academics and scholars but also from political analysts, think tanks and of course, political parties and political institutions, such as Parliaments and Governments. Political information is becoming softer and looser and political debate is increasingly stereotyped and simplified; soft news or infotainment are some of the most common categories used to name the trend. In addition to the changes on the so-called "serious programs" (tv news) Politics is becoming -not only in Spain, but also in many Western societies- an increasingly beloved topic for other TV genres such as television fiction, humour programs, and talk shows; these programs get considerable ratings and become part of political socialization that need to be taken into account when trying to assess what is going on today between Politics and Citizenship. Further than naming and notying, the main object of our research project aims at analyzing how this phenomena is taking place, that is, to analyze how political discourse is being created on Television, which are its main features and what kind of values around Politics as such results from it. More specifically, this project is working with three different kind of samples and three different methodologies, all of them adapted to the construction of a protocol model to analyze political discourse on Television, specifically on news programs,

debate programs and talk shows that deal with Politics, both of a Spanish regional and State television channels. Though we're using a specific protocol based on the agenda-setting model and the framing analysis, which shall be applied to both samples, we're also using narrative semiotics, structural analysis and enunciation theories to grasp the specificity of Television political discourse. Our research group has an already significant tradition on narrative semiotics applied to previous topics such Immigration (news and television series) and Television Institutional Messages (from local, regional and State governments), which have all been financed by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Education-. In this particular research we're adding as a novelty the particular enunciation that television makes about political discourse (what kind of images is television showing about specific topics, what kind of shots is doing on political debates, what kind of sets (scénario) frame political discussion, etc.). and combine both methodologies that have proven to be of great utility in previous researches. This project is framed within UNICA group, a research group on Communication of Pompeu Fabra University's Department of Communication. This particular project is including nineteen researchers and other two Spanish universities involved, Universidad de Sevilla and Universidad de Valencia.

"Ségo", "Sarko" and the others: Political TV advertising in France during the 2007 presidential election campaign

Susanne Merkle – University of Erlangen-Nuremberg, Germany · susanne.merkle@wiso.uni-erlangen.de

The 2007 French presidential election represents in many ways a political break, as it follows the shock-result of the 2002 presidential election when extreme-right candidate Jean-Marie Le Pen gained enough votes to challenge Jacques Chirac in the second ballot. Consequently parties and candidates had to think about new political concepts to win back the confidence of their frustrated voters. This had a major influence on the way they communicated to voters in their election campaigns. But there were other news as well. With the candidacy of Ségolène Royal for the first time one of the main candidates was a woman. All this makes the 2007 presidential election an interesting occasion for analyzing election communication. TV ads in particular constitute a means of communication that allows the candidates to present themselves and their programs to voters in a most direct way – without the intervention of journalistic changes and comments, or any other bias. Thus the media do not operate as a filter but merely carry the candidates' messages to the voters. The central question in this research project was therefore how the different candidates made use of this opportunity. This paper examines visual and verbal strategies of TV advertising during the presidential election campaign 2007 in France. A content analysis of the candidates' TV ads was conducted to discover differences and similarities in the way politics are presented. The findings indicate that the French election spots are strongly candidate-oriented: candidates are all very present in their spots. However, they do not become an issue themselves. Personal attributes are rarely mentioned, the focus clearly remains on characteristics belonging to their role as politicians. At the same time, party references are rare. This leads to the conclusion that there is a high degree of personalization in the sense of candidate-orientation, however privatization is not the case. Traditional forms of presentation like the talking head format dominate the ads in the form of spoken statements or speeches by the candidates themselves. Thematically, the two main candidates Ségolène Royal and Nicholas Sarkozy focus more on general values like equality and solidarity and less on specific policy issues, compared to the rest of the candidates. In general, issues are not treated in detail and the style of argumentation is abstract and stays general. Whereas the spots of the first campaign show more critical treatment of issues, those of the second campaign (including only Royal and Sarkozy) convey a more positive perspective. As expected, all candidates put their focus on the future by announcing reforms and change. Overall, the spoken word plays a very important role in the ads. Visual elements are at best used to underline argumentation. Concerning production techniques the use of special effects, graphic elements and music is rather limited, important film techniques like for instance different camera angles are neglected. Moreover, the spots are slowly cut and show long and rather static sequences, most of which the candidate speaks directly into the camera. As a whole the potential of television as a medium is not fully utilized. In general findings indicate that there is a difference concerning the overall strategies of Royal and Sarkozy

compared to the other candidates. While the two favorites use the opportunity to persuade the voters the other parties' candidates use their airtime to communicate their political opinions and contents to the audience.

Media and politics: a new paradigm?

Eduardo Torres — Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Portugal · ect@netcabo.pt

The exercise of political power in a democracy is primarily made through communication with institutions, civil society and individuals. What happens if governments have to deal with an enormous increase of mass, personal and interactive communication like the latest “explosion of communication”? The new media landscape arises issues in the relation of democratic governments with society, specially when it comes to the exercise of its power. In the past, media influenced not only the way government spoke with citizens but the political process and the media-politics relationship. Now it seems governments all over the world are successfully changing the media and the news. New attacks on the freedom of the press and journalists happen all over the world in either liberal or conservative regimes. This article will look for examples from several countries, as France, Italy, Portugal, Venezuela, Argentina, the United States and Russia trying to draw a picture and not just to gather a sum of anecdotal evidence. Can these strains and limitations result from the “excess” of nongovernment communications, leading governments to overtake the media, by legal procedures, exerting economic pressure, interfering in the media or upgrading their own marketing, propaganda and misinformation? The present day governmental hyperpropaganda and the constraints on journalists activity hint at the emergence of a new paradigm in the governments-media relation: severe constraints within a formal democracy.

