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# IAMCR 2016

## Political Communication Research Section

Abstracts of papers presented at  
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<sup>1</sup> We have endeavoured to ensure that these are the abstracts presented in Leicester. Nevertheless, due to cancellations, additions and other factors, abstracts may be included here that were not presented and abstracts that were presented may not be included. Email addresses have been intentionally altered to prevent harvesting by spammers.

**Id:** 11981

**Title:** Demographics, democracy and communication: Local-global connections in a dramatically changing U.S. landscape

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Abbas Malek

Email: amalek (at) howard.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: Howard University, School of Communications, Washington, DC

Name: Carolyn M. Byerly

Email: cbyerly (at) howard.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: Howard University, School of Communications, Washington, DC,

**Abstract:** Demographics, democracy and communication:  
Local-global connections in a dramatically changing U.S. landscape

Abbas Malek, Ph.D., Professor, and Carolyn M. Byerly, Ph.D. Professor, and Chair  
School of Communications, Howard University, Washington, DC

If the last few presidential elections in the U.S. are any indication of the future for American democracy, voter participation reveals a less than positive picture. For example, the percentages of registered voters who actually vote declines almost every year. One recent PEW survey (June 2015) ranked the participation of the American public in the last (2012) presidential election 31 among the 34 Western democracies – higher only than Japan, Chile and Switzerland. Only 55% of eligible voters had cast ballots, down from 58% in 2008 and 60.4% in 2004 (PEW, 2015).

This is alarming for a democratic nation!

This trend, however, varies among different demographic groups, with race and immigration figuring into the American political landscape. U.S. voter profiles demonstrate a gradual decline of participation by Caucasians (75.5% in 2004, 73.4% in 2008, and 71.1% in 2012), who have represented the historical majority in the U.S. Conversely, among non-White ethnic and racial minority groups the pattern shifts: African-American (11.6% in 2004, 11.8% in 2008, 12.0% in 2012) and Hispanic (8.1% in 2004, 9.5% in 2008, 10.8% in 2012) voter participation increasing. These new voting blocs reflect a significant shift in US demographics and signal the coming of a non-White nation by 2060 with a markedly different political sensibility (Colby & Ortman, 2014, p. 25).

In addition what might appear to be a national phenomenon is in many ways international in its origins. The rising rate of Hispanic residents in the US reflects both a flood of immigration from Mexico and Central America in the last decade, as well as high birth rates among Hispanic residents already living in the U.S. In some metropolitan areas, African immigrants also account for many new political actors, and evidence indicates that citizens and non-citizens alike are demonstrating and otherwise voicing their views on federal immigration and other policies that

affect them (Heim, 2015).

Our paper will examine the transformation of the U.S. public sphere through these shifts in demographics and political communication. Using news stories, online blogs and websites, government reports, other documents, and recent research, a) our paper will identify major issues arising in U.S. politics and shaping a new multicultural public sphere, as well as (b) attempt to define what constitutes the multicultural public sphere. This second point requires us to examine the theoretical assumptions underpinning the U.S. public sphere in a digital age increasingly dominated by new media technologies. Are the new media changing the way politics are voiced by an increasingly diverse public, or just a continuation of the same old system – a system, in fact, formed by companies that are owned and managed primarily by a White male oligopoly (Byerly & Valentin, in press).

The research for this paper is part of a larger project in political communication being conducted by researchers at two universities.

**Id:** 12060

**Title:** Controversial Media Coverage: The perception of the German media coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by third generation post-war Germans

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Oria Dotan

Email: oriadotan (at) gmail.com

Country: IL (Israel)

Affiliation: Tel Aviv University

**Abstract:** The Israeli-Palestinian confrontation is one of the most reported political conflicts by Western media. Audiences in the United States and in Europe are continually exposed to information and interpretations on this topic by the different media. They develop opinions not only on the conflict itself, but also on the way it is reported. These opinions are influenced by factors that include political affiliations, education, and the degree of familiarity with the relevant facts.

This paper deals with perceptions of German media coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict held by young educated Germans who are part of the third generation after the Second World War. The German past and, in particular, the collective trauma it fostered have a large impact on the way third generation Germans deal with issues related to them, such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Twenty-three semi-structured interviews with young Germans confirm prior studies that developed theories of The Hostile Media Phenomenon, The Third Person Effect and The Persuasive Press Inference. This study uses these theories to emphasize the media-recipient relations in the German context. The research sheds some new light on the complex relations of third generation Germans to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, as well as to the State of Israel, and points out the desire of individuals from this generation to normalize the German past. In their view, this normalization should also be expressed within the coverage of the conflict in the German media and that coverage should be used by the media to discuss inter-German issues such as the memory of the Holocaust in contemporary Germany and the Muslim minority in Germany, in the same way as these young Germans themselves use the issue.

**Id:** 12123

**Title:** Is it political landscape change or status quo' 2016 General Election for National Assembly, media coverage, frames, discourses, and political implications in Korea

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Seon Gi Baek

Email: baek99 (at) skku.edu

Country: KR (Korea, Republic Of)

Affiliation: Dept. of Jour. & Comm. StudiesSungkyunkwan univ.,Seoul, Korea

Name: Eun Hee Nha

Email: nanenaa (at) naver.com

Country: KR (Korea, Republic Of)

Affiliation: Dept. of Jour. & Comm. StudiesSungkyunkwan univ.,Seoul, Korea

Name: Jihye Woo

Email: jihey91 (at) naver.com

Country: KR (Korea, Republic Of)

Affiliation: Dept. of Interdisciplinary Program in Studies of ArtsSungkyunkwan univ.,Seoul, Korea

**Abstract:** The purpose of this study was to explore coverage patterns, frames and discourses of Korean media on the 20th General Election for National Assembly, and political and ideological implications in Korean society. The National Assembly Election, April 13, 2016, would be symbolized as a kind of political landscape change in respects of keeping conservative leadership continuously or transiting toward progressive leadership. It could also function as a weathercock for the 2017 Presidential Election. Since Nov. 1 of 2015, political situations of Korea had been radically changed such as severe inner- conflicts of ruling party, shattered division of oppositional parties, uprising of political novices, chaotic movements of politicians, etc.

The authors set a nationwide longitude project for dealing with media coverages on the 2016 National Assembly Election. As main research objects, they selected four newspaper coverages – Chosun Ilbo, Donga Ilbo, Kyunghyang Shinmun and Hankyerae Shinmun - and three televised coverages – KBS 1 TV, MBC TV and SBS TV according to their political and ideological preferences. He collected news items from Nov. 1, 2015 over April 13, 2016, voting day, to April 30, 2016, and divided them into four phases according to each of turning point to the procedure of election. He analyzed such news items with frame analysis, semiotic research methods, discourse analyses, especially Baek's SNA (Semiotic Network Analysis) and DSA (Discourse Structure Analysis).

Several findings of this project already gave very valuable implications on media coverage on the 2016 National Assembly Election. Firstly, Korean media tended to consider the election as a

slanderous change for the established political landscape as same as the Taiwanese Presidential Election, Jan. 16, 2016, changed the established political phenomena and the whole of society. Secondly, the Korean media focused on radical disruptions of previous political power structure such as inner power struggles for the ruling party, defection, division and reunion of oppositional parties, new political novices, etc. Thirdly, they had the tendency of connecting it to the Presidential Election of 2017. They normally sought for several powerful politicians who might be candidates for the Presidential Election, and focused their political positions and movements specifically. Fourthly, they tended to focus mainly on movements of politicians rather than visions and policies of parties. They traced several powerful political figures such as party leaders, majority leader, minority leader, prominent politicians, etc. They usually did not have special interests on visions and policies of parties because political parties had been so changeable not to have their own unique policies and histories. Fifthly, they also tended to consider it as severe ideological competition between conservative ideology and progressive ideology. Korean media normally put the National Assembly Election into perspective of competing ideologically rather than competing politically. Therefore, through the National Assembly Election, the Korean society accustomed to be divided into two ideological groups, that is, conservative group vs. progressive group.

Through this project, another crucial issues for the National Assembly Election will be excavated out, and political and ideological implications in the Korean society will be more deeply discussed.

**Id:** 12150

**Title:** Activism in the Philippines: Memorializing and Retelling Political Struggles Through Music

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Zeny T Sarabia-Panol

Email: Zeny.Panol (at) mtsu.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: College of Media and Entertainment Middle Tennessee State University Murfreesboro, TN 37132

Name: Rosario Maxino Baseleres

Email: rosariombaseleres (at) su.edu.ph

Country: PH (Philippines)

Affiliation: Silliman University

**Abstract:** Political activism has a soundtrack. The Philippine struggle against oppression, injustice, poverty, inequality and abuse of power through the centuries is no exception.

Filipinos, no doubt, love to sing. Just consider the popularity of the karaoke, singing contests and musical variety shows and you'll agree that the love of music is in the Filipino DNA. From the timeless kundiman and other indigenous music to the revolutionary and protest songs, to the ubiquitous Western tunes, Philippine musical genres are as diverse as the language groups in the archipelago.

Centuries of colonial struggle generated songs that ignited and sustained the revolution against Spain and the United States. Political activism eloquently and oftentimes poignantly expressed through songs continued in later decades. For instance, radical agrarian and labor movements in the 1930s used music to recruit, organize and boost morale (Rodel, 2002). This paper invites readers to embark on a musical journey that chronicles and shows how the Filipino nation used words and music as potent instruments of resistance, political education and social indictment (Caparas, 2004). While samples of the songs that defined various historical periods will be analyzed, focus will be on the anthems of the student protest movement of the sixties, seventies and eighties that led to the People Power Revolution, which eventually toppled the Marcos dictatorship. Particular attention will be given to the message and why the lyrics not only resonated but also galvanized Filipinos to action. Authors will likewise consider how these songs as archives of a nation's life are used to remember and retell the stories of political struggles.

Using ethnographic and content analysis, this work hopes to illuminate on the role of music in the political awakening of Filipinos through the years and explore the intersection of memory and music as a medium of political activism and mobilization.

Gilbert (2008) investigated how music functions as a "mediator of memory" and argued that it is "one of the most important media through which ideas and attitudes of the past are constructed and shared" (p.109). Focusing meanwhile on music's role in the formation of

collective memory and collective action, Eyerman (2002) proposed a model of culture that treats music as “political mediators.”

This study argues that Philippine political and protest songs are potent cultural and memorial artifacts as they contain both lyrics that provoke thought and melodies that stir the emotions. The research draws from Hutton’s (1993) concept of “moments of memory” as many of these songs are repeated over the airwaves and sung at commemorative events in present-day Filipino society. By examining the relationship between protest music and memory, this study ventures into a rather neglected scholarly territory especially in the Philippines where music is a rare topic of research (Concepcion, 2015). This is where this initial peek into the role of Philippine songs in many of the country’s political struggles and the message in these songs might make its modest contribution.

