



Post Socialist and Post Authoritarian Communication Working Group  
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**Id:** 9451

**Title:** Televising gender: audiences, identities, and (dis)continuity with the socialist past

**Authors:**

Name: Irena Reifová

Email: irena.reifov @ sv.cuni.cz

Country: CZ (Czech Republic)

Affiliation: Charles University in Prague

Name: Jiřina Šmejkalová

Email: jirina.smejkalov @ mail.com

Country: CZ (Czech Republic)

Affiliation: Charles University in Prague

**Abstract:** The paper is based on a research project which focuses on the analyses of female audiences of TV soaps and their patterns of appropriation of the televised characters. The key issue of this project goes beyond a purely academic concern: it is utilizing the research methods established in media and gender studies in order to address the continuing search of Czech society for its relation to the (mediated) socialist past, which still tends to balance at the borderline between the interpretative frameworks of hegemony and resistance. Building on a pool of qualitative data generated by a method of focus groups conducted with seven groups of women in the two age cohorts: 20-30 and 60-70, and analysed from the perspective of grounded theory, our key research question is to what extent does the individual and collective memory of 'socialist femininity' and its representation in pre-1989 TV programming influence the ways in which the current female audiences appropriate and interpret female characters in the post-1989 TV soaps. The sample encompasses female viewers who declare that they used to watch specific gender-relevant television serials (Čena za pultem, Nemocnice na kraji města) before the social transformation in 1989 and simultaneously they are regular viewers of currently produced serials with gender-specific story-lines (Ordinace v růžové zahradě, Ulice). In our analyses of data generated from this project, we follow the concept of 'pop-cultural citizenship' (Turner, Stevenson, Van Zoonen, Hermes, Hartley atd.), through which the consumption and appropriation of popular culture is not just a banal relaxation but a tool of defining and constructing one's relation to public and wider social issues. The political and social mass movements of the 1989 and the following structural transformations of all spheres of public life became 'at least during the first 'post-revolutionary' decade - a subject of hegemonic interpretations in terms of radical discontinuity with the (troublesome) past seen as a resource of oppression and failures, and radically disconnected from the new social and political order (Kennedy). Only recently there were developed interpretative frameworks grounded in the historical and sociological study of memory (Van 'k, Mayer, Franc, 'inátl, Reifová) with an emphasis on the importance of continuity of everyday life practices that go across political turnovers, including the seemingly passive and indifferent media uses and appropriation of popular culture. The last two decades saw also an expansion of research into the relevance of the socialist past in the post-1989 transformation of gender identities (Verdery, Einhorn, Šiklová,

'ermáková, 'mejkalová). Nonetheless, there what is still largely missing are studies that try to combine the gender and popular culture studies approaches in order to examine the role of television in the formation of women's identities in the region of East and Central Europe.

**Id:** 9508

**Title:** Towards a teaching philosophy for journalism education in a young democracy and transitional society: A South African case study

**Authors:**

Name: Ylva Rodny-Gumede

Email: yrodny-gumed @ j.ac.za

Country: ZA (South Africa)

Affiliation: University of Johannesburg

**Abstract:** This paper sets out a novel framework for understanding journalism and journalism education in South Africa based on four major assertions: Re-affirmation the role of journalism in democratic processes: The need for comparative studies and research led teaching: Journalism as active citizenship: And, journalism as a reflexive practice. These assertions are considered within the context of the role of the news media in a young democracy and/or transitional society with a particular focus on post-colonial societies in the global South. As such I hope to contribute to a debate around journalism education and a teaching philosophy grounded in local realities rather than imported Western normative conceptualisations of the role and function of the news media in society.

**Id:** 9579

**Title:** The media decentralization as a basis for resistance against hegemony: the cases of Poland, Spain and Mexico

**Authors:**

Name: Radoslaw Sajna

Email: rs-ep @ ost.pl

Country: PL (Poland)

Affiliation: Kazimierz Wielki University in Bydgoszcz, Poland

**Abstract:** In discussions about resistance and hegemony the problem of the media decentralization seems to be very important, above all in transition societies aiming to build modern democratic countries. Every authoritarian or totalitarian regime (including fascist, communist and others) creates centralized structures in politics, administration, media and so on. Although in such regimes could exist many regional or local media, they are generally elements of the regime's propaganda machine. While building democracy, such propaganda machines are to be destroyed, and new media systems are to be created. This does not mean that media systems in new democracies are not centralized. In different countries the hegemony of the national (and international) media located in big capital cities, and owned often by big media corporations or dominated by mainstream political elites, limits the media decentralization, and 'as a consequence' the decentralized democracy. Nevertheless, the new media are new practical tools to create a new decentralized democracy, not only in the geographical sense, contributing to resistance against hegemony in centralized communication realities dominated by big media and political elites. In this comparative study three cases of three countries are analyzed. The first is Poland, a country that began transition after the collapse of the communism in the Central and Eastern Europe in 1989 and next years. The second is Spain, a country that began to build new democracy in 1976 after the death of general Franco and the collapse of his regime. The third is Mexico, a country that experienced a long-term regime of the mono-party 'or rather coalition' PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional) that finished only in 2000 when Vicente Fox of PAN (Partido Acción Nacional) won the presidential elections. These three countries experienced different types of undemocratic regimes and began transitions in different years, but they have also different political and administrative systems. Poland is a unitary country, Spain is a 'regional' country with broad autonomies of regions (comunidades autónomas), and Mexico is a federal country (Estados Unidos Mexicanos). Poland and Spain are both members of the European Union and have similar populations (about 41 and 38 millions of people, respectively), and Mexico 'New Spain' in the past 'shares cultural roots with Spain, as an ex-colony of this Iberian country. The main questions of this comparative system analysis are: Which of the analyzed countries has the most and which has the least decentralized media system? Which factor (period of transition, the type of the past regime) influences mostly the media decentralization? Does the decentralization of the media system correlates positively with the political/administrative decentralization? How the new media contribute to the media (and democratic) decentralization in these

countries' And the final question of this study: which of the analyzed countries has the strongest media basis for the resistance against hegemony'