«VISUAL CAMPAIGNING IN THE 2009 FEDERAL ELECTION IN GERMANY»

Wolfgang Wichmann — University of Hohenheim, Germany · wowichmann@web.de

Stephanie Geise — University of Hohenheim, Germany · stephanie.geise@uni-hohenheim.de

Research on election campaigning has shown that political advertisement might activate voter-learning, push issues on the public agenda, and change evaluation frames of possible voters. This project focused on the relevance of traditional visual campaign features (election posters and television ads) for relevant key attitudes and memory functions of possible voters. The study was guided by several questions: How well are election posters and ads memorized by the recipients? How are the political messages evaluated? What are the best memorized spots and slogans? Where the most popular posters and spots also the ones that were remembered best? Were successfully memorized campaign slogans associated with the correct source (party)? 48 recipients were recruited at a midsize German university. The recipients were selected in order to get similar sized groups according to sex, age, education and party affiliation. The recipients were shown two different types of messages during the election campaign for the federal election in Germany in September, 2009. Stimulus material were the four most used campaign-posters of each party in the German parliament Bundestag, as well as the only TV-campaign-spots by each party that had been broadcasted by the time the study was conducted. The dependent variables were recognition as a measure for encoding and cued recall as a measure for storing information, in addition to open-end questions. For further analyses, eye-tracking data and real-time response data was collected, as well. With roughly 62 million Euros, the 2009 federal election campaign is generally portrayed as the most expensive campaign in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany. However, similar to earlier research, election posters and political ads did not receive much appreciation by the electorate. Three out of four participants in our study thought of political ads in campaigns as obsolete marketing for political parties. Even worse was the appreciation of election posters: Almost 90 percent of the study participants judged them as not necessary. Nevertheless, almost every third of the questioned voters admitted that they had been influenced in their voting decision by campaign advertisement at least once before. Rating and memorization of election posters After seeing 20 posters of the five major parties and their 2009 election campaign, the recipients had to

rate them according to personal popularity, irrespectively of the responsible party. Among the top five election posters were the thematically oriented posters of the Social Democrats (not including personal pictures of top-candidate Frank-Walter Steinmeier) and the open and sympathetic looking personal pictures of the federal ministers Ursula von der Leyen and Karl Theodor zu Guttenberg (both Conservatives). Election posters with long texts by the German party Die Linke were rated the least popular. In contrast to personal popularity, the content of posters of the Green party was recognized and remembered best. Worst results received the election posters of the Liberal party (FDP). Their posters presented short slogans that were obviously hard to remember. Additionally, the content of Liberal party posters was often evaluated as being part of the campaign of the party Die Linke. Best results were seen for the Linkspartei: The wording and framing of issues was remarkably distinct and was successfully recognized as being part of the Linkspartei-campaign. Rating and memorization of election ads After seeing five television ads of the five major parties in the 2009 election campaign, the recipients had to rate them according to personal popularity, irrespectively of the responsible party. The most popular spot among the recipients was the one the Liberal party, followed by the Greens, the Conservatives, the Social Democrats and the Linkspartei. The memorization of content of the television spots was generally not very successful and the results did not vary extensively for one party or another. However, the best results achieved the spot of the Conservatives, by presenting short slogans that were also successfully assigned to the correct party/source. The distinct wording and framing of topics helped again the Linkspartei to achieve good memorization results and also a successful identification of the responsible party.

Regulating under Influence? Media Concentration and its Effects on Media Policy-Making

Ulrike Klinger – IPMZ - Institute for Mass Communication and Media Research, University of Zurich, Switzerland · u.klinger@ipmz.uzh.ch

Research on media concentration and its effects on democratic processes widely assumes that dominant media organizations hold significant bargaining and even veto power in policy-making, particularly when a reform focuses on media regulation („colonization of politics“). As media regulation is a bargaining process among elites with only low public mobilizing potential, direct lobbying and collusive relations between media owners and politicians are especially successful when media concentration and political parallelism are high. In those two countries with the highest level of media concentration among OECD states, Italy and Mexico, parliaments have indeed produced controversial media reforms, which transformed corporate interests directly into media law („Legge Gasparri“ 2004 and „Ley Televisa“ 2006). So, is it true that media corporations have become such powerful political actors that they can co-write media regulation? The paper analyzes four media reform processes (Legge Gasparri 2004, Iniziativa Gentiloni 2006, Ley Televisa 2006, Mexican Constitutional Reform 2007) is built on document analysis of transcripts of parliamentary discussions and hearings, reform documents, reform evaluation of international organizations and press reports. This paper argues that even though we find evidence for direct influence of media companies on the political agenda, their impact on policy-making remains limited due to political veto actors and is highly related to the vote-seeking and office-seeking preferences of political parties. Moreover, both reforms that implemented the political preferences of dominant media organizations have provoked counter-reforms opposed to corporate interests and intending to constrain media power. Mexico and Italy are instructive cases, because in both countries we find extremely high levels of media concentration, domestic dominant media ownership structures, a strong tradition of political parallelism and collusion between political and media actors. The paper illustrates that democracies do not only require independent media, but also mechanisms which guarantee political parties' and media organizations' autonomy from each other.