**Id:** 12200

**Title:** Using the Cultural Memory for Political Purposes: (Re)mediating and Reframing History

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Michael Oswald

Email: michael.oswald (at) uni-passau.de

Country: DE (Germany)

Affiliation: University of Passau / Chair of Political Science

**Abstract:** Politics in the US were strongly influenced by the Tea Party. It unfolded a strength which galvanized the political scenery. It originated after Rick Santelli agitated against Barack Obama's American Recovery and Reinvestment Act in his stock exchange report on CNBC. Santelli underpinned his argument with historical ideas and put them in the context of the economic crisis. He referred to the true Beliefs of the Founding Fathers and claimed to thwart real culture of the US. Finally, he called for Chicago Tea Party in order to restore it. Santelli laid the foundation for a broad communication strategy: this frame was used by the Tea Party activists extensively and they combined it with other elements of the founding narrative (Ashbee 2011: 158). It served as an exaltation that would become a guiding principle in the movement. The Founding Fathers and their heritage functioned as a tool of cultural mobilization and identification. Communication Frames like these increase resonance and provided a base of legitimacy for the Tea Party's anti-statism (Entman 1993: 52). Framers are aware of the high resonance that existing credos or values offer. In consequence they often attach them to their policy propositions (Gillan 2008: 253). In the case of the Tea Party the cultural heritage of the nation is a traction device to the activation of recipients' Belief Systems. This is beneficial to a framing strategy because in correspondence to their fundamental values people decide quickly whether they reject a political demand or advocate it (Wildavsky 1987: 8). Therefore framing processes are often led by familiar, interpretive schemes that correlate with existing beliefs (Benford / Snow 2000: 613; Snow 2004: 384). The Tea Party used nearly all relevant social myths and tied them to its ideological positions. In pamphlets, books and in the mission of statements of the different – self-proclaimed independent – local groups are numerous references to the Founding Fathers and interpretations of their putatively homogeneous and unequivocal ideas. These social constructions of the collective memory played an important role in the movement (Savage 2012: 572; Perrin et Al. 2014: 626, 642). The most-used subjects in framing-strategies are master-frames of the society or most commonly held ideologies. Frames show higher chances of success if they have some form of connection to mainstream-beliefs, social ideologies, historical events and narratives. Also a collective identity and a cultural legitimization can originate from the use of the most resonating elements of the American culture (Benford / Snow 2000: 613; Taylor / van Dyke 2004: 282; Schurman / Munro 2006: 6). In this paper the usage of values, myths, narrative and similar elements of the cultural memory is examined through mission statements of the single groups (n=500) and other ideological foundations on a basis of a factor- and frequency-analysis. It concludes that narrative of the

founder's fathers served as a Master-Frame – among other reframings, e.g. the free markets. This strategy of remediating served to reshape the idea of conservatism in the US and changing the political culture within those realms.

**Id:** 12219

**Title:** The spiral of silence and the asylum crisis in Europe

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Bengt Johansson

Email: [bengt.johansson \(at\) jmg.gu.se](mailto:bengt.johansson@jmg.gu.se)

Country: SE (Sweden)

Affiliation: University of Gothenburg

Name: Tomas Odén

Email: [tomas.oden \(at\) jmg.gu.se](mailto:tomas.oden@jmg.gu.se)

Country: SE (Sweden)

Affiliation:

**Abstract:** The asylum crisis in Europe has been the dominant political issue during the fall of 2015. News all over Europe has covered the escalating crisis, and the political debate has been intense. Numerous news stories have been published about demands for support from the EU to handle the situation in separate countries, calls for solidarity between European countries when accepting refugees, arguments for stricter regulations in the asylum-process, difficulties in managing the asylum seeking process, appeals for protecting the right to seek asylum, and the treatment of refugees.

Sweden had until the end of a November an open-door policy toward migrants and expects to receive 190 000 asylum seekers during 2015. The political debate has been intense, with focus on the asylum-seeking process, while at the same time the support for anti-asylum parties has increased. By the end of November, the government (Social Democrats/Green party coalition) declared a policy change resulting in a limitation of the number of accepted asylum seekers to the minimum level required under European Union laws.

The theoretical framework of this study is based on the spiral of silence theory which proposes that people are less willing to express their opinion when they believe their beliefs are shared by a minority. We are sensitive to our surrounding social environment won't speak out if we fear to become socially isolated (Noelle-Neuman 1984, Carrol et al 1997, Neuwirth et al 2007).

This framework is used to analyze to what extent people feel they can express their opinion about the asylum crisis. Comparisons are made between expressing opinions to their (1) family and friends, (2) colleagues at work/school, (3) strangers. In order to explain differences in opinions, we use political affiliation, different aspects on how news reported about the asylum crisis and social-demographics (like gender, age, social class and education).

The data used was collected by the LORE (Laboratory of Opinion Research) at the University of Gothenburg, using the Citizen Panel ([www.lore.gu.se](http://www.lore.gu.se)). A sample of 2500 respondents was drawn from the panel (50 000 respondents in total). The sample was stratified (in relation to the

Swedish general public) due to age, gender and education level. The web-survey was collected between 26 October and 18 November, with a response rate of 63 percent (1574 answers).

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**Id:** 12259

**Title:** The representation of the Catalan independence process in the Spanish, Catalan and English media

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Albert Mercadé

Email: albert.mercade (at) upf.edu

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Pompeu Fabra University

Name: Cristina Perales

Email: cristina.perales (at) uvic.cat

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Universitat de Vic ' Universitat Central de Catalunya, Barcelona

**Abstract:** For the fourth consecutive year, the demonstration of September 11th in Barcelona drew 1.5 million people to the streets, reclaiming the right to vote in a referendum on the political future of Catalonia. Furthermore, year 2015 gained special significance because it was the starting point of the campaign of regional elections for the Catalan Parliament. They were supposed to be a plebiscite on the independence after the refusal of the Spanish Government to find a solution to the conflict through an agreed referendum.

In sociopolitical conflict, such as the current political situation in Spain, the media play an active role in the construction of the narrative of events. They are institutions which contribute to the construction of public opinion, building up climates of opinion about the events through which citizens build up their own symbolic reality. The media are political actors and, as such, they get involved in conflicts, amplifying, modifying and conditioning them.

The aim of this paper is to analyze the construction of the news story about the sociopolitical conflict between Catalonia and Spain. When the media inform, they adopt a particular viewpoint or framing that influences on society (Goffman, 2006). From the communicative conception of frame (Entman, 1993), a variable viewpoint is created, which can modify the narrative of the events, depending on the nature and determining factors of the speaker.

The social construction of reality is a process of institutionalisation of practices and roles (Berger and Luckmann, 2011). Journalism is one of them. It has a role in the process of social construction which has been socially legitimated. As co-builders of social and political reality, the media also play a role in the conflict and in the construction of public imagination (Castells, 2009; Habermas, 1989; Lippmann, 2003).

The study includes a second analysis which bases on Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1989; Van Dijk, 1996). News will be identified from a textual point of view and analyzed

according to the interpretation of every newspaper. In order to explain discourse within a particular social point of view, ideational and interpersonal metafunctions (Halliday, 2004) in journalistic texts will be taken into account. This is why the following elements of analysis will be used: Van Dijk's concept of semantic macropropositions (1996), the definition of the conflict, the characterization of the actors, as well as the discursive elements that contextualize and give shape to the conflict.

The study focuses on the analysis of the editorials and covers published on the demonstration of September 11th in Barcelona and the regional elections of September 27th 2015. It includes the two major Spanish newspapers, which are ideologically opposed: El País and El Mundo, as well as the two major newspapers published in Barcelona: La Vanguardia and Ara.

These two points of view are compared with the story created by the international press, taking into account the recent referendum for the independence of Scotland. With this aim in mind, two of the most relevant newspapers, ideologically opposed, are investigated: The Guardian and The Daily Telegraph.

**Id:** 12266

**Title:** Friends, Enemies, Frenemies: An examination of the relationship between Parliament and the Press in Zambia (1997-2015)

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Twange Kasoma

Email: tkasoma (at) radford.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: Radford University

Name: Greg Pitts

Email: Greg.Pitts (at) mtsu.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: Middle Tennessee State University

**Abstract:** The relationship between politicians and the press is a topic that has intrigued scholars, particularly in the West (Bartels, 1996). Örebro (2002) in a study entitled, “Journalists and Politicians: A relationship requiring manoeuvring space”, found a large degree of interplay between journalists and politicians. This interplay between the two groups resulted in four types of journalism namely; documentation, promotional, watchdog and collaborative journalism. While such research has been abundant in the West, on the African continent it has been sparse. In filling that void, specifically in Zambia, a seminal study examining the relationship between Members of Parliament (MPs) and the press was conducted in 1997. Regression models showed that MPs’ perceptions of media accuracy and fairness were not indicators of press support (Pitts, 2000). Where press freedom was concerned, the study found that more than half the MPs (57.1%) supported increasing press freedom in Zambia. Over the years as subsequent regimes have assumed power and the make-up of Parliament has shifted, follow-up surveys have been conducted in 2005 and 2015 respectively. The 2015 study, which was conducted by these scholars, reflects the perceptions of the current MPs in Zambia about the press. As the country prepares for presidential and parliamentary elections slated for August 11, 2016, finding out the MPs’ perceptions of their relationship with the press and assessing how that relationship has evolved over time could not be timelier. The current study therefore analyzes the results of the 2015 survey in relation to those done in 1997 and 2005. Theoretically drawing from *The Press and Multiparty Politics in Africa* (Kasoma, 2000) and *McQuail* (2010), among others, the research questions the current study addresses are: RQ1 - How do the MPs that make up the current Zambian Parliament perceive their relationship with members of the press? RQ2 - In comparison to past MPs, dating back to 1997, how have these perceptions evolved? RQ3 - What are the MPs’ perceptions of press freedom in Zambia from 1997 to date? RQ4 - What are the MPs’ perceptions of media regulation in Zambia from 1997 to date? In response to RQ1, the study’s findings indicate that more than one-half of the MPs (56.2%) identify their relationship with members of the press as cordial. However, the full breadth of the results particularly in the context of how this relationship has evolved over the years since 1997 indicate that there is more

than meets the eye. For example, while the MPs say they support an increase in press freedom, they continue to stall on scraping archaic laws and passing progressive legislation that would provide an enabling environment.

**Id:** 12292

**Title:** Emotional memory as a register of love and loss: interviews with long-serving former government press officers and some of their critical friends

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Ruth Garland

Email: r.garland (at) lse.ac.uk

Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: London School of Economics and Political Science

**Abstract:** The unflappable official who deals with media and political crises with calm detachment as ministers and their aides give way to panic, is a familiar popular stereotype, rooted in the supposed contrast between the stability, permanence and neutrality of the civil service, and the passion, danger and excitement of political life. So what does it mean when former civil servants recalling their working lives give way to emotion? Can this provide a signpost to some of the losses of autonomy and control which scholars have identified in public bureaucracies in many liberal democracies in recent decades? Does it call into question some of the assumptions about the dispositions of civil servants?