**Id:** 9939

**Title:** Romanian Public Intellectuals and their use of New Media

**Authors:**

Name: Camelia Cusnir

Email: cameliacusni @ ahoo.fr

Country: RO (Romania)

Affiliation: University of Bucharest, Faculty of Journalism and Communication Studies

**Abstract:** Our analysis attempts to determine if there is a category that we can call 'new media intellectuals' among the Romanian 'public intellectuals' (Jacoby, 1987, Posner, 2009). We will analyze how Romanian public intellectuals who used to be very present in the traditional media (written press, television) in the last decade of the 20th century and in the first decade of the 21st century managed to adapt their practices to the new media: do they publish online? Do they have their own sites/blogs? Are they present on social media and if yes in which ones? What is the frequency of their online posting? And the audience of their posts? Is there a generational distinction in using these new media? Is it possible to identify different types of public intellectuals according to their use of new media? We will analyze the presence in new media for ten public Romanian intellectuals during 2014, intellectuals who can be categorized as 'public' and who have been previously very present in the traditional media, the aim being to understand if they made the transition to new media and how. Our hypothesis is that this adaptation to new media is made according to different variables as their age, their political ambition or their implication in public debates. The context of our analysis is a very particular one, that of a post-communist country. After almost a half century of silence due to the absence of press freedom and speech freedom during the communism, starting from December 1989 (fall of communism in Romania), Romanian intellectuals experienced, compressed, what intellectuals of Western countries, such as France, had known for almost a century: a "golden age" (a strong presence in the print media when, for example, the magazine published by a group of public intellectuals - "22" drew 150,000 copies), then in the audiovisual media and, more recently, a necessary adaptation to web 2.0. The term of public intellectual is closely linked to the existence of the press, « the locus par excellence for the development of critical intellectuals » (Schlessinger, 1986, p. 87). If in 1980s there was a concern in Western countries about the effects of the television on the intellectuals' statute, a very new chapter is written nowadays about the reshaping of this statute in the context of a redefinition of the public sphere by the new media who create new opinion leaders who threaten the intellectuals' 'symbolic capital' (Bourdieu, 1984) just like journalists did it a few years ago. Several researchers investigate how this redefinition of the public sphere by the new media help public intellectuals in disseminating their ideas and obtaining legitimacy or, on the contrary, the jeopardize their legitimacy by offering to everyone an easy access to the public sphere (Kellner, 1997, Drezner, 2008, Jacoby, 2008, Danowski&Park, 2009, Freese, 2009, Baert&Both, 2012, Dahlgren, 2012, 2013, Figueiras, 2012).

**Id:** 9997

**Title:** Framing Crimea: Conflict reporting in in Kyrgyz press

**Authors:**

Name: Katja Lehtisaari

Email: katja.lehtisaar @ elsinki.fi

Country: FI (Finland)

Affiliation: Aleksanteri Institute, University of Helsinki

Name: Elira Turdubaeva

Email: eliraturdubayev @ mail.com

Country: KG (Kyrgyzstan)

Affiliation: American University of Central Asia

**Abstract:** Central Asia faces similar challenges of democratization after a long era of authoritarian rule as do many other developing countries. Civic unrest is a problem for many developing countries which face challenges caused by ethnic conflicts or political disagreement. The media can play a central role in either spreading these conflicts or promoting peaceful solutions (on cases related to Kyrgyzstan, see e.g. Freedman 2009, Kulikova 2008). The presentation focuses on media's role in Kyrgyzstan public discussion around Crimea in spring 2014 and asks how media represents hegemonic processes and acts of resistance related to this specific situation. The wider aim of the project is to raise knowledge to create new insights for understanding the role of media in process of social transformation in post-Communist conditions. The presentation examines how the annexation of Crimea to Russia in 2014 was reported in the Kyrgyz press and if the security perceptions offered in the media outlets depended on the different language or ownership background of the outlet. In addition to Kyrgyz language media, Russian language media, e.g. TV and newspapers, are widely available in Kyrgyzstan and are among nationally important news media. The main questions addressed are how the newspapers have written on Crimea and how they describe the reasons, give comparisons and prognosis' With the help of the framing analysis (see e.g. Entman 1993), the difference between locally published Kyrgyz language and Russian language newspapers, and Kyrgyz editions of Russian language newspapers is discussed. The material includes following newspapers: a) in Kyrgyz language, Alibi (in private ownership) and Kyrgyz Tuusu (state ownership) b) in Russian language, Slovo Kirgizstana (state ownership) and Vecherniy Bishkek (private ownership), and c) local editions of Russian newspapers, Rossiyskaya Gazeta (Russian, government owned), Komsomolskaya Pravda (private ownership). The main hypothesis is that the situation is framed in more pro-Russian way in the editions of Russian newspapers compared to local publications and that the coverage in state-owned publications is more inclined towards official statements of the state officials and thus presenting hegemonic processes. Sources: Entman, Robert M. (1993) Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. Journal of Communication Volume 43, Issue 4, pages 51-58, December 1993 Freedman, Eric (2009). When a democratic revolution isn't democratic or