The use of the Internet by Social movements in Morocco: networks and frames during the 2009 Gaza war

Mohamed Ben Moussa – Concordia University, Canada · mbenmoussa@gmail.com

The impact of the Internet on collective action and social movements has acquired a growing attention the literature in the last decade. The implication of the technology for online activism and, more particularly, for social movement organization, networking and collective identity formation has been highlighted by numerous studies in recent years (Castells, 1996; Cerulo, 1997; Diani 2000; Downing, 2001; Van Aelst and Walgrave, 2004). In the context of Muslim and Arab countries, however, this area of interest has received scant attention insofar as existing literature has focused almost exclusively on the use of the Internet by Islamic-oriented groups. The present paper examines the role of the Internet in empowering social movements in Morocco, by focusing on three distinct social movements, namely the Islamic, the Alter-Globalization and the Amazigh (Berber) movements. Drawing on new social movement theory (NSM) (Habermas 1981, 2008; Mellucci 1989, 1996), as well as on Diani's work on network analysis and social movements (2000; 2003), the paper investigates the impact of the Internet on these movements' ability to mobilize actual and potential constituents, create networks of solidarity and construct collective identity. Using both structural and framing analysis, the paper concentrates on fifteen websites belonging to various organizations within these three movements. These websites were downloaded during the 2009 Gaza war, a highly mediated event in which the Internet was heavily used to cover it from 'ground zero' inside Gaza, mobilize support and to wage propaganda and counter-propaganda 'cyber-wars'. The paper has found patterns of similarities as well as important variations in the way the studied movements use the Internet in collective action. It is argued that while Islamic-oriented movements are the most adept in exploiting the Internet's potential for mobilization and identity formation, their non-religious counterparts effectively use the internet to build extensive networks of solidarity at the local, national and transnational levels.

The Making of Generation Y by the Press: A Study on Youth, Citizenship and New Activism

Alice Lee – Hong Kong Baptist University, Hong Kong · alicelee@hkbu.edu.hk

Klavier Wong – Hong Kong Baptist University, Hong Kong · klavier.wong5@gmail.com

Generation Y refers to the group of young people who were born after 1980. In the West, they are regarded as a force for social transformation. However, in the East, their image is much ambiguous and even negative. In Chinese society there have been few studies and few discussions about the Generation Y (called as the post-80s). However, in the past two years these young people became active in social movements and grasped the attention of the media. The purpose of this paper is to examine how their image is being shaped by the press and how their role of citizenship is being defined. This study will be conducted in Hong Kong where the debate about the Generation Y is heated. Lately in Hong Kong, the Generation Y people opposed the Legislative Council funding to an express rail link to Guangdong. They confronted with government officials and had conflicts with the police in demonstrations. Besides, they are active in a number of new social movements which promote conservation and value change. Therefore, the policy makers as well as the general public are trying very hard to figure out who they are. The media, then, become the major party to step forward to "deconstruct" and portray this group of young people. Western researchers (Tapscott, 2009) pointed out that the Generation Y people are not "me generation" and they care for their society. Engaging in a new kind of activism, they are a generation moves from civic action to political action. As activists, they are very good at using the new media and are considered as a driving force for democracy 2.0. They are expected to reinvent government service delivery. However, in Hong Kong the activism of the Generation Y is not well received. Their constructive citizenship role is in doubt. This public skepticism seems to be related to their radical media image. This study makes an attempt to find out how their civic and political roles are to be shaped by the mainstream media. The study will also investigate how they use the new media (e.g. blogs, twitter, facebook and forums) to launch their social movement activities. Content analysis is the major method for data collection. Since the debate on the Generation Y begins with the Express Rail Link incident which happened at the end of 2009, the sample period of this study starts from December 1, 2009 and ends on January 31, 2010. This study will content analyze about

1, 500 news items about Generation Y from a news cutting service, Wiser, provided in Hong Kong. It is expected to find that these young people are labeled as radicals and have the following characteristics: not rational, not well organized, superficial, violent, narcissistic and playful. They are stereotyped as active participants in social movements and their political engagement is negatively portrayed. They are also seen as immature citizens. They use the Internet, blogs and social networking sites to get in touch with one another. Therefore, government officials were urged to use the new media to communicate with them.

