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Book of Abstracts: **International Communication** Section

Roles, responsibilities and relationships: Perspectives on political communication in South Africa and Namibia

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The fall of apartheid had a major impact on the role of the media in South Africa and its immediate neighbour Namibia. In both these countries, repressive laws gave way to constitutional guarantees for freedom of speech. New normative frameworks stressed the media's responsibility to foster citizen participation in these new democracies and contribute to the deepening of democratic values. A number of public clashes between media and politicians in these countries however suggest some disagreement about the media's role and responsibility in these new democracies. Normative concepts like 'media freedom', 'social responsibility' and 'public interest' remain contested. How do these divergent interpretation of key democratic norms for the media impact on the day-to-day functioning of the political communication process in both these countries? Is there a difference between normative attitudes and the descriptive reality of interaction between the various actors in the political communication system? To what extent does the past still play a role in the way that the relationship between media and politics is shaped more than 15 years into the new democracies? This paper will draw on approximately thirty semi-structured interviews with journalists, politicians and political intermediaries in each of these countries to explore how journalists, politicians and political intermediaries view their roles, responsibilities and relationships in terms of the consolidation of democracy.

Designing Computer Icons for International Use

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I propose a presentation that will discuss the problems (and some solutions) that arise when a communicator is attempting to design computer icons for international use. Computer icons are the little glyphs that serve as a symbol for an action or as the shorthand for a company or other organization. They are meant to be instantly recognizable and to be language-independent. However there are a number of problems connected to the use of such items. For instance, as I compose this proposal, I note a number of icons on the toolbar of my computer. One is a small depiction of a paintbrush. There are problems with this icon. First, it is very culturally contingent. That is, recognition of the icon depends on the reader being a member of a culture that has paintbrushes. Second, the icon is quite small and the resolution is not perfect, so recognition of the icon as a paintbrush depends on knowing what it is in the first place. Third, the connection between the paintbrush icon and its function is not immediately clear. The problems I wish to discuss are the following: Culture: There are a number of facets to this problem. One is that icons are usually culturally contingent. What is a good icon for a mailbox for one culture is incomprehensible to another culture. A second is that a great many abstract shapes, which might seem ideal for icons, have religious or cultural significance, and are easily misused. Design: Icons are small. That's the major design issue. They have to be recognizable on low-resolution computers. Accomplishing this is not easy. There issues with shape, contrast, and color that need to be addressed. In my presentation I will

discuss, using examples, the problems and I will propose some solutions.

Electronic Colonialism Theory: advertising's role

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This paper will deal with 3 issues. First an overview of electronic colonialism theory and its relationship to cultural imperialism. Second a look at major global players in the advertising domain. These range from WPP, Interpublic, Publicis, Havas, Dentsu to Google, which makes more than 90% of its revenue from advertising. Third a discussion of the attempts by stakeholders to create a more perfect algorithm so as to predict human or consumer behavior with greater accuracy. Implications of emerging trends across the industry will be outlined.

Media cultures in Latin America: an analysis of the press and journalism identities for the public interest

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This paper aims to be a synthesis of parts 1 and 2 of my new book on Globalization, political democracy and identity in Brazil and Latin America which I have started to work on and will be published by IB Tauris in early 2012. The work aims to contribute to the research of various international academics from the fields of comparative political communication, international communications and Latin American Studies who have written on PSB and the public sphere (i.e. Blumler and Gurevitch, 1995, 2004; Garnham, 1997; Curran, 2000) in the UK and in Europe. These debates are situated in the context of the strengthening of the public media platform in Latin American countries and also of journalism cultures and how these can best attend the “public interest” amid the current crisis worldwide of political journalism. Such perspectives are inserted in key international theoretical frameworks, including the debate on the obsolete nature of public service broadcasting as a forum for debate (Keane; 1995) and the decline of PSB due to digitalisation, TV market expansionism and media commercialisation (i.e. Tambini and Cowling, 2004). As various academics have pointed out, Latin American broadcasting has been very much shaped by international relations, and by mainly the impact that the US has had in the development of television broadcasting in countries like Brazil and Mexico (i.e. Straubhaar, 1996; Waisbord, 1995; Sinclair, 1999). Scholars disagree nonetheless in regards to how determinant a role foreign influence has had in the formation of broadcasting in the region (Fox, 1997). Arguably, the relationship between Latin American broadcasting and the US is examined here in the opening chapter in the context of a series of intellectual debates which aim to explore to what extent the public media, and electronic media mainly, can permit the creation of political, social and cultural common spaces that can contribute to wider democratization and development in Latin America (Canizale and Lugo-Ocando, 2008, 218), and consequently how these can have an impact in other parts of the world at a moment when PSB is suffering from a major crisis of identity in European countries. This paper also makes a connection with previous journalism debates that I raised in my previous research, *Journalism and Political Democracy in Brazil*. It will thus specifically include a brief discussion on liberal journalism cultures of objectivity and professionalism in the Brazilian newsroom (the multiple journalism cultures of the last decades) in the context of the debates on the current crisis of political journalism and other public forms of journalism due to increasing media commercialisation, new technologies and audience fragmentation, examining the ways in which journalism can still serve the public interest, or if this function should be reserved specifically for public service broadcasting programming. Thus it aims to provide a nuanced, sophisticated and complex international perspective as it will both engage with the theories on the limits and merits that PSBs are facing now in certain European countries, assessing its past achievements and the ways in which the current reality of competition from new technologies and commercialization is posing various challenges to public media systems, to the strategies that are being pursued in a series of Latin American countries which are aimed at building communication and media policies grounded on public interest rationales. A key hypothesis which will be tested here will be precisely how the public media differs from commercial forms

of communication, and the extent to which it can actually contribute to widen regional and cultural diversity, enhance pluralism and public debate on controversial issues and function as an educational and cultural tool, thus providing the wider population with a means of access to quality information and serving as a vehicle for social and political inclusion.

Citizenship construction in American, French and German online news media

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At a time when newspaper consumption in Western democracies is declining in parallel with the increase in use of online news, and when the Pew Research Center in its 2009 Annual Report on American Journalism predicts that this audience migration to the internet will be accelerating, it is becoming increasingly important to look at online news media. Western democracies have been witnessing a general decrease of their citizens' participation in public debates and elections for a number of years. Democracies presuppose some participation of their citizens in their public spheres and this participation is dependent on the availability of information on socio-political matters, for which news media are primarily responsible. In their function as news transmitters, all news media participate in citizenship construction within the public spheres in which they act. The role they leave to citizen participation in this construction (e.g. through letters to the editor) is partly dependent on the media type (i.e. print, audio, audiovisual, online) and varies from one outlet to the other even within the same media type. Internet's interactive capacities provide online news media with privileged means to have citizens participate in news production, transmission and discussion. The extent to which online news media let / invite their audience to do this circumscribes how these online news media participate in citizenship construction within the public sphere in which they function. This paper presents a methodological framework for the investigation and comparison of how and to what extent the online editions of three elite dailies (i.e. the American New York Times, the French Le Monde and the German Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung), each belonging to a different media system (Hallin & Mancini, 2004), let their audience participate in the public sphere, as well as how they "counterbalance" this citizens' participation with the expression of their own positions, and therefore how they as news media take part in citizenship construction. This paper is part of a larger project in Multimodal Discourse Analysis on the comparison of American, French and German print and online media. The methodological framework is based on O'Halloran's approach (2008) that provides the most integrative platform for "captur[ing] the expansion of meaning which occurs when linguistic and visual forms combine". This platform deals "with the meaning potential of semiotic resources distributed across strata (i.e. context, discourse semantics, lexicogrammar and phonology, and typography/graphology) and the theory/analysis of the integrative meaning of semiotic choices in multimodal discourse" (2008: 444). The establishment of a reading grid that places each feature appearing on a website page in a hierarchy according to its place and visual presentation on the page allows the evaluation of each feature's prominence relatively to the others on the same page, and the comparison of webpages. Its use clearly shows the different levels of citizenship construction taken by the three online news media, but whether these differences can be attributed to the media systems to which they belong remains to be seen.

China's Environmental Image in The Australian: Case Study of the Green Olympics

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China has emerged as a key player in environmental protection. Its engagement in environmental affairs attracts abundant attention from the international community. During the Beijing Olympics, there was a huge volume of reportage about China's environment by western media. Australia, as one of the leading actors on the international environmental stage, has shown great interest in China's environmental affairs. Articles about

China's environment proliferated on the internet during the Olympic year of 2008, Beijing having promised a green Olympics. A year later, around the time of the Copenhagen Conference, the Rudd government seemed to be constructing a new environmental diplomacy towards China. Australia's prosperous bilateral China trade is contributing to a renewal of its relationship with China, despite the existence of political value differences and conflicts of national interest. The environmental crisis is universal, non-exclusionary and soluble only through universal cooperation. Australia and China need to cooperate not just as trading nations, but as environmental trading nations. The demands of cooperation, as shown by Musafar Sherrif, must surely shape the way Australian media constructs China's image and frames Chinese environmental issues. According to Naveh (2002), image is an important filtering mechanism in the decision-making process, and framing is the process through which the media create the images that reflect and filter reality in the foreign policy decision-making processes. The intensive reportage by the Australian media (especially new media) during the Beijing Olympics contributes to formation of China's environmental image in Australia. This image challenges a stereotyped environmental image in the Australian public's cognition and older foreign policy making processes towards China. As one of the key organs of Australia in delivering external information to the domestic public, the reportage of environmental issues related to China in *The Australian* online offers the channel for the flow of information to the incumbent policy makers and the public. This research will examine the environmental image of China in Australia using framing analysis, drawing on a content analysis of *The Australian* on line. The study addresses two research questions: 1) What is the China's environmental image in the *The Australian*? 2) How does *The Australian* frame China as an environmental actor? Research has already been completed on the intended environmental image of China during the Beijing Olympics through a content analysis of *China Daily*. The frames isolated in the two studies will be compared in order to discuss similarities and differences in the intended and represented environmental images of China in China and Australia respectively. The comparison helps understand two kinds of news frames within particular forms of environmental communication in China (Chinese environmental stories, semi-official media, international target audience) and Australia (Chinese environmental stories, independent media, Australian target audience). The results facilitate policy makers and the publics in the two nations to better understanding the divergences in framing processes of environmental communication. The new concept 'environmental image' (not among the categories of Kenneth Boulding) will be further discussed in the two different contexts. (490)

Electronic Colonialism: Outsourcing as Discontent of Globalization

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This paper addresses the implications of outsourcing during the US-Afghan and the US Iraq conflicts. According to Noam Chomsky every bit of information that comes from media is filtered. He identifies five levels of this filtration process including; information sourcing, advertising, flakes, ownership and ideology. This paper mainly focuses on information sourcing level and intends to identify and highlight the role and implications of global information sources. In the backdrop of Hamid Mowlana's model about flow of communication, technological axis and communication axis are studied. Ideology always effects and reflects through the content. According to Pamela J. Shoemaker's hierarchy of influence on media contents, ideology is mentioned as all pervasive merging in the media content. Ideologies, policies and politics of developed countries unseeingly affect developing countries due to their increased dependence for information. Even, information of one's own country or neighboring countries is sometimes filtered through the lenses of developed countries. The analysis of the coverage given to the US-Afghan and the US-Iraq conflict by Pakistani Elite English dailies is approached through quantitative analysis, in-depth interviews and focus groups consisting of the related journalists and sub-editors to highlight the outsourcing process. The findings suggest that the main sources of information were outside Afghanistan, Iraq or Pakistan. The process of binary rhetoric is involved, stereotyping and 'othering' with reference to 'good and evil'. Pakistani news sources are facilitating the agenda set by the news agencies of developed countries. This tilt is evident in Pakistan's foreign policy as well. Pakistani media has been toeing the

policy of pro American government rather to serve as 'bloodhounds'. In the light of the findings it may be suggested that there is a need to develop collective regional system for gathering information. Such measures can help to cope up with the binary rhetoric of 'good guys, bad guys' concept set by the developed media. This approach can counter the discontents of globalization as well.

Models of media encouragement in the developing world: How Cambodia offers an example and a warning.

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The 2008 national elections in Cambodia offered another chance to assess the progress of the international community's rebuilding project that has been engaged in the country since the disastrous Khmer Rouge regime and subsequent Vietnamese occupation. While on some levels, for example, the relative lack of violence and overt electoral fraud, the elections were deemed a success relative to previous years, on others it was a resounding failure. Chief among those failures, as outlined by numerous international observers, including election monitoring teams from the US and the EU, was that the media had failed to engage in a balanced and objective way with the electorate in the pre-election period, and the ruling CPP party were able to win a new term in office with ease, with the voice of any alternative going relatively unheard. The climate of intimidation that has characterised Cambodian politics in recent years in effect appeared to move from the streets and the paddy fields to the media landscape, which was used and manipulated to underline and strengthen the ruling party's grip on power. This paper will explore a few crucial elements of how and why this could happen in a country in which the most modern thinking on media development theory has been in full effect for the past 20 years. In 1991, the mandate of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) included 'Ensuring Free Access to the Media...for All Political Parties Contesting In the Election (section D "Elections", paragraph 3(F)). The information and education division of UNTAC drafted media guidelines to give effect to this (United Nations, 1991). To supplement these constitutional efforts, many international and western aid organisations have been involved in media development projects in the country, including training/educational measures and the establishment of professional journalism organisations. This paper will examine in detail the recent experience relating to the development of a "free and fair" media in Cambodia. It will do so in light of a comprehensive literature review of the major theories of communication and development in the field and suggest an initial analysis of the applicability of these theories to the particular context and environment in Cambodia, both in the past and at present. It will attempt to take into account how the most recent dominant paradigm in media development theory, that of globalization, has come under sustained and rigorous attack in recent years as a "myth" lacking much in the way of empirical proof. (Kai Hafez: *The Myth of Media Globalization*, 2002). The likes of Colin Sparks (*Globalization, Development and the Mass Media*, 2007) and others have tried to describe what shape a new paradigm, which gives due recognition to previous paradigm's strengths as well as weaknesses, might take. Based on research conducted so far, the paper will propose an initial outline of how such a paradigm, one more culturally sensitive and which takes fuller account of historical context and particular regional attributes, might apply to media development in Cambodia.

Construction of Fear: The New York Times Deliberation on the USA-Russia Nuclear Discourse

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The term "politics of fear" gained popularity after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. It implied that political elites self-consciously manipulated people's anxieties in order to realize their goals. Numerous studies indicated correlations between fearful images of others and violent attitudes toward them. This research investigated how Russia and Russians had been portrayed in American media after the Soviet Union collapsed. To concentrate on fear as a possible driving force of the construction of Russia's image, the study focused on the nuclear dialogue

between Moscow and Washington, which started not long before the demise of the USSR. All 903 of the New York Times editorials and opinion pieces devoted to nuclear relations between the two countries were analyzed, starting from December 25, 1991 – the generally recognized day that the Soviet Union collapsed – and finishing with December 5, 2009 – the day when the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty expired. To test the proposition that the culture of fear became omnipresent in American society after September 11 terrorist attacks, two periods have been examined separately: before 9/11 and after it. The study found that during all the years after the disintegration of the Soviet Union – no matter whether before or after the terrorist attack – the Russia-related nuclear discourse was constructed by means of fear. Two basic types of fear have been identified. One was directly related to Russian nukes that were allegedly poorly guarded and could be easily obtained by terrorists or “rough” states (the problem of so-called “loose nukes”). Another fear was concerned with narratives constructed about inherent Russian aggressiveness, Russia’s intolerance of democracy and freedoms, and the Russian government’s willingness to cooperate with Asian “tyrants” on nuclear matters. The study found an observable correlation between different types of fear, which surfaced in the New York Times at different periods of time, with specific types of policies conducted by the White House: Russia with “loose nukes” but without “aggression” implied cooperation; Russia with both “loose nukes” and “aggression” meant containment and disdain. The study found that the authors of the articles were able to contain their fears successfully when it was necessary for political purposes of cooperation, and easily unleashed them when these cooperative perspectives vanished. The observation of previous research claiming that fears can be successfully managed and manipulated if necessary for political objectives was supported.

Global TV for Global Citizens: Independent television networks pioneering ‘Television without Borders’ – the case of LINK-TV.

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LINK-TV, a U.S. based network available only through satellite, airs unedited programming from foreign sources especially those from the Middle-East, Latin America and Africa, one of the very few independent channels to do so. News, cultural programs and documentaries such as those from Al-Jazeera, figure prominently in their programming. LINK-TV claims to be an independent news and information channel, a counterfoil to sometimes biased and un-balanced mainstream TV networks and channels. In the post-Cold War period, television news channels and networks did not pay as much attention to ‘foreign news’ as they did during the Cold War. Viewers also veered away from ‘foreign news’. News channels aired very few stories from abroad unless U.S. soldiers happened to be involved in wars or military missions in Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia, Korea and other locations. News from abroad have surged back into the forefront but the focus remains mainly on natural calamities, crises, wars and American military involvement in foreign lands. Major mainstream news media had an incredible chance of reporting in-depth, comprehensive global/foreign news stories from different angles and perspectives after 9/11. But because of budget cuts and decreasing number of bureaus and correspondents overseas, TV networks like ABC, NBC, FOX and CBS were least prepared for the global coverage of the war on terrorism. CNN took the leadership role because of its worldwide audience, followed by the TV networks mounting a patriotically charged full swing news coverage of the war on terror. The patriotic news coverage was enthusiastically received by the domestic audience but critics viewed them as being biased and unbalanced. News and information on Third World channels and networks remained local and regional at same time ‘West-centric’. Majority of foreign news stories tend to reflect economic and military ventures and activities of the USA and its allies. News and information from Middle-East, Africa and Latin America remained minimal. LINK-TV stepped into this void to create what it calls ‘Television without Borders.’ This paper compares and contrasts the mission and programming content of LINK-TV with those of the mainstream US news channels (CNN & CBS) and Third World (NDTV of India) news channels from the cultural imperialism and agenda-setting perspectives. There is a dire need for a news and informational channel to present global issues and events from all angles devoid of the harsh tones of nationalism and racism. Planetary concerns may at one point supercede nationalistic concerns. As people become more concerned about the environment and other global crises, there is an increasing need to

provide a non-biased, multi-angle reporting on global issues to the audiences of the world. Perhaps the time has come for an independent global news network with news and views from diverse sources, for the citizens of this planet.