Using data from 26 in-depth interviews with former Whitehall press officers, policy journalists and politically-appointed special advisers, whose experiences on the media and political frontline range from the 1960s to 2014, I highlight the moments when these measured, articulate and analytical interviewees displayed emotion such as anger, sadness, regret or excitement. During their working lives they experienced not only dramatic and ongoing institutional change but a transformation in the media-political landscape as politics adapted to the rapid expansion of media. What part did they play in this change, and what do they make of it now as they look back? How do they recall the so-called cull in government communications following 1997, and the reputational damage of the rise of ‘political spin’ and the ensuing loss of public trust? What can their more personal recollections and emotional responses tell us about some of the longer term and deeper implications of changing inter-relationships between the media, ministers and the government communications machine?

**Id:** 12399

**Title:** THE LIMITS OF THE PERSONALIZATION OF FRENCH POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Philippe J. Maarek

Email: maarek (at) u-pec.fr

Country: FR (France)

Affiliation: Université Paris EstIC member

**Abstract:** For many years, the private life of French politicians had remained undisclosed to the public eye, and the exposure of their own person was very limited, a taboo even for the tabloid press. Initiated in the United States for many decades, the personalization of political communication is now stronger and stronger in France, seemingly a consequence of today's professionalization of political communication. The two most recent French presidential campaigns, and the following mandates of Nicolas Sarkozy, then François Hollande, have demonstrated that their deliberate personal public exposure had put them at risk and in the long run mostly boomeranged, apparently hindering the two politicians as much as it had helped them to build up their campaigns. While their younger would-be successors are pretending that they are rejecting the same path, their moves seem to negate their words, from popping out allegedly "programmatic" books giving a strong part of pushing forward their own personality to rush out appearances at any television entertainment show inviting them. Could it be that the limits of the personalization of French political communication might have been reached, and that the democratic process is now suffering from it?

Keywords

France, Political Marketing, Political Campaigns, Political Communication, Personalization, Democratic Process

**Id:** 12400

**Title:** The Impact of Freedom of Expression on Political Legitimacy in Four Asian Cities

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Puay Hoe Chua

Email: puayhoe (at) gmail.com

Country: SG (Singapore)

Affiliation: Royal Holloway, University of London

Name: Jingxi Chen

Email: chenjingxifd (at) gmail.com

Country: CN (China)

Affiliation: Beijing Jiaotong University

**Abstract:** Much of the research in political communication tend to be conducted in the Western context and from the deliberative democracy perspective whereby freedom of expression is typically assumed. Any government in the Western industrialised countries that attempts to threaten or diminish freedom of expression would likely suffer a loss of legitimacy in the eyes of the populace. However, in many Asian countries, governmental control or influence of the media landscape appears to be tolerated by the citizens. Freedom of expression thus might be viewed differently in different societies since political systems, cultural and historical backgrounds, and demands for democratic processes may be different from the West. Rather than studying how different media policies relate to perceptions of democracy, this study instead focuses on perceptions of political legitimacy. As regardless of the political system that a country adopts, political legitimacy is still required for a government to function efficiently.

This study aims to examine the relationship between perceptions of governmental influence of media and political legitimacy. Four Asian cities (Beijing, Hong Kong, Singapore and Taipei) will be comparatively analysed as these societies have different levels of governmental influence in the media landscape while having similarities in many other aspects. Importantly, the media systems in the societies to be analysed are incongruent and are often ranked vastly different by international civil society organizations. To illustrate, Freedom House in 2015 ranked China 186th, Singapore 148th, Hong Kong 83rd and Taiwan 48th out of 199 countries in terms of press freedom.

Some studies concluded that a controlled media system would result in a trusting public supportive of the government while others show an inverse relationship between media control and political participation. Political support and participation are common measures for legitimacy and so how does the level of political communication control affect political legitimacy? Political legitimacy is the acceptance and willingness to obey government, which is ultimately based on the perception of the populace. Legitimacy can be performance-based (ability to deliver the physical needs of the people) or process-based (governance system and

procedures that are inclusive for all). Freedom of expression would be a critical element in process-based legitimacy.

This research conducted a survey (n=830) of university students from the four cities and OLS regression models are utilised for analysis. Perception of press freedom significantly predicted support for the government in Beijing and Singapore but not Hong Kong and Taiwan. Perception of freedom of personal speech significantly predicts support for the government in Singapore only. Perception of economic condition of the country significantly predicts support for the political system in Beijing and Singapore but not in Hong Kong and Taipei. Other variables such as political efficacy, authoritarian values and democratic orientation will also be analysed. Findings from the survey data and implications within the context of global economic slowdown will be discussed.

**Id:** 12404

**Title:** Live-tweeting during televised electoral debates'a new form of popular debate'

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Pekka Isotalus

Email: pekka.isotalus (at) uta.fi

Country: FI (Finland)

Affiliation: University of Tampere

Name: Annina Eloranta

Email: annina.eloranta (at) uta.fi

Country: FI (Finland)

Affiliation: University of Tampere

**Abstract:** Social media, especially Twitter, have become a crucial part of political communication and campaigns. Twitter enables ordinary people to participate in political discussions in real time, which can enhance the dialogue of political decision-makers and other elites with the public. Live-tweeting is a new form of public discussion that only a few studies have analyzed. The interactive discussion enabled by Twitter has even been seen as a new form of public discussion. Live-tweeting occurs in real time and therefore is an especially interesting interactive phenomenon. This research analyzes live-tweeting during two televised electoral debates during the Finnish parliamentary elections in April 2015. The main focus is on the content of the tweets. The research aims are to determine which topics arouse conversation, examine the style of tweets, and identify what generates interaction in live tweets. More than 26,000 live tweets with a specific hashtag were collected. All the tweets were categorized manually and subjected to partly quantitative but mostly qualitative analysis. The results show that majority of the tweets were opinionated and evaluative rather than neutral questions, statements, or reports about the discussion. Many tweets focused on the contents of debates. However, the most popular themes seem to have been evaluating the overall nature of the discussion, party leaders' performance and opinions, and hosts' performance. The results also demonstrate that live-tweeting during a hectic electoral debate is not especially interactive. Re-tweeting seems to be a more popular form of interaction than commenting. Overall, the study shows that live-tweeting has the potential to be a new form of public discussion and dialogue, but so far, it has not achieved the criteria to be considered popular debate.

**Id:** 12421

**Title:** How to study astroturfing from a communication perspective

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Brieuc Lits

Email: brieuc.lits (at) ulb.ac.be

Country: BE (Belgium)

Affiliation: Université libre de Bruxelles

**Abstract:** In this conceptual paper, the issue under scrutiny is a communication phenomenon called astroturfing. It refers to a communication strategy whose true source is hidden while pretending to voice citizen concerns. Astroturfing can take many forms such as interest groups paying citizens to demonstrate on their behalf, politicians buying followers on Twitter, or when a company sets up a front group with a misleading name and acts as a grassroots movement. Even though this communication strategy first emerged as a marketing practice in the United States, it now invades the political arenas across the world.

Little research has been conducted on astroturfing so far, and the difficulty of observing and collecting data on such a shady strategy is probably one of the main reasons for that (Boulay, 2013). The aim of this paper is to propose theories and methods from the public relations and political communication fields that allow us to shed light on a hidden phenomenon that could threaten the well being of democracy by undermining the voice of civil society.

To address this issue, we will first explore the existing literature about astroturfing, which is thin and diversified, and that leads us to understand how this phenomenon has penetrated the public sphere. We will consider the public sphere as fragmented. We will look at it as a constellation of issues around which a growing number of interest groups revolve in order to influence debates. From the public relations field, we will revisit the situational theory of publics as well as the contingency theory of accommodation. Both theories will allow us to free ourselves from normative constraints and apprehend the contingent factors that could explain the success of astroturf efforts, such as the political and institutional context where astroturf activities take place. We will then focus on the issue management theory and notably the issue-attention cycle as it may help researchers in knowing where and when to look for potential cases to study. Finally, we will focus our attention on the framing theory. We believe that political actors decide to rely on astroturf efforts to frame the issue at hand in a different way, and suggest another perspective from which policy-makers, media and citizen can look at it.

From the literature review and the different theories we have explored, we understand that astroturf undertakings penetrate the public sphere to influence the political agenda by relying on the legitimacy that is usually conferred to citizen groups. However, the frame disruption that may emerge from this strategy may endanger the anonymity of astroturfers. That was notably the case for a front group funded by oil companies called “Responsible Energy Citizen Coalition”, which

advocated for shale gas exploration and that stressed how climate-friendly it was. The contrast with the usual economic frames used by the industry was obvious and has been directly detected and denounced by Green politicians. We believe that the multidisciplinary aspect of communication studies is thus relevant to pave the way for further research on astroturfing.

**Id:** 12434

**Title:** The News Media and Party Leadership Coups

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Rod Tiffen

Email: rod.tiffen (at) sydney.edu.au

Country: AU (Australia)

Affiliation: Department of Government and International Relations University of Sydney

**Abstract:** The news media play different roles in different conflicts according to the publicity interests of each side, the mode of resolution and the opportunities for news coverage. The most common conflict in the news is the conflict between parties. In Australia, and several other countries, the two-sided contest to form government is zero-sum, winner-take-all and decided by public opinion: if one side's prospects are improving, the other's are necessarily declining; no matter how close or one-sided the result, one party is in government, the other in opposition; and the result decided by the swinging and uncommitted voters, sometimes seen as those least interested in politics.

The publicity interests are clear: Each side is looking to magnify the appearance of conflict between them; to discredit and destroy their opponents. There are few incentives towards restraint. The logic of this contest is pursued by both sides ever more ruthlessly and cynically, and the result is the sterile and predictable mutual negativity which so commonly passes for political debate.

The publicity interests in internal party conflicts are very different, and in leadership contests in particular the media's role is often markedly different from the competition between parties. The distinctive nature of leadership conflicts and of the media role in them is summarized in seven key points:

1. Leadership struggles are between ostensible allies, and so normally they need to be contained in the larger interests of the party.
2. Leadership struggles are the most personal of all political conflicts. The contenders typically have an extensive direct personal relationship and in addition one refracted through the media.
3. The publicity strategies in leadership struggles are typically marked by public correctness and private criticism.
4. Much of the action in leadership struggles is subterranean and so provides challenges for media reporting, and difficulties for the public to gauge the accuracy of news coverage.
5. The key group in leadership struggles is not the public, but the party room.
6. Precipitating a leadership spill is a problematic idiosyncratic process. Between elections there is no routine institutional moment for changing leaders, and so a spill occurs only when there is a sufficient sense of crisis among the MPs, and the media are often implicated in

bringing events to a climax.