revolutionary: Press restraints and press freedoms after Kyrgyzstan's Tulip Revolution. *Journalism* 10:6, 843-861. Kulikova, Svetlana (2008). *New Media in New Democracies: Perceptions of Good Governance among Traditional and Internet-Based Media Users in Kyrgyzstan*. Doctoral dissertation. Louisiana State University. Political extremism, terrorism, and media in Central Asia: The examples of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. A study by International Media Support (IMS), Copenhagen in cooperation with The International Foundation for Protection of Freedom of Speech 'Adil Soz' (Almaty, Kazakhstan) and The Public Association 'Journalists' (Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan). August 2008.

**Id:** 10311

**Title:** The Story of Umbrella: Arts and Activism in the Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong

**Authors:**

Name: Jun Meng Guo

Email: mengjungu @ mail.com

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: The University of Washington

**Abstract:** In September 2014, thousands of demonstrators held up umbrellas to create shield walls from the tear gas and pepper spray deployed by police in the Hong Kong movement. The image of umbrella has become a powerful and ubiquitous symbol of the protest, which later was dubbed 'the Umbrella Movement'. With the advances in new communication technologies, images' role in social movements becomes increasingly important since visibility becomes the center of political struggles (Khatib, 2012). Studies on social movements have for long neglected the visual analysis of images and symbols (Doerr & Teune, 2012) ' though there are exceptions (e.g., DeLuca, 1999). Scholars develop the notion of frame to conceptualize 'the signifying work or meaning construction' in social movements (Benford & Snow, 2011). A growing body of literature discovers that images play a crucial role in carrying out framing work, mobilizing resources, and communicating identity and forming a symbol of the movement (Adams, 2002; Daphi et al., 2013; DeLuca, 1999). More scholars began to foreground the 'power of images' in political conflict, representing the visual realm as not only a site of contentious politics, but also a 'universe of shared meaning' (Doerr, Mattoni, & Teune, 2013). This paper investigates what the image of umbrella has to offer by way of invoking collective memory, reinforcing collective identity and emotional attachment in Hong Kong protests in 2014. Drawing upon semiotics and visual frame analysis in social movement theory, the study examines the visual frames and rhetorical tactics of the images of umbrella through case study of four images of umbrella related to the protest. Images include newspaper photographs and posters. Through analyzing the production, circulation and contextualization of those images, the paper argues that an injustice frame is developed among the images of umbrella, which becomes a universalized frame that appeals to a global audience in the media-saturated society. In the injustice frame, the vulnerability of the umbrella/protesters is contrasted with the violent power of the police/government. Moreover, three main strategies of visual rhetoric are also identified: the display of collective identity, tapping into collective memory, and the adoption of transnational iconic symbols. The study argues that the adoption of images and symbols provides discursive resources to connect activists, to reinforce their attachment with a certain movement, and to create meanings through cultural practices. More importantly, the study discovers that the centrality of vulnerability in the visual rhetoric of the umbrella yields symbolic power to the images of protest. Hence, the symbol of umbrella not only becomes the symbol of the protest, but also constitutes an important symbolic resource for the discourse around democracy in the Hong Kong movement. The study

contributes to the existing literature on the role and impacts of image on social movements with the case in the Asian context, thus shining light on the power of culture in contentious politics.

**Id:** 10435

**Title:** Mediatization of politics in transitional democracies: on differentiated access and the ambivalence of the media autonomy notion

**Authors:**

Name: Ximena Orchard

Email: x.orchard @ heffield.ac.uk

Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: University of Sheffield

**Abstract:** The mediatization of politics has gained currency in political communication research. The narrative of the mediatization theory focuses on how political institutions and actors have become increasingly dependent on mass communication resources as a reaction to the increasing autonomy of news media institutions (Strömbäck 2008; Schulz 2004; Esser & Strömbäck 2014; Hjarvard 2008). This notion of autonomy, however, has been identified as a point in the literature needing further clarification (Marcinkowski & Steiner 2014; Esser & Strömbäck 2014), due to the interdependencies between media and politics at news making and regulatory levels. This contentious point becomes more apparent in the context of transitional democracies, whose media systems independence and pluralism appears commonly questioned. Based on qualitative data analysis of semi-structured interviews conducted in Chile with politicians (30), communication officers (12) and political journalists (12), this paper will critically discuss the notion of media autonomy that underlies the narrative of the mediatization of politics. As a transitional democracy, Chile's media system offers some paradoxes. It has been identified as one of the most concentrated in the Latin American region (Mastrini & Becerra 2006), with close ties to political and economic elites (Monckeberg 2009). Additionally, the ability of the journalistic profession to challenge those in power has been seriously questioned (Leon-Dermota 2003). In spite of this, the news media are consistently perceived as the most powerful institution in the country by political elites (PNUD 2004). Findings indicate that politicians' access to the news media is dependent on: a. their institutional and geographical position, b. their understanding and adaptation to news logics (notions of newsworthiness rooted in commercial considerations), c. the political alignment of news organizations, and d. the construction of relations with journalists, editors and media owners. When taken together, these factors lend support to the idea that political actors appear to be differentially mediatized, and therefore a blanket approach to the mediatization of politics seems inappropriate. Additionally, politicians' ability to pursue mediated visibility appears to be only partly a result of their adaptation to news logics. Instead, it is also conditioned by contextual factors (strong presidentialism, centralisation, concentration of media ownership) and political factors (political affinities, lobby within news organizations). It will be argued that the relative functional autonomy of a media system that precedes the mediatization of politics -which conceptually derives from differentiation theory (Hallin 2005)- should be clearly distinguished from the normative idea of autonomous news organizations and the role they play within the democratic project. **Keywords:** Mediatization of politics, transitional democracies, differential