The impact of Internet pornography on sexual attitudes and behavior among college students in China, Hong Kong and Taiwan

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Research on the effects of Internet pornography on user sexual attitudes, sexual behavior and rape myth is growing. However, past research examining the influence of Internet pornography has focused on Internet users in a single country or society; little comparative research has been done using data collected from different countries or societies. This study aims to fill the gap by examining the relationships between exposure to Internet pornography and sexual attitudes and behavior among college students in Mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. It will contribute to the research literature on pornography with results showing that exposure to Internet pornography is an important factor influencing attitudes toward premarital and extramarital sex as well as sexually permissive behavior in the three Chinese societies. The findings will not only expand the scope of literature on Internet pornography exposure, sexually attitudes and behavior, but also make advances in theorizing the effects of pornography in the era of Internet communication. Specifically, this study involves a cross-societal research design that involves three parallel surveys of college students in Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Taipei. In each city, the survey used a multistage sampling plan to draw a probability sample. In Shanghai and Taipei, the sample was drawn from five randomly selected universities. In Hong Kong, the sample was drawn from six randomly selected universities. Three classes were randomly chosen from each university in the three cities. The self-administered questionnaires were distributed during a six-week period from March to May of 2009. A standardized questionnaire was used to collect data across the three cities. Because of the sensitive nature of the study, respondents were assured of complete anonymity; participation was completely voluntary. The completed pool sample totaled 3,588, including 867 (24.2%) from Shanghai, 1,573 (43.8%) from Hong Kong and 1,148 (32%) from Taipei. Of the sample, 1,341 (37.6%) were males and 2,225 (62.4%) were females. The average age was 20.64 years with a range from xx to xx. Among the 3,588 respondents, 30.6% were freshman, 36.6% were sophomore, 21.7% were junior, and 11% were senior. The results of the study indicate that more than 40% of the surveyed college students had at least some exposure to a variety of Internet pornography, with males reporting significantly higher exposure frequencies than females. The most important finding is that exposure to Internet pornography does have a significant effect on the sexual attitudes and behavior of college students in the three Chinese societies. The results of multiple regression analyses show that respondents who had a higher level of exposure to Internet pornography were more likely to accept premarital and extramarital sex and to engage in sexually permissive behavior. Implications of the findings for advancing current research on Internet pornography will be discussed.

Internationalization of Internet Design

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US dominance of the Internet design process is undeniable, but from the earliest years the needs of other societies were taken into account and other governments – and citizens from other countries – actively inserted their requirements into the conversation. Those responsible for technical design of the Internet understood from the start that the network would be global, that jurisdictional differences would have an impact on users, and that needs would vary across societies. This paper analyzes the ways in which those involved in technical decision-

making for the Internet dealt with international matters and with the needs of countries beyond the US. It is based on a comprehensive inductive reading of the document series recording technical decision-making for the Internet from the point at which the US government awarded the first grant to develop a system for networking computers (1969). The series, known as the Internet Requests for Comments (RFCs), continues today and contained over 5700 documents at the close of 2009. These documents provide evidence that supports some critiques of US dominance of the Internet design process, and undermines others.

Trade, Freedom of Speech or the Olympics? The frames of coverage of the Peoples Republic of China in Czech and German newspapers?

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There is little doubt, that China is in economic terms a global power. The Chinese economy was transformed from a planned economy to a capitalist economy. While this unleashed considerable growth over the last decades the civil society enjoyed much less reforms than the business world. While on the one hand the PR of China is heavily criticized for not adopting Western norms of human rights by western media international trade between the western world and China is flourishing. The year 2008 shed the media spotlight on China for mainly three reasons. First China hosted the Olympic Summer Games - the most important single media event, secondly a severe Earthquake hit a largely populated part of the country and thirdly protests in the region of Tibet arose - maybe carefully timed to use the media slipstream of the Olympic Games. The foreign news coverage of China in general and of the mentioned events in special are shaped by the prevailing media system - as not only Hallin and Mancini would argue. In this cooperative project we will compare the influence of two different media systems - of the Czech Republic and of Germany on news about China. Research Question Hallin and Mancini delivered a frame work for the comparative analysis of media systems, although they concentrated on Western democracies the concept can easily be expanded on the new democracies in Eastern Europe. Issues of Human rights and communism (or Anti-communism) for instance will play different roles in the two societies and should have an impact on the coverage of a country which has essentially a communist regime. Even so the ruling paradigm in the foreign policy of a country could be reflected in the coverage (i.e. Germanys "one China policy"). On the other hand trade relations will also impact on coverage - as earlier analysis have shown. This paper analysis the difference in the newspaper coverage on China in the two countries. Are there differences in style, format and framing? Which factors might account for the variations, why are there similarities? Method A quantitative content analysis was conducted in each country selecting two major newspapers that represent the political spectrum (Germany: Süddeutsche Zeitung and Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung; Czech Republic: Lidové Noviny and Právo). The codebook was jointly developed by the two researchers. Articles dealing with the Peoples Republic of China were selected from a period of one year starting in mid 2007. Findings While we find astonishing similarities in the coverage on China in the two countries that can be partially explained by share professional norms concerning the news value of events in foreign news. But we also find clear differences that could be connected to differing journalistic cultures. Although the Olympic Games could be seen as an gigantic PR-opportunity for China to polish up its image, coverage on the whole remains negative.

Press-State Relations: A Comparative Analysis of Euro-Mediterranean, United States and British Models

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The aim of this paper is to compare the State's role in the progress and development of the press system in relation to the Euro-Mediterranean model, the US model and the British model. Within this framework, we will discuss historic moments that may be considered decisive in the configuration of these systems today, and that have influenced how they came about. Additionally, we will examine legislative measures that have been most

noteworthy in the progress of the press market in recent years. The State's influence on the transformation of the newspaper business is studied from the following perspectives: censorship, control systems, regulation of the figure of the journalist, aid to the press, pluralism of information and limits on concentration. These aspects were selected because they have been observed to be key points to understanding Press-State relations. In the four Euro-Mediterranean countries studied (France, Italy, Spain and Portugal), a radical break took place in the information systems as a consequence of the implementation of their respective totalitarian regimes between 1926 and 1976; a situation which did not occur in Great Britain or United States, major figures of democratic and business continuity. Whereas the disappearance of aid to the press in the English-Speaking bloc model was understood to be a means of guaranteeing the independence of the journalism profession from those in political power, in the Euro-Mediterranean model the aim of aid for press distribution is to consolidate the cooperative distribution system, preserve the pluralism of newspapers reporting political and general news, and guarantee the development necessary for the effective exercise of liberty proclaimed in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen 1789. The common starting point of the English-speaking bloc model is found in the inhibition of public powers, developed in concordance with the North American tradition begun with the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution (December 15, 1791). This First Amendment states "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances". This research has been carried out at the Institut Français de Presse (Université Panthéon-Assas- Paris II), the Instituto de Estudos Jornalísticos de la Universidade de Coimbra (Portugal) and the Institute of Communication Studies (University of Leeds, United Kingdom).

The Role of Tanzania's Press in Development Policy Accountability: The Case of the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative

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In the early 2000s, Tanzania, burdened with a heavy public stock debt amounting to USD 6.6 billion (IMF, 2000), secured support for a debt reduction package from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank Group. Through the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative, the country was able to obtain USD 3 billion in debt relief. The contract for reducing the amount owed involved the channeling of funds that would otherwise have been slated for repayment to various development initiatives within the country. What followed later constitutes the topic for this study. The Tanzanian Press, part of the recently liberalized press system in the country, reported a case of government misuse of the funds. Coinciding with this recent liberalization of the Tanzanian press was a renewed effort on the part of recent governments to combat corruption. Press liberalization along with the state's anti-corruption stance combined to enable an exposé of what amounted to a scandal at the national level. The government's reactions in the face of this coverage seem to suggest that the press played a strong role in holding it accountable to the public, and contributed towards certain outcomes such as the government taking action against key officials involved in the misuse of the funds. This study examines news coverage of the HIPC initiative in Tanzania over a period of four years 2005-2009, beginning with the first news stories on the misuse of funds and concluding with government efforts to investigate the allegations and take appropriate action. A variety of news outlets are under consideration including dailies and weeklies, and dailies with editions in Swahili, the national language of Tanzania. We draw upon development journalism for our conceptual framework, taking into account the place of investigative reporting in the development process, the (re) definitions of the concept of news in a development context and more broadly, the role of the press in a developing democracy. Through analysis of news texts in the media and time period specified above, we attempt to answer the broad questions on the ways in which the press positioned the major actors in relation to the HIPC initiative, and what the coverage can tell us about the role of the press in government accountability for development policy. The study contributes to understanding the variety of roles the press plays in the implementation (or not) of development policy, and underlines the need for a vibrant and proactive press in a

democracy where, in its watchdog role, it could serve to hold the state accountable to its citizens for its actions and thereby aid in effective policy implementation. Reference International Monetary Fund. (2000). Press Release No. 00/26, 5 April.

Struggling? Not Really: A Comparative Study of Newspaper Journalists' Perspectives about Economic and Technological Changes

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This is a comparative study of U.S. and Japanese newspaper journalists' perspectives about increasing economic pressures and technological changes in the workplace. This study sheds light on how newspaper journalists see their work during a period of dramatic economic and technological changes, and how they try to adapt to those changes. This study proposes questions: What do journalists think about the technological changes and economic forces they now face?; How have they changed the way of seeing their work, product, and themselves because of those changes and forces? To answer those questions, I conducted in-depth interviews with 14 journalists of one newspaper in the United States and 14 at a newspaper in Japan to examine if there are similarities and/or differences between journalists in the two countries. This study found both similarities and differences among journalists in the two countries. One of the prominent consequences of financial pressures in both cases is the erosion of their professional identity. Journalists of the two newspapers likely see themselves as workers rather than professionals. Braverman (1998) would call this the degradation of labor. Journalists in both papers attribute this impact on the professional identity to the Internet. Reporting work is no longer the privilege of journalists when ordinary people have venues to report news, and express their opinions, such as blogging. However, journalists of the two newspapers do not necessarily have a hostile attitude toward the Internet. The U.S. journalists accept the newspaper website and blogs as necessities to respond to consumer needs, though those platforms, especially blogging, are consuming much unpaid extra time. Journalists say that they are enjoying blogging. While some journalists at the Japanese newspaper appreciate the fact that the website provides them more opportunities to produce stories and photos and reach wider audiences, most are skeptical about economic value of the website. They argue that the online edition is not making money, and that it is a waste of time and energy to take effort on the online edition. Thus, skeptical Japanese journalists tend to prioritize the printed edition over the online edition. This leads to one of major differences between journalists' perspectives in the two newspapers. The U.S. journalists consider that the future of newspapers will be online, reflecting the current trend of the U.S. industry (e.g., the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, the Christian Science Monitor); however, the Japanese journalists optimistically believe in the survival of the print format of newspapers. Their strong faith in the printed edition may be attributed to the direct home delivery system that supports the very large circulation of newspapers in Japan. This study reveals that journalists of the two newspapers have ambiguous and complicated views of the changes in the workplace. The research results support Marxist theory of labor degradation, and indicate that global capitalism is homogenizing workplace and work experiences across borders. However, this study also shows that journalists of the two countries are not identical. The discovery of this complexity of journalists' perspectives is the greatest contribution of this study.

"In the Service of the Filipino... Worldwide": Philippine Citizenship as Mediated and Marketed by ABS-CBN

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This paper, using a case study approach that draws materials from news articles, investigative reports, academic publications, and industry data, examines how ABS-CBN has translated its status as a Filipino enterprise to a three-level discourse of citizenship to become the biggest media organization in the Philippines in the last two decades. Firstly, at the level of the organization, the paper looks at how ABS-CBN acculturated its viewers within its corporate ideology by promoting itself as a public servant that embraces them as family members. Secondly,

at the level of the nation, the paper discusses how ABS-CBN reengineered its news and current affairs shows and realigned its programming to the vernacular to strengthen its Filipino identity. And, thirdly, at the level of the global, the paper traces how ABS-CBN shifted from a nationalist to a globalist rhetoric as it optimized its share of the local audience and expanded its reach to international territories. In doing so, ABS-CBN widened its family by framing overseas Filipinos as part of the global Filipino citizenry in which it is supposedly a member, a leader, and a servant. The paper is informed by the Stakeholder Theory which argues that corporations which maintain and espouse a sense of public responsibility towards its clients also fulfill the demands of their shareholders. In ABS-CBN's case, citizenship has become the rallying concept for its civic duty and a cloak within which to disguise its pursuit of profit. Reflexively, the paper extends Stakeholder Theory by pointing out that decisions within the firm redound to groups and concepts beyond the organization itself and that civic duty can be a double-edged sword. The paper argues that in developing its supposed pro-audience programming, ABS-CBN has shifted its shows not only towards the vernacular and the popular but also towards the sensational and the carnival, and accordingly commodified its audience to fit within this spectacle. Being Filipino, in this sense, goes beyond linguistic traditions to a holistic idiom of drama of which ABS-CBN is the director. Its arbitration of Filipino nationality has subsequently blurred the line between the commercial and the political, imbuing its celebrities with a public service persona that has since helped them get elected into prominent government positions. In tandem with its increasingly global reach, ABS-CBN's nationalist rhetoric now has an audience bigger than the state's, further intensifying its political and economic clout in the Philippines and putting it in a greater position to define what it is to be a Filipino. Though this paper focuses on ABS-CBN, its arguments apply to other media organizations in the Philippines and elsewhere that use citizenship to identify with stakeholder interests, pursue profit and promote social capital. Moreover, ABS-CBN, in its savvy in extending its nationalist discourse to extra-territorial spaces, serves as a model, for better or for worse, for media from developing countries with expatriate populations to find their place in global media and promote global media flows. These issues become increasingly important with the frenetic movement of people and media content across territories.

THE WORLD, OUR HOUSE? The news selection process in foreign coverage: A study of the determinants of foreign news in the Flemish and Dutch press

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The study of the news selection process has a long tradition in communication research and focuses primarily on the issue of imbalances in international news and information flows, resulting in an ongoing debate on the establishment of a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO). Recent research (Thussu, 2005; Wouters, De Swert & Walgrave, 2009) assumes that the key criticisms of this 40 year old debate are still valid today because of the globalization, privatization and commercialization of the media. The study of foreign news and research on the mechanisms that cause these imbalances in the selection of international news, enable us to critically consider our image of the 'global village' in order to be 'good global citizens' (Mowlana, 1993). News selection of foreign coverage can be studied from a gatekeeper and a logistic perspective (Wu, 1998). Some authors combine these two approaches to outline a more complete picture of the factors that influence the news selection process (Gans, 1979; Van Dijk, 1988; Servaes & Tonnaer, 1992; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Wu (2000) identified nine systemic determinants of international news. For the impact of trade volume and presence of international news agencies have already been demonstrated in the study of Wu, we examined the influence of the remaining seven systemic determinants on the news selection process. These are: economic power (ranking in world trade), population, geographic size, freedom of the press, cultural affinity, colonial ties and physical distance. To examine the impact of these seven systemic determinants, we set up a study that combined content analysis and document analysis. By means of a document analysis we examined various documents with data on the systemic determinants to render a ranking of countries in accordance with their importance on each systemic determinant. Then, we set up a content analysis to study the presence of these countries in foreign

news reports. This enabled us to interpret the rankings of the document analysis in a valid manner. By comparing the ranking of a country on every systemic determinant with the amount of news reports on this country, we could register how far each systemic determinant influences foreign news coverage. Two quality newspapers in Flanders (*De Morgen*) and the Netherlands (*De Volkskrant*) were coded during two constructed weeks in 2009 (1091 articles). The content analysis showed that Europe and the United States are the most covered regions in the world. Beside this, the presence of Muslim countries such as Iran, Pakistan and Afghanistan is remarkable. Economic and political actors and themes dominate international news. Findings indicate that ranking in world trade and cultural affinity are important predictors of the amount of coverage dedicated to a country. The impact of colonial ties depends on the specific historical context of each country. The study concludes that the determinants of international news have changed. While ideological antagonism was a central factor in news selection during the Cold War era, the findings suggest that economic interests and religio-political identities determine foreign news in the 21st century. References Gans, H.J. (1979). *Deciding what's News*. New York: Pantheon Books. Mowlana, H. (1993). *Toward a NWICO for the Twenty-First Century?* *Journal of International Affairs*, 47 (1), 59-72. Servaes, J. & Tonnaer, C. (1992). *De Nieuwmarkt. Vorm en Inhoud van de Internationale Berichtgeving*. Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff. Shoemaker, P.J. & Reese, S.D. (1996). *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content*. New York: Longman. Thusssu, D.K. (2005). *From MacBride to Murdoch: The Marketisation of Global Communication*. *Javnost*, 12 (3), 47-60. Van Dijk, T.A. (1988). *News as Discourse*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc. Wouters, R.; De Swert, K. & Walgrave, S. (2009). *Een Venster op de Wereld - De Actuele Staat van Buitenlandberichtgeving: Feiten, Impact en Actieruimte*. Brussel: Vlaams Vredesinstituut. Wu, H.D. (1998). *Investigating the Determinants of International News Flow: A meta-analysis*. *Gazette*, 60 (6), 493- 512. Wu, H. D. (2000). *Systematic Determinants of International News Coverage: A comparison of 38 Countries*. *Journal of Communication*, 50 (2), 110-131.

The ASEAN press and the global financial crisis

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The ongoing financial crisis is considered the worst since the Great Depression. It is historic in its proportion and colossal in the interventions done to stave off total economic disaster. With the United States as the epicenter of the gathering financial storm, the crisis quickly spread in all parts of the world, affecting both rich and poor, big and small countries in varying degrees and at different times. This paper looks at the role of the news media in the crisis with particular attention on how the media in the five founding member countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) reported the current economic turmoil. This region deserves attention because a decade ago, it endured a catastrophic financial debacle of its own. The Asian financial crisis of 1997-1999 shook the world's financial markets, perhaps not with the same severity that the present US-led crisis did but illustrated nonetheless the vulnerabilities of the global economy. When the economic tides turned, the authors wonder how much and in what ways did this reversal of fortunes seep into the media coverage in the ASEAN? By investigating the crisis reporting of major English-language newspapers in Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand between October 2008 and March 2009, the study locates the tensions between particularization and globalization. Giddens (1984, 1985) proposed that four determining factors shape globalization: the world capitalist system, the nation-state system, the world military/security apparatus and the global communication system. This paper therefore uses the global financial crisis as the analytic basis to deconstruct the intersecting dynamics of state sovereignty, regional cooperation and the media as agents of globalization. In addition to the extra-media influences in news framing, the research will examine the sources mainstream media used and the differences these voices made in the coverage. In the end, the analysis hopes to contribute to the scholarly debate on whether the media diminishes or perpetuates existing hegemonic structures as it evaluates how well or how poorly Indonesia's *Jakarta Post*, Malaysia's *New Straits Times*, the Philippines' *Manila Standard*, Singapore's *The Straits Times* and Thailand's *The Nation* carried out their role as the Fourth Estate.