7. The aftermath of leadership contests is not always definitive. In the short-term the question is how much the media will focus on a post-mortem and how much on the way ahead. In the longer term, the issue is how united the party will be around the new leader.

These points are supported by cases from contemporary Australian politics, where leadership coups have become increasingly important, with 72 successful challenges in the major parties federally and in the six states since 1970. Among those whose leadership began after 1970, 67/137, fractionally under half, have been overthrown by their colleagues.

**Id:** 12444

**Title:** Perceptual processes and their impact on the social media use of political PR practitioners

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Ole Kelm

Email: ole.kelm (at) hhu.de

Country: DE (Germany)

Affiliation: Heinrich-Heine-University Duesseldorf

Name: Uli Bernhard

Email: ulrich.bernhard (at) hs-hannover.de

Country: DE (Germany)

Affiliation: University of Applied Sciences and Arts Hannover

Name: Marco Dohle

Email: marco.dohle (at) phil.uni-duesseldorf.de

Country: DE (Germany)

Affiliation: Heinrich-Heine-University Duesseldorf

Name: René Seidenglanz

Email: Rene.Seidenglanz (at) quadriga.eu

Country: DE (Germany)

Affiliation: Quadriga University of Applied Sciences Berlin

**Abstract:** Social media enjoy growing popularity, including in the field of public relations (PR). Almost all PR practitioners in the United States (e.g., Wright & Hinson, 2015) and a large number of European PR practitioners (e.g., Moreno, Navarro, Tench, & Zerfass, 2015) use social media for professional purposes. However, little is known about why PR practitioners use social media. This also applies to political PR practitioners, and thus to PR practitioners with the aim of influencing public opinion on political issues. One possibility is that their social media activities are driven by strategic considerations, which manifest in an orientation towards external stakeholders like politicians, journalists, or the general public. Another reason for political PR practitioners' social media activities might be a less strategically and more socially motivated co-orientation towards other political PR practitioners.

In addition to being based on individual or structural reasons, these considerations are based on perceptions: First, political PR practitioners can hold subjective assumptions of to whom and to how many people they direct their communication (e.g., Litt, 2012). Therefore, the wider social media's reach among their target groups is perceived to be by political PR practitioners, the more often they use social media for political communication activities (H1). Second, following the influence-of-presumed-media-influence-approach, the perception that media have a strong influence on other people can have an impact on individuals' behaviors (e.g., Gunther & Storey, 2003). Therefore, the more political PR practitioners believe that their target groups are

influenced by social media, the more often they use social media for political communication activities (H2).

To test these assumptions, in 2015 a standardized survey of German political PR practitioners was conducted (n = 1,067). The respondents were asked to assess how many politicians, journalists, other political PR practitioners, and German citizens use Facebook and Twitter, and how strongly these groups are influenced politically by Facebook and Twitter (independent variables). To assess their social media activities, the respondents were asked how often they used Facebook and Twitter to get political information, and how often they communicated via Facebook and Twitter to call other people's attention to important political topics and to cultivate work-related contacts (dependent variables). Moreover, control variables were taken into account.

The results partly support H1 and H2: The more the respondents thought that other political PR practitioners used Facebook and Twitter, and the more Facebook and Twitter were perceived as influencing other political PR practitioners, the more often the respondents used social media in the manner described. On the contrary, the presumed reach of Facebook and Twitter among politicians, journalists, and citizens, as well as their presumed political influence on these groups, had no significant influence on the respondents' social media activities.

The findings show that political PR practitioners use social media largely because of a social co-orientation towards their colleagues. However, this co-orientation towards colleagues is a form of professionalization, which is also seen in other vocational fields. Altogether, the results indicate that subjective perceptions contribute to explaining the professional online communication activities of PR practitioners.

**Id:** 12489

**Title:** Factors explaining politicians' online communication activities: Do party and political level matter'

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Björn Klein

Email: bjoern.klein (at) phil.uni-duesseldorf.de

Country: DE (Germany)

Affiliation: Heinrich-Heine-University Düsseldorf

Name: Ole Kelm

Email: ole.kelm (at) hhu.de

Country: DE (Germany)

Affiliation: Heinrich-Heine-University Düsseldorf

Name: Uli Bernhard

Email: ulrich.bernhard (at) hs-hannover.de

Country: DE (Germany)

Affiliation: Hochschule Hannover ' the University of Applied Sciences and Arts

Name: Marco Dohle

Email: dohle (at) phil.uni-duesseldorf.de

Country: DE (Germany)

Affiliation: Heinrich-Heine-University Düsseldorf

**Abstract:** The discussion of political positions is fundamental to democratic societies. One opportunity to participate in these discussions is provided by online media. But which political actors use these possibilities, and to what extent? According to the innovation theory, those with few resources now have easier access to taking part in political debates. In contrast, the normalization theory states that actors with many resources also communicate via online channels more intensely and effectively (Gibson & Ward, 2000). Empirical findings with regard to parties and their online communication tend to support the normalization theory (e.g., Schweitzer, 2008). However, to date little attention has been paid to low-threshold online communications of individual political actors, such as commenting on and even objecting to opinions spread online by politicians. According to the innovation theory, one can assume that politicians with relatively few resources due to an absence of more elaborate alternatives might use this low-threshold form of communication more than those with more resources. Indicators for the capacity of resources are the size of the party (politicians of small vs. big parties) and the political level (local politicians vs. members of the Bundestag, Germany's national parliament). Thus, it was hypothesized as follows: (H1): Local politicians object online to political opinions more often than Bundestag members. (H2): Politicians of small parties object online to political opinions more often than politicians of big parties. To test these hypotheses, in spring 2015 an

online survey was conducted among councilors from 55 German cities (response rate: 31.2%), as well as a postal survey of Bundestag members (response rate: 26.6%). Independent variables were (1) the differentiation between local politicians and Bundestag members and (2) party membership. The dependent variable was how often the politicians objected to political opinions online. Moreover, control variables were taken into account. The results do not support H1: Bundestag members objected to political opinions via online channels significantly more often than local politicians. This can mainly be explained by higher online activity by the Bundestag members. Contrarily, H2 can be partially accepted: Results with regard to local politicians showed that members of small parties disagree significantly more than members of the big parties (CDU/CSU and SPD). For Bundestag members, it can be seen that members of small parties disagreed significantly more than members of the CDU/CSU, whereas compared to the SPD, the number of objections by small party members was only relatively higher. According to the results, low-threshold online communication of politicians also depends on contextual factors: Politicians from small parties disagree more often than politicians from bigger parties. This supports the innovation theory, whereas the innovation theory's assumption is refuted by the fact that Bundestag members object to political opinions online more often than local politicians do. However, this can be explained by variables such as general online activity. Hence, online media offer politicians with fewer resources easy ways to disseminate their positions to the public. At least partially, these politicians resort to these opportunities.

**Id:** 12566

**Title:** Exhibiting conflict: Looking at an exhibition as a site of contestation and agonism

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Nico Carpentier

Email: nico.carpentier (at) im.uu.se

Country: SE (Sweden)

Affiliation: Uppsala University; Vrije Universiteit Brussel; Charles University

Name: Vaia Doudaki

Email: vaia.doudaki (at) im.uu.se

Country: SE (Sweden)

Affiliation: Uppsala University; Cyprus University of Technology

Name: Yiannis Christidis

Email: yiannis.christidis (at) cut.ac.cy

Country: CY (Cyprus)

Affiliation: Dept. of Communication and Internet Studies - Cyprus University of Technology

**Abstract:** In November 2015, a photo exhibition on statues and commemoration sites in Cyprus, and their echoes of the Cyprus Problem (the 41-year long division of the island), took place in Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus. It then moved to Limassol, where it was displayed at the NeMe Arts Centre, for three weeks in January-February 2016. The exhibition was entitled “Iconoclastic Controversies. A visual sociology of statues and commemoration sites in the southern regions of Cyprus”.

The exhibited corpus of 20 photographs, taken by one of the presenters, Nico Carpentier during a research stay in Cyprus in 2013-2014, dealt with a very political-ideological theme. It was an academic reflection on how statues and commemoration sites narrate and frame the Cyprus Problem, and how they in many cases contain references to the “Self” and the “Other” by presenting a heroic “self” to the “own” community, or by showing the suffering of the “self”. But the exhibition also investigated how some (exceptional) statues undermine this representation of the “self” and offer a different narrative of the conflict, and the identities of the people involved (<http://nicocarpentier.net/icon controversies/>). As part of the exhibition, and in order to stimulate further dialogue, three seminars, open to the public, were organised by partner NGOs during the period of the exhibitions, inviting speakers and audiences ‘to reflect about the role of history, memory and identity in Cyprus’.

The exhibition, which will be the centre of our study, is defined as a medium on its own merits. The paper (and the exhibition) are framed by the principles of action research (Reason and Bradbury, 2001; Dickens and Watkins, 1999), and our analysis will be grounded in, firstly, a qualitative textual analysis of the photos and the exhibitions, and of the discussions, writings and

broadcasts about the exhibition. Secondly, a participant observation during the exhibitions and the seminars will also be used. Through this combination of methods, we will examine, both at the material and the discursive level, how an event about representations of conflict contributes to conflict transformation. With a theoretical framework driven by Mouffe's (2013) work on agonism, the paper will investigate whether and how the exhibition is agonistically bringing together objects and subjects of conflict, disagreement and difference, and how this intervention (and its analysis) can enrich academic work on media and conflict.

**Id:** 12574

**Title:** Is the German media biased? Insights in people's perceptions of bias in media coverage on the refugee controversy

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Dorothee Arlt

Email: dorothee.arlt (at) ikmb.unibe.ch

Country: CH (Switzerland)

Affiliation: University of Bern

**Abstract:** Since summer 2015, the number of refugees arriving in Germany increased dramatically and shortly thereafter, refugees became one of the most controversially discussed and polarising issues in Germany. Especially since the government's difficulties in handling the situation becomes more obvious, public debate is getting increasingly heated. In the middle of this heated situation, it becomes more and more challenging for the mass media to fulfil their functions: The media is required to provide accurate and neutral information on all relevant aspects and events related to the controversy. At the same time, the media is needed to facilitate an open and deliberate discourse among the various societal and political groups involved in the controversy.

Therefore, it is alarming when the media fails to fulfil these duties in the current debate; this is exactly what has happened over the last few months from the perspective of the German population. Different surveys display that the Germans are becoming increasingly sceptical concerning the media coverage about refugees. While in October 2015, just 20 percent of the population agreed that the press is lying when covering the refugee issue (ARD, 2015) this percentage almost doubled in December 2015 (Köcher, 2015). Moreover, the data showed that parts of the German population perceive the media coverage on refugees as one-sided, fragmented, and largely ignoring critical voices (Köcher, 2015).