mediatization, media autonomy, qualitative research.

**Id:** 10504

**Title:** Georgia: Political Change and Media in Transition

**Authors:**

Name: Ana Keshelashvili

Email: annak @ mail.com

Country: GE (Georgia)

Affiliation: Georgian Institute of Public Affairs

**Abstract:** Objective: Main purpose of this research is to study the effect of political environment change on Georgian media. Georgia, a small post-Soviet country trying to become a democracy since the fall of the Soviet Union, has faced several fundamental government changes since the fall of the Soviet Union. A little more than a decade ago Shevardnadze's post-communist government was ousted as a result of peaceful demonstrations in 2003, later referred as Rose Revolution. While a popular national television station Rustavi 2 played an important role in supporting the revolution and later President Saakashvili, it became more silent in the later years. In 2013, when the president Mikhail Saakashvili finished his second, last term in the office and country was facing new Presidential Elections, for the first time the citizens elected their presidential candidate in ordinary elections, rather than bringing change either violently, or by means of a peaceful revolution. This change, although seen by many as a turn back from democratic processes and orientation toward the West to more restrictions and interest in improving relations with Russia, stimulated emergence of new media outlets, especially new television channels. Central to most notions of representative democracy is the idea that engaged, attentive, and informed citizens ought to participate in the process of choosing leaders and expressing opinions on matters of policy. Thus, it is important to study how the political changes affect media systems and journalism in the country. Theory: Journalism's idealized role in democracy provides theoretical bases for freedom of expression and freedom of the press, as well as the responsibilities that news media have as social institution. To function properly, journalism needs to be professional. Hallin and Mancini (2004) in their book *Comparing Media Systems*, discuss three dimensions of journalism professionalization: Autonomy: the degree of which varies considerably over time, across media systems, and often within media systems, refers mainly to the control of the work process in journalism, where authority over journalists is exercised primarily by fellow journalists. Distinct professional norms: The set of shared norms distinct to a profession, such as ethical principles, practice routines, allowing for professionalization being manifested in criteria of newsworthiness and in judging these criteria journalists depend on the opinions of their fellow journalists, rather than outside forces, such as politicians or advertisers. Public service orientation: journalists' claims to autonomy and authority are dependent on their claim to serve the public interest. That can be demonstrated by existence of mechanisms of journalistic self-regulation, formally organized or informally operating. Methodology: To address the main purpose of this study, media experts who can speak easily, will not be influenced by their own media outlet, will be interviewed. Qualitative thematic analysis of secondary data will be used

to explain political environment factors.

**Id:** 10518

**Title:** Comparing Defective Media Systems ' Validation of a new Approach for the Comparison of Southeast Asian Media Systems

**Authors:**

Name: Melanie Radue

Email: Melanie.radu @ au.de

Country: DE (Germany)

Affiliation: Research Assistant

**Abstract:** Comparing Southeast Asian media systems requires consideration of their defective character. While Malaysia's media system is marked by relicts of the laws of the British colonial rule, re-strictive media policies as well as ethnocratic and 'electoral authoritarian regime', Myanmar's media system is marked by 48 years of complete isolation as one of the most restricted media systems in the world due to censorship and draconian laws of the military junta. The two systems represent defective media systems in transformation processes and in semi-democratic political systems. Töpfl's (2011, 2013) analytical framework for empirical comparison of media systems in transformation processes and in semi-democratic political systems, particularly based on data of the post-Soviet world, tributes their defective character. The analysis with Töpfl's process related approach shows that the framework considers relevant aspects for the analysis and comparison of the development of defective media systems however, does not provide a comprehensive (which Töpfl explicitly does not claim) instrument which embraces specific regional characteristics. The academic acknowledgement of the systematic categorization of media systems emerged with the normative approach of 'Four Theories of the Press' by Siebert, Peters and Schramm (1956). Their contested theory laid the cornerstone for new comparative studies of media systems to challenge the ideologically biased approach of Siebert et al. Hence, Hallin and Mancini (2004) provide with 'Three models of media and politics' an empirical comparative framework for the categorization of media systems within Western contexts. Though often applied for comparison of media systems beyond the Western world, analyses reveal deficiencies of their well-recognized theoretical framework for the categorization of non-democratic media systems beyond Western contexts and indicate that other models are required. Blum followed this call in 2014 with the publication of a comprehensive version of his 2005 'pragmatic difference-approach' and provides new models, namely the Liberal-, the Public-Service-, the Clientele-, the Shock-, the Patriot- and the Commando-Model, for the categorization of media systems in every world region on the basis of the assessment of eleven criteria. With respect to these approaches this study compares the defective media systems of Myanmar and Malaysia and highlights benefits and limitations of the presented approaches hence gives comprehensive insights in the media policy and systems of the two countries. Aim is to validate the sufficiency of Blum's 'pragmatic difference-approach' for the categorization of media systems all over the world with these case studies as representatives for defective South-east Asian media systems. The analysis and the comparison of the defective media systems of Malaysia and Myanmar is



the basis for a comprehensive comparative study of the media systems in Southeast Asia with the aim to develop models of Southeast Asian media systems.