Lulinha “paz y amor”y su creacción: una sucesora a su imagen y semejanza

Sérgio Trein – Júlio Ernesto Trein e Harda Helga Siegmann Trein, Brazil · trein@unisinós.br

Neusa Gomes – Célia Daudt Demartini e Humberto Demartini, Brazil · ndegomes@terra.com.br

Este estudio contempla el esfuerzo del actual presidente brasileño, un político cuya imagen que ha sido reposicionada en función de las elecciones de 2006, por un publicitario y que, ahora, intenta hacer lo mismo con su ministra de la casa civil, su sucesora em la presidencia, pré-candidata por el Partido de los Trabajadores. Para tanto, se parte del referencial teórico que trata de la construcción de imagen y desarrollo de una personalidad carismática. Dilma Rousseff ha sido elegida oficialmente como pré-candidata a la presidencia del país em comienzo de 2009, por Lula, además de la legislación electoral que determina el inicio y el término de las campañas y bajo las narizes del Supremo Tribunal Electoral. Será aplicado un análisis de contenido cualitativo a un corpus formado por noticias veiculadas en el periodico Zero Hora, de la ciudad de Porto Alegre y que tratan de temas relativos a la ministra. Pretendese con el análisis intentar comparar la imagen de la ministra antes de haber sido indicada y ahora, justo cuando se aproxima el momento de la candidatura oficial. Como conclusiones tenemos que, la ministra, una mujer cuya imagen , hasta entonces, era de una tecnócrata muy dura, ríspida y de poca charla y una manera muy alejada de tratar el público, hoy ha cambiado de una manera radical, está simpática, popular, suavizada hasta en su comportamiento profesional. Sin haber hecho su carrera política basada en cargos electivos, Dilma era poco conocida del gran público y Lula empezó a utilizarse de todos los recursos de la comunicación persuasiva y de la propaganda política para hacerla una figura conocida y popular , a su imagen y semejanza. Actualmente, los índices de opinión pública indican que Dilma está equilibrada con el candidato de oposición al PT.

Personalization of politics: trick or trend?

Lutz Hofer – Universiteit van Amsterdam, Netherlands · l.hofer@uva.nl

Personalization is regarded an increasing phenomenon in modern party democracies. Political science suggests that party leaders gain ever more importance compared to party organization and parties' rank-and-file (e.g., Katz & Mair, 1995, p. 14; Poguntke & Webb, 2005; Samuels, 2002), while communications research considers personalization to be a trend marked by personal political actors becoming increasingly key in campaigning, for voting behavior, and in political media coverage at the expense of collective actors (such as parties) and political issues. Despite continuing debate about the normative criticism about personalization, the host of empirical endeavors grows, being motivated on a central consensus: Although personalization would not be a new phenomenon, it would be – due to cross-system developments of modernization and medialization – increasing (and thus becoming increasingly important) over the past decades (e.g., Blumler & Gurevitch, 1995; Holtz-Bacha, 2004; Kaase, 1994; Langer, 2010; Reinemann & Wilke, 2007). Yet, whereas the prevailing growth in studies paired with this conceptualization suggests considering personalization a uniform system-transcending trend, empirical evidence on both its supposed increase and generality is missing. Reviewing the literature, a diversity of perspectives (campaign communication, media coverage, and studies on potential effects from both on vote decisions), abundance of terminology and methodological approaches, disparity of findings (e.g., Brettschneider, 2009), and dominance of non-comparative cross-sectional studies all has not helped answering: Is

personalization really a long-term increasing phenomenon across modern party democracies? And which contextual and situational factors define levels and developments of personalization in which way? Scholars have repeatedly urged the persisting necessity for systematic, longitudinal, and context-sensible analyses as core elements of a future research agenda on personalization (e.g., Adam & Maier, 2008, 2009). This paper will add to such wider framework with a comparative and longitudinal analysis of the alleged trend of media personalization of politics as one central dimension of the larger phenomenon: First, the paper will shortly sketch the state of research, from which the central demands for comparative and longitudinal analyses as well as a coherent definition of media personalization is derived. Second, a model will be presented that provides for comparing and explaining media personalization as a development within and across different contexts over time. The model focuses on the configurative constellations of political structure, political culture, media structure, and news culture indicators as antecedents of journalistic attribution of relevance to political actors. Finally third, the utility of this model will be exemplified along the search for the supposedly system-transcending trend of media personalization of politics. To this end, the paper will build on original data from an international content analysis of political print news, comprising 30 years of coverage from the leading broadsheet and popular dailies of six Western democracies (France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, United Kingdom, and the U.S.). Unlike common practice, the data extends beyond election coverage, contesting media personalization as a broader trend by controlling for political routine time as situational factor. It is also in this regard that the paper aims to advance our conceptual understanding of personalization and its eventual implications on (party) democracy. Adam, S., & Maier, M. (2008). Personalization in politics – a critical assessment of its normative connotations. Paper presented at the IAMCR Annual Conference, July. Stockholm, Sweden. Adam, S., & Maier, M. (2009). Personalization of politics – towards a future research agenda. A critical review of the empirical and normative state of the art. Paper presented at the 54th annual meeting of the DGPUK „Medienkultur im Wandel“, May. Bremen, Germany. Blumler, J. G., & Gurevitch, M. (1995). The crisis of public communication. London: Routledge. Brettschneider, F. (2009). Die ‚Amerikanisierung‘ der Medienberichterstattung über Bundestagswahlen. In O.W. Gabriel, B. Weßels & J.W. Falter (eds), *Wahlen und Wähler. Analysen aus Anlass der Bundestagswahl 2005* (pp. 510-535). Wiesbaden: VS. Holtz-Bacha, C. (2004). Germany: How the private life of politicians got into the media. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 57(1), 41-52. Kaase, M. (1994). Is there personalization in politics? Candidates and voting behavior in Germany. *International Political Science Review*, 15(3), 211-230. Katz, R. S., & Mair, P. (1995). Changing Models of Party Organization and Party Democracy. The Emergence of the Cartel Party. *Party Politics* 1(1), 5-28. Langer, A.I. (2010). The politicization of private persona: exceptional leaders or the new rule? The case of the United Kingdom and the Blair effect. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 15(1), 60-76. Poguntke, T., & Webb, P. (2005). *The Presidentialization of Politics. A Comparative Study of Modern Democracies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Reinemann, C., & Wilke, J. (2007). It's the debates, stupid! How the introduction of televised debates changed the portrayal of chancellor candidates in the German press, 1949-2005. *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 12(4), 92-111. Samuels, D. J. (2002). Presidentialized Parties: The Separation of Powers and Party Organization and Behavior. *Comparative Political Studies*, 35(4), 461-483.