Given the important role of media in modern democracies, these developments are alarming. This paper examines why some Germans perceive the media coverage as biased and inaccurate, while others do not. To answer this question, this paper theoretically draws on the hostile media phenomenon that was initially discovered by Vallone and colleagues (1985). The hostile media effect is defined as the tendency of partisans on each side of a controversy to perceive the media as biased against their own view. Against this background it can be assumed that people holding negative attitudes towards refugees perceive the media to be biased in favour of the refugees, while those holding positive attitudes perceive the media to be biased against the refugees.

To test this hypothesis, a quantitative online survey was conducted between 01/02/2016 and 10/02/2016. A sample of  $n = 1582$  respondents (50% women; 50% men; average age: 44 years) was used, which is representative of the German population. Based on existing research on pro- and anti-immigrant attitudes, we measured people's attitudes towards refugees with 10 items

focusing on different aspects of perceived cultural, economic, societal, and political threats and benefits of refugees. The answers were obtained using a 4-point agreement scale (ranging from 1 denoting “totally disagree” to 4 denoting “totally agree”). People’s perception of bias were examined in two dimensions: (1) perceived completeness of information in terms of thematization or de-thematization of six aspects of the refugee issue (6 items), and (2) perceived accurateness of valence in terms of positivisms or negativism in media coverage on the same six aspects (6 items).

**Id:** 12581

**Title:** What is the role of social media in establishing a chain of equivalence between activists participating in protest movements'

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Wei Ling Nien

Email: weilingn27 (at) gmail.com

Country: TW (Taiwan)

Affiliation: MSc Media and Communications. The London School of Economics and Political Science

**Abstract:** This paper explores the role of social media in establishing a chain of equivalence between activists participating in protest movements. Applying Diani's network approach as the theoretical framework and introducing the concept of Laclau and Mouffe (1985) 'the chain of equivalence' in social movement studies. It is a discursive formation on how each chain is different and how the chains work together to oppose hegemony (common enemy i.e. the state, authority or stakeholder). This project consists of 9 interviews with a chronic interest in participating in protests movements in Taiwan. The method is applied together with social network analysis to draw a graph to depict the overlapping concept provided by the activist's map. By combining the two methods together, the researcher is able to reach a better understanding of the way activists build their network. The result shows that the importance of social media is when building network connections between activists, through building the chain of equivalence, protest movements can easily work together online and offline become alliance to opposed the common enemy. The links are able to constitute outside for information to spread over. Through social network links they are able to establish 'the chain of equivalence' in protest movements. While social media plays a vital role in protest movements, the network ties between activists should also be taken into account.

**Id:** 12583

**Title:** Who believes in conspiracy theories' Demographical, political, and communicative correlates

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Nikolaus Jakob

Email: Nikolaus.Jakob (at) uni-mainz.de

Country: DE (Germany)

Affiliation: Department of Communication Johannes Gutenberg-University of Mainz

Name: Christian Schemer

Email: schemer (at) uni-mainz.de

Country: DE (Germany)

Affiliation: Department of Communication Johannes Gutenberg-University of Mainz

Name: Marc Ziegele

Email: ziegele (at) uni-mainz.de

Country: DE (Germany)

Affiliation: Department of Communication Johannes Gutenberg-University of Mainz

Name: Oliver Quiring

Email: quiring (at) uni-mainz.de

Country: DE (Germany)

Affiliation: Department of Communication Johannes Gutenberg-University of Mainz

**Abstract:** Beliefs in conspiracy theories are relevant for communication research for three reasons: First, they indicate the prevalence of non-mainstream political ideologies (Imhoff & Bruder, 2013), especially extremism. Secondly, those ideologies are associated with “anti-elite-attitudes”, i.e. opposition towards the political elite and the mainstream mass media which are often regarded as “sticking together”. This pattern of attribution has recently stirred up anti-Islamic protest in Germany and other European countries (“the lying press” by Pegida or the Alternative for Germany, AfD). Thirdly, people who believe in conspiracy theories and suspect mainstream media of “not telling the whole story” are (Tsfati & Capella 2003; Barnidge & Rojas 2014) exposed to an alternative media diet (Tsfati & Peri 2006) which may reinforce existing beliefs via selective exposure (Kenski & Stroud 2006; Messing & Westwood 2014). Our research sheds light on the antecedents of beliefs in conspiracy and their interaction with other political and communicative correlates.

Specifically, it is assumed that low-education, the feeling of political powerlessness, and lack of political representation is associated with beliefs in conspiracy. Additionally, we hypothesize that use of non-established news sources increases beliefs in conspiracy while exposure to legacy media decreases such beliefs. In order to investigate the impact of demographics, ideology, and

media use on beliefs in conspiracy, we conducted a cross-sectional CATI survey. The random sample is representative of the German population. We included age, sex, education as demographics. Political variables encompassed satisfaction with democracy, political interest, the preference for a specific political party (established vs. non-established parties). News media exposure was assessed by asking respondents whether they used specific legacy newspapers (quality press, local or regional newspapers), specific television broadcasts on public vs. commercial channels, and forums or blogs (niche media). In order to assess beliefs in conspiracy we asked respondents whether they believed in the truth of four items, e.g. “Ebola is a project of the U.S. to test biological weapons”, “The attack on the newsroom of Charlie Héβδο was planned by the French intelligence service” ( $\alpha = .72$ ).

The findings indicate that sex and education are only weakly and age not at all related to beliefs in conspiracy. Low satisfaction with democracy and the preference for non-established parties on both the left (The Left) and the right of the political spectrum (AfD) are positively related to beliefs in conspiracy. People with high interest in politics also exhibit a stronger belief in conspiracy. The preference for established parties decreases beliefs in conspiracy. Demography and political variables explain a little more than a fifth of the variation in people’s conspiracy beliefs.

Exposure to news media explains additional variance. Specifically, exposure to news broadcasts on commercial channels and news seeking in blogs and forums increase the likelihood of beliefs in conspiracy. In contrast, exposure to legacy newspapers dampens such beliefs. Our results indicate that the media are likely to overcome long established impact routines such as demography and political predispositions in times of political unsettledness.

**Id:** 12586

**Title:** Between Disorientation, Mistrust, and Manipulability. Young People's Difficulties in Making Sense of Media Coverage on the EU

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Christina Ortner

Email: christina.ortner (at) sbg.ac.at

Country: AT (Austria)

Affiliation: University of Salzburg

**Abstract:** For a long time the European project was dominated by specialists and political elites who pushed integration further without major public interventions. Since the Treaty of Maastricht the EU started to substantially affect the daily life of Europeans. From that time on its success depended on public support and communication with the citizens became a major challenge. Yet, communication does not seem to work properly. Despite continuous efforts of the European institutions and growing attention for European issues in the media we still observe a lack of interest and engagement in European politics that goes far beyond the indifference towards national politics. Relevant parts of the population see the EU as a distant entity and when it comes to further integration there is a large gap between citizens and the political elites. This problem has been widely discussed in the larger context of the democratic deficit of the EU. By now, there is also a substantial body of empirical studies on the EU communication problem evaluating the European communication strategy, doing expert interviews with EU officials or analysing media representations of the EU. However, we know very little about the way citizens deal with media information on European politics and why communication does not work properly from their point of view. Building on the qualitative data of a mixed-method study on the development of orientations towards the EU this paper wants to give first insides in the problems citizens can face when trying to make sense of media coverage on European politics. An in-depth analysis of selected cases exemplifies what kind of difficulties young people in Austria come across when using media offers on the EU, what are reasons for these problems and how they may overcome them. The five cases presented in the paper were chosen from an overall sample of 30 young adults (20-30 years) of different age, education, gender and profession who were interviewed in rural as well as in urban areas. All of them represent a typical form of difficulty with media coverage on the EU. The main findings point to the fact that, on the one hand, media do not really meet the need for comprehensible, unbiased information and lively debates on issues that are relevant to young adults. On the other hand, difficulties in making sense of media coverage on the EU often result from a lack of media literacy and basic political knowledge which in some cases can be solved by educational experiences. Moreover, the way these young people deal with media information on the EU is strongly connected with their general orientations towards media institution and the political system in modern western democracies.

**Id:** 12592

**Title:** New Politics on Twitter Political Discussions. A comparison between right and left-wing Spanish political parties in the general elections of 2015.

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Frederic Guerrero-Solé

Email: frederic.guerrero (at) upf.edu

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Universitat Pompeu Fabra

**Abstract:** Twitter has become one of the most popular social networks to spread political messages. It is commonly used by politicians and political organizations as a tool to interact with the voters. The flow of political tweets is particularly strong in political campaigns before elections. The aim of this study is to analyse the structure of the network of users by means of the Retweet Overlap Network (RON) method (Guerrero-Solé, 2016). This method has been used to analyse the structure of a given network, and to identify some of the latent attributes of Twitter users. The method is applied to a dataset of more than 540,000 tweets containing the hashtag #20D (it refers to the date the Spanish General Election was held in 2015) and published during the election campaign, from December, 4 to December 18. The results of this research show that the network is extremely polarized, with few contact between parties. Besides this, the analysis also shows the differences between those parties that represent the so-called new politics, and the traditional ones. One of the main conclusion is that the structure of diffusion of political messages of the young party Ciudadanos is quite similar to those of the traditional parties (PP and PSOE), while Podemos, the left new party shows a different structure, with a greater support of users that are not members of the party. In particular, the retweet network of Podemos shows a high decentralization, reproducing party's own political organizations, while the retweet network of the rest of the parties is strongly centralized. As expected, the analysis also shows that the two right-wing parties (Ciudadanos and Popular Party) are one close to another, as also are the two left-wing parties (Podemos and the Spanish Socialist Party, PSOE). However, the closeness between the two right-wing parties is significantly stronger than that of the two left-wing parties. This study is a significant contribution to the knowledge of how Spanish political parties and users behave in Twitter and what are their main strategies in the process of spreading political messages.

**Id:** 12699

**Title:** Continuity and Change in Visual Political Communication: A Case Study of the shift from Billboards to Online Political Posters in Party Campaigning in the UK

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Vincent Patrick Campbell

Email: vpc2 (at) le.ac.uk

Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: Department of Media and Communication University of Leicester

**Abstract:** The ever increasing importance of new media technologies in political campaigning has dominated research over the last few years, but despite focused attention on 'hypermedia' campaigning (Lilleker et al. 2015) and the hybrid nature of contemporary politics/media relationships (Chadwick 2009, 2013) the study of visual political communication remains comparatively underdeveloped and marginalised (Schill 2012). Studies of contemporary party campaigning point to the integration of traditional and new techniques and platforms with the balance of old and new techniques varying from country to country and region to region (Lilleker et al 2011, Vaccari 2012, Vaccari and Valeriani 2015, Jungherr 2015, Baldwin-Phillip 2015). Within such research, however, the specific role and function of visual forms of campaigning have been under-researched. Political posters, for instance, have featured in elections for many decades across many countries but have rarely been specifically researched (Seidman 2008a, 2008b, Burgess 2011, Vliegthart, 2012). In recent years a shift has begun to emerge moving from physical billboard, street, window and lawn posters to infographics and 'share graphics' distributed via online social networks (Wheeler 2015, Ross 2015). As part of an ongoing investigation of the rise of the 'online political poster' (Campbell and Lee 2015, 2016), this paper explores the relationships between party political images disseminated online and traditional print-based political posters using the UK as a case study. Drawing on a longitudinally conducted analysis of online political posters produced by British political parties between September 2013 and the UK General Election in May 2015 on the social network Facebook, the paper qualitatively examines attempts by parties to reproduce, reuse and draw on popular memory of historical political imagery and famous political posters in a social media space. The paper argues that prominent use of historical political poster imagery via social media by political parties highlights the hybrid nature of contemporary hypermedia campaigning. Whilst much research looks fundamentally forward at new platforms and spaces for new modes of political campaigning, it is important also to look back at how traditional campaigning techniques are being drawn upon within these new platforms.