**Id:** 10531

**Title:** Multitude, politics and the streets communication: Brazil, 2013

**Authors:**

Name: Marcelo Xavier Parker

Email: marceloparke @ aho.com.br

Country: BR (Brazil)

Affiliation: Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul

Name: Maria Helena Weber

Email: mhelenawebe @ erra.com.br

Country: BR (Brazil)

Affiliation: Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul

**Abstract:** The aim of this paper is to analyse the streets manifestations occurred in Brazil in 2013, one of the most important social-political events in Brazilian contemporary democracy. Millions of people went to the streets to obtain public recognition. In spite of the specifications of their demands, the Brazilian protests can be related to other cycles of recent mass protests all around the world, from the premise that all of them contest the current political-economic system. The analysis perspective will be guided by the identification of the different processes about the subjects, typology of manifestations and communication devices that characterize the anti-globalizations conflicts in Seattle, Quebec, Prague and Genoa (1999-2001); the Occupy Wall Street (2011); the Spanish 15-M, also known as the Indignados (2011); the Chilean students protests (2011-2012); and the so called Arab Spring (2010-2011). These public and collective actions have much in common, like the massive use of digital technology, and it's from these two perspectives (global and national) that will be built the analysis focused on the concepts of multitude, visibility and recognition. On the city streets the multitude shows itself, claims and delimits its relationship with the economic and political powers, building a communicational process not only due to real time information produced by protesters themselves, but also because of what the direct action strategies mean as communicative act, with all symbolic universe generated by them. The analysis considers the multitudes as a political communication phenomenon led by groups, individuals and organizations in search of recognition, in a struggle to expose their points of view and mark their social criticism. For the better comprehension of the new social activism and the recognition process, this paper takes as reference the following authors: Caillé (2008); Canetti (1995); Castells (2013); Esteves (2011); Gamson (2011); Gomes. e Maia (2008); Hardt e Negri (2004), Honneth (2003; 2005); Tarrow (2009) e Virno (2013).

**Id:** 10689

**Title:** Establishing Public Television in a Post-authoritarian State: The Taiwanese case

**Authors:**

Name: Lihyun Lin

Email: lihyunlin @ mail.com

Country: TW (Taiwan)

Affiliation: Graduate Institute of Journalism, National Taiwan University

**Abstract:** In the study of media and political transition, one of the major topics is the prospect for public service broadcasting in post-authoritarian countries (Jakubowicz, 2004). Taiwan has established one of the world's youngest public television systems in the third wave of democratization, though encountering resistance and predicaments. This paper aims to explain the establishment and predicaments of public television in the transitional contexts. In answering this question, this paper adopts historical approach. Jakubowicz emphasized the significance of the legacies of the past on later development. In his analytical model, he examined how the factor of historical legacies, including the institutions and mindsets inherited from the Communist period, functioned at different stages of media transition (Jakubowicz, 2007). Thus, this paper asks: how were the concept of public television constructed historically, negotiated in policy debates and later leading to the establishment of the public television system in Taiwan? According to the analysis, three main historical factors include: the political-economic conditions, the television policy of the government and media reform movement of the media academia in political transition. Under the capitalist authoritarian rule, the ruling party established commercial television in the 1960s. The government invited private interests to have shares; thus at the start, television has been constructed as privately owned. Yet, at the same time, some media academics and cultural elites, with weak ties with private interests, saw the problems of commercial media and advocated the establishment of public television. Public television was conceived to make up for commercial television; and the public was constructed as the cultural elites. Public-service programs were funded. The concept of public television as serving cultural elites dominated the political arena. In the political transition in the 1990s, while the government attempted to liberalize the television system, young generation of media scholars advocated the establishment of a public television system to counter-balance the hyper-commercial media system. They constructed public television as key sector in the television system, and the public as general citizens who should enjoy communication rights. They mobilized resources, including producing academic research, popular discourses, and policy suggestions, thus contributing to the establishment of Taiwan's public television system. Yet, in the policy debates, the new discourse confronted the residual ones, including public television should be government media or as complementary to commercial television. The confrontations between different concepts have resulted in the present predicaments in establishing a strong public television system in Taiwan. **Keywords:** public service broadcasting, post-authoritarian, political transition

Jakubowicz, K. (2004). Ideas in our heads: Introduction of PSB as part of

media system change in Central and Eastern Europe. *European Journal of Communication*, 19(1):53-74. Jakubowicz, K. (2007). *Rude awakening : social and media change in Central and Eastern Europe*. Cresskill, N.J.: Hampton Press.