Web 2.0 platforms and Issue Campaigning: Some methodological and theoretical challenges

Anastasia Kavada – University of Westminster, United Kingdom · kavadaa@wmin.ac.uk

The emergence of online platforms that allow the collaborative creation of content, its sharing with other users, as well as self-publishing and social networking has renewed hopes around the role of the internet in political participation. This paper highlights some of the methodological and theoretical challenges posed by the investigation of web 2.0 platforms and their role in issue campaigning. The challenges stem from a fundamental shift in the function of the web: from a relatively static page that transmits information one-way to a platform for collaboration and interaction where users are treated as co-creators rather than as consumers of content. Previous research on the use of websites by campaigning organizations viewed campaigning within the general framework of persuasion. It thus tended to operate on a transmission model of communication, positing

organizations in the place of ‘communicators’ that disseminate messages to an audience of web visitors. However, web platforms blur the boundaries between external/public communication and internal/private communication, as well as those between creators and consumers of content. Therefore, investigating the use of web 2.0 platforms in issue campaigning necessitates a more systematic conceptualization of the different roles that users assume on the platform, of its governance and coordination mechanisms, as well as of the practices of sharing and co-production of content. Borrowing terms from Taylor and Van Every (2000), this paper suggests that web 2.0 platforms can be viewed in two complementary ways: as ‘surfaces’ and as ‘sites’ of communication. The ‘surface’ dimension treats the presence of the organization on the platform as a ‘text’ that constitutes an imprint of the organization’s activity and a representation of its identity. The ‘site’ dimension views web platforms as spaces of interaction, turning our attention to the ways in which they frame the process of mobilizing, informing, networking and community-building between the organization, its supporters and peers. The paper then outlines the methods that can be used to study web 2.0 platforms as ‘sites’ and ‘surfaces’ of issue campaigning. To illustrate this analysis, this paper draws examples from a preliminary study of the use of web 2.0 platforms by Avaaz.org, a ‘global web movement’ aiming to bring people-powered politics to global decision-making.

POLITICS 2.0: Is there a new communication strategy for the new media?

Antonio Fernandes – Universidade do Porto/Universidade de Aveiro, Portugal · ajfernandes@ua.pt

José Azevedo – Universidade do Porto, Portugal · azevedo@letras.up.pt

The study of political marketing has been mainly concentrated on the campaign’s tactical issues, especially on communication. Recognizing the limitations of such approach, this study attempts to shift the emphasis to the strategic level. It shows how fundamental issues, such as competitive analysis, party/leader positioning and relevant strategic directions, are brought to the political marketing context of the new media. In 2008, the North American Presidential Campaign realized the potential of the Net and benefited from its advantages. Barack Obama’s 2.0 political communication explored the potential of the social networks on the Web, assembled and financed the campaign through Facebook, gathering volunteers and funds. The trend is set. The campaigns adapted to the new digital scenario and there was a partial abandonment of the traditional model, centered on television propaganda and made of unidirectional messages repeated in a continuous and uniform way. Social networks on the Web have a large potential as tools that allow contact between candidates and voters, but they can also be explored by the parties in an internal perspective because they may also serve as a virtual platform where militants and sympathizers can meet, boosting participation and mobilization. Portugal had the first post Obama elections in 2009, and as expected the political parties had the first opportunity to stage the potential of Web 2.0, to explore social networks and make them serve the goals of political communication. Our research looks into this scenario, and analyses this pioneer moment in the history of Portugal. In this study, a well established strategic framework of market analysis is applied to political parties, namely the typology of competitive positioning – market leader, challenger and nicher – popularized and employed by Kotler and Porter, among others. Using this conceptual structure we designed a methodology that included interviews with the Campaign Communication Directors of the main five parties presented at the 2009 parliamentary election, as well as a content analysis of the parties’ presence in the social networks. The analysis of the interviews and of the social networking practices is presented and discussed in the light of the present debate that questions if the Internet and the rapid information exchange on mobile networks can live side by side with systems and practices coined long before modern democracy.