International Copyright, Middle Powers, and Multilateralism

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Since the 1950s debates in international copyright have tended to take place in the context of two poles: countries with significant exports in the copyright industries seek to expand copyright holders' rights around the world, while developing countries seek to benefit from the access to books, software, and movies that lower levels of rights and lower levels of enforcement provide. The position of a third category of countries – neither developing nor major copyright exporters – has been lost in these debates. This paper will examine the position of middle powers within multilateral copyright forums and the opportunities and dilemmas that those forums provide to countries who are, in one form or another, middle powers. Multilateral institutions play a key role in the formation of international copyright norms. The World Intellectual Property Organization, UNESCO, and the World Trade Organization have all provided forums for the negotiation of international copyright treaties. A new institution to support a proposed Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement (ACTA), has now been proposed. This new institution, if formed, will play an important role in the structure of the international communications landscape. The ACTA proposes to increase copyright and copyright enforcement at national borders and within digital networks. Many scholars have argued that multilateral institutions work in the benefit of smaller powers because they constrain the power of more powerful countries, setting limits and rules for international action (Cox, 1989). However, academics have also emphasized the ways that international institutions can be used as instruments of the most powerful countries, and the ways that coercion forms a part of international copyright policymaking within these forums. (Drahos, 2002) This paper will examine the concept of 'middlepowermanship' (Cox, 1989) as it relates to international copyright. It will examine the historical experience of middle powers, looking at Canada and Australia in particular, in multilateral copyright forums. Drawing on the literature on middle powers and multilateral institutions, on archival research, and on the records of seven diplomatic conference on international copyright between 1886 and 1971, I will link the historical experiences of middle powers in international copyright forums with current questions surrounding the participation of middle powers in ACTA by asking: To what extent, historically, have middle powers like Canada and Australia, and non-governmental organizations, gained opportunities to voice their positions via the multilateral forum? To what extent might ACTA give middle powers and non-governmental organizations opportunities to voice their positions on the issues at hand? To what extent have countries like Canada and Australia been able to win concessions via multilateral copyright forums? To what extent might these groups see participation in ACTA as a way of winning concessions? To what extent do multilateral forums shift the frame in which copyright policymaking takes place? And finally, To what extent have multilateral copyright institutions limited or extended the power of a) domestic interest groups, b) trans-national groups c) middle powers, and d) major copyright exporters?

Media, Neoliberal Crisis and Populist Reason

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This panel proposes to interrogate the issue of crisis in the context of international communication through the conceptual lens of the resurgence of populism. Debates within international communications have somewhat overlooked the question of mediated populism, assuming that the democratic deliberative public sphere is the natural normative ideal in the post-Cold War era. Today we see few signs of the end of ideology or even the promise of the ascension of a rational global public sphere. Fuelled by the worldwide 24-hour news cycle and the surge of partisan digital media, the resonance of political populism is apparent whether we consider the rise of ethno-nationalism on the right or neo-populist mobilizations on the left. In this panel, we propose a series of original research papers that examine the role of the media in shaping the rise, consolidation and contestation of populist articulations, movements and regimes in relation to the ongoing crisis of neoliberal political transformation. We are engaging Ernesto Laclau's definition of populism defined by its form rather than its

content, where the logic of populist reason simplifies and divides the social field into two distinct camps, championing the "people" as against "power" itself (2005, p. 74). Extending Laclau's framework, we are interested in exploring the institutional and symbolic role of the media as constitutive of populist reason in four relevant empirical contexts. Examining the discourse of editorials in leading Italian newspapers of diverse political leanings, Cinzia Padovani argues that in the last decade of Berlusconi's "videocracy" has profoundly affected Italy's political culture, diminishing debate and replacing vibrant controversies by simulated conflict. Silvio Waisbord discusses the core elements of media policy reforms endorsed by populist governments in five Latin American countries, and concludes that the contradictory nature of civic demands for absolute autonomy and official support leads to unavoidable tensions between the movements and the populist state. Martha Fuentes-Bautista and Gisela Gil-Egui analyze the creation of the Venezuelan National System of Alternative Communication. Comparing policy frames and practitioners' understandings of the role of community media, they conclude that while third sector media play a crucial role in the legitimization of new structures of governance in Venezuela, latent frictions underline the process. Finally, Paula Chakravarty examines the contestation of the popular in democratic but deeply unequal India. Focusing on the regional case of Communist West Bengal, she examines how the social actors across the political spectrum claim the popular in the context of rapid economic transformation and the proliferation of news and infotainment media in both Bengali and English. We feel our panel's theoretical focus and empirical cases speak to several core themes in the division including addressing theoretical and methodological concerns in the study of international communication, providing a comparative media research agenda in terms of crisis and populism and assessing this phenomenon in relation to the globalization of media and communication.

NON-LINEAR RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MEDIA -DEVELOPMENT-SOCIAL CHANGE AND CITIZENSHIP: EXAMINING THE CONSTRAINTS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

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Social relationships do not necessarily function as mathematical equations. Assuming any level of linearity in the relationship between many social phenomena could be overly presumptuous and, sometimes, misleading. There are almost always many intervening variables that could impact, one way or the other, the realization of part, or all of, the various elements of this relationship. There is abundant literature to indicate that the (mass) media, in their message design and dissemination have contributed significantly to the development process in many countries. Such development efforts often bring about significant social changes. However, how these social phenomena relate to the concept of citizenship could be problematic to configure. This is because "citizenship" could be an amorphous concept and as such could pose some problems in identifying and establishing sufficient basis for drawing a relationship in any standard way. It is easier to draw the parameters of media, development and social change and relate them to one another than to extend this relationship to terminate in citizenship. Citizenship has different legal definitions in different countries. The notion of citizenship in some African countries in terms of rights and privileges could go beyond the western legal definition of the concept. This paper examines the relationship between the media, development and social change and tries to link this relationship to citizenship. It focuses on the notion of citizenship in a number of African countries to see how it really functions. It was discovered that for many nationals in some countries, they are citizens only to the extent that they can procure the country's passport which confers on them some national identity. In real terms, their citizenship seems to end there. For many, this national identity does not empower them to exercise their rights in different parts of their country. Terms such as "indigenes", "settlers", and other primordial considerations are applied to nationals as they attempt to live, work or locate themselves in areas different from where they were actually born. They are not fully entitled to some rights and privileges in those areas in spite of their citizenship of the country. For them, therefore, citizenship, which ought to be the ultimate in national identity, becomes, essentially, a bogus concept. Thus, the development and social changes that the media have been able to effect, have been used, in some ways, to negate the very essence of citizenship. The paper identifies some of the stumbling blocks to the realization of "real" citizenship and goes on to suggest ways in which the media can bring about the kind of

social change that will help in achieving the desired citizenship status in the countries. Matt Mogeckwu Ph.D.
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"Becoming public": La Via Campesina and the transformative politics of framing

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La Via Campesina, an international movement of small-scale farmers, fisherfolk and landless peasants, promotes fair trade, ecological sustainability and human rights. This paper explores how the movement asserts its agenda within the public sphere through the building of networks of transnational actors and successful responses to counter-coalitions through strategic reframing on local, national and global levels. Nancy Fraser (2008) refers to discourses of development which present economic maldistribution as the ultimate injustice, obscuring injustices of misrecognition and misrepresentation, embedded in hierarchies of status and politics. National frames territorialise justice, equating the scope of concern with a bounded political community, neglecting transborder injustices. Fraser calls for a transformative approach to the politics of framing, contending the grammar of the state-territory principle is no longer adequate for determining the “who” of justice, particularly as the perpetrators of injustice belong to “the space of flows” not “the space of places”. This study presents two Chilean and Mexican peasant organisations actively practicing the transformative politics of framing. In doing so they aim to change the “deep grammar” of frame–setting in a globalising world. *Strategia de lucha* - the strategy of struggle – (Escobar 2008) is seen to be translated both national and international levels as transnational publics rely on national public spheres for “becoming public”.

Impartial to suffering? A preliminary analysis of the BBC's decision not to broadcast the 2009 Disasters Emergency Committee appeal in Gaza

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Drawing on public comments made by BBC Executives, BBC Policies and the BBC's history of action, this paper analyses the BBC's decision not to broadcast the 2009 Disasters Emergency Committee (DEC) appeal in Gaza. The paper opens by contextualising the BBC's relationship with DEC where the two organisations are shown to have a history of cooperation for humanitarian campaigns linked to natural disasters such as cyclones and tsunamis, to man made disasters including war and conflict. Next, the specific events including those leading up to the DEC Gaza appeal are examined. The primary claim made by the BBC's decision not to broadcast the appeal is hinged at a fear of compromising its impartiality which it argues is crucial for maintaining its high news standards. Consequently, competing discourses on impartiality are analysed against both the BBC's official policy of impartiality and argument made in the context of the Gaza and similar DEC appeals. The objective of this paper is to place the DEC Gaza Appeal within a trajectory of humanitarian campaigns supported by the BBC and to understand just what characteristics make the Gaza DEC appeal different. The analysis presented in this paper has both empirical and theoretical implications. On the one hand, it has policy implications for the way in which the BBC endorses future DEC campaigns. It also draws tensions between the role of a public service broadcaster as a witness versus actor. Further it critically analyses the way in which the notion of impartiality was used by the BBC and asks if, in this instance, the concept was used as shield to prevent a critical reflection within the BBC as to its role and responsibility as a purveyor of news and as a public service broadcaster.

Communication management in information warfare: New opportunities and new threats for the defense of public interest in times of crisis

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The contributors of the present panel assume that communication management (CM) is above all the professional targeting of groups management by means of communications. CM gives new opportunities to

influence on politics and the economy and to build the long-term stable mutually beneficial relations between the different political and social groups or on the other countries' governments. Under normal social conditions CM includes information warfare (IW) as one of the instruments of neutralization of the aggressive antisocial forces (corrupted and militarist elements of state machinery, fascist organizations, terrorist groups etc). But CM of the antisocial reactionary circles use the information warfare with the destructive aims to influence, disrupt, corrupt or usurp adversarial human and automated decisions-making, to paralyze or emasculate the citizens participation in the rather functional progressive societies. There is necessary to research the new opportunities and the new threats that CM's usage gives to contemporary states and civil organizations under the times of global crisis. This panel includes a number of young and established researchers from the Russian Federation, Sweden and the USA. It aims to try and uncover some of the 'fog of war' that is generated by spin and communication management. And to try and understand why these practices are used in the first instance. There have been a number of works that have pointed out the failures of mass media in reporting on issues, such as Iraq. However, this panel attempts to go that little bit further to point out that this failure is far from being the sole responsibility of the mass media and journalists. Professor Panferova and Dr. Zvereva examine the role of mass media dramatically increased in time of crisis when a system becomes vulnerable and could be easily destabilized by minor incidents. The contributors of the paper intend to show the dualistic nature of media which sometimes might prevent but also trigger an intensification of the socio-economic crisis and social conflicts. Dr. Suhan analyzes how the communication strategies effect the formation-cum-deformation of the psyche without often even registering as such in the public consciousness. The proposed paper by Dr. Olga Polunina dwells upon the communication functions of the supranational institutions and their role in the foreign policy of the EU under the conditions of the world socio-economic crisis. The purpose of Dr. Bazarkina paper is putting in consideration the factors which influence the political and social conditions during a severe economic crisis on the example of Germany and Sweden, to analyze communication possibilities and risks for social movements and the organizations expressing the interests of protesting people. Ms. Zudochkina aims to determine the ways and methods of coverage of the economic crisis in East Europe and Russia by BBC and characterize the target audiences it directed its efforts.

The Global Imaginary: Citizenship in the Global Village

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This essay is a theoretical and critical exploration of globalization and citizenship. Its starting point is Benedict Anderson's formulation of the nation as an "imagined community" and his recognition of the central role of media in that conception. The essay extends Anderson's theory and argues that the intersection of globalization and media today has produced a new formulation: the globe itself as an imagined community. Drawing on the work of Manfred Steger, the essay contends that the media have not only connected peoples and cultures with cables and broadband, but have also connected them with stories, images, myths and metaphors that have helped create a global imaginary. Canadian media scholar Marshall McLuhan anticipated this phenomenon with his contested conception of the global village. The essay revisits the global village debate, and places it within a larger theoretical debate. Years before McLuhan, with strikingly similar language, the historian of technology and science, Lewis Mumford, also found utopian hope in media technology. However, Mumford soon recognized that capitalism, greed, and militarism had turned the dreams into nightmares, and Mumford became one of McLuhan's most ferocious critics. The essay argues, however, that globalization is producing a macabre marriage of the visions of Mumford and McLuhan. McLuhan's global village is indeed being realized, but it is not the utopia he prophesied. Instead, globalization and media are combining to create the dark, dystopic world that Mumford dreaded. Finally, the essay considers the roles and responsibilities of global citizens who find themselves afoot in this grim, emerging village.

TRANSMEDIA STORYTELLING ACROSS IBEROAMERICAN COUNTRIES

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Based on the results from research done during 2009 within OBITEL: The Ibero-American Observatory on Television Fiction, this paper presents a comparative analysis about “transmedia storytelling” and its migration across Latin American countries, Portugal, Spain and the U.S.A. This analysis shows how the historical model of original-adaptation and importing-exporting TV fiction products, characteristic of the Ibero-American region has dramatically changed. A more complex model is emerging where technologies, production, market and audience are taken new forms and roles. “Convergence” is the keyword of this model in order to express the hybrid, the multiple, and the ubiquity in the media environment. Within this blurred scenario, transmediation of storytelling is becoming not only a media production tendency, but also a landmark for cultural production, a particular way of TV fiction migration and a special case of citizenship building, where active audiences along active markets and international meaning distribution converge as they never did before. This “new” situation raises several questions about consumption, cultural production, globalization of meanings, marketing exacerbation and of course, complex transmedia storytelling. The presentation will discuss consequences for future media research and observation, especially on the interactions among transmedia fiction and citizenship formation across national boundaries and multiple convergent screens.

Differences of Media Coverage on the Old Dynasty History between Korea and China, and its Ideological Conflict - A Semiotic Network Analysis on Media Coverage of the Northeast Project-

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The purpose of this study was to investigate coverage patterns of Korean media and Chinese media on the Northeast Project, and figure out differences of media coverage between two countries and their ideological conflicts. The Northeast Project declaring that the northeast area of Asia has been Chinese own historical and contemporary territory was suggested by the Institute of Social Science on the beginning of 2003. It provoked serious struggles and conflicts between Korea and China. In order to attain the purposes of this study, the authors consisted three research questions; that is, 'what were different types of representation in coverage between Korean and Chinese media?', 'what were different discursive structures in media coverage between two countries?' and 'what were ideological implication in different media representation and discursive structures between them?'. To answer each of these research questions, news items of two Korean newspapers and Chinese news coverage in general were selected as main research objects of this study. Each of news items were analyzed by semiotic research methods and discursive analytic methods, especially, Seon-Gi Baek's 'Semiotic Network Analysis(SNA) and 'Discursive Structure Analysis(DSA)'. It was firstly found that each of media coverage of two countries about the Northeast Project was based on its own nationalism. Korean media approached it on the basis of Korean nationalism while Chinese media dealt with it on the basis of Chinese nationalism. Secondly, media of two countries tended to cover it irrationally so that their coverage should provoke anger and hatred of their own audiences respectively. Thirdly, media coverage of one country tended to criticize the other country's media coverage. Korean media had tendency of criticizing Chinese media coverage as Chinese media tended to point out undesirable intention of Korean media severely. Fourthly, Korean media worried about Chinese imperialism to occupy the northeast area of Asia, while Chinese media were suspicious about the Korean nationalism to retake the area. In short, it was concluded that coverage tendency of two

countries' media was caused to strengthen conflicts and struggles between two countries, and to expand it beyond an conflict issue between them up to an international conflict issue around the world.

Humanitarian frame in Spanish press coverage of Darfur crisis

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This article deals with Darfur crisis coverage by Spanish national press system in a context of domestic redefinition of international relationship priorities towards African continent. Content analysis applied to the four main Spanish newspapers -El País, El Mundo, La Vanguardia and ABC- from 2003 to 2005, that is, the climax of Darfur crisis, reveals however a depoliticized approach behind a humanitarian mask. Spanish national press presents this issue mainly through European humanitarian staff voices instead of African actors. As a result, Darfur crisis is understood again as a stereotyped clash not central to press system, in contrast with the important global political role played by Spain in the conflict during the period studied

China's National Image in International News Coverage of Opinion Polls

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This study examines the image of China as reflected in public opinion polls that are covered by the international media. China has been getting increasing media attention as it transits from an ancient civilization and a communist regime to an emerging economic and military powerhouse in the global community. Despite China's achievements in the past 30 years, research shows that the overall tone of international media coverage of China remains negative and unfavorable (Peng, 2004), in part because of the existing stereotypes and ideological differences (Li, 1996). Bringing together the context of China's increasing economic strength and its involvement in world affairs, as well as China's continuous public relations efforts in recent years, this study aims to find out whether China's national image as projected in media has changed over time. Specifically, we focus our analysis on news coverage of public opinion polls about China. Opinion polls about a country reflect public perceptions of the country, but the selected coverage of these polls by the media reflects not only how the media see the country but also how they want their audience to see the country. In this study, we re-examined the concept of national image under the conceptual framework of social construction of reality. Conceptually, national image is like a two-sided coin. On the one hand, it consists of an image which a nation promotes to influence public perceptions. On the other hand, it reflects a perceived image toward the nation by the target audience and a larger community. In this view, national image is not merely a mirror representation of a country's geographic, economic, social, political and cultural characteristics, but the outcome of social construction of a nation's attributes. This dynamic process of social construction of reality involves multiple courses of action taken by both the media and the public. Our research questions are: (1) Has China's image changed over time as reflected in public opinion polls that are covered by the international media? (2) What is the tone of opinion polls that are covered by the international media? (3) Do different media cover opinion polls about China differently?

Methodologically, we analyzed the content of international media coverage of public opinion polls about China in the past 30 years. Lexis-Nexis database was used to retrieve relevant news articles from major international publications between July 1979 and July 2009. Altogether 347 news reports on polls about China were collected for analysis. Results show that news coverage of polls about China increased over the past 30 years. Polls conducted in different regions relied on different sources—government agencies and academics were the two main conductors of opinion polls in China, whereas the main conductors of such polls were academics in Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan, and commercial firms and media organizations in foreign countries. The overall tone of the news stories positively correlated with the tone of the results of polls reported, but the media reported more negative polls about China than positive ones. In particular, the negative poll coverage was primarily related

to the public perception of China's relations with foreign countries, and Mainland China's relations with Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan. However, China's economic developments, including finance, housing, inflation and price, etc., were perceived more positively and the media presented such perceptions in more positive light. The overseas media tended to cover China's external affairs more negatively than media in China's mainland, Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan. In sum, this study shows that international media have unfolded, through their selective presentation of public opinion polls, a picture of "two Chinas"—an unfavourable political entity with questionable bilateral relations with other countries, and a rising economic entity, which is beneficial not only to the Chinese nation but also to the rest of the world.