**Id:** 12787

**Title:** Immigration in the 2015 UK Media Campaign: 'The dog that didn't bark'

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: David Smith

Email: D.Smith5 (at) lboro.ac.uk

Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: Political Communication

**Abstract:** The 2015 UK general election fell on the cusp of a summer now indelibly marked by the drama and tragedy that accompanied the refugee crisis at the borders of, and within, Europe. Although the campaign itself occurred prior to the summer months during which the bulk of the year's asylum applications to Europe were made (see Eurostat, 2016) and which elicited European-wide news media attention (EJO, 2015; Berry et al., 2015), the causes of the crisis and their consequences were certainly apparent in the preceding months/years. In the context of global humanitarian crises and their corresponding effects on migration to Europe, the election campaign thus provided an opportunity for the staging of a national debate within the news media about the ongoing challenges facing Britain in relation to its international obligations, and the purposes, limits and direction of its immigration policy. More parochially, the domestic political debate on immigration since the previous election in 2010 was characterised by the dramatic rise of UKIP, the Conservatives' response, Labour apologies and soul searching, and the marginalisation of the Liberal Democrats' policy agenda on migration and other issues. Moreover, by the 2015 campaign, immigration had ascended to become the number one issue of concern for respondents of public opinion polls, placing it above even perennial concerns about the economy and NHS (Ipsos MORI, 2015). These developments combined to produce assumptions that the immigration issue was likely to play a central role in the mediation if not the outcome of the election campaign. The question is: did it?

This paper will address to what extent and how immigration was covered in the campaign by examining data from the Loughborough Communication Research Centre's quantitative content analysis of TV and print news. Findings will be presented to illustrate how much coverage about immigration issues there was across all election coverage, what the major themes were in relation to immigration issues and who the main protagonists were.

The results indicate that immigration did not have the impact on the campaign that many had predicted and some, e.g. UKIP, would have hoped for. Indeed, inter-party dynamics, party strategy and press partisanship were key factors in determining the extent to which immigration was crowded out by other issues such as the economy, taxation, constitutional affairs and the NHS as well as election process issues. Differences between sectors of the news media during the campaign and between this and previous campaigns will also be considered as part of a general reflection on the contemporary and prospective immigration debate.

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**Id:** 12812

**Title:** Porting the successful campaign! An empirical comparison of door-to-door campaigning in the U.S. and Germany using the example of the 2014 Thuringian and 2016 Rhineland-Palatinate federal state elections.

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Simon Kruschinski

Email: simon.kruschinski (at) uni-mainz.de

Country: DE (Germany)

Affiliation: Johannes Gutenberg-University Mainz

**Abstract:** Despite the manifold opportunities presented by online campaign tools and multimedia channels nowadays, political parties in the U.S. and Europe seem to have built an resurgent interest in an originally “premodern” (Norris, 1997) campaign technique to mobilize voters and ultimately generate votes: door-to-door canvassing. Mainly, research on canvassing has been focusing on field experiments indicating positive effects of face-to-face communication strategies on voter mobilization and has been carried out in the U.S so far. This means that the variation in the institutional frameworks, social and legislative conditions is limited to the one-country case.

Based on the theory of campaign proliferation of Plasser and Plasser (2002) this paper addresses this research gap and draws on a political actor’s perspective, to show how campaign techniques’ perceptions and institutional, social and legislative settings affect its implementation, conduct and the strategic choices of political actors. Therefore, the paper’s aim is to give an overview on the role and impact of canvassing in two different countries and shed light on the following questions:

- 1) How well do our theories and assumptions about the impact of canvassing travel to other countries?
- 2) How do political actors ‘translate’ campaign instruments like canvassing successfully from one country to another?
- 3) What role does ‘big data’ play for the success of canvassing in each country?

To address these questions, the paper will present findings from studies of the 2014 Thuringian and 2016 Rhineland-Palatinate federal state elections in Germany and contrast them to the comprehensive U.S. research literature. In a first step, twelve guided face-to-face interviews with the campaign coordinators of the six strongest parliamentary parties in both states were held prior to both of the elections. Based on their respective insights, two questionnaires for a quantitative online survey of campaigners were developed and distributed via the parties’ mailing list in 2014 and 2016. About one-quarter (N=130) of the 550 Thuringian campaigners who received the invitation to participate in the survey completed the questionnaire. The analysis of Rhineland-Palatinate’s canvassers is still ongoing but will be completed until the conference’s beginning.

Equally to their U.S. counterparts, the interviewed German campaign coordinators characterize the “Ground War” as essential for the success of their campaigns and also state the same aims of mobilizing partisans, conveying the campaign’s message and collecting voter data. Unlike the comprehensive and hypermodern gathering and analysis of voter’s personal data in past U.S. elections, strategic organization and conduct of German canvassing draws mainly on “voter-potential-analysis” based on past election results and household data offered by Deutsche Post. According to most of the surveyed campaigners, contacted voters were predominantly partisans and familiar with the canvassers, which showed both statistically significant effects for the canvasser’s success at the door and coincide with findings of U.S. studies. Summing up, canvassing seems to be an efficient instrument for voter mobilization in Germany although it has to be adapted in different degrees to the country’s environment, social and legal terrain as well as election and media system to be conducted successfully within a campaign.

**Id:** 12868

**Title:** Rewriting the crisis: the role of forgetting in the news coverage of the economic crisis over time

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Laura Basu

Email: basul (at) cardiff.ac.uk

Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: Cardiff University, School of Journalism, Media and Cultural Studies

**Abstract:** It is widely thought that the Labour party lost the 2015 UK election because voters believed it had crashed the economy in 2008 by spending too much public money, and was not committed enough to fixing the deficit through austerity. This is remarkable, not only because of the historical reality of the global financial crisis but because that crisis was all over the news at the time. How has history been so quickly rewritten, and what might this mean for formulations of solutions to the economic problems?

This paper presents findings from a Marie Curie-funded project tracking the development of the UK news coverage of the economic crisis over the past nine years. Encompassing the global financial meltdown, recession, growing public debt, the Eurozone crisis, and falling living standards, it explores how these problems, their nature, causes and solutions, have been framed and reframed over time. It shows that these ongoing reframings – with information added and lost each time – have legitimised policies redistributing resources upwards, through austerity measures on one hand and through “business friendly” measures such as corporation tax cuts on the other.

It approaches the conference theme through the angle of forgetting. As the crisis developed from financial meltdown to recession and expanding public deficits, the problems with the banking sector and were quickly forgotten and explanations were reconfigured in terms of public overspending. Correspondingly, austerity became a logical solution, one that was pushed by governments and other elites, and generally accepted by mainstream media. Similarly, the forgetting of global neoliberal policies that had led to falling wages and rising profits and helped cause the crisis has made an intensification of those types of policies – which have resulted in inequality escalating even further - less unpalatable in media discourse. Bringing together debates around journalism, politics and democracy, cultural memory and critical theory, the paper makes an important contribution by examining the dynamics of news over time, thereby excavating the ideological functions of forgetting. It shows that the media has helped justify hyper-neoliberal solutions by forgetting neoliberalism.

**Id:** 12933

**Title:** Citizen Political Discourse, Self-censorship and Digital Democracy: A Case Study of Social Media Use in Hong Kong's 2012 Chief Executive Election

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Yupei Zhao

Email: yupei (at) yng.media

Country: CN (China)

Affiliation: PhD in University of Leicester; Associate Researcher in Sun Yat-sen University; Chair of MeCCSA PGN

**Abstract:** Research into the citizen political participation via social media is dominated by two grand narratives. In the first, new media are seen as empowering society to archive, creating memories, or technically providing innovative opportunities, while the second portrays the Internet as the State's ultimate tool for manipulating citizens' communication. This research employed content analysis, critical discourse analysis, Verbal Irony Procedure and semi-structure interview with theoretical framework (e.g. digital democracy, deliberative democracy, e-participation and citizenship) in this research to compare and contrast 1) the nature of political participation and deliberation in [Hong Kong and mainland] and by [VIPs and causal users] on Weibo for 2012 Hong Kong Chief Executive Election, and 2) how the online censorship shaped their political participation and deliberation regarding this case.

Mixed methods innovational used has demonstrated the role of social media playing as 'tool' 'platform' and 'object' in helping understanding digital democracy and enrich deliberative democracy while [Hong Kong and mainland] citizens used for political participation and deliberations. Dynamic forms of practicing self-censorship demonstrated how the online censorship shaped the citizens' political participation and deliberation through explicit or implicit, optimistic or pessimistic ways on Weibo in this case, these findings provide complexity and multiplicity to clarify the relationship between censorship and self-censorship through social media in China. And it also discussed the complexity of understanding the digital democracy in non-democratic countries such as China.

The strength of research amount to an original and rich empirical case study that contributes to a relatively under-researched field of concerning Chinese citizen participation in political communication via social media, so researching on this case helps archive Chinese citizens' political memories and comments in a timely opportunity, but also look forward how these participatory expressions and discourse contribute to political communication research in China.

**Keywords:** digital democracy, deliberative democracy, citizen participation, social media, Weibo, censorship and self-censorship.

**Id:** 12946

**Title:** The Logic of Connective Action: A Critical Review of the Conceptual and Empirical bases

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Mostafa Shehata

Email: shehata (at) ruc.dk

Country: DK (Denmark)

Affiliation: Roskilde University

**Abstract:** Based on the role of social media in political activism, the logic of connective action (LCA) puts forward a new conception of the nature of the changes that are contemporarily occurring to political and social action. From the perspective of LCA, this paper addresses the evolution of these changes on two levels: conceptually, by discussing the theoretical significance of LCA and related notions, and analytically by assessing the scope of existing empirical evidence in supporting an evolving theory of connective action. Based on this combined effort, my paper suggests a transitional stage of structural changes in collective agency, that I will call pre-connective action stage. The characteristics of this stage are embodied in three leading notions: individualization, new organizations and personalization. Together they represent the impact of digital media on collective action. My paper also proposes a methodological tool that can help to determine whether people, who participate in political actions, predominantly adhere in their agency to a logic of collective or connective action. Two parameters are seen as deceive for this categorization: people's online/offline political activity and their attitudes toward this activity, taking into account the essence of participation as an individual or organization based process.