Contextualizing the Blogosphere: the unequal political meaning of blogs

Andrea Calderaro – European University Institute, Italy · andrea.calderaro@eui.eu

Among the various instruments of the Internet, scholars have welcomed blogs as a medium able to generate a democratic model of public communication. Blogs create a self-organizing mesh of public communications,

which allows people to become spreaders of information and producers of political contents in a way much easier than with other media. Within the framework of politics, scholars expect that this scenario strengthens democracy. However, so far, research in this field has largely focused only on the case of the United States, and thus does not allow us to draw conclusions about the Blogosphere in general. This paper aims to overcome this lack by addressing the following questions from a transnational perspective of analysis: Do Blogs influence politics in an equal fashion worldwide? Do Blogs have an impact on politics as a technology as such? Or, rather, do people blog differently depending the context where they are active? This paper empirically explores how Blogs are used according to local conditions, such as political and cultural needs, and unequal Internet access. Following the “social constructivism technology” approach proposed by Bijker and Pinch (1984), I first, provide empirical findings about the unequal distribution of bloggers worldwide using Technorati as source. I then contextualise how people use Blogs by comparing the Blogosphere of two contrasting cases: United States and Iran. Focusing on both countries, I investigate how local conditions, including the divide of Internet access, economic and political status, affect how the Blogosphere impacts on politics. This leads me to demonstrate that citizens construct the political meaning of Blogs according to their local technological, social and political context.

Consensus and Conflict in French Immigration Policy. Public Debate on Immigration under conflictual conditions.

Konstantinos Prearis – IRISSO, University Paris IX Dauphine, Greece · kprearis@gmail.com

The purpose of this paper is to specify the influence of immigration’s media coverage to public debate and to some extent public policy. We propose an analytical model of the immigration issue as a policy object, that derives from the crossing of two different axes: the axis Consensus-Conflict, which examines the presence of consensus or conflict within the government and the political spectrum as regards the immigration issue, and the axis Politicization-Non Politicization, which examines the presence of intense media coverage of the immigration issue. We focus on the period 1986-1998, which is placed in a politicized conflict framework. During these years, immigration is transformed in a political issue by its inclusion in the public and policy agenda as well as by the construction of arguments constituting its structure as object of journalistic and political discourse. Immigration is politicized during the above period by an agenda consisted of crises and conflict of opinions, which is enriched by both solid migratory subjects (illegal immigration, asylum and nationality) and by facts that touch the issues of security, terrorism and religion. Crossing immigration with other issues demonstrates how the immigration issue is not a technical problem, which can be resolved by legal means. On the contrary, it constitutes a convergence point of different issues employing the French society, and which they appear each time the immigration subject is emerging as political issue. On the one hand, we focus on immigration’s media coverage by studying seven weekly magazines (*L’Événement du jeudi*, *L’Express*, *Le Figaro Magazine*, *Le Nouvel observateur*, *Le Point*, *Paris-Match* και *Valeurs actuelles*) between 1985-1998. Our weekly press study focuses on data selection directly associated with immigration subjects (illegal immigration, asylum, citizenship and various dimensions of integration) and subjects that are relevant to immigration (insecurity, terrorism, religion and far-right wing parties). The treatment of weekly press data is quantitative, as to the determination of the temporal dynamics of the immigration issue and other issues in the media agenda. It is qualitative, as to the determination of the views and arguments constituting the structure of the immigration issue as object of journalistic discourse. On the other hand, we focus on legislation in matters of entry and stay of foreigners at the territory, asylum and citizenship (fourteen laws in a period of twelve years), preparatory texts and mainly parliamentary dialogs of each law. The purpose of this part is the controversy between journalistic and political discourses, such surfacing in parliamentary dialogues and in legislative texts. The reports of deputies and senators on media agenda, the utilization of arguments and the adoption of journalistic views are items that reveal the influence of the journalistic discourse on the political one. The comparison of conflicts at the parliamentary and journalistic level demonstrates the above relationship. Further, the proposals included in the legislative texts and the time of adoption suggest, in some cases, the impact of specific events in the construction of immigration policies.

Candidate demographics, partisanship and campaign experience as predictors of support for campaign reform in the United States

James Hertog— University of Kentucky, United States · jim.hertog@uky.edu

James Human— University of Kentucky, United States · j.human@uky.edu

Candidates' ability to communicate with potential supporters is crucial to democratic elections. However, many scholars have argued that under current conditions those who run for public office in the United States are offered little opportunity to reach out to their constituencies. As a result, a number of changes meant to improve communications between candidates and the public have been proposed. In the end, it will be the successful candidates who determine whether these proposals will become law. Support for varied proposals is almost certain to vary with candidates' political ideology and/or party membership. Experiences with media organizations, promotional efforts and campaign professionals as well as the tremendous demands of modern campaigns may have a significant independent effect on support for, or opposition to, reform of the campaign communications system. In addition, any proposal to change US campaign communications law will have Constitutional implications. The First Amendment of the United States Constitution guarantees freedom of speech and of the press—which may be at odds with regard to some current reform proposals. Despite the significance of these issues, little empirical research on candidate campaign experience or factors related to candidate support for campaign reform proposals exists. To better understand a number of issues regarding candidate experiences on the campaign trail and how those experiences might affect subsequent policy preferences, we recruited over 1250 candidates from a wide range of elections across the United States to complete an extensive online questionnaire regarding those concerns. In addition to questions regarding the nature of their races, their campaign efforts, their partisan affiliations, their personal experiences and their promotional efforts, they were asked about their support for several campaign reform proposals. Proposals studied included requiring broadcasters to provide free time for candidate use, requiring public debates including all ballot-qualified candidates, banning dishonest political advertising, requiring news outlets to provide minimum levels of information on candidates, and requiring candidates to fill out surveys on their issue positions, among others. Hierarchical regression analyses were performed with the proposals as dependent variables. Gender, age, race and economic class were entered in the first block of predictors, and political party, incumbency and office sought (legislative, judicial or administrative/local, regional, state, or national office) in the second. The third block of predictors included measures of the positivity or negativity of the campaign experience overall and the evaluation of media performance during the campaign period. Preliminary results indicate that political party, age, gender, and social class are significantly related to support for a range of campaign reform measures.