FRAMING THE FIRST AND SECOND INTIFADA: A longitudinal and comparative frame analysis applied to the Flemish and Dutch press

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Various authors on the international media coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict assert that it is biased and unbalanced (Nir and Roeh, 1992; Dunsky, 2001; Zelizer, Park and Gudelunas, 2002; Mandelzis, 2003; Viser, 2003; Korn, 2004; Rinnawi, 2007; First, 1998, 2004; Lowstedt and Madhoun, 2003). However, these studies neglect to some extent the coverage in European news media. Few research also concentrate on both the First and the Second Intifada. As a result any divergences or changes in the coverage of the conflict are not studied yet. Not only the longitudinal perspective is often missing, also few studies focus on a comparative setting. The purpose of this paper is to remedy the observed shortcomings in empirical research into the coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. We do so by focusing on the framing of the First and the Second Intifada in Dutch and Flemish daily newspapers. A longitudinal and comparative frame analysis investigates any shifts in the framing of the conflict between the First and the Second Intifada and between the coverage in the Dutch and the Flemish newspapers. The frame analysis focuses on the law and order frame and the injustice and defiance frame, two frames introduced by Wolfsfeld in 1996. By refining Wolfsfeld's frame signature matrix we identified various concrete framing and reasoning devices that eventually were researched. We examined three six-month periods both for the First Intifada (1987–93) and for the Second Intifada (2000–5), resulting in a sample of 398 newspaper articles, 133 and 265 articles, respectively. We selected a sample of three national daily newspapers: *De Standaard* (Flemish), *De Morgen* (Flemish) and *NRC Handelsblad* (Dutch). Those three dailies are quality papers. 97 newspaper articles were published in *De Standaard*, 100 articles in *De Morgen* and 201 articles in *NRC Handelsblad*. We concluded that during the First Intifada the injustice and defiance frame was predominant in the coverage of the Flemish newspapers while in the Dutch newspapers the law and order frame dominated. However, the coverage of the Second Intifada displayed the law and order frame in the Dutch as well as the Flemish newspapers. In other words, we established that the aspect of the coverage of the Intifadas had to a certain extent changed in the Flemish dailies but not in the researched Dutch newspaper. This Dutch newspaper clearly reflected the Israeli perspective in the coverage of both the Intifadas. The Netherlands have always had close relationships with Israel. This historically grown connection between the two countries is the main reason to explain the predominance of the Israeli law and order frame in Dutch media coverage next to other influences on the extra media level such as the absence of Flemish correspondents on the spot.

Dramatization of conflict coverage in German media. A case study

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It would seem that today's news media are full of conflicts, wars and natural disasters. In this context news media are often blamed for dramatizing conflicts, overemphasizing negative aspects and exaggerating selected events. Especially tabloid media tend to cover conflicts only when there are violent outbreaks. For this reason, the goal of this paper is to analyze the development of the coverage during the course of one specific international

crisis. How do the frequency of news reports and the degree of dramatization change as the conflict progresses different stages? The frequency of reports and the development of two indices during one selected international conflict in German news media will be reported in order to answer this question. Additionally, differences between tabloid and quality news media and between television news programs and newspapers regarding the research question will be identified. In terms of analyzing different conflict stages, Gilboa's (2006) functional model of crises development has been applied. He describes four stages of a conflict: prevention, escalation and management, solution, and reconciliation. If the media coverage of crises is not distorted, all of these conflict phases become visible in the news. If reports are more frequent during specific conflict phases like the escalation phase, the theory of news values (Galtung & Ruge, 1965) can be included as an explanation for this journalistic selection process. This concept states that specific characteristics of reported events, the so-called news factors, determine the likelihood that these events will be published in the news media. Specifically, events with a high news value are presented more prominently in the news, i.e. the reports are placed on the front page of a newspaper or as the first report in a TV news program, with eye-catching pictures. According to the research question, a content analysis has been conducted over a time period of several months in 2008 and 2009. The newscasts of four German TV broadcasters and three German newspapers were analyzed on one selected crisis. This was based on a codebook containing 18 news factors as well as variables regarding form and content. As a result, this presentation shows how the coverage of German media changes during different stages of an international conflict, and how the media dramatize events. On the basis of a sample of about 900 news reports, an index of different formal variables (length, visualization and positioning) was created to measure how prominently a report is presented in the media. This prominence index shows the degree of journalistic attention as an indicator of the newsworthiness that journalists assign to a report. Furthermore, another index has been composed to measure the degree of dramatization. It takes certain characteristics of a news report, like visual depictions of negative emotions and pictures or mentions of injured or dead people, into consideration. Finally, the presentation concludes with a discussion regarding journalistic quality in news coverage on international conflicts. References Galtung, J., & Ruge, M. H. (1965). The structure of foreign news: The presentation of the Congo, Cuba and Cyprus crisis in four Norwegian newspapers. *Journal of Peace Research*, (2), 64-91. Gilboa, E. (2006). Media and international conflict. In J. G. Oetzel & S. Ting-Toomey (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of conflict communication. Integrating theory, research, and practice.* (pp. 595-626). London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage.

Attempts at Controlling the News Flow: Good News Wars

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News is a means for ordinary citizens to be connected to events that would otherwise prove to be remote from their personal experience. How these events are told and represented to the public has an effect upon public opinion of the event and those tasked with managing that event. Modern conflict is determined more and more through political considerations and goals rather than by pure military means. Therefore the case can arise where a battle is won militarily, but the war is ultimately lost politically. In the wake of the Vietnam War, the US military firmly laid the blame for the humiliating defeat at the feet of the mass media. They were blamed for sapping the public's will to fight and support their soldiers. However, by the 21st century there had been a re-think of this presumed reason for the defeat. This time the blame shifted to the role played by US officials and politicians. It was said that they did not show and maintain enough perception of faith that the war could be won. And that this doubt was passed on to the public. Therefore the new wars required public officials and politicians to maintain an upbeat assessment of progress and events, to convey a sense that the war is winnable. This presentation shall look at a number of events within the Global War On Terrorism (GWOT) that shall demonstrate the dilemma faced by authorities and governments engaged in combating insurgencies and terrorism campaigns. The dilemma being that if no sign of progress can be demonstrated then the public may assume that the conflict is being lost. Even if there are lull periods in such conflicts, which can last for many years. Therefore there is an attempt by governments and authorities to accentuate the positive (or seemingly positive) and to try and mitigate the negative in order to try and shore up the vulnerable political aspect linked to modern conflict.

Notions of Connectivity across Media Platforms

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Discourses about the possibilities of connectivity are overarching in media theory and research. Broadly used as either forms of technological mediation or types of sociability, connectivity and its promises are always implicit in empirical and theoretical work. Studies on the potential of the media as a facilitator of connectivity tend to centre on two dominant perspectives. On the one hand, there is a euphoric discourse on the "death of distance", celebrating possibilities for sociability, citizenship, participatory culture and ethical arousal. The other side to this discussion takes a more pessimistic view warning against fragmentation, apathy, and marketization. Instead of taking for granted one of the perspectives in this binary debate, this panel engages critically with different notions of connectivity across media platforms and in different social contexts, asking: What kinds of connectivity do different media provide? How are these negotiated in different contexts? When does connectivity as an empirical and theoretical concept become meaningful? How can notions of connectivity inform analyses of the relationship between different media and modes of citizenship with a transnational orientation? The different papers will address these questions drawing upon empirical work which deals with different notions of connectivity. This will be done in relation to public engagement, user interactivity, political identities and transnational solidarities. The first paper addresses playful connectivity of young adults in Estonia interpreting their role as citizens. Drawing on Aniko Imres conceptualization of "play" in connection to the concept of mediated public connection the paper aims to show how the participants skillfully switch between "serious" political participation and "silly" engagement with their surroundings. The second paper questions the buzzword of interactivity as a tool for creating connection between the media and the users. It does so by analyzing how journalists in 3 Danish online newsrooms are constructing and imagining the readers and the public when they negotiate different kinds of interactivity. The next paper deals with transnational telephone calls in a work environment. The connection between call centre employees and their customers is instrumental rather than social. The connectivity nevertheless exists. The paper discusses the interaction between the employees and customers and what further implications this particular connectivity has. The fourth paper explores role of popular online spaces in fostering collective identities and political commitment in social movement organizations that contest the hegemony of neoliberal discourses on globalization. Here, connectivity is used as an analytical construct in the context of transnational civic protest. Audience connection to a global community will be the topic addressed in the last presentation. Drawing upon an empirical study of Greek audiences, the final paper will discuss the construction of a global public space on the basis of media coverage of distant suffering.

How and why the global media debate disappeared from the international policy arena: A discourse theoretical analysis of international communication policies from the 1970s to the first decade of the new millennium

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How and why the global media debate disappeared from the international policy arena: A discourse theoretical analysis of international communication policies from the 1970s to the first decade of the new millennium Veva Leye Postdoctoral Fellow of the Research Foundation – Flanders (Belgium) Centre for Cinema and Media Studies (CIMS), Department of Communication Studies, Korte Meer 7-9-11, 9000 Gent, Belgium veva.leye@ugent.be

How and why the global media debate disappeared from the international policy arena: A discourse theoretical analysis of international communication policies from the 1970s to the first decade of the new millennium The global media debate emerged during the 1970s as an exchange of ideas on the role of media and communication in social, political and economic development. Although this debate also took place in professional and academic circles, it became associated with the Non-Aligned Movement's call for a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) which posed questions about the Western dominance of media and communication and about the Western-biased free flow of information doctrine. This questioning of the existing world order, which was mainly debated in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), caused a vehement reaction by the Western countries which claimed that freedom was under threat (Gerbner et al., 1983). Subsequently, during the 1980s the global media debate disappeared from the global policy arena. And despite the fact that it is well documented (e.g. Gerbner et al., 1993), this critical historical perspective is disturbingly absent in current international policy debates on communication and information and communication technologies (ICT) (Padovani & Nordenstreng, 2005: 265). A discourse theoretical (Torfing, 1999; Laclau & Mouffe, 2001) analysis of international communication policies from the 1970s to the first decennium of the 21st century offers a valuable contribution to understanding how and why this 'amnesia' occurred. A critical-interpretative analysis of UNESCO and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) communication policies shows that from ca. the mid 1990s onwards international communication policies have come full circle. The modernization approach to communication which was dominant in the 1950s and 1960s had to give way to the more critical approaches of political economy and dependency and cultural perspectives (both associated with the global media debate) during the 1970s – early 1980s. However, in the 1990s modernization returned even more forcefully because it is strengthened by information and communication technologies for development (ICT4D) approaches, which are modernisation approaches for the 'digital age' (XXX, 2007). The disappearance of political economy and dependency approaches and the incorporation of cultural perspectives on communication and development can be explained by the discourse theoretical concept of the logic of difference (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001: 130). Moreover, the fact that discourses that are not strictly related to communication, like human development, knowledge and globalisation, bring new interpretations to communication and development from the 1990s onwards should be situated in a changing global configuration post 1989. As such, it is important to relate international communication policies post 1989 to the hegemonic position of neoliberalism (Torfing, 1999) and its translation of political problems in technical problems (Laclau & Mouffe, 2001: xiv-xvi). References Gerbner, G., Mowlana, H. & Nordenstreng, K. (eds) (1993) *The Global Media Debate: Its Rise, Fall and Renewal*. Norwood: Ablex. Laclau, E. & Mouffe, C. (2001) *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (2nd ed.). London: Verso. Padovani, C. (2005) 'Debating Communication Imbalances from the MacBride Report to the World Summit on the Information Society: An Analysis of a Changing Discourse', *Global Media and Communication* 1(3): 316-338. Torfing, J. (1999) *New Theories of Discourse: Laclau, Mouffe and _i_ek*. Oxford: Blackwell. XXX (2007).

New Media and Socio-Cultural Change – Towards World Citizenship

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In this paper I analyze empirical cross-cultural data and examine the social and cultural changes caused by media use. The conversion from print and analogue to digital content accessible via various visual media (such as laptops, smart phones and iPad-like devices) has brought about significant changes in societies world-wide. Access to digital online media influences the time quantity spent on media consumption as well as the type of media and the content selected for viewing. The different patterns of media consumption seem to be culturally indifferent. This study looks at behavioral and socio-cultural changes caused by media consumption. I use empirical data from a cross-cultural comparative study conducted during my PhD fieldwork in Argentina, Australia, China, Germany and Poland. Data collected via questionnaires and interviews reveals shifting behavioral and social patterns in media use across generations, rather than across cultures. For example, young

people are alike in terms of how much time they spend using various media, what kind of media they use, and the content of their choice. Moreover, these similarities are less apparent in the older cohort world-wide. Based on the results, I discuss the extent to which the media use practices of the younger generations around the world indicate a growing number of so-called 'world citizens' connected by the same media and similar content.

Are "Glocalized" Advertisements Popular in China?—From the Perspective of Chinese Consumers

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As the further development of China's opening-up policy, China is now willing to open her gate for more and more international brand-names. It seems that all of a sudden, Uncle McDonald and Grandpa KFC are wearing Chinese Tang Costume; the advertising endorsers of NIKE have already been changed from NBA stars to Xiang LIU. Local Chinese are more and more familiar with "globalization" while more and more international brand-names emphasize "localization". There are many studies talking about localization strategy of international brand-names in the past, but seldom studies focused on the consumers' perspective to give strategic suggestions for international companies. In this study, the author proposed three research questions: 1. what are the opinions of Chinese consumers on the glocalized advertisements of international brand-names; 2. from the perspective of consumers, a well-done glocalized advertisement should contain what elements; 3. what are the perceived effects of glocalized advertisements of international brand-names on Chinese consumers. To answer these questions, the author used in-depth interview among Chinese consumers. The interviewees are first asked to watch five "glocalized" advertisements which have shown on mainstream media in China, namely, KFC with the theme of Chinese ancient story "Seven Swords"; NIKE with LeBron James fighting with Chinese dragon; Coca Cola with the theme of Xiang LIU going back home for Chinese New Year; KFC Beijing Chicken Roll with the theme of Peking Opera; McDonald with the theme of Kungfu Panda. The interviewees then asked to evaluate and expressed their opinions on these advertisements. The author also discussed with them the favorite and the disliked elements in the advertisements and their consumption behavior. From the consumers' perspective, the paper provides strategic suggestions for localized advertisements of international brand-names. More details will be discussed in the paper.

Framing Global Warming in local and global Press in Thailand

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Under Ulrich Beck's Risk Society perspective, we live in the world of heightened risk. Under this condition mediation of the world is through frames of uncertainty. The media can frame a set of perceptions in users' heads. Myths that encapsulate environmental risk or the lack thereof are being circulated by media liberal and conservative media respectively. Roland Barthe's development of the notion of 'myth' and 'image theory' as developed by Kenneth Boulding are generally viewed as separate streams of academic discourse. This study will use framing theory to create a bridge between these two approaches that liberal media will frame global warming in terms of risk and uncertainty, this presentation being influenced by news values. The question this research will seek to address is whether global, hybrid global-local and local media venues, magazines in this case, will have similar or different reflections of environmental conditions as being risky. An analysis of global warming issues depicted in three magazines available to Thai citizens, each representing a different reach of culture, was conducted and is reported on in this article. Textual analysis based on framing theory was applied to examine the cover and content of three magazines including Time's (western), national Geographic (thai version - hybrid western-Thai), and Sarakadee (Thai magazine). The researchers will select only the issues focusing on global warming from 2006-2009. It was found that the framing of global warming in the three magazines was not so different, all of them constructing the image of risk society and presenting a more accentuated image of risk, in

line with news values. The ultimate goals for this article is to raise awareness of the global warming issue as well as to contribute the way to study it. This work will be beneficial for both communication and environmental perspectives to cope with crisis and change in today world.

The Uses of "Democracy": US Foreign Policy and Discourses about China in the Wall Street Journal, 1993-2008

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Throughout the past decades, the relationship between U.S. and China has experienced twists and shifts as the international environment evolved and critical events happened. A relatively congenial relationship between the two countries since Richard Nixon's visit to China in 1972 became antagonistic after the Tiananmen crackdown in 1989 and the end of the Cold War. The changing attitude of the U.S. government toward China was largely reflected in U.S. media discourses in the 1990s. Veteran U.S. journalist James Mann (1999) observed that the U.S. media tended to frame China as a steadily reforming place in the 1980s, yet it framed China as a repressive regime in the 1990s. However, many international relations commentators have pointed out that the two countries have enjoyed a more congenial relationship again in the 2000s, especially since the tragic events on September 11, 2001. Then, have there been any corresponding changes in how China was portrayed in the U.S. news media from the 1990s to the 2000s? This article is interested in the above question. As such, the article is squarely rooted in a body of international communication and journalism research which sees the news media as fundamentally biased toward the power structure. We begin with theoretical premise that media discourses about international affairs and foreign policies tend to reflect the dominant ideologies and conceptions of national interests preferred by the political elites, especially the state. Yet there shall be a degree of heterogeneity among the views of the elites. Media discourses tend to index such views (Bennett, 1990; Hallin, 1986) and hence they often manifest a form of established pluralism (Lee, 2002). Yet this article is not only interested in demonstrating the "pro-establishment bias" of the news media yet again. Another theoretical interest of ours resides in illustrating how varying foreign policies can be articulated and justified in media discourses through the use of the same condensation symbol (Edelman, 1964; Graber, 1976). More specifically, our analytical focus is on how the condensation symbol of "democracy" was employed in U.S. media discourses when discussing China issues. Empirically, we examine editorials and commentaries published by the Wall Street Journal (WSJ) from 1993 to 2008, i.e., the Clinton and Bush administrations. We found both continuities and changes in WSJ discourses on China in the period. For instance, throughout the period being analyzed, WSJ discourses illustrated a fundamental belief in the interrelationships between political and economic developments, although there were also variations in terms of how different authors linked up the two. Another constant theme in the discourses was the idea that democracy is a cure of various internal problems in China. Meanwhile, the changes in WSJ discourses can be considered as largely correspondent to the changing U.S.-China relationships during the period. Most notably, during the Bush administration, more emphasis was put on how democracy can ensure the responsible behavior of a rising global power. Another interesting difference between the discourses in the two time periods was the portrayal of the Chinese people. Overall, our analysis provides new evidences about U.S. media discourses on China. At the conceptual level, our article reconfirms existing observations regarding how U.S. media discourses about foreign countries and policies constitute a form of "established pluralism." More importantly, we extend the arguments and findings from the existing literature by highlighting the "rhetorical bases" of established pluralism. Reference Bennett, W. L. (1990). Toward a theory of press-state relations in the United States. *Journal of Communication*, 40(2), 103-129. Edelman, M. (1964). *The symbolic uses of politics*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. Graber, D. (1976). *Verbal behavior and politics*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. Hallin D. (1986). *The "uncensored" war*. New York: Oxford University Press. Lee, C. C. (2002). Established pluralism: U.S. media discourses about China policy. *Journalism Studies*, 3(3), 343-357. Mann, J. (1999). Framing China: A complex country cannot be explained with simplistic formulas. *Media Studies Journal*,

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War Memorialization on YouTube: Video tributes to fallen US soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan

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This paper considers the ways in which alternative war imagery has become a significant source of information in the ways that we make sense of and commemorate violent international conflict. The Iraqi conflict has emerged as the first YouTube war, where vernacular imagery created by frontline soldiers, civilians in the war zones and Iraqi insurgents is becoming an increasingly important factor in mediating perceptions of the performances of US foreign policy and also in reshaping public memory from perspectives other than the ruling elites. Drawing on theories on war and new media, the politics of memory, and the Internet and public spheres, the paper examines the alternative culture of commemoration on YouTube constituted by the frequent video tributes to fallen US soldiers in Afghanistan and Iraq and the user responses and interactions enabled by the comments feature. These memorial videos address one of the most difficult issues for a nation at war, 'the body bag problem', taking as their overall theme the anguish and grief that the casualties of war cause for the US soldiers and their families. Addressing recent calls for a more sustained scholarly exploration of the 'micro-publics that increasingly constitute themselves online' (Carruthers, 2009), the paper provides an in-depth thematic analysis of a representative sample of the soldier tributes and of the user commentaries posted directly on the YouTube site. What are the format, meanings, and communicative functions of these audiovisual and textual discourses? To what extent, and in what distinctive ways, do these vernacular practices of mourning and remembering corroborate, respectively challenge the prevalent scholarly notion that such practices more often than not are 'employed as forms of forgetting and depoliticization' (Sturken, 2007), substituting easy emotional comfort for critical thought? In conclusion, the paper makes the case that the culture of commemoration embodied and created by the YouTube soldier tributes can be seen to have established a potent public counter space to the official and more sanitized war discourse that the former Bush-administration sought to set up by banning the mourning of dead American soldiers from the public sphere. The succeeding Obama-administration may have marked a shift in the direction of a more open acknowledgment of the national loss of American lives in Iraq and Afghanistan, but the institutional formats for honouring the fallen are still tightly controlled by official considerations and stricture. In contrast, the user-generated mediations of issues of loss, pain, and grief found on YouTube give voice to a full range of popular sentiments and interests, highlighting the concerns of ordinary citizens and their personally situated – and at times highly critical – perceptions of the American war effort. Hence, ultimately what the audiovisual and textual discourses that make up the substance of the community accomplish is the production of an alternative public space for national grief and redemption that simultaneously represents an important site of contestation around issues of US national identity, history and public memory. To a certain extent then, the YouTube tribute community can be seen to foster critical political discourse among participants worldwide that would never be able to come together in real space and time, potentially helping to expand each other's perspectives with culturally and politically diverse viewpoints.