**Id:** 12948

**Title:** The Lady in the Frame: The Representation of Prime Ministers' Wives in the Israeli Media

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Ori Meir Malkin

Email: tikshoretbiu (at) gmail.com

Country: IL (Israel)

Affiliation: Bar Ilan University (Israel)

Name: Tiki Balas

Email: tikibalas (at) gmail.com

Country: IL (Israel)

Affiliation: Bar Ilan University (Israel)

Name: Yariv Ben-Eliezer

Email: yarivbe (at) idc.ac.il

Country: IL (Israel)

Affiliation: IDC Herzliya (Israel)

**Abstract:** This research will focus on the manner of representing wives of Israeli prime ministers, as expressed in media outlets. The study will review media publications referring to four wives of Israeli Prime Ministers from different periods of time: Paula Ben-Gurion (1948-1954, 1955-1963), Shulamit Shamir (1983-1984, 1986-1992), Leah Rabin (1974-1977, 1992-1995) and Sara Netanyahu (1996-1999, 2009-2016). The objectives of the study is to try and identify common media frames for representing the prime ministers' wives, and are focused on periods during which their husbands were in office. The research questions will try to review the prominent media frames through which prime ministers' wives are presented in printed press. The research method analyzes quantitative and qualitative content of more than 2,500 journalistic texts published in 'Yedioth-Ahronoth', the most commonly read, privately owned newspaper in Israel throughout the span of the study. The newspaper is considered as having primary influence on public agenda in Israel.

Our goal is to offer a model with four possibilities for depicting the wives: the Caretaker, the Hostess, the Advisor and the Spokeswoman. These are four central functional duties, which were found to be dominant during our initial study. In addition, there are two possibilities in which the wives were presented by the media: as an independent figure or as a secondary figure (relies on her husband's position).

The prime ministers' wives create media and public interest, as they are considered part of society's elite (Galtung and Ruge, 1965). They are often covered by mass media in order to fulfill human curiosity about the personal lives of the state leaders (Katz, Blumler and Gurevitch, 1974). Life which surely affect their professional role.

Data we have gathered show the increasing interest and growth in the amount of articles

concerning the wives throughout the years. This prosperity can be explained due to changes in democratic societies and in the media (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007).

The wives are presented in the media as part of interpretative schemes (Goffman, 1974) that allow readers to identify, interpret, process, store and label certain events as information. These media frames impact reader's subconscious, and therefore it is important to analyze and understand them (Entman, 1993).

In many cases the wives are presented by the media as companions: caretakers of the leader's physical needs, hostesses of leaders from across the world, or companions of their husbands as they visit countries worldwide. In other cases, the wives are presented as independent figures: spokeswomen that deliver the leader's messages or figures with personal and independent views concentrating on convincing and advising government bodies.

This is the first attempt to build a model to describe media frames referring to the Prime Ministers' wives. We can assume that this model could be adopted universally to understand the manner of covering wives of leaders worldwide, and in various media forms. The suggested models even allow comparing between the coverage frames of the wives and visually presenting this comparison.

Our research combines theories from disciplines of media research and political science.

**Id:** 12963

**Title:** Government communication in Mozambique: The Open Presidencies of Armando Guebuza as a public relations strategy to strengthen national identity

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Gisela Goncalves

Email: gisela (at) ubi.pt

Country: PT (Portugal)

Affiliation: Universidade da Beira Interior

Name: Stelia Neta Mboene

Email: stelianeta (at) hotmail.com

Country:

Affiliation: University of Beira Interior

**Abstract:** After more than four centuries of Portuguese rule, Mozambique gained independence in 1975, adopted a single-party socialist system and became a very close ally of the then Soviet Union. Shortly afterwards, in the early 1980s, a bloody 16-year civil war broke out between the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) and the Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO). This resulted in the massive destruction of infrastructure and the deaths of thousands of Mozambicans (Alden, 2001; Mazula, 2002). With the collapse of socialist regimes around the world within the context of the Cold War, the Mozambican state adopted a democratic system that would allow for elections through universal suffrage. The Mozambican government was led by Armando Emílio Guebuza (FRELIMO) from 2005 to 2014. From the very beginning, he began a cycle of closer relationships with the citizens using a strategy which became known as “Presidências Abertas e Inclusivas” or PAIs (Open and Inclusive Presidencies), whereby the President would temporarily leave the Ponta Vermelha, the official presidential residence in Maputo, to live in simple, humble places throughout the Mozambican territory.

This paper discusses the case of strengthening Mozambican national identity in a process led by the political elite through the PAIs (Open and Inclusive Presidencies), a government public relations strategy. A critical discourse analysis of the presidential speeches was used to examine the repertoires of symbols, narratives and meanings concerning nation-unity efforts. Four main themes were identified: National unity; Struggle against poverty; Districts; and Local needs.

The analysis has shown that President Armando Guebuza adopted a relational public relations approach (Taylor, 2000) focused on establishing and managing relationships, increasing participation, and encouraging cooperation between the government and its people, mainly in rural areas. These analyses provide contributions about how to successfully foster cooperation and relationship building between government and citizens in recent African democracies. This is an added challenge within Mozambique’s reality since it is a “deeply divided society” (Guelke, 2012) at socio-economic, cultural and linguistic levels.

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**Id:** 13004

**Title:** Changing Power Centre, Information Spinning and the Change in Hong Kong Political News Coverage

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Meily Mei-fung Cheung

Email: meilycheung (at) hsmc.edu.hk

Country: HK (Hong Kong)

Affiliation: Department of Journalism and Communication Hang Seng Management College

Name: Tin Chi Wong

Email: wtinchi (at) hkbu.edu.hk

Country: HK (Hong Kong)

Affiliation: Hong Kong Baptist University

**Abstract:** In liberal states, governments seldom exert overt forms of control and suppression towards the news media. Instead, subtle strategies and tactics are adopted to influence news reporting. The manipulation of information is one of the control strategies. Journalists' news nets are developed around government institutions and there has been a tendency of relying on official sources in news reporting around the world. This gives the power centre a chance to control the media and shape news agendas.

Before the transfer of sovereignty in 1997, the press in Hong Kong enjoyed minimal government control under British colonial rule. Since 1997, Hong Kong Special Administration Region has been going through the process of reintegration with the Mainland and the new power centre is the SAR government backed up by the Beijing authorities. To stabilize its ruling, the new power centre attempts to reduce news coverage against the government and increases its control on local media. Instead of direct interference, the government exerts its control over the release of information.

Since the first handover Chief Executive, the government has been adopting the strategy of “spin doctoring” and misinformation. Compared with other western democracies, the spinning strategy is especially crucial to the Hong Kong government as the Chief Executive is not elected by citizens so the government has to use the media to create “public consensus”. Journalists criticized the government’s tactics in releasing information are underhand but successful. These tactics include using selected media to “drown out” adverse comment and holding unattributed media briefing over important issues and policies. Such practices discourage both critical journalism, undermine the public’s right to know and reducing the accountability of government officers.

Drawing on literature on political economy perspective and the concept of information subsidies, this study aims to investigate how a newly established power centre may control news production and content by manipulating news sources. It explores the changes of the use of

sources and the stances in news media in Hong Kong.

We approached these research objectives using two methods. First, a content analysis of news coverage on the Policy Addresses by Chief Executives in newspapers was conducted to get a view on the change in the use of sources and the stances of coverage. Second, interviews with journalists were carried out to obtain insights into how and why news routines have been changed.

The results suggest that there has been an increase in the use of non-attributed sources in policy news. There are trends of official sources becoming unattributed sources and institutionalized “leak” of important information about policies along with the strengthening of the power centre. The increasing use of unattributed government sources is due to a number of constraints in journalistic practices. It is also related to the stances and the bosses of the newspapers. The more closer to the power centre, the more the newspaper use unattributed government sources.

**Id:** 13047

**Title:** Do media really set the political agenda' Applying the network agenda-setting model to Twitter

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Burak Dogu

Email: doguburak (at) gmail.com

Country: TR (Turkey)

Affiliation: Izmir University of Economics

Name: Onur Mat

Email: onur.mat (at) bilkent.edu.tr

Country: TR (Turkey)

Affiliation: Bilkent University

**Abstract:** Research on political agenda-setting is interested in how issues are conveyed to political agenda and how governments tend to reflect on those issues. Media are assumed to have an effect on governmental policies, however the extent to which media agenda influences the political agenda remains to be ambiguous (Dearing & Rogers, 1996, p. 87). This ambiguity is further aggravated by Twitter, which inherits a vast potential for the advancements in political communication. Use of Twitter by political actors adds to the number of issues in the political agenda and makes these issues more apparent to the public. It also creates another form of civic engagement by bringing another dimension to the mediation process between politics and the public to include direct involvement of the citizens. In this process media organizations strive to safeguard their long-established position as the mediator between the political and public agendas. This study, based on the network agenda-setting (NAS) model, sheds light on how media help determine the political agenda in Twitter.

Political agendas necessarily deal with many issues, whereas media agendas tend to regularly focus on a selected set of issues and largely ignore others (Walgrave, Soroka, & Nuytemans, 2008). As a consequence, it becomes difficult to observe the correspondence of issues regarding both agendas. This research borrows the NAS model, introduced by Guo (2013) and later developed by Vu, Go & McCombs (2014), in order to reveal the links between issues and agendas. Also referred to as the third level of agenda-setting theory, the NAS model suggests that the salience of the network relationships among issues can be transferred from the news media to the public. The model draws on the potential offered by network analysis, therefore enables the analysis of issues as a bundle.

This exploratory research carries the NAS model to Twitter and expands its context to include the political agenda. It questions whether the media can still have an effect on political discourse in a setting where direct political pressure is a growing issue of concern. The sample of the research consists of 542 Twitter accounts belonging to the current MPs in the Turkish

Parliament, along with 137 accounts representing the former MPs, and 81 media accounts in the same social network. Tweets from those accounts will be retrieved for over three months through the Twitter streaming API, which runs on Genel Izleyici (<http://genelizleyici.com>), a project supported by the Sivil Dusun EU programme for the monitoring of the MPs in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey. Popular issues mentioned by the political actors and the media accounts will be defined and sorted into categories. Then the data, presenting a complete set of issues introduced by the accounts, will be mapped to illustrate the issue networks in Twitter. Findings from the issue networks will be compared to explore the interrelations among the domains of politics and media.