European Union communication policies: call for participation of informed citizens?

Ana Lúcia Terra— Escola Superior de Estudos Industriais e de Gestão - Instituto Politécnico do Porto, Portugal · anatterra@eu.ipp.pt

This paper aims at presenting some reflections from a doctoral research on the development of EU institutions information policy since the 1950s until the end of the first Commission chaired by José Manuel Barroso (2009). During the early 1990's, following the difficulty in ratifying the Maastricht Treaty, the European institutions attempted bringing the European Union closer to the citizens by requesting numerous reports and by re-examining the information organisms' operations. A complex structure of information units vocationed to distinct fields and target groups are developed with clear communicative objectives. In fact, apart from providing the citizens with information, their motivation to take part in the decision making process of the European project is sought for. In this way, passive consensus is substituted by the active participation of all European member-states' citizens in what concerns the Union's integration. This emphasis on communication becomes more pronounced with the Barroso Commission, after 2004, that defined new objectives for communication policies,

particularly by benefiting from the advantages of the information technologies in order to dialogue with the citizens, specially through the EUROPA server. The 2001 regulation concerning the access to EU institution documents also sought to better the transparency in decisions and the institutions' acknowledgement of the public opinion. The approach will focus on the analysis of documents relating to the definition of a communication policy, since 2000. These officials' documents, from the European Parliament and the Commission, intended to create a space of political and ideological control. This political communication from a supra-national entity promotes the consent of the citizens of each member state for the process of European integration and enlargement. Supported by the possibilities offered by the technological revolution and the systemic relationship information-communication, emerge a governance based on an informational and post-custodial paradigm that will be explained.

Reflections in a Distorted Mirror: The Impact of News Coverage on Social Movement Organizations

Eileen Drust— University of Kentucky, United States · eileen.drust@uky.edu

James Hertog— University of Kentucky, United States · jim.hertog@uky.edu

Media coverage of social protest is crucial to dissemination of movement ideas but also plays an important role in activists' self-identity and in protest groups' strategies for framing themselves. The portrayal of social movement organizations (SMOs) affects how the public perceives the groups as well as group members' understanding of their behavior as understood by the public. Further, activists are challenged to evaluate others within the activist community based on media portrayals. A number of studies have evaluated news coverage of social protest and have identified commonalities in these portrayals, including a "protest paradigm" that guides journalists' approach to protest and a limited set of frames to conceptualize protest activity. Examining framing activity on the part of SMOs emphasizes SMOs' attempts to attract support by explaining the goals and strategies the organization employs and also provides an understanding of what makes a particular SMO different from other organizations. Research questions explored the general nature of news coverage of the Third Ministerial action and selected global justice actions from 2000-2009, how news coverage of the Third Ministerial action influenced activists, and U.S. news coverage of global justice protest over a ten-year period. This study employed ethnographic content analysis of mainstream and alternative news coverage of global justice protest actions in the U.S. beginning with the Third Ministerial of the World Trade Organization in Seattle, Washington, in 1999. Additionally, news coverage was analyzed of protest actions in Washington, DC, at meetings of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank in April 2000, April 2002, October 2004, and October 2007, and of the Mobilization for Climate Justice held in Seattle on November 30, 2009, on the ten-year anniversary of the Third Ministerial action. Interviews were carried out to explore the role of news coverage in activists' framing activities and self-definition as an activist. Some respondents had participated in the action at the Third Ministerial, while others helped to found or participated in a new SMO called Mobilization for Global Justice (MGJ) that formed within weeks of the Third Ministerial action. MGJ organized protest actions at meetings of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank from April 2000 through October 2007. Analyses of the news texts revealed a "protest paradigm" in news narratives that tends to marginalize anti-globalization activists and their concerns. Alternative media at times demonstrated a similar structure and set of concerns but also provided a deeper and more conceptual treatment on other occasions. Interviews suggested that news coverage of global justice protests influenced self- and collective identity of activists which manifested as widespread debate about protest tactics following Seattle and in the collective action frame employed by MGJ. Activists also described a chilling effect on protest following the attacks on the World Trade Center and the U.S. Pentagon on September 11, 2001. Finally, similarities were seen in news narratives about these actions, but in recent years a marked decline in the amount of coverage of global justice protest actions was observed.