Dreams on the screen: Hanoi migrants and Television

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Urbanisation in Vietnam has speeded up enormously in recent times. According to a World Bank report (2002), the population of the three largest urban areas, Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City, and Haiphong, is expected to triple by 2020. Most recently, a "historical" plan of Hanoi expansion has been endorsed resoundingly by the National

Assembly in late of May 2008, despite public criticism. Starting from August 1, 2008 the capital city's borders were expanded systematically with the expressed purpose of growing the 922 sq. km. metropolis 3.6 fold. The city's population will double to 6.2 million as a result of the outward movement of the metropolitan border. The new city will be formed by merging Hanoi with other agricultural-base provinces, viz. Ha Tay and parts of Vinh Phuc and Hoa Binh. All Vietnamese mass media are official organs of the state, and continue to be closely controlled by the government, under direction by the Communist Party. Television is the dominant medium in Vietnam. Market research reports 95 percent of households in Hanoi possess television sets. In rural areas, at least 70 percent of the population access to television under financial assistance by the government. Research on Vietnamese urbanisation is located in the fields of economic geography, health and population studies, information technology, philosophy, political science and sociology - but not international communication or media studies. One of the principle 'problematiques' in International Communication is the relationship between urbanisation, media and development. This paper will draw contemporary Vietnam into this narrative and take the narrative further. The study attempts to answer the key question: How are Hanoi's new residents viewing television? Focus groups interviews were conducted in November and December 2009 to discover the reception from watching TV and different needs of this sort of audiences. The study involves 48 participants who moved to Hanoi metropolitan as new migrants (up to 10 years) and new residents in the agricultural-based areas of the expanded city. Theories of "network society" and audience reception are adopted to support the study. The findings help to explore the communication needs of these residents. Most of them are at working age, poor, and looking for better livings in the city. May television bring the future dreams to them with its colorful images?

The Orang Asli in a Globalising World

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Since gaining independence in 1957, numerous media and communication technology products and services have been introduced into Malaysia and many other developing countries. The introduction of innovations makes analysis of consumer media and communication technology a compelling subject to study in a globalizing world. Indeed, this is the logic behind the original diffusion of innovation paradigm propagated in the 1970s. Despite great research efforts in academia literature, little is known about the role of media and communication technology among the Orang Asli, an aboriginal community consisting largely of Negritos. This study sought the Negritos expectations regarding development and levels of media and communication technology use by technology - shy Negritos, was discovered. This study draws on a development communication perspective - modernization, dependency and participatory, for the first time, in addressing Negritos developmental needs and expectations. This study also draws on the literature of the uses and gratifications, intercultural communication and hybridity purposely to determine the role of media and communication technology in the lives of Negritos. Achieving the aim entails this study answering the following key research questions: (i) what are the views regarding their needs and expectations of communication and development? (ii) what are the type and levels of utilization of media and communication technologies and why would they have media and communication technology? (iii) what are the important factors that influence the level of utilization? (iv) what are the barriers preventing the Negritos from increasing their level of utilization? (v) how to improve the utilization of media and communication technology? This study adopts ethnography and utilizes Spradley's (1979) ethnographic research cyclical tasks for data collection and data analysis. The researcher was a participant observer and collected ethnographic data in the social situation of Negritos. A variety of data collection methods was employ, which included observation and field note of utilization of media and communication technology - various factors, barriers and implications, focus group interviews of Negritos headman and villagers and informal interviews conducted within the government officers (Department of Orang Asli Affairs-JHEOA and Department Of Islamic Development Malaysia-JAKIM) as well as Negritos' village setting with relevant informants. The use of multiple methods provided the opportunity to examine more fully the richness and complexities of the reality, by gathering data from various sources to validate the consistency of information to reflect the multiple realities of Negritos. Needs and expectations of communication and development will be identified after examining field note and

interview for terms and clues repeatedly verbalize by informant, in particular Negritos as well as utilization, factors, barriers and improvement of media and communication technology. The participant observation will enhance and enrich the body of data. This study has the potential to make a significant contribution to development in Negritos lives. A body of data, suggestions and recommendations that can be drawn on by the Malaysian government in generating a participatory approach to development among Malaysian aboriginal will be made available.

Rich Dads, Poor Son: (Inter)National News Media Portrayal of Sean Goldman's Brazilian Kidnapping and U.S. Recovery

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Christmas Eve 2009 occasioned the best Christmas present ever for David Goldman. After an international five-year custody battle, he was finally reunited with his son Sean. Sean was born in the United States to his U.S. father and Brazilian mother. But on a “vacation” to Brazil with Bruna Bianchi, his mother, to see maternal family, Sean was abducted. Sean’s story seems neither new nor unique. Every year, 800,000 children – 2,000 per day – are reported missing in the United States. Of that number, 200,000 are abducted by family members (Finkelhor, 2002/2003), like Sean was. While media plans like America’s Missing: Broadcast Emergency Response, or AMBER, alert program are in place to help law enforcement officials utilize media-engaged public to help locate abducted children, not all missing children are recovered. Circumstances grow more complex when children are taken across borders. They become even more interesting when the child’s abductor divorces the father in her homeland’s court, marries an attorney who specializes in international family law, then dies in childbirth delivering her new husband’s baby. This study’s purpose is to investigate U.S. and Brazilian print news stories of David’s successful plight to get his son Sean back. Grounded in framing theory (Reese, 2003), this analysis explores latent and manifest content in U.S. and Brazilian national and local reports in an effort to determine how David’s story was (culturally) told and to learn what measures helped David bring back his son. For example, did U.S. media side with David while the Brazilian media sided with the stepfather? Can cultural differences account for differences in how the story was told in each media? If so, how, or in what ways? It is also important to investigate if Sean had or was given a voice in his own internationalized kidnapping, and, if so, what that voice was (Moeller, 2002). Questions regarding news treatment of Sean’s citizenship and his victimization as a child also rise. Further, according to (inter)national print media, what influence has the (white) dads’ socio-economic position had on the story’s outcome? At the least, David’s media-promoted story influenced (inter)national legislation passage that forced Sean’s (successful) U.S. recovery. The New York Times and *Folha de São Paulo* are the U.S. and Brazilian, respectively, national press under scrutiny. Each is its nation’s newspaper of record. The *Star-Ledger*, a New Jersey-based local daily, and *O Jornal do Brasil*, a national and local Rio-based daily, represent the local print press, since New Jersey is David’s home, and Rio had been Bruna’s. In all, about 50 relevant articles – a census of 10 from the NYT; 15 sampled from *Folha*; 10 sampled from *Star-Ledger*; and 16 sampled from *O Jornal* – form the database of study materials. This study seeks to inform framing theory regarding the portrayal of children in (inter)national news reports as well as deeper questions of race/class transborder struggles as informed by (inter)national media. In addition, what role does nationalism and/or localism play in (cultural) storytelling, meaning do local and national papers treat the story differently, and how so, based on the position of the players? Sources Finkelhor, D. (2002/2003, Winter). What the numbers tell us. *The Front Line*. Alexandria, Virginia: National Center for Missing & Exploited Children, 10. Moeller, S. D. (2002). A hierarchy of innocence: The media’s use of children in the telling of international news. *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 7(1), 36-56. Reese, S. D. (2003). Framing public life: A bridging model for media research. In S. D. Reese, O. H. Gandy, Jr., & A. E. Grant (Eds.), *Framing public life* (pp.7-31). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Sobre conflicto y periodismo: la relación entre Colombia y Ecuador en periódicos latino-americanos

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Es de los conflictos, de las confrontaciones de la vida real, que el periodismo se nutre. “Sin conflicto no hay noticia. Pero lo inverso resulta igualmente en sentencia verdadera: sin noticia no hay conflicto” (CHAPARRO, 2001. p.144). El periodismo se constituye no sólo como lugar de acogimiento y significación de los conflictos de este tiempo, sino como el espacio donde las confrontaciones tienen ocurrencia discursiva. El término conflicto remite a prácticas y abordajes teóricos distintos reunidos bajo la misma denominación. Desde acepciones clásicas de la sociología, de la antropología o psicología, el conflicto, en sus múltiples fórmulas, es parte del dominio social. En el mundo en elaboración, por acciones, interacciones y reacciones de los individuos y grupos sociales, el conflicto “ocupa un lugar central en la lucha por la posesión del presente, por la comprensión de la experiencia contemporánea” (RIFIOTIS, s/d, p.1). Tal afirmación aproxima el conflicto del periodismo, que es un territorio discursivo estratégico, donde se desarrollan disputas entre los diversos actores y campos sociales, ya que los discursos compiten en la definición de sentidos, luchan por poder en el discurso. En el ámbito de la producción discursiva, en medio a procesualidades periodísticas que tienen por función seleccionar, organizar, atribuir y controlar los sentidos, hay combates discursivos que se desencadenan interna y externamente. Estos combates discursivos se establecen en medio al ambiente del qué decir y cómo decir y forman la compleja trama de decires posibles, que no cesan de actualizarse. Los diferentes discursos compiten en la definición de los parámetros para decir el tiempo presente. Considerando que el periodismo se pone delante de la bipolaridad consenso-conflicto sobre la que se desarrolla la vida social, el texto que sigue es resultado de una analítica de la producción periodística sobre las confrontaciones entre Colombia y Ecuador, desencadenadas a partir de la incursión de un efectivo militar colombiano en territorio ecuatoriano, en marzo de 2008. Tal analítica se encuentra asentada en la dinámica de relaciones enunciativas que figuran en el ámbito comunicacional vía el cubrimiento periodístico de dos diarios latino-americanos de referencia (IMBERT & VIDAL BENEYTO, 1986): El Tiempo, colombiano, y El Comercio, ecuatoriano. El trabajo reconstituye el acontecimiento en 20 cuadros que evidencian dos niveles discursivos, el hecho social o el conflicto que compite por espacio en el discurso periodístico, y la significación de él por los periódicos analizados. En medio a la fragmentación del acontecimiento, construido por inúmeros micro-relatos en el período 2008-2009, el artículo explora, en el nivel discursivo, los diferentes conflictos que el trabajo periodístico reconoce y que por eso se hallan materializados en la superficie textual y en las capas más profundas. Con el aporte de la noción de combates discursivos (FOUCAULT, 2006 y 2008), el artículo considera que el acontecimiento no es solamente causalidad anterior, sino potencialidad de producción de lo social, ya que la orden que el periodismo imprime a los acontecimientos que pasan de la realidad por sus relatos acaba por decir lo que funciona como verdadero de una época (MOREY, 1988). Bibliografía CHAPARRO, M. C., *Linguagem dos conflitos*, Coimbra, Minerva, 2001. FOUCAULT, M., *A ordem do discurso*, São Paulo, Loyola, 2006. ____ *Microfísica do poder*, Rio de Janeiro, Graal, 2008. IMBERT, G.; VIDAL BENEYTO, J. (eds.), *El País o la referencia dominante*, Barcelona, Editorial Mitre, 1986. MOREY, M., *El orden de los acontecimientos*, Barcelona, Ediciones Península, 1988. RIFIOTIS, T., *Nos campos da violência: diferença e positividade*, en *Laboratório de Estudos das Violências*, Florianópolis, UFSC, s/d.

Media Coverage of Herta Müller's 2009 Nobel Prize in Literature. A Comparative Analysis on Romanian and German Print Press

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On 8th October 2009, the Swedish Academy announced that the laureate of the Nobel Prize in Literature in 2009 is Herta Müller, a German writer born in Romania. The award ceremony took place in Stockholm on 10th December 2009. The media largely covered both the announcement and the ceremony itself. As usual when

these kinds of events occur, mass media not only relate the fact, but also they construct it, offering to the public a particular perspective, influenced by various factors. Theoretically, this research is an approach specific to the sociology of journalism, according to which the media message is a “construct” created by the professionals in the domain. Thus, an event not only happens in a specific place in the world, but also it is a relationship between a certain happening and a set of symbols. Mass media operate inside a culture and therefore they ought to use the cultural symbols. The “construction” of reality becomes, from this perspective, an obvious thing. The journalists, through their own work, “transcribe” the reality; they write in words stories that reproduce the reality. Media, especially through the deliberative genres, not only “mirror” the reality, but also take part in the construction of the mental reality. The general objective of the research is to identify how mass media – represented by the print press– in Romania and in Germany have constructed the events of announcing and awarding the 2009 Nobel Prize in Literature to Herta Müller. Specifically, the analysis focuses on finding out which are: the modalities of coverage and presenting the theme in Romanian and German newspapers; the journalistic genres used in this respect; the sub-themes that were emphasised in the events coverage; the constituent key-elements of the representations that were used by the Romanian and German journalists to construct the events; the general attitude of the journalists and the newspapers regarding the award of the Nobel Prize in Literature to Herta Müller. Because a specific objective of the study is to compare how the same reality (events) were covered and constructed in the print press in Romania (the country in which the writer was born) and in Germany (the country in which the writer, a German ethnic, lives in present), the analysis focuses also on identifying the common points in covering and constructing the media reality, respectively the differences and, possibly, the controversies. My interest is to find out what kind of and how many common points and differences there are in the events coverage, and what is the extent to which there existed covered controversies (e.g. – if the Nobel Prize in Literature is granted on truly literary merits or rather on political reasons; or, at least in Romanian newspapers, if the prize belongs to Romania too, considering the writer’s origins and the content of her books – dealing mainly with the Romanian communist dictatorship etc.). The research method is the content analysis, applied on the thematic articles of the main three “serious” newspapers in each country (Romania and Germany), published in two intervals of time: 7-13 October and 8-14 December 2009. If one of the starting hypotheses of the analysis will be confirmed, then the paper will emphasize how the same reality/ event is different depending on the modalities in which it is presented by the media.

Mapping Territory, Making Change: Ugandan Journalists Addressing HIV/AIDS

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Uganda’s early success at stabilizing the HIV/AIDS epidemic is now eroding; prevalence is rising. Journalist Nakazibwe of *The Monitor* writes, “What remains is uncertainty over what the next twenty years hold for us. More tears of joy or louder wails of grief as we go back to square one?” Based on a survey of 67 journalists and in-depth interviews with nine journalists in Kampala, Uganda, in 2006, this paper focuses on Ugandan journalists’ perceptions about journalism’s role in addressing HIV/AIDS, in their country, in an attempt to keep the disease in the forefront of our attention. The notion of responsible or activist journalism for social good has been around for a while. Discussion and debate about this type of journalism have spawned several journalistic philosophies that espouse different levels of activist roles for journalists in the promotion of community/societal interests. This study is set within philosophy of public journalism. Statements representing public journalism roles (grouped into six role categories) were rated by journalists for importance. Journalists rated creating public activism the highest (3.534), and providing information and viewpoints a very close second (3.529). Changing the public’s attitudes and norms received a similar rating (3.51). Next were mobilizing and holding government accountable (3.22), creating public dialogue (3.08), and stimulating participatory discussion and action (3.01). Responses to in-depth interview questions on public journalism indicated that almost all journalists did not want involvement in projects and were not quite sure of their role in invoking social capital as part of the “stimulating participatory ... action” role. While public journalism comes from the genres of journalism that are all related to socially responsible journalism (for example, peace or communitarian journalism), it does not have name recognition in Uganda and

differs from development journalism in its advocacy (in some of its definitions) of involvement in community and invocation of social capital. And hence, there appears to be a reluctance to adopt it fully. The mean score in response to this question: "In sum, my reporting on HIV/AIDS is best described as..... (A lot to Very Little)" was 3.44 indicating between "somewhat" to "considerable" coverage. Personal/societal reasons for covering or not covering included lost people in family to disease, need to provide hope, have empathy, and "responsibility of every Ugandan to end spread." Role related reasons included my duty to report, public's dependence on media for information, serious issue affecting every one, and economic impact of the disease. Organizational reasons included assigned beat, editor interest, company's profit motive, lack of specialists, and lack of audience interest. Reasons for reduced coverage included "juniorization," i.e., assigning the beat to junior journalists, and "periodization," i.e., journalists forgetting that the message had to be kept alive and in front of each new generation of youth. Journalists' perceptions of the impact of strategic communication campaigns about HIV/AIDS, i.e., messages that are specifically designed to address HIV/AIDS as different from HIV/AIDS stories written by journalists, were largely positive. Their memories of campaigns they had seen/heard as children were evocative and vivid.