**Id:** 10708

**Title:** Watchdogs, agenda setters or straight-down publicists' From professional role ideals to role performances in Mexican journalism

**Authors:**

Name: Mireya Marquez Ramirez

Email: mireya.marque @ bero.mx

Country: MX (Mexico)

Affiliation: Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico City

**Abstract:** This paper addresses the ambiguities immersed in journalists' self-representation (what they say they do), their conditions of autonomy to perform such work, and the predominant roles that are presented in the press (what they actually do). We argue that due to the history of press development in the country, Mexican journalists are imbued in contrasting models of journalism, which in the literature have been theorised as antagonistic and separate. While they claim to endorse functions normally associated to watchdog, editorially-detached journalism (US model), they say to be also keen of being agenda setters and change/development agents, functions theoretically linked to non-Western models of journalism. But how are these professional ideals materializing in journalists' actual work and news content? The paper argues that Mexican journalism is the by-product of the very strong influence that the political sphere and the post-authoritarian reporting culture continue to exert in the daily interactions of journalists and their sources, their news-gathering routines and the events that make the news, all of which operate within the scope of a captured-liberal model and results in an informational/publicist manifest role. To support the argument, the paper presents the combined results of two separate yet theoretically linked quantitative studies. First, the paper presents the results of a national and pioneer survey of 377 journalists across the country (as part of the cross-national Worlds of Journalism-Study) selected from a stratified sample of news organizations around the country. In particular, the paper presents the results of a battery of questions historically developed and replicated across the world to assess the professional roles which journalists endorse (Weaver, 2015). Secondly, the paper presents the results of a content-analysis study of five national/regional Mexican newspapers from a constructed sample across two years (2012 and 2013) consisting of 4,500+ news items, which is part of the wider 'Journalistic Role Performances Across the Globe'. This part refers to the predominance 'through the presence of key variables and reporting practices' of any of six journalistic role performances as developed by Mellado (2014). Based on the combination of these studies, as well as hypotheses derived from earlier research on the subject (Márquez Ramírez, 2012; Guerrero and Márquez, 2014), the paper argues that despite their claims to professional practice and service to society, a publicist role of the press persists, one in which 'officialism' or the prevalence of elite news sources in news, is paramount. Theoretically, the paper argues that this ambiguous professional roles and passive reporting practices reflect a media system in which the liberal market is captured by political and economic interests, clientelistic relations and low levels of professionalism

(Hallin and Mancini, 2004).

**Id:** 10827

**Title:** From counter-hegemony to power and back again: The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood in transforming political and media structures

**Authors:**

Name: Carola Richter

Email: carola.richte @ u-berlin.de

Country: DE (Germany)

Affiliation: Freie Universität BerlinInstitute for Media and Communication Studies

Name: Hanan Badr

Email: hanan.bad @ u.edu.eg

Country: EG (Egypt)

Affiliation: Cairo University

**Abstract:** In the previous four years, Egypt has been on a roller coaster of transformation both in its political system as well as in its media system. While hegemonic implementation of power had become obsolete for a short period after the revolutionary events in 2011, old power structures had been restored since 2013 with the new strong man Abdel Fattah Sisi. With regard to the media system, loyalist-oligarchic structures have been consolidated, limiting the possibilities for non-conformist actors to reach the broader public. In this old and new authoritarian context, internet communication often served as an autonomous space beyond the control of political incumbents, helping to evade the elites' hegemonic grip on mass media. At the same time, the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood ' one of the oldest and major political and social actors in Egypt ' transformed from an illegal but somehow tolerated social movement under authoritarian president Mubarak in 2011 to being the ruling party after the Arab uprisings and back to an outlawed clandestine group after the ouster of Mursi in July 2013. By their specific way of incorporating available new media into their outreach strategies, the Muslim Brotherhood always mirrored the respective opportunities of contention in Egypt. The Brotherhood is thus a perfect example of looking at the changing media strategies of a social movement over time which allows us to conceptualize contentious political communication against the background of the transformation of political and media structures. In addition, for some time they were themselves part of the hegemonic executive power. So, the specific discourses and outreach goals in different transformation phases will allow us to shed light on the opportunities and limits of contested political actors and their contributions to building a public sphere under fragile transformation conditions. The paper is based on qualitative content analysis of the Brotherhood's media discourse during crucial events after the Egyptian uprisings. The empirical results are embedded into an analysis of the structural constraints in a transforming Egyptian political and media system. The study analyzed articles published on the Muslim Brotherhood's official Arabic website ikhwanonline.com and on its English website ikhwanweb.net in three successive years in one natural week (30th June ' 7th July) during the following key events: inauguration of president Mursi in 2012,

ouster of Mursi in 2013, inauguration of new president Sisi in 2014. It can be shown that the discourses tremendously changed from trying to mobilize bystanders to justifying its ruling and finally accusing its adversaries.