Instructive or destructive: how media shape the attitudes towards public consultations*Anna Przybylska* – University of Warsaw, Poland · a.przybylska@uw.edu.pl

Public consultation process rests on information. First, the authorities bring to the public attention a policy subject that they intend to collect opinions on. Then they announce how the consultation is going to be conducted. The response of the citizens to the call is decisive, so the following message addressed to the broad public is on the advantages of participation. In the best case scenario the consultation process involves a representative sample of citizens. Thus, all others can form their opinions on the consultation and its results based on the second-hand information. The mass media are decisive here. But their impact goes further than that. On the one hand they watchdog the process of consultation and the implementation of its results on behalf of citizens, on the other hand they build trust in the democratic mechanisms and institutions. The consultations in Poland are at the very preliminary stage. So it is not surprising that the consultation conducted in autumn 2009 in Poznan - one of major cities in Poland – was covered by the local, regional and national media. In Poland the trust in media is relatively high, as compared to Western European countries. The local media have immense impact on the citizens' perception of politics and the well-being of local community. They sometimes are destructive to local democracy. There were two factors that strengthened the interest in the consultation: firstly, it was carried out with the use of a method called Deliberative Polling® that has specific rules and restrictions; secondly, the subject – the future of the city stadium - was connected with a widely discussed issue of UEFA EURO 2012 football cup as Poznan will host the games. The Deliberative Polling is the method of public consultation developed by prof. James Fishkin from the Center for Deliberative Democracy at the Stanford University. It combines public discussion centered on pros and cons of choices at hand with the representative results. The consultation starts and ends with an opinion poll. In-between randomly selected citizens participate in moderated discussions and meet with experts and authorities. The debate is based on the alternative scenarios of action towards the discussed issue. The stadium in Bulgarska is owned by the city. It has been managed by POSIR – Poznan Center for Sports and Recreation. The costs of its use were in majority covered from the city budget, although the facilities were predominantly used by the private football club Lech. The use of new stadium will be approximately four times as expensive as it was in the past. Without more considerable contribution from the users the expenditure on the side of the city will be substantially higher. Four scenarios have been specified concerning the future of the stadium in Bulgarska. They differ in the choice of a managing institution, degree of commercialization vs. public expenditure, the accessibility of infrastructure and affordability of services to inhabitants of Poznan. The research results are expected to inform about the completeness, balance and accuracy of the media coverage of the consultation in Poznan. They will also provide elaborate on the media re-presentation of the Poznan Deliberative Polling. Finally, we should be able to gain knowledge about the reactions of the consultation participants to the media coverage on deliberation in Poznan. The research includes: the content analysis of local, regional and national media coverage of consultation in Poznan and in-depth interviews (N=25) with inhabitants of Poznan who were present at Deliberative Poll. The preliminary results suggest that media focus was first of all on the uniqueness of the deliberation event. Although the coverage was substantial, the newspapers were not always accurate in the information that they provided. Also, the perspective form which the consultation was shown was predominantly from the top-down.

CITIZENSHIP AND POLITICAL COMMUNICATION: AN OVERVIEW*Manuel Parés / Maicas* – , · manuel.pares@uab.es

This is a complex relationship, which I shall try to develop according the following parameters: The concept of citizenship. Its connection with the civil society. Its different ways of expression according to the nature of the state. The citizen's rights and duties in relation to the Constitution, the Declaration of Human Rights and the respective legal system. Its distinct issues according to the political system The typology of the citizens. The importance of their political socialization. The role of the ideology, values, sentiments and interests Cultural diversity and the process of globalization Citizenship and the political process. The weight of the elections. The

role and influence of the political marketing and the media. The public opinion as the representation and way of expression of the citizenship Citizenship and social change.

[no title]

Matias Jove Díaz – Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Spain · matias@parachute.es

Much have been written over the past few years about the Internet ability to convert individuals in nodes with the cappacity of leading in arenas no long time ago reserved to establishment organizations and mediated by the mass media. Consequently, politics is not only what tradicional institutions do but also whan civil society and/or interest groups are building. New actors in the scene have a big political power transforming the triangle into a much more complex figure. But this capacity of interacting of the Internet can be analysed from another perspective. As the Lazarsfeld's two-step flow of communication model suggested, the messages from the media are mediated by informal opinion leaders who "intercept, interpret and diffuse what they see and hear to the personal networks in which they are embedded". Is the Internet empowering opinion leaders' influence? The goal of this paper is to deal with the two-step flow of communication model in the new media environment in which selective perception process has been strength by the Internet. Lazarsfeld's hypothesis suggests that "ideas often flow from radio and print to the opinion leaders and from them to the less active sections of the population". The model implied that "opinion leaders" would be more exposed to the content of the media than the average. Even more, he found there was a relationship between subjective interest and influence in a given arena. The reference to "radio and print" and the invention of television required a revision under the television paradigms. As Noelle Neumann pointed out, the television age implied decreasing of selectivity choices, and had consequences in selective perception process. That implied that a higher exposition of the "opinion leaders" would not be predicated anymore. Does the Internet have an effect in the selective exposure? There is not doubt that an increase in media choices motivates a higher selective exposure behavior in the audience that, as Lazarsfeld pointed out, is related to the subjective interest. In 2005 Elihu Katz wrote that "it has proven of little use to single them (opinion leaders) out one by one. The secret is to locate those segments of a population that influence other segments in each particular domain". The relationship between subjective interest and leadership brought the question of locating "opinion leaders" concentrations in Internet sites that match with the subjective interest. In this paper we are going to find out if it is possible to locate opinion leaders concentrations on one particular subjective interest around a particular website on the internet. In order to do so, we have implemented and extensive online survey in a sample we suspected highly involved in politics (those who received El Confidencial newsletter, a very popular one about politics in Spain). All data gathered allows us to affirm it is possible to find concentrations of opinion leaders using the Internet. Despite Lazarsfeld 's findings we cannot say that opinion leaders are more exposed to the content of the media. As we suggested before, they are more exposed to the content of the media that match with their subjective interest.