The Prime Mover: Swedish Press Representations of the US from the Cold War to the 'War on Terror'

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Perhaps no other country holds quite the same place in Swedish hearts and minds than the United States of America. Both a symbol of hopes and dreams, and fear and loathing, Swedish views of the US can perhaps best be described as ambivalent - critical of US foreign policy, while at the same time being heavily influenced by many aspects of American culture. The Swedish elite press reflects the importance of the US by giving it much coverage as 'the' key player in momentous world events, implying that to understand what is happening in the world, one needs to understand the US. This paper presents the results of an analysis of Swedish editorials, debate, commentary and cultural articles about the US in time periods from 1984 to 2009. The image of the US in Sweden is first set against the prevailing Zeitgeist both in Sweden and internationally; these three decades broadly speaking can be thought of as framed by the Cold War, globalisation, and cultural contestation paradigms respectively. In the time periods analysed, recurring representations of the US assume an almost archetypal nature in that they are used as tools to illustrate, or provide contrast to, a favourable or an unfavourable change in international or domestic Swedish politics. The US is seen as a formidable power that has to be balanced by other powers. It is described as a doer (rather than a thinker) and a force of action (rather than reflection). The US is a protagonist or antagonist in a Great Story of the World symbolised by the entrepreneur, the cowboy, and the soldier used variously in both positive and negative senses. For example, Presidents Reagan and Bush are likened to cowboys (i.e. trigger-happy and lawless) when they act unilaterally or recklessly on the international stage, whereas Bill Gates is the quintessential entrepreneur pointing the way to the future as a role model for Sweden to follow. Like age-old Swedish/European tropes about the US, these symbols are called upon to illustrate various actions of the US as a threat or a role model, all seen through Swedish eyes.

Domestic Analysis in the Process of Transnational Communication - A Case Study of Subtitling Groups in China

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Localization, namely, the transnational communication's impact to local culture, is always a controversial issue in International Communication Studies. The Cultural Imperialism paradigm regards local culture as a national culture, and the developed countries exert their own cultures onto the developing countries via international

media. However, the Globalization paradigm weakens the influence of nations, and sets the argument directly to the interaction between foreign culture and the regional culture. The supporters of Globalization imply that there exists compromise in the communication of two different cultures, yet they neglect the power distinction in the same process. These two paradigms share the same flaw in that they set “foreign culture” and “local culture” as two integrated variables. Rarely do they analyze different domestic cultures in the same region, or in the same country, nor the corresponding ideological powers behind them (Sparks, 2008). Therefore, the contemporary theories of transnational communication have difficulty explaining the complicated situation that exists in a multi-cultural region owns. Hence, this paper does not look to the “global-national-local” (Langdale, 1997) perspective. Instead, it analyzes how international communication affects the different ideological powers in one country, in order to know the specific role of transnational media products to the local culture. The object of this research is Subtitling Groups, which in recent years have been a popular cultural phenomenon in China. The self-organized volunteers in these groups produce Chinese subtitles to popular foreign media products, such as TV dramas and movies, which then spread to the audiences in inland China via Internet. This behaviour is illegal and is often unable to be censored by the government and business corporations. By analyzing several translation cases of the subtitling groups, this paper reveals that the grass-root elements applied by them present resistance to China’s official “dominant ideology” (Thompson, 1996). Moreover, the dissemination of these subtitled products reinforces the spread of grass-root ideology, thereby changing the balance of power between grass-root and dominant. In this process, transnational media products become a stage for the subtitlers, namely the local active audiences, to “perform” (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998) themselves by producing subtitles, and, on the other hand, to spread resistance to dominant ideology unintentionally. This phenomenon implies that transnational communication may not influence a region through foreign cultural elements, but by affecting the spreading range of domestic cultural trends, or in other words, changing the powers of different domestic ideologies. However, this analysis of ideological power, is merely one aspect of the influence of the transnational communication to local culture. In conclusion, the further studies of international communication could strengthen the analysis of the structure of local culture, so as to gain a more specific understanding on the effect of transnational communication.

Can a journalist throw shoes? Global journalism and emotional engagement

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During a press conference in Baghdad in December 2008, Iraqi television reporter Muntazer al-Zaidi shocked the global audience by throwing his shoes at then US President George W. Bush and denouncing him as a ‘dog’. Later at the central criminal court of Iraq, al-Zaidi explained that he was expressing his ‘inner feelings and those of all the Iraqi people from east to west and north to south and the feelings of hatred they hold for him’. The shoe throwing incident became a global ‘media event’, it inspired protesters all over the world, and it was widely circulated as entertainment on the Internet. This paper examines how the Western news media around the world interpreted this extreme case of attachment and emotion. As several scholars have noted, the conventions of balance, fairness, and objectivity have, for the most part, prevented journalists from injecting their own emotional responses and personal values into their news reporting (e.g. Tuchman 1972; Gans 1980; Schudson 1995). In an era where the news media is thought to have brought more emotion into their discourse, we saw this case as an opportunity to analyze and compare the ways in which the news media determine the rules and limits of emotional expression. Our first question is about the ways in which emotionality and objectivity are defined and discussed in the news media. Our second question focuses on the political discourses that surround the shoe throwing incident. We want to know how the story was told in different countries and news media. What was the ‘emotional attitude’ and the ideological world-view? We focus on the editorial and news commentary in newspapers from 11 countries. There are five English speaking countries involved in the research: the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand. There are two Nordic countries, Finland and Sweden, and three middle-European countries, France, the Netherlands, and Austria. A content analysis was

conducted in order to find out the journalists emotional reaction to al-Zaidi's act and which arguments (e.g. freedom of speech) they used to support their argument. And finally, we wanted to differentiate between the various discourses that journalists used when talking about al-Zaidi's outburst.

Communication, citizenship and the 'right to memory'

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This paper addresses whether a component of citizenship understood through international communication requires a critical understanding of the significance of the right to memory within and across borders. In particular, following the International UNESCO seminar on Human rights and Memory in 2009, and a forthcoming edition of *Media Development on the Right to Memory*, the paper examines what might be meant by 'memory rights'. The paper examines what problems might arise from a right to memory in relation to international communication and citizenship especially in terms of crises, conflict and resolution. Certainly from camera-phone images of the conflicts following the Iranian elections in 2009 to television coverage of remembrance of British soldiers killed in Afghanistan, the witnessing of events is increasingly mediated (Frosh and Pinchevski). The media plays a local, national, and international role in what is remembered and how the past is mobilised (Ashplant, Huyssen, Shandler). Electronic media and digitisation enables rapidly networked mediated memories (Hoskins) that can be reassembled and cannabilised (Zelizer). Mediated memory arguably has important implications for citizens in terms of identity, belonging, conflict and social change (Solomon). Yet, mediated memory has, historically, been conceptualised predominantly within national boundaries (Nora, Halbwachs). The relationship of memory to citizenship has also tended to gone be conceptualised as competitive and "owned" by particular ethnic or national groups, with a clear unbroken connection between identity and memory (Rothberg). Earlier work on memory is suggestive of a conceptualisation of rights of memory in a limited public sphere in which one mediated memory blocks out, negates or makes impossible the articulation another. More recent and emergent work, however, within mediated memory studies stresses the ways in which mediated memories are not necessarily directly linked to identity. The right to memory then may not be owned by a particular group and may cross borders, transnationally and transculturally (Levy and Snaider) in ways that are multi-directional (Rothberg) and connected (Hoskins) . Hence, the paper examines the ways in which mediated memory, communication and citizenship have been understood, as well as newer approaches that draw on trans-culturalism, globalisation and trans- nationalism. The paper then draws on some of the insights of my research on the impact of digitisation and globalisation on mediated memories. In particular I examine memories of atrocity and genocide articulated through networked technologies developing the conceptualisation of what I have termed the 'global memory field'. While this is understood as dynamic, transnational and apparently multidirectional my evidence suggests that it is uneven and unequal: major national and international media players are still able to dominate the mobilisation and securitisation of mediated pasts. This has important implications for how one might re-frame the 'right to memory' within international communication studies to develop better application in relation to social cohesion, conflict and its resolution.

Communication and development in Latin America: a place of conflict

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This study examines the construction of the memory of socioeconomic development held by two of the most important magazines in Brazil, *Carta Capital* and *Veja*. From a discussion on the paradigm of modern science and the understanding of Latin America as an alternative place of conflict and ways of thinking, our proposal is to understand both the relationship between communication and development and the role of media and its real effect on the process of national development. Therefore, the objective of this research is to overcome the

simplistic understanding of the communication process as a mechanism of change in economic pattern and the consequent and inevitable modernization of society. Based on this idea, we seek to examine whether the content published in journals make sense according to a concept of socioeconomic development that goes beyond the economic indicators and is consistent with the specificities of the Brazilian context, and from there, question the approach to issues related to development that are based on certain paradigms of western modernity characteristic of developed countries, focused on consumption, economic growth and industrial modernization and technology. For this purpose, we part from Wilbur Schramm's discussions and José Marques de Melo's criticism on the real contribution of communication for socioeconomic development. As an alternative proposal of thought there is the concept of development from the perspective of Celso Furtado as a mechanism to give ground to the economic aspect of the Brazilian reality addressed by this research. We also present the theories proposed by Boaventura de Sousa Santos, Martín-Barbero and Edgar Morin, who think the relationship between communication and culture in Latin America as an alternative position to the uniformity exported by developed countries. Through this theoretical basis, the two magazines are then analyzed focusing on the construction of national memory on the theme of socioeconomic development through the media in a two-year period, between 1996 and 1998, chosen because of its relatively lack of political events that could influence the published content and also due to the beginning of the stability in the Brazilian economy. The need to reflect about the construction of memory is important in order to understand and criticize Brazilian reality and is a step in the quest for national socioeconomic development, independent of important standards and more consistent with the internal situation and its specific features, not covered by certain exogenous ideas that are disseminated by Veja, in contrast to the critical posture of Carta Capital.

Becoming "Indian": Media consumption among Indian young adults in Malaysia

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The definitive changes in Malaysia's broadcasting policies as of 1985 have generated much on-going transformations in the local mediascape. There is increasingly greater access to transnational media consumption of diverse television programmes and genres from various cultures. With satellite television, the proportion of media content from western and non-western cultures are almost equal today. The actual percentage of local content is somewhat ambiguous although there is a policy dictating a requirement of 30% local content in the media. The unending concern with the negative effects of foreign media content on local audiences and cultural identities remained open. So how has the transformed mediascape impacted the everyday lives of local young adults? Has the age old concern with western cultural imperialism gained further grounds among these young adults? Or, is there an emerging transnational pattern of media consumption toward other non-western cultural products? It is evident today that the Indian media industry especially the film industry or Bollywood has made a presence globally. Indian films, drama and entertainment programmes have always had a popular following not only among the local Indians but also among the Malays. Thus with greater international exposure and the heightened status of Indian media content and cultures in general, the local Indian young adults are drawn further as enthralled audiences of various Indian media content. The "Indianisation" of young Malaysian Indians has begun. Data gathered through focus group discussions with 60 Indian young adults between the ages of 20 to 25 years reveal their rediscovered conceptions of self as Indians in a multiethnic Malaysia. The data also provide an insight into the consequences of current patterns of media consumption of Indian cultural content on the everyday norms of these local young adults.

Citizenship, Diversity and EU polity as seen by Turkish media professionals

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The media are implicated in the formation and exercise of citizenship because of the ways in which they provide venues to access information and participate in communication networks. This relationship between media and citizenship has been traditionally framed within the association between the national media and national public

sphere which are increasingly being challenged due to the formation of transnational structures such as the European Union. As citizenship similarly becomes a transnational matter, the ways in which such contemporary changes are perceived by the media actors constitutes a compelling subject for investigation. In this paper I aim to discuss the ways in which notions of citizenship and EU polity are perceived by distinguished media professionals from ideologically differing newspapers in Turkey. The data presented here mainly draws from preliminary findings of a major collaborative European Project, the Eurosphere, which has the over all objective of identifying the factors which facilitate or hinder the articulation of a European public sphere. The Eurosphere has been conducted simultaneously in sixteen European countries. In each participating country, researchers analyze political actors such as political parties, social movements, think tanks and media organisations. This paper stems from the results within the single case-study country reports which generally aim to document the perception and representation of citizenship and diversity issues in participating countries. The insight provided by media actors which are presented in this paper aims to shed light on the major political and social cleavages that cut across contemporary Turkish society, where the definition and re-definition of citizenship continue to be a highly contested issue.

From NWICO to WSIS: Tensions in Participation

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Panel organizer: Divina Frau-Meigs (U. Paris Sorbonne nouvelle) This panel is a report of the research group « Médias et Information du Nord et du Sud: cartographie de la communication internationale » of the MSH-Paris Nord, in collaboration with University Paris Sorbonne nouvelle. International development in media is analyzed through the tensions that were expressed by various actors in two recent crises affecting international communications at IGO and NGO levels: NWICO (1976-1983) and WSIS (2001-2005). Such crises became hallmarks of change in the democratization of communication and information and in the emergence of new actors in the field. The panel features two phases, one devoted to specific contributions from the panel members, the other to the presentation of the website. The leading thread of the panel is the issue of participation and the tensions that it elicited in the international context, especially in relation to development paradigms (from dependency to sustainability) and participatory options (from third world state involvement to citizen engagement at the grassroots level). Among the specific contributions, the first two, by Michael Palmer and Divina Frau-Meigs, will deal with major actors in the process of globalization of participation, news agencies and civil societies. The last two, by Jeremie Nicey and Julia Pohle, will deal with major notions in tension, access and digital governance. News agencies were center-staged in NWICO while civil societies were more active in WSIS. Access was a major issue on both occasions while digital governance was an unresolved issue of the second period. The contributions will highlight a shared interest in globalization as a process of amplification of participation, from a few selected actors to many heterogeneous actors. The focus on terms and definitions will also show the power struggle for control of the international media. The focus on the major actors analyzes how some emerge victorious while others can, at the best, reconsider their system of alliances. The major role of IGOs as the dominant global actors of that period of intense international diplomacy is discussed, especially in the confrontation between UNESCO-ITU, and between the United States and the rest of the world. The presentation of the website, by Patricio Tupper, will consider two types of research documents and archives: script and video. The official documents, the intermediary projects as well as the various text-based data will be described in their various locations online. Then the video recordings of “key witnesses” interviewed for the project and the glossary of notions and actors that is being compiled by the research group, will be presented. Discussion with the floor will be opened to receive feedback on the project and to encourage new participants to contribute online. 5 panelists: Michael Palmer (U. Paris Sorbonne nouvelle), Divina Frau-Meigs (U. Paris Sorbonne nouvelle), Jeremie Nicey (U. Paris Sorbonne nouvelle), Julia Pohle (U. Paris Sorbonne nouvelle) and Patricio Tupper (U. Paris VIII). All presentations will be made in English.

Uniting global television flows research with contemporary content analyses of children's television

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The study of communication and information flow has been central in the field of international communication since at least the post World War II era. The United Nations, at least since 1948, has foregrounded the free flow of information as a cornerstone of their broader efforts to ensure Freedom of Information. In a press release dating back to May 1, 1948, the United Nations Secretary Carlos Romulo from the Philippines stated that “the aim of ensuring the free flow of information within nations and across their boundaries” was a central component of any effort of his Magna Carta for information and press freedom in the world (http://www.un.org/Pubs/chronicle/2002/issue3/110502_unconf_freedom_achieve.html, retrieved November 5, 2009). Against the backdrop of such globally circulated declarations, Everett Rogers asserts that the international communication situation in the post war era cemented the birth of the discipline of communications (Rogers, 1997). Free flow is thus part and parcel of the history of our field, and while sixty years old it is still a relevant pursuit in the contemporary global economy. Similarly concerns about children's media have been prominent in the field for decades, with major research projects still ongoing in several countries. An indicator is the creation in 2007 of an entire journal devoted to this area of studies, the *Journal of Children and the Media*. Children and the media scholarship speaks to educational and policy issues that appeal to broad public and political sentiment. As such this research serves as important a legitimating role for our field of communications nationally as flows and freedom of expression serves the field internationally. This essay seeks to bring these two areas of scholarship together in the new millennium. First, it bridges the national with the global—what used to be national children's issues are now global with the contemporary media conglomerate situation of convergence and synergy. Second, the essay also links the issue of global television flows to the study of children's programming content in general and girls television in particular. Although one can say that the research on flows originally included children's programming, a recent multinational study conducted under the auspices of IZI reconnects these issues in a productive manner and suggests that flows continue to be a relevant area of study, policy implications, and potential activism. Furthermore the data on country of origin of contemporary children's television is eerily similar to the original UNESCO study by Nordenstreng and Varis (1974). Third and finally this essay brings together two core areas of media studies: content/representation and production/political economy. Linking the topic of children's media and activism with the issue of global flows of communication as they are related to production and conglomerates accomplishes this connection between two usually separate areas of study (see Pecora, 1998).

International News Coverage by English Newspapers of Papua New Guinea: Testing newsflow concepts

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The study was undertaken to examine international news flow in the daily newspapers of Papua New Guinea, a Pacific Island country of 6.3 million people of 750 languages. Contents of daily newspapers were evaluated in terms of space allocated by those papers in several categories. The study analysed the type of flow; origin of items; agency involved in dissemination; volume of flow and structure of news from the sample of 1708 items during one month duration in 2009. It also focused the trend of newsflow from neighbouring countries and countries of Asia and other regions to examine the Galtungian structural theory as well as other relevant concepts of newsflow. Major sources of international news have been studied with the perception of availability and arrangement of agencies to feed two newspapers on local condition. With the highest number of languages in the world in a country like Papua New Guinea and keeping its unique cultural values the coverage of international news in English language newspapers revealed many dimensions of coverage.

Global Agenda and African Information Society: Tension of localizing 'universal norm' in nation-states

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Drawing on international regime theory and Gramsci's hegemony concept, this paper examines the interaction between the networks of international and regional organizations in setting the norms, rules and decision-making mechanism in the global development and governance of information society by using the "Africa Information Society Initiative (AIS): An action framework to build ICT infrastructure in Africa" as the case study. Based on the empirical evidences from policy document analysis and qualitative semi-structured interviews, it provides a critical analysis of how the diffusion of global neoliberal agenda through the international organizations shaped the AISI policy prescriptions. It analyzes the challenges and obstacles confronting the AISI implementation, in view of the inherent contradictions between the transnational character of the AISI and the national characters of the region. It examines the implication of these problems and potential ways of addressing them. It concludes by stressing the importance of contextual local institutional forces and cultural ethos in the ICTs for development process in Africa.

Communication functions of the supranational institutions in the foreign policy of the EU.

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The EU is a powerful organization which is successfully operation in the international arena having strategic partners in the East and in the West. That is why the study of the European experience from the communicational point of view can prove to be useful for understanding new communicational opportunities. As an international organization, the EU operates through a hybrid system of supranationalism and intergovernmentalism. In certain areas, decisions are made through negotiation between member states, while in others, independent supranational institutions are responsible without a requirement for unanimity between member states. Important institutions of the EU include the European Commission, the Council of the European Union, the European Council, the Court of Justice of the European Union, and the European Central Bank. Communication management gives new opportunities for these institutions to influence the politics and the economy and to build the long-term stable mutually beneficial relations between the different political and social groups or within the whole EU. The proposed paper will dwell upon the communication functions of the supranational institutions and their role in the foreign policy of the EU. The main method of study is descriptive analysis which helps the contributor • to estimate the practice of realization of the information, social, enlightening and esthetic functions of the EU supranational institutions; • to investigate the role of the supranational institutions in the foreign policy of the EU.