**Id:** 10970

**Title:** Reporting to the South African Nation: How the Media Helped to Fulfil the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Impossible Mandate

**Authors:**

Name: Martha Jane EVANs

Email: martha.evan @ ct.ac.za

Country: ZA (South Africa)

Affiliation: Centre for Film and Media Studies University of Cape Town

**Abstract:** In South Africa, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's mandate was both impossibly broad and disappointingly narrow. It was broad because it had 'to find out as much as possible of the truth about past gross violations of human rights' and build 'a historic bridge between the past of a deeply divided society ' and a future founded on the recognition of human rights'. And it was narrow because, as Mamdani (2002) has pointed out, it limited itself to the investigation of physical brutality, whereas apartheid's legacy was far more widespread and 'banal'. On top of this, the TRC was opposed by both liberation activists, who opposed its amnesty provision, and some members of the Afrikaner Community, who perceived it as a 'witch-hunt'. Part of the TRC's official mandate included 'reporting to the nation', a task that Chairperson Desmond Tutu embraced, favouring transparency, public hearings and media access, and setting up a sophisticated media liaison office. This undoubtedly affected the reception, and, sometimes even the outcome, of proceedings. Albie Sachs went so far as to say that it turned out to be the TRC's most significant feature (cited in Cole, 2010: 91). Instead of passively receiving the Commission's findings in a report at the end of the process, the public was able to witness events as they unfolded. The principal platform via which this occurred was a weekly documentary titled 'Special Report', which ran for a two-year period. Unlike daily news reports, limited to a hard-news approach, 'Special Report' narrativised, dramatized and contextualized the Commission's work, often reporting on themes, events and persons that escaped the Commission's focus because of legal constraints. This paper employs qualitative and quantitative content analysis to examine the episodes screened throughout the TRC's life against the findings presented in the Final Report, and also draws on primary interviews with both the programme director (Max du Preez) and the TRC's media officer (John Allen). It argues that while many expected that the TRC would put apartheid on trial (see Wilson, 2001), the Commission's findings did not fulfil this expectation (in the end, as Mandami (2002) argues, most of the amnesty applicants were not apartheid enforcers). Nevertheless, the narrowness of the TRC's mandate was partially overcome on account of its mutually symbiotic relationship with the media (Krabill, 2001). This was especially the case with the fiercely independent 'Special Report', which often bypassed, circumvented and/or directly tackled challenges facing the Commission, and which now serves as an important national archival resource. References: Cole, C., *Performing SA's Truth Commission: Stages of Transition*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2010. Krabill, R., 'Symbiosis: Mass media and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of SA', *Media, Culture &*

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**Id:** 11062

**Title:** Censorship under Vargas ' before, during and after...

**Authors:**

Name: Maria Cristina Castilho Costa

Email: criscas @ sp.br

Country: BR (Brazil)

Affiliation: School of Communication and Arts - University of São Paulo

**Abstract:** The present article has several objectives, the first of which being to portray the results of the research on censorship over the media and the artistic production developed by the University of São Paulo's Observatory for Communication, Censorship and Freedom of Expression (OBCOM-USP), based on the Miroel Silveira Archive. The subject of freedom of expression has been increasingly relevant for communication studies lately. Our second objective is to approach Getúlio Vargas' administration in the matter of controlling and intervening over the press and the artistic production, on the proximity of the late Brazilian president's 60th death anniversary. Our third objective for the present work is to show that aesthetical or moral justifications for censorship shadow the true intention of all censorship action, which is to control symbolic production and stop all criticism and dissent. In that sense, we analyze the documents enclosed in the previous censorship process number 268, dated from 1943, regarding the playwright for Ben-Hur, which should have debuted in São Paulo at the time. And finally, the fourth objective of the present article is to demonstrate that the extinction of official agencies for censorship, the so called 'classic' form of censorship, does not prevent its other indirect, plural, particular and governmental forms of controlling the media and the artistic production from blocking free expression. If, on one hand, these changes have forced the State to abandon certain coercive and ostensibly authoritarian mechanisms of power, such as large regular armies and organs of censorship, on the other, it did mad the State adopt more efficient and subtle control systems of public life, as intelligence programs based on high technology. Controlling intellectuals and artists does not requires, today, a bureaucratic system of censorship for reading, analysis and liberation of works that circulate, that are published or presented in society ' surveillance systems are deployed in communication networks. Faced with a new social reality, the controlling bodies of the past that characterized the practice of power in the twentieth century, during the Cold War, are being extinguished and replaced by new mechanisms of information and control. It is this transformation in the processes of censorship that the Observatory of Communication, Freedom of Expression and Censorship is studying. However, we find there an element that remains active and important both for artistic production, whether for State action: the role of public opinion as a form of action and intervention in the censorial processes.

**Id:** 11291

**Title:** New Media, Old Problems: Bosnia and Herzegovina's Media Captured between Ethnicity, Politics and Impoverished Market

**Authors:**

Name: Dragana Lazic

Email: draganalazic8 @ aho.com

Country: JP (Japan)

Affiliation: University of Tsukuba Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences International and Advanced Japanese Studies