The F-bloggers and transnational discourse

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The F-bloggers and transnational discourse This paper sets out to explore foreign reporters' blogging, by concentrating on two reporters employed by the largest private TV station in Norway, TV2. The aim of the study is to investigate debates inspired by the initial entries and the discourses found there; to analyse this material as part of the variety of public spheres or sphericules (Gitlin 1998) emerging with the interactivity invited by this TV station, which links up with more than one hundred blogs from its website, their own reporters constituting a minority of these. Could it be that such blogs open up a more transnational public sphere and provides other types of knowledge than do the traditional media, by for example including more diasporic participation? Is it possible that an increasingly transnational literacy (Spivak 2006), or transnational media literacy (Eide 2009) will

emerge from these sites where the threshold for entering a debate is lower than with traditional media? The paper will present discourse analysis (Fairclough 1995, 2003, Jørgensen & Phillips 1999) of a blog on Gaza from early 2009 by Kadafi Zaman; and a blog on the Iranian elections in 2009 by Fredrik Græsvik, and will also attempt to include some more recent blogs by the same reporters. In addition to mapping discourses, it will also look at hyperlink representation and (presumed, since the participants often apply nicknames) diasporic participation. Preliminary findings indicate that in the case of Iran, the diasporic participation was substantial. It has been suggested that blogs are less serious and substantiated than traditional debates in the press (Keen 2008). This paper will compare the foreign reporters' blogs to findings by other researchers working with journalistic blogs (Robinson 2006, Singer 2005, 2008, Wall 2005) and also findings based on studies of blogs in regional-local newspapers in Norway (Enli & Skogerbø 2008). The latter findings indicate that "serious entries" may be representative of the majority of the blog participants. The analysis will also look at the ethical aspects of some of the entries, and refer to debates on the need for moderation to avoid hate speech. The findings will also be seen in the light of Brian McNair's "Cultural Chaos" and "communicative turbulence" (2005, 2006) theorizing, as well as Sonwalkar's concept of "banal journalism" (2005).

Role of press freedom in the repression-dissent dynamic in the post-Soviet states, 1992-2007

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This project explores the relationship between dissent and repression in the post-Soviet context and the role of press freedom in this dynamic. The study draws on the previous human rights research focused on repression and dissent and uses the data from multiple sources, including CIRI human rights data, Freedom House, US State Department, and others. The preliminary results show that the relationship between dissent and repression is reciprocal and curvilinear, with some evidence of backlash of more violent forms of dissent in response to higher levels of repression. Along with overall level of democracy, press freedom is shown to keep both dissent and repression at bay for open democratic systems, while mixed and authoritarian regimes with partly free or not free press systems demonstrate higher likelihood of dissent and repression.

The meaning of "Obama" in Japan: Change of What?

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This study aims at investigating how the Japanese media have covered the 2008 presidential election of the U.S.A. and the president Obama's security policies, especially focusing on the meaning of "Obama's Change" in the Japanese context. For analysis, I will use the perspective of "media framing"; principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters. Barack Obama has won the election and became first "Black" president of the U.S.A. Understandably there has been a considerable amount of coverage by the Japanese media that questioned what the election results mean for Japan but also are highly interested in Obama's personal upbringing as well as the history of civil rights movements and racial relations in the U.S. Even there has been some phenomenon called "Obama boom" in Japan. TV rating of the inauguration speech carried live on NHK was 5.8% which is quadruple higher than the average on that time slot. Victory celebrations were held in Obama city, a fishing village in Fukui prefecture, which happens to be famous for its name. Not only the local media but also major TV news and national papers reported the celebrations. At bookstores, books of Obama's speeches, biographies and even inspiring tales of his life written for children have proved immensely popular. However, there is complex reaction to the Obama's victory. Although the Japanese public favored Obama than his counterpart and welcomed the first black president in the history of the U.S.A., there is unease about the Obama administration's foreign policy and dissatisfaction with Japan's relations with the U.S. Accordingly, the media coverage had some tendency to focus on the fact that Barack Obama is the first black to become U.S. President and to be skeptical of the new administration's policy

especially on foreign relations. Certainly, there is a host of variations to be observed, as between liberal and conservative papers, or the national newspapers and tabloids, or morning show and night news, etc. However, despite this variety, the interpretation of “Obama’s message” is likely to be quite uniform and the meaning of Obama’s victory in Japan is quite different from in the U.S. How come Japanese public could welcome a democratic president whose policy is not likely to be fond of Japan at least in the major media’s interpretation? I will discuss why this happened with regard to the Japanese perception of the U.S.A. and its relevance with the post-war nationalism because America’s position or image has been tremendous, even fundamental in the narrative strategies of the postwar Japan. Then I will discuss the way the Japanese media deal with racial relations in the U.S.A. comparing with the cases in Japan. I have collected a wide range of media materials from the high-to the lowbrow: 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 issues will be chosen and analyzed with regard to the meaning of “Obama’s victory” and its relevance to the Japanese national identity. In so doing, I will be particularly concerned with popular perception or understanding of “Obama’s change”; 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.

Global flows, media and developing democracies: the Ghanaian case

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This paper presents a combination of factors as a framework for examining how globalization and media impact developing democracies in the Global South. In particular it pays attention to the interplay of changing technologies, regulatory regimes and local entrepreneurs with global expertise (obtained primarily through education overseas) and their combined impact on the media ecology in such countries. Using a historical analysis of the trends that started in the early nineties, the paper shows how countries like Ghana took advantage of key changes in globalization to create a vibrant media ecology that directly impacts the role of citizens. Specifically, the author posits that in Ghana the liberalization of broadcast industry, the expertise of “glocal” entrepreneurs, and the explosion of “new” communication technologies like the internet and mobile phones have led to a reconstitution of the public sphere and the creation of a new cultural elite.

Border Radio: Prospective Roles in strengthening the Relationship between Thailand and Myanmar

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The research aims at employing the participatory international communication concept to find out whether the notion can be applied to the context of Thailand and Myanmar. The research employs the semi-structured interview, in-depth interview and focus group techniques with radio practitioners who run community and local radio in four provinces in Thailand: Maehongson, Chaing Rai, Tak, and Ranong. The structured interview is also employed with local people near the border in the last three provinces of the research sites, are which located geographically opposite Myanmar’s townships: Tachilek, Myawadi, and Kawthaung. The informal interview is conducted with Myanmar border leaders in Myanmar: Myawadi and Loikaw and structured interview with local people in Tachilek, Myawadi, and Kawthaung. The Thai radio signals at the borders can be received in Myanmar. Even though, this research tried to seek cooperation between Thailand and Myanmar to produce programs aimed at strengthening Thai-Myanmar relations, the attempt failed. More effort is needed from both. Thai regulations on foreign language broadcasting should be drafted and well informed to Thai people, especially those who live long the border. However, the respondents agreed that border radio can play an important role in promoting economic-trade relations between both countries exclusive of political aspects. Undesirable roles of border radio include talking about politics especially Myanmar’s governance and internal conflict, and presenting bad things and using satirical, insulting, mocking, dishonoring words as well as referring to history of Thai-Myanmar conflict. The Myanmar leaders also acknowledged the potential of participating in the project as it

would provide an exchange information platform. The notion of participatory communication for development faces difficulties in application of international communication, particularly in the Thailand and Myanmar context. The difficulties stem from the differences in languages and in the governance of the countries, and the internal conflict, especially the conflict between the Myanmar government and the ethnic minority groups. Thai border radio does not focus only on its role to serve Thai citizen, but also its plays roles in strengthening Thai-Myanmar relations such as 1) by disseminating information, 2) by advertising both Thai and Myanmar products and services, 3) by promoting both Thai and Myanmar cultures and traditions-related activities, and 4) by teaching the Thai language to Myanmar listeners. As many Myanmar migrant workers who left their country in search of security and safety live in Thai border areas, the border radio also play many roles in intercultural communication aspects. The border radio helps them in deculturation and acculturation by providing information on health, Thai value and laws, teaching the Thai language, and entertaining them with Thai and Myanmar songs.

Turkish Television Series and Their Use as Political Agenda-Setter

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Turkish television series have been part of discussions since late 1990s due to various reasons. First of all, their production qualities reflected a significant progress. Second, compare to old-fashioned melodramatic content based series, they started to use stories-contents related with real life stories and events. Both these factors cumulated growing ratings towards these television series. In parallel to these factors, Turkish television series started using more current affairs issues and political subjects through current days. The way these series treated political issues of Turkey, they became more active in political agenda. The producers and directors, actors and actresses, and scenario writing teams started appearing in political discussion platforms. In terms of national and international politics, Turkish television series did not only take issues of political life into their scenarios, but also started shaping them in a way, which they started acting as a medium or a dimension as political agenda-setter. For instance, the series called “Gümüş” made a great impact on relations with Middle Eastern countries. Similarly, “Valley of Wolves” created the new political agenda and the platform of disputes between Turkey and Israel because of its stories. Its characters became heroes in some Balkan countries like Bosnia-Herzegovina and Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia because of its pro-nationalist discourse. Current dispute between Israel and Turkey because of “Valley of Wolves” carried of out a significant question for the role of contemporary Turkish television series in Turkish national and international politics. On January 11th 2010, AFP reported on Israeli reactions for the series but the Turkish series-maker, Pana, defended their series. They declared that "Valley of the Wolves will continue to tell the truth and expose the guilty parties...The Jewish state has been repeatedly declared guilty of war crimes in UN resolutions or in the reports of international human rights organisations...Why does the Israeli administration, which does not hesitate to bomb children seeking refuge under the UN flag, feel so uneasy about the real facts related in Valley of the Wolves?" Accordingly, this study aims to analyze and reflect how Turkish television series take role in national and international politics and the way they become agenda-setters. Through this aim, content analysis of series and media coverage will be the main qualitative methodology.

Lithuania, the brand An examination of nation branding efforts in emerging nations-An examination of nation branding efforts in emerging nations

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Although nations have always been aware of their images through public diplomacy and international relations, globalization and media revolution have made them even more aware of their ‘brand image’. Over the last two decades many countries have engaged in nation branding activities which offer quick solutions for building or fixing the current image and creating competitive advantage against other nations. Lithuania was not an exception – for the last two decades the country has been searching for its identity and the way to present itself

to the world, but still has not received proper recognition on the world's map. In order to find out how Lithuania did come to a definition of its identity and brand, and what kind of images the country tries to convey and project to the outside world, ten interviews with Lithuanian and foreign nation branding experts were conducted in order to get an internal perspective of nation branding. The interviews enabled to assess how Lithuania has been repositioning itself and building its identity in order to support tourism, exports, public diplomacy and foreign direct investment. Since media largely contributes to people's images of foreign nations, the research also gained the external perspective of nation branding by analyzing the image of Lithuania in foreign press from 1997 until 2009 by analyzing how foreign media presents Lithuanian identity and if this portrayal reflects the identity preferred by the country. Six nation brand dimensions - exports, governance, culture and heritage, people, tourism, and investment and immigration - were analyzed from the perspective of the media to see how the country is 'imagined' abroad. A two-fold research design enabled to identify the gaps between nation brand identity (how the country wants to portray itself) and nation brand image (how the country is actually portrayed). The results of the study indicated that nation branding in Lithuania is mostly focused on communication-based branding rather than on policy-based branding. Furthermore, nation branding in Lithuania has been facing similar challenges as other Eastern and Central European countries and lacks coherence, long term goals, coordination and transparency. The content analysis revealed that the country is not visible in foreign media, but it also does not suffer from a negative image. Although Lithuania is a member of EU and NATO from already 2004, foreign media still reminds of country's soviet past quite often. The country should equally focus on improvement of certain policies in the country (e.g. education, medical system) as well as on communication-based branding, since it is necessary to communicate more positive facts about the country, in order to avoid the image of the country being based on old stereotypes. Since Lithuania shares a lot of similar characteristics with other countries from post-communist block, the study contributes to the scholarship of nation branding of small post-communist states. Furthermore the study contributes to nation branding theory by analyzing nation brand image from the perspective of the media.

LA COMUNICACIÓN PARA EL DESARROLLO Y EL CAMBIO SOCIAL EN EL SISTEMA DE NACIONES UNIDAS

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En esta contribución se abordan las políticas de comunicación para el desarrollo en el sistema de Naciones Unidas, en tanto que lideran y marcan la agenda de la cooperación internacional para el desarrollo en este ámbito. La pregunta inicial es si dichas políticas responden al enfoque de derechos y al modelo de desarrollo humano. La revisión crítica de las estrategias mundiales, desde el paradigma de desarrollo humano y el enfoque de derechos, permite visualizar en qué medida el quehacer de las agencias de las Naciones Unidas responde a los retos de los paradigmas y enfoques señalados. La aportación más importante del enfoque de desarrollo, basado en los derechos humanos, es que dichos derechos determinan la relación entre los titulares de derechos (rights-holders), individuos y grupos con pretensiones válidas, y los detentores de deberes (duty-bearers), actores estatales y no estatales con obligaciones correlativas. Así, dicho enfoque ofrece un marco a la cooperación internacional para el desarrollo de manera que ésta despliegue las estrategias pertinentes para el fortalecimiento de las capacidades de los titulares de derechos para formular sus pretensiones, así como las de los detentores de deberes para cumplir con sus obligaciones. Para ello, se ha utilizado una metodología de base documental y analítica para la revisión de la literatura generada por las diversas agencias vinculadas a la cooperación para el desarrollo de las Naciones Unidas, entre otras, UNESCO, PNUD, FAO, OMS, UNICEF. El análisis se centra en la institucionalización de la comunicación para el desarrollo en el seno de dichas agencias, los modelos conceptuales, y las estrategias de intervención utilizadas. Los resultados esperados son, en primer lugar, un mapa explicativo de las políticas de las diferentes agencias; en segundo lugar, determinar de qué manera dichas estrategias contribuyen a los planteamientos del enfoque de derechos, es decir, el fortalecimiento de capacidades comunicativas para el ejercicio de los derechos de primera, segunda y tercera generación, así como para el ejercicio de los derechos de cuarta generación (derechos a la información, la comunicación y el ciberespacio).

El periodismo de paz. Hacia un paradigma alternativo para la cobertura responsable de los conflictos

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El contexto internacional actual, marcado por la revolución de las TIC y la crisis sistémica mundial, plantea nuevos retos a la profesión periodística en general, y al acercamiento de ésta a una realidad cada vez más conflictiva, en particular. En situaciones de conflicto, los medios de comunicación se han convertido en un actor clave cuyos discursos pueden ejercer una influencia de signo variable en función de cuáles sean los aspectos del mismo que se enfaticen. Si bien desde su posición de mediadores y constructores del espacio público, los medios pueden constituir un valioso recurso capaz de prevenir y atenuar la violencia sentando las bases para una denominada cultura de paz; la experiencia cotidiana pone de manifiesto que, lejos de moderar la violencia, los discursos mediáticos hegemónicos representan a diario la imagen de un mundo polarizado, en el que la repetición constante del uso de la fuerza como método habitual y efectivo para hacer frente a los conflictos no hace sino incidir en su legitimación. La violencia per se es noticia, pero no lo son, con la misma frecuencia, las causas que la originan ni las posibles soluciones a la misma. Ante la constatación de esta saturación de mensajes descontextualizados en torno al conflicto, en los últimos años han surgido propuestas de paradigmas alternativos, como el periodismo de paz (o peace journalism) que abogan por un ejercicio más responsable de la profesión. La presente comunicación plantea una revisión de las distintas aportaciones teóricas que, desde los campos de los Estudios para la Paz y la Investigación en Comunicación, han venido dotando de cuerpo académico a esta propuesta. El periodismo de paz no sólo aporta nuevas vías para el análisis mediático de los conflictos, sino que incide directamente en los aspectos más funcionales del periodismo, abriendo interesantes debates éticos y tratando de integrar el factor “paz” en las rutinas periodísticas por medio de la aplicación de los métodos propios del análisis de conflictos. La puesta en práctica de este nuevo paradigma supone apostar por una cobertura mucho más amplia y contextualizada, que va más allá los episodios de violencia directa o visible, profundizando en las causas estructurales y culturales de los conflictos y reflejando otras formas de violencia no siempre presentes en el discurso mediático.

International communication and the rise of ‘Chindia’

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The study of international communication has traditionally been undertaken within a Western or more accurately, American, context. Most of the theoretical approaches and frameworks – from propaganda studies, to post-modern analyses – have emerged from within Western academia. The transformation of communication and media in China and India - the world’s two most populous countries and fastest growing economies - has profound implications for international communication and raises questions about continued relevance and usefulness of such frameworks. This paper aims to explore how the rise of these two Asian giants, coinciding with cracks within the neo-liberal model of US-led Western capitalism, may affect international communication research. The paper argues that the notion of ‘Chindia’, representing what has been termed as the ‘rise of the rest’ and coined by India’s Environment Minister Jairam Ramesh, provides a possible new framework to reorient the traditional ways of thinking about international communication. The idea of Chindia seems to be catching up - a Google search for the word Chindia shows more than 145,000 hits. The paper notes that though India and China have experienced different trajectories of growth in recent decades and represent two distinct political and media systems, they also demonstrate interesting similarities. In addition, there are growing links developing between the two countries, despite unresolved border disputes, as well as differing perceptions of aspirations for leadership of the global South. One key indication that the Chindia phenomenon is more than just a neologism, is the fact that trade between India and China - negligible at the beginning of the 1990s – had grown to \$40 billion by 2008. How will this change affect international communication? Will their combined economic and cultural impact, aided by extensive and increasingly vocal and visible global diasporas, create globalization with an Asian accent? With 70 round-the-clock news channels – soon to touch three figures - India boasts the world’s most

linguistically diverse media landscape as well its largest film factory, while China has emerged as the planet's biggest mobile telephone market, having the highest blogger population as well as being the top exporter of IT products. Media are flourishing in both countries: according to the World Association of Newspapers, 74 of the world's 100 largest selling dailies in 2008 were published in Asia, with China (107 million copies sold daily) and India (99 million – The Times of India now claims to be the world's largest circulated 'quality' English-language newspaper) leading the pack, at a time when newspapers are closing down in the US on a regular basis. Will the Chinese version of media marketization - where the state has played a central role in taming Anglo-globalization - find acceptance among other media systems suffering under excessive neo-liberalism? Would the 'development' discourse be different if it were shaped and influenced by Gandhian philosophy?

Picturing the Copenhagen Climate Summit. National and Global Aspects in the International News Picture Circuit

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Climate change is one of the few issues that is generally recognized as inherently global (Cottle 2009a). "Global warming" has become an everyday phrase and many organizations engaged in halting or reducing the effects of climate change are transnational. Negotiations centred on the subject are however generally international, and thus basically follow the national logic. The tensions between these approaches are vividly present in media reports from the recent climate summit in Copenhagen in December 2009. The aim of this paper is to analyse tensions, ruptures, continuums between global/transnational and national aspects in the abundant picture material from the Copenhagen Climate summit in web editions of newspapers from Sweden, the UK and the USA, in order to capture the mediated understanding of what the world is and what the world needs to be in terms of ideological space and action. More specifically slide-shows of news pictures, with accompanying captions, are examined with a focus on how climate change as such, as well as the meeting itself is understood in terms of space, thematization, symbols, and actors in different, but connected (West-wise, source-wise etc.), national media. Traditional politics and alternative politics meet in the Copenhagen pictures. They enshrine different types of citizens, i.e. citizens of the home nations of certain politicians, and citizens of the world (or at least of transnational communities). Political citizenship collides here with cultural citizenship (Stevenson 2003), as well as with notions of cosmopolitan citizenship (Beck 2006). Neither of these alternatives are apolitical, but cultural citizens and citizens of the world may be connected to a less limited understanding of politics, a sub-politics of sorts (Beck 1997), a politics where for instance nature is highly political. On-line news provides an almost unlimited arena for news pictures (Frosh 2003). The enormous amount of pictures that are available for putting together slide-shows visualizing the world are however not mirrored in a great variety of sources, nor of motives. Foreign news slide-shows in newspapers from different nations do in fact to a significant extent include the exact same pictures (Author 2010, forthcoming). This is also true of the slide-shows from the Copenhagen summit. The slide-show pictures and captions are studied with a multimodal, discourse analytical approach (Chouliaraki 2006, Fairclough 1995, Sturken & Cartright 2001), both as units and as flow. Attention is brought also to the sources. Motives and particular photographs that are used in two or more papers are specifically focused as they make up dominating visualisations and interpretations of the summit as event and climate change as an issue, but differences are also brought to the fore. The material consists of all slide-show pictures of one newspaper (web edition) from each country, approximately 400 pictures of actions inside as well as outside of the conference center. Including the scientific works mentioned above, the theoretical frame is constituted by theories on the global/cosmopolitan/transnational/national, space and action (Morley & Robins 1995, Volkmer 2005, 2007, Cottle 2009b).

The Role of Media in the Consequences of Social Movement in China:

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Present study attempts to explore the mechanism of public formation and its impact on policy-making, and understand the possibility and prospects of China's democratization by using the case of campaign to stop dam

building on the Nu River. In this case, many questions can be asked: Why this one of China's emerging environmental social movements (or green activism) seemed successful at first but finally failed in changing the policy? More concretely at the micro-level, how about the public debates about the environmental issues happen? Who was involved? Which media were used? What roles did media play in the dynamics? On a view of macroscopic, what the relationship between media and social movements in China's context? These questions to some extent challenge the present theories and research on this topic. For instance, many scholars doubted the applicability of Gitlin's (1980) "hegemonic model" which concludes that media tend to marginalize or negatively report social movements (e.g., Lin & Zhao, 2008; Zeng, 2009) Questioning this kind of view maybe reasonable, for that social movement in China is "not an activity with a fair degree of autonomy and self-regulation, but occupies a social space that is enmeshed in a web of interpersonal relations and informal/formal rules between political and social actors" (Ho, 2007), and news media are still under heavy control. However, we could not ignore the existence of countermovement in social movements, in which actors against social movement also can strategically use media to mobilize, and set up agendas to attain desired results. In other words, the relationship between Chinese news media and social movements is more complicated. Therefore, concrete analysis of concrete problems may be the solution. The purpose of this study is to explain the consequence of social movement (e.g., green activism) in China. It focuses more specifically on the different roles of the different media systems including traditional mass media (e.g., newspapers) and new media (e.g., Internet) in dynamics. As the producer of social knowledge or forced consensus and the main field in which different discursive and frame contests take place (e.g., Gamson, 2004; Koopmans, 2004; Hilgartner & Bosk, 1988; Chan & Lee, 2007; Lee & Chan, 2006), media are central to the development of social movement, and even decide its success or failure. Thus, media can serve to be the "multiorganizational fields" (Klandermans, 1992) of the contentious politics. Through a case study, I hope to show dynamic relationships between the media can the campaign to stop dam building on the Nu River. I divide the campaign to stop dam building on the Nu River into three major phases for convenience: Phase 1 (March, 2003), Phase 2 (April, 2004), and Phase 3 (April, 2005). I will outline the different roles of different types of media play in these three phases and the related consequences. Phase 1: Mass Media as the Social Movement Community to Make Claims Phase 2: the Internet Was Strategically Used and Resonance in Producing the "High Level of Social Concern" Phase 3: The Internet as the Hegemony Contestation Field of Countermovement

New Media and Cultural Citizenship. Exploring Modes of Participation and Disruptive Practices in Citizenship in Contemporary Global Society

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This paper aims to explore the developments and transformations taking place at the intersections of national and transnational media and cultural practices, and the potential of the new media landscape, particularly networked information environments, for empowering ordinary people to pursue their rights as national and global citizens, and to disrupt traditional relations of political and cultural power. In particular I shall explore the uses of social media and other new media forms by citizens as instruments of socio-political intervention that gives visibility to their claims to citizenship rights. I shall argue that the concept of cultural citizenship is a useful model for exploring the claims to citizenship rights at a time when the tendency is greater to stress consumer rights of people across the world. Through the analyses of social networks and interviews with relevant groups and individuals I aim to understand practices of citizenship engagement with a cross-section of issues that signal their claims to citizenship and participation in the rituals of citizenship. I also aim to analyse and explore the transformative potential of social media in this connection, and to examine bearing of this on contemporary national and global citizenship especially with regards to the emerging democracies in Africa.

Theorizing Socialist Broadcasting: Importing the Roots Miniseries in Communist Hungary*Timothy Havens* – University of Iowa, United States · timothy-havens@uiowa.edu

In the aftermath of the Soviet crackdown of 1956, the Hungarian Communist Party enacted a range of social reforms designed ostensibly to redress some of the problems that led to the October uprising. Among these reforms was the development of a broadcasting policy that was more open to the West than any other Eastern-bloc nation, and permitted access to Western European broadcast signals as well as a liberal program import policy. Still, the board of the Hungarian television broadcaster, Magyar Televízió (MTV), consisted of loyal apparatchiks who viewed broadcasting as an appropriate ideological tool of the Party. In this way, MTV was neither a traditional public broadcaster in the Reithian model, nor was it merely a tool of the Party, as theorized by Siebert, Peterson and Schramm (1956) in their explanation of “Soviet-Communist” media systems. Instead, the state broadcaster in Hungary operated as a hybrid of these two models, with varying degrees of openness and obedience shaping its programming policies. This presentation aims to retheorize the distinctiveness of socialist broadcasting through a Hungarian case study in order to accomplish a few goals: first, I want to offer a clearer theoretical model than we currently have for scholars who wish to understand the relationships between government, society, and broadcasting during European socialism; second, I hope to offer a comparison point for scholars exploring non-capitalist broadcasting environments in other places and time periods; third, as commercial media globalization continues to plow under different television systems worldwide, I hope to help preserve the historical memory of television systems that were different; and, finally, I want to demonstrate how, methodologically, the study of imported programming is a particularly rich site for exploring similarities and differences among television broadcasters and systems. Specifically, this presentation examines the importation and scheduling of the American miniseries *Roots* by MTV in 1980, in part through a comparison with its importation and scheduling in West Germany. *Roots* provides a particularly enlightening example of the similarities and differences between commercial, public service, and socialist broadcasters, because the miniseries posed special problems and opportunities for each system. The ways in which broadcasters in each system dealt with those problems and opportunities permit us to draw more general conclusions about the relationship between the government, the media, and the public in each system. The research for this presentation draws on newspaper archives in Hungary, West Germany, and the United States; the archives of the miniseries’ producer, David Wolper; and interviews with programmers in Hungary.

Media in Crisis States: its potential role in Stabilisation*Gordon Adam* – iMedia Associates, United Kingdom · gordonadam@btinternet.com*Emrys Schoemaker* – iMedia Associates, United Kingdom · s.emrys@gmail.com

This paper will argue that the exponential growth of social media challenges the traditional paradigm of crisis communications in which professionals manage the media and the control of information to influence public opinion. Increasingly, the public themselves, by whose opinion leaders rise or fall, are in control of information flows. This paper will draw on existing literature (Eg: Norris, P and Odugbemi, S *Public Sentinel: News Media and Governance Reform* World Bank 2009, Price M et al in *Public Sentinel: News Media and Governance Reform* World Bank 2009, Mackay A & Tatham S “Behavioural Conflict from general to strategic corporal: complexity, adaptation and influence”, UK Defence Academy Shrivenham Paper No 9 (2009) as well as the authors personal experience in countries such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, Somalia, Sudan and the UK. It will argue that the transfer of communication power from professional to ‘citizens’ is an opportunity to apply lessons from development communication. The experience from HIV/AIDS communication demonstrates that real changes in attitudes, opinions and behaviour only occurs when people are involved in structuring their own narrative, and are in fact frequently resistant to message-led media communication intended to influence opinion and behaviour. In conflict, this kind of “managed” communication – encompassing messaging and psychological operations – is almost always used by protagonists to structure the “true narrative of right and wrong” and thus attempt to shape the hearts and minds of public opinion. But the current Afghanistan stalemate and the related challenge of

countering violent extremism is causing a major rethink amongst military commanders and civilian policy-makers on the role of media. In counter-insurgency, according to Kilkullen, “the decisive battle is for people’s minds” (The Accidental Guerrilla, 2009). But these efforts to win popular consent for negotiated peace and accountable government do not fully recognize the consequence that the media space in which public opinion is nourished is increasingly in the hands of the people themselves. There are for instance ten million cellphones in Afghanistan and sixty million in Pakistan, allowing for the first time the possibility of a dialogue with millions of the hardest people to reach, on issues of concern to them. The internet, although expanding more slowly, (for instance Ushahidi in Kenya), and other examples of converging media (eg mediated call-in radio programmes and citizen journalism) offer a range of new opportunities for weak governments to achieve a degree of legitimacy by engaging with their citizens, and for popular “buy-in” to negotiations aimed at ending insurgencies. In crisis states, insurgency is often linked to weak government. To end the first, the second has to be strengthened. This paper will argue that the convergence of new and traditional media could provide powerful support to achieving both aims by widening the discourse through providing safe spaces for increased debate. It will look at relevant lessons learned from other areas of development communication and examine the challenges of putting media centre-stage in conflict transformation. Key will be convincing protagonists that only independent media can carry credibility in conflict situations, and obtaining their consent to allow public criticism and relinquish attempts at media control. The article will draw on examples that show that this approach could provide an influential alternative voice to those who promote violence including the sophisticated media of violent extremism which is largely unchallenged.

NEW TECHNOLOGIES DEMOCRATIZE TV PROGRAMS: “NÓSOTROS” AND THE CITIZEN PARTICIPATION OF A GLOCAL CONTENT

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Citizenship is a term which progresses from regional or national to global. The 2008/2009 world economic crisis and climate changes, which have no borders, show the importance of the glocal mentality. Nowadays, people worry about local and global issues, concomitantly. World becomes smaller, thanks to the evolution of transports, electronics and telecommunications. That causes ambiguity on comprehension of things, human activities become more complex, without evident origins, purposes, acting and intentions. Communication vehicles exist to inform and interpret glocal facts. Besides, the over complexity of things, information production and consumption velocity, expenses and team limitation make the work not easy. Television is the most popular information support in Brazil and in the world. Its techniques and technologies can restrict citizen participation to an ordinary audience. TV productions can reach places, wellsprings of information, easier than citizens; journalist teams need to choose between reports from the population or from experts, because they do not have enough time to show or produce the way they want to. This phenomenon can cause prejudice and lost of identity, activism and belonging. The new communication and information technologies (NCIT) change this interaction. From a one-way direction of TV information, the electronic media was born with double or multiple-paths: all the people are receivers and senders. If internet 1.0 increases the amount and velocity of information, the 2.0 promotes full interactivity. So, how can internet and 2.0 culture help democracy of TV contents? Can bigger and better citizen participation on TV programs increase media responsibility, as much as the journalists’ and citizens’? To discuss and solve these questions, this paper presents the TV program “NósOtros”, which mixed traditional television production with web 2.0 interaction. From a global question, youth employment, TV teams in Argentina, Brazil, Guatemala and Mexico found successful young workers, who are role models and connect to the audience. “NósOtros” was produced through P2P and Voip technologies. Its steps were registered in a blog, where all members, journalists and interviewees could interact. The result was a decentralized TV program. Local journalists and interviewees deepened on local issues, and the gathering of their stories promoted a global and elucidative content. NCIT not only accumulate previous communicational practices, but go beyond, when they allow citizens to have the same possibilities of professional media workers. Besides, they overcome national

barriers and economic limitations to discuss international issues on an integrated way. This interactivity needs to be studied, stimulated and produced on media vehicles, social webs and universities.

DOES THE LEADER FRAME THE COUNTRY? PRESIDENT OBAMA AND THE NATION IMAGE OF THE USA

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This paper focuses on the journalistically mediated nation image and the effect that the change of the leader has upon the construction of nation image. The nation image of the USA has been tarnished since 2003. The central question has been to what extent the negative nation image of the USA that has been formulated as a result of the Iraq engagement and the Bush Presidency will totally undermine “Brand USA” or if the latter has enough symbolic power in order to restore the nation image of the USA (Anolt and Hilderth 2004, Martin 2007)? The head of a country has the capacity to personify the country, this allows for processes of transfer of image attributes from the leader to the country. Thus shift of leadership may provide an opportunity for rebranding the country. During the primaries and the presidential campaign Obama has been framed in terms of discontinuity rather than continuity with the Bush legacy. He has been depicted as an agent of change and has been framed by both the US and international media in terms of hope rather than fear. This supports the hypothesis that the Obama Presidency will allow the USA nation image to be disengaged from the negative associations and negative image attributes. Is the Obama presidency an effective image-restoration strategy for the USA? In order to address the aforementioned question the rhetorical construction of President Obama vis-a-vis that of the USA is examined in a variety of news stories. The focus of the analysis is on the construction of continuity and discontinuity between Obama and the previous regime, on the employment of the hope-frame and fear-frame in relation to both Obama and the USA, and finally on the construction of the blame game for USA-related pathologies. Qualitative content analysis is employed. Four Greek newspapers are analyzed for the period November-December 2009. This is part of an ongoing project on the mediated nation image of the USA in the Greek media. Previously the representations of the USA in relation to 11/9, Iraq War, Katrina Hurricane and for a random 2 months period have been analyzed. Greek newspapers are of particular interest since they tend to employ counter-framing processes to the dominant interpretations projected by the USA. What is the capacity of Obama as a persuader-in-chief (Snow 2009) to produce the messages that will inactivate such processes? This project draws from a theoretical framework that has been based on agenda setting, framing and instrumental actualization in order to examine the effect of events upon the images of nations, particularly the high visibility nations like the USA.

(Re) Building Haiti's Transnational Media

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Haitian and Haitian American informational media were weakly institutionalized and precariously financed even before the Jan. 12 earthquake devastated the capital city and beyond. The challenges facing the interconnected media sectors in Haiti, Miami and elsewhere in the Diaspora are enormous. Anchored in comparative theory from international communication, development communication, media and Diasporas, and community/citizen media, this paper draws on interviews with Haitian media owners in Miami, journalists in Haiti, and participatory communication projects underway in Miami, Haiti and the Haiti-Dominican Republic border to create a diagnostic of the transnational Haitian media and map out alternative strategies for (re)building a citizen-focused media system in transnational Haiti.

Information Communication Technologies, Journalism and Development in Africa

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This paper aims to explore ways in which developments in new media/Information Communication Technologies can be used to initiate alternative forms of news production in African countries and facilitate citizen engagement, that would either augment the efforts of the mainstream news media who are largely constrained by state/government policies, or if need be, by-pass these constraints altogether. Through interviews and textual analysis, I have examined four emerging new media organizations, looking particularly at how they are taking advantage of ICTs and how some of their practice may set the way forward in terms of how the problems with mainstream media may be addressed or over come with new media and ICTs. Crucially, I have chosen a combination of organizations that operate from within the continent and some that operate in the Diaspora. One of the benefits of the way these organizations operate particularly inline with the nature of new media is that because some are not based in the country in which they operate, they are able to by-pass challenges of government control. These new media organizations include A24Media, FonTV, Africa Interactive, NEXT and Sahara Reporters. Through document analysis and interviews, I have also used the state/media policies in Nigeria and South Africa as exemplars, making reference to how these policies relate with ICTs, and also included the results of interviews with media and ICTs experts in terms of their opinions on the various mediums available and their challenges, and how new media can be used to meet local needs and facilitate audience participation. I have argued that these new media organizations embody a different organizational structure to the mainstream media, in that they are generally smaller and leaner in their news production, and are examples of post-Fordist production and models of ideas around democratic-participant theory and to some extent development media theory. By and large they are models of democratic-participant theory in as much as they connect with ideas of alternative media and community media.

The Normative Television Family and the Naturalization of Political Ideologies

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Secularism and secularization have been widely debated issues in Indian academia, journalism and politics, especially in the context of rising militant Hindu nationalism in the last three decades. Given the explosive growth of mass media over the last two decades and the increasing prevalence of Hindu themes and iconography in them, this project takes an innovative look at the secularism debates- as refracted through the prism of popular culture, in particular that of television soaps. In this paper I investigate how contending discourses and political ideologies at the heart of the self-definition of a post colonial nation (i.e. secularism and Hindu nationalism) weave into popular culture and are hence naturalized or made commonsensical, especially in the age of globalization. I focus on the period 2000-2004 when the most significant growth of satellite television took place on the back of family soaps led by the Rupert Murdoch led Star Plus. (It was also the period when the Hindu nationalist BJP was at the helm of national government). In particular, I look at the construction of the normative Indian family on these soaps and argue that discourses of the family at the heart of such constructions owe more than a little debt to Hindu nationalist discourses of family, identity and citizenship. I trace how the discourse of the family becomes prominent in the late 1990s shaped by forces of globalization, urbanization, migration and Hindu nationalism and how transnational satellite television latches on to this discourse in its search for a wide viewer base. I argue that this was a way in which Hindu nationalist discourse was smuggled into popular culture therefore doing the work of naturalizing it and opening the doors for increasing presence of Hindu themes and iconography in much of mediated Indian popular culture today. I contend that this constitutes a direct threat to India's secular democratic polity, aids the political project of compromising full citizenship rights of minorities (especially Muslims) and ensures a symbolic exclusion of minorities from the popular cultural sphere in addition to the well documented exclusion from the socio-economic spheres.