**Abstract:** In November 2015, Bosnia and Herzegovina marks twentieth anniversary of Dayton Peace Accord. This peace settlement closed Bosnia's conflict past, and set a war-torn society on a course to its post-socialist future. Research has demonstrated that media played significant role in these processes. Today, in spite of enormous investments in democratization efforts and media by the international community, Bosnia and Herzegovina is a dysfunctional democracy and a society deeply divided along ethnic and political lines. In terms of media, situation is almost identical: highly saturated media environment replicates the same ethnic and political cleavages in the country, with worsening records on media freedoms. However, some trends point towards democratic potentials of new media. It is worth mentioning that new media, such as news portals, are relatively recent phenomenon in BiH society. Bearing this in mind, this research paper examines the role of online news media's, in first place news portals, in divided society. The goal is to probe into changes in BiH media environment by analyzing interviews with journalists and media experts. In total 20 interviews were collected during period of September - October 2014. The paper uses theories on media and democratization to explain empirical data. Analysis shows that due to specificity of BiH media market, online and traditional media cannot be assessed separately. According to the interviews, media's primary business is facilitating conflicts among political/ethnic elites. Furthermore, legacy media, and especially TV stations organized as public broadcasters, do not fulfill their main task: informing the public. On the other hand, online news portals have opened new public spaces for expressing dissenting opinions, discussing unresolved issues from the conflict past, and providing a venue for criticizing societal shortcomings. Nevertheless, the extent and effects of this communication are very moderate. The main problems related to online news media are similar to those of legacy media: highly saturated and impoverished media market. Thus, news portals are very vulnerable to political and other pressures. Other identified problem is hate speech. However, hate speech in BiH media changed their originators: previously it was mostly coming from the journalist themselves, now it is proliferating in readers' comments. Key words: Bosnia and Herzegovina, post-conflict, post-socialist, democracy, divided society

**Id:** 11532

**Title:** The Ambiguous Power of Communication in Cambodia: How Politicians and Citizens Explore Social Media to Build Participatory Democracy

**Authors:**

Name: SOVANNARA CHAN

Email: csovannar @ mail.com

Country: KH (Cambodia)

Affiliation: Faculty of Engineering of the University of Porto (Portugal)

Name: SAMATH KIM

Email: kim\_samath0 @ aho.com

Country: KH (Cambodia)

Affiliation: Faculty of Engineering of the University of Porto (Portugal)

**Abstract:** In 1979, Vietnamese Army invaded Cambodia, installed a pro-Vietnamese Communist supported by the Soviet regime and renamed the country as People's Republic of Kampuchea. Cambodian democracy was only established in 1993, but it is characterized since its inception by the presence of a stable hegemonic party system and several indications of low quality of democracy. In the general elections of 2013, since mainstream media has been controlled by the ruling party - Cambodian People's Party (CPP) - and taking advantage of the increasing number of internet users, the opposition coalition - Cambodian National Rescue Party (CNRP) - has paid much attention on social media. This strategy contributed to an historical result, gaining 55 of 123 seats of the parliament (the previous was 29), strongly supported by urban and young citizens. CNRP used the internet to call for an investigation into allegations of widespread electoral fraud and started a boycott of 10 months, using social media to gather support. The opposition only took up their seats in National Assembly on July 2014 in exchange for an overhaul of the election commission and the implementation of other reforms. But the political context is not the same: a new era of electronic political participation in Cambodia has begun. This study tries to perform a deep study about both sides of political participation on the internet. Regarding the perspective of politicians, this study (1) explores how they use Web 2.0 for engagement; (2) identifies motivations for online usage; (3) examines their attitude towards social media, and (4) analyses impacts to participatory democracy building. We combine quantitative and qualitative methods to address all of these questions. First, we use an online questionnaire to politicians elected. Then, we perform a content analysis to a representative sample of Facebook and Twitter accounts of parties and politicians. The idea is to compare answers of Cambodian politicians about participatory democracy with their real actions on the internet. Regarding the perspective of citizens, we try to answer how and why young Cambodian electors use Web 2.0 for political participation, applying uses and gratifications theory. Furthermore, we will compare new media with traditional ones and online with offline political participation. We also examine the influence of variables like gender, age, level of education, occupation, fluency in English, access to internet or digital literacy. We use a

questionnaire created from different sources of literature review and after interviewing some experts. We question 350 young Cambodian voters and it was possible to perform a comparison with other results obtained for other countries. This study tries to fill a gap in the literature, studying the status of participatory democracy in Cambodia, a country with low internet access and a fragile democracy.

**Id:** 11586

**Title:** 'Memorialul Durerii' ('The Memorial of Pain'): An Archive Based Documentary Series about The Atrocities of Communism

**Authors:**

Name: Sorin Nastasia

Email: snasta @ iue.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: Assistant Professor Department of Speech Communication Southern Illinois University Edwardsville

Name: Diana Iulia Nastasia

Email: dinastasi @ aho.co.uk

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: Southwestern Illinois College

**Abstract:** With the aid of theories of collective memory and methods of textual analysis, this study will discuss 'Memorialul Durerii' (The Memorial of Pain), produced by Lucia Hossu Longin for the Romanian National Television from 1993 and ongoing, as an archive based documentary series which has contributed to raising awareness in postcommunist Romania about the atrocities of communism in this country. After the fall of communism at the end of the 1980s, the suffering of the victims of communism that had been known only based on anecdotal information needed to be thoroughly documented. 'Memorialul Durerii' is remarkable in having addressed this need. Based on use of various archives and on interviews, the documentary series depicted in detail the methods used by the communist party apparatus and by the Securitate (secret police) to repress all opposition, as well as the persecution of the victims, the prison system, and the camp labor system. The study addresses issues related to types of archival information and interviewing techniques as well as narration and filmic strategies utilized in the documentary series to construct a vivid image of the both the cruelty of the aggressors and of the suffering of the victims in this nationally and internationally acclaimed documentary series. The study also discusses the reception of the series and the broad impact on postcommunist Romanian collective memory.