Keywords: Network agenda setting, media agenda, political agenda, network analysis, Twitter, Turkey

**Id:** 13103

**Title:** What confers legitimacy to public policies' Comparing the traditional versus social media logic of the legitimacy judgment

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Carmen Maria Robles López

Email: cm.robles30 (at) gmail.com

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Complutense University of Madrid

Name: María José Canel Crespo

Email: mjcanel (at) ucm.es

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Complutense University of Madrid

Name: Rocío Zamora Medina

Email: rzamoramedina (at) um.es

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: University of Murcia

**Abstract:** Present economic and financial crisis is associated with a decrease in trust in public institutions. Resources are coming under threat and citizens' expectations are being less satisfied than before, being thus public sector organizations impelled to legitimize their activities (Cinca, Molinero & Queiroz, 2003; Tyler, 2006; Luoma-aho & Makikangas, 2013).

Laying on institutional theory, this paper explores legitimacy as an intangible asset of public organizations: legitimacy is a judgment, about an organization's actions, made by its strategic audiences, according to cultural norms and standards (Suchman, 1995; Deephouse, 1996; Tyler, 2006; Bitektine, 2011). An associated notion is "media legitimacy" which derives from journalists' judgments about the actions of an organization (Pollock & Rindova, 2003; Aerts & Cornier, 2009).

This paper aims to explore the logic of legitimacy judgments about public organizations and assess whether there is congruence between a ministry (and the minister)'s actions and how the media and citizens perceive (and assess) them. Four types of legitimacy are examined: 'Procedural', based on evaluations of the soundness of the ministry's procedures and processes; 'Consequential', which regards outcomes, results and achievements of the ministry's public policies; 'Structural' refers to buildings, working policies, budgets and resources; and finally, 'Personal legitimacy' regards judgments which refer to the minister.

Previous research findings have shown that the process by which people render these judgments is "complex and nondeterministic" (Bitektine, 2011, 151); judgments of different types of

legitimacy interact with each other in stakeholders' minds and even pull in different directions. For the case of Spain, research has found that in the years of the economic crisis citizens' trust in the Prime Minister is less explained than before by party affiliation and more by public policies outcomes (Canel & García-Molero, 2013). However, in 2011 and associated with a higher visibility of corruption scandals, people seem to care more about the legitimacy of the process (honesty, transparency and dialogue) than the legitimacy of outcomes (Canel, 2014).

This paper explores the dynamics of legitimacy judgments about the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports, 2011-2015. Two comparisons are conducted. First, the paper contrasts the organizational message (the Ministry's and Minister's statements and addresses), with its "media legitimacy" (the news media outputs about the ministry and minister) and citizen's assessments in Twitter. Second, the analysis compares the logic of media legitimacy in traditional media (print news) with social media (the minister's, ministry's and newspapers' tweets and citizens' tweets). Results are discussed to assess the congruence between different actors in public discourse and its consequences in citizens' trust on public organizations; also implications of these findings for further research and practice of government communication are considered.

**Id:** 13141

**Title:** Creating Joint Memories in Political Discourse: Digital Storytelling on Twitter

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Caja C. Thimm

Email: thimm (at) uni-bonn.de

Country: DE (Germany)

Affiliation: PhD, Professor University of Bonn Department for Media Studies Poppelsdorfer Allee 47D-53115 Bonn Germany

Name: Jessica Einspänner-Pflock

Email: jep (at) uni-bonn.de

Country: DE (Germany)

Affiliation: University of Bonn

**Abstract:** As an effect of the ongoing Mediatization of society, many activities implying the construction of political meaning are based on digital media and shaped particularly by social media like Facebook or Twitter. New practices of appropriation of political communication can be observed on the macro level of society (Strömbäck, 2008), the meso level (Zeh & Hopmann, 2013), and on the micro level (Thimm, Dang-Anh & Einspänner, 2014).

The paper focuses on the micro level of political communication in social media and on participative practices performed in Twitter. We want to approach joint digital storytelling on Twitter systematically, both from a level of Twitter's usage affordances as well as from the perspective of narration patterns.

Joint digital storytelling is understood as a discursive practice of appropriation through which participants creatively make use of personal experiences in order to contribute to a shared discussion. In contrast to the general concept of digital storytelling, which is an "individualistic strategy to communicate details and stories about one's own life" (Lundby, 2008), the open narrative format and participative strategies of co-orientation are at the centre of creative joint digital storytelling.

On Twitter, "functional operators" like the (at) - and retweet-function, the hashtag or the hyperlink-function allow for sorting, structuring and renewing of discourses. These micro forms of communicating and negotiating political topics appear as a "low-threshold" form of creative appropriation of digital political communication. In fact, carrying out joint communicative practices can be seen as highly contributive to generate social meaning to the ideals of democracy.

Based on a content analysis of 117,000 Tweets collected during 2012 state elections in Germany it will be shown how three groups of Twitter users (politicians, media accounts, citizens) engage in creative joint digital storytelling. Firstly, we differentiate three medium-based levels of political storytelling: (1) textual level, (2) semiotic level (#, (at) - and RT-Symbol, hyperlinks etc.) and (3) visual level (fotos, videos). From the perspective of narration, we assess narrative and discursive value to the storytelling episodes by distinguishing the following patterns: (a)

multi-actor storytelling, (b) collaborative vs. argumentational storytelling, and (c) cascaded storytelling. The paper aims towards a model of joint political storytelling as a mode of creating joint memories.

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**Id:** 13222

**Title:** Playing the 'Yellow Peril' Card: Historical Resonances in Donald Trump's Campaign Rhetoric

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Fanyijing Wang

Email: jannyw (at) uw.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: Department of Communication, University of Washington

Name: Scott Fritzen

Email: sfritzen (at) uw.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: Evans School of Public Affairs, University of Washington, Seattle, U.S.

**Abstract:** The use of a “racialized Other” as a target to rally against – “playing the race card”, as it has been colloquially termed – comes up frequently in American political discourse. This paper focuses attention onto one type of race card in use since the late 19th century, namely “yellow peril” discourse. Although yellow peril refers in the literature specifically to fear directed at Asia or Asians writ large, the paper argues that the key structural characteristics of the rhetoric are generalizable to any “racialized other” for use on the American political scene. The paper tests whether the core characteristics of yellow peril discourse as a political speech act – in which an essentialized and dehumanized group is argued to pose an immediate existential threat to the speaker/listener dyad as a mechanism for mobilizing political support – are evident in at least part of the American political landscape today, specifically in the campaign rhetoric of Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump.

To set the stage for examining Trump’s campaign rhetoric, this paper first lays out previous scholarship on the anti-others/immigrants rhetorical structures just noted: yellow peril discourse; anti-Mexican sentiment; and the use of the race card in political campaign strategy.

The research strategy goes in three steps. The first is to operationalize “yellow peril” as a general rhetorical structure – what are the key characteristics? The second is to relate that structure to content analysis of Trump’s speeches and interviews regarding three key ‘target groups’: Islamic terrorists, illegal immigrants, and China as an economic and political threat. Among these three target groups, only one has specifically Asian content, but the argument here is that the yellow peril logic does not have much to do with the specific geographical regions involved. Step three is to examine performative elements in Trump’s rhetoric as political speech acts (discourse analysis). Sources of discourse analysis include campaign rallies transcripts, the Trump website, interview and debate transcripts.

We argue that yellow peril as a political speech act (as opposed to general social commentary) has three elements that need to be characterized and then related to political campaign rhetoric. Those three elements are content, context and performance. The pragmatic coherence in Trump’s speeches is based on various kinds of conditional relations he tries to build up among

‘congratulations’, ‘assertions’, ‘condemnations’ and ‘commitments’ categories. A typical sequence in which these speech acts unfold: one speech act makes next speech act possible. Thus political commitments are established by speech acts.

We demonstrate that use of this yellow peril card is highly evident in his campaign’s rhetoric towards undocumented immigrants, China and the Chinese, and Muslims. The threat posed by these three groups in campaign rhetoric is structurally similar in ways that mirror yellow peril logic and that have deep historical resonances that go well beyond the theatrics and posturing that are the focus of most political commentary on the Trump campaign.

**Id:** 13307

**Title:** The media in the core of political conflict ' Collective memory and values behind the media in the Venezuelan political conflict during Chávez's presidency

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Virpi Salojärvi

Email: virpi.salojarvi (at) gmail.com

Country: FI (Finland)

Affiliation: University of Helsinki

**Abstract:** Media may be a participant or used as a tool in a political conflict. Different media outlets may have their own power ambitions or power holders may use media to form their own message and bring it out. In a conflict situation it is important to note how penetrated different discourses are into a society and to which audience they are directed to because as Gramsci (1979) notes socio-historical moments are never homogenous but there always is constant struggle between different power ambitions.

Researching political conflict Mouffe's (2013) divide between agonism and antagonism helps to approach the case. In antagonism the adversary is seen as an enemy. In a conflict situation as in the media (Sonwalkar 2005) and democracy (Mouffe 2000) in general, it is important to focus on the divide between them and us. In the research it is studied how the "us", the collective identity and the feeling of unity, is constructed in the media and by whom in the case study of Venezuelan political conflict. During President Chávez's administration there were in the macro level political power struggle between Chávez's and the opposition's supporters. The data consists of 817 newspaper articles and 33 interviews gathered in 2010-2012. The newspaper data consists of three separate news events from four national newspapers. The interviewees are different media actors from state, private and community media but also from NGOs, academia, civil society and politics. The media contents are analyzed with frame analysis and visual rhetorical analysis, and media actors' interviews are analyzed with argumentation analysis.

Venezuelan media are partly divided to support different (counter-)hegemonies which is reflected to the media ownerships and contents. However, it should be remembered that different parties of the conflict include a variety of groups for which the media's role as unifying the groups, constructing collective identities, becomes significant in the power struggle. As a political strategy forming a strong hegemonic enemy is used in both sides of the conflict. This is used to enforce community spirit and collective identity within the own group. Similarly the media may approach their (assumed) audience and construct the feeling of belonging. In the core of the conflict however are collective memories, which is the base of the values of different societal media actors. These values are in the core of the conflict since they are used to justify one's own actions and the actions of others.

**Id:** 13603

**Title:** CONTRADICTIONARY EFFECTS OF PUBLICITY: an analysis of problems involving public justification on human rights norms in the news media

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Vanessa Veiga de Oliveira

Email: vanessaveiga (at) ufmg.br

Country: BR (Brazil)

Affiliation: Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais

Name: Rousiley Celi Moreira Maia

Email: rousiley (at) gmail.com

Country: BR (Brazil)

Affiliation: Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais

**Abstract:** This study aims at investigating some contradictory effects of publicity in the news media in processes of public justification. By adopting a systemic approach to deliberation, it investigates a case in which a mass-public debate leads to substantive changes in rules recommended by citizens in mini-publics. To develop this research, we focus on a program of human rights norms in Brazil – the “Programa Nacional de Direitos Humanos” (PNDH-3). This case shows certain dilemmas of mass media publicity because PNDH-3 was the result of 137 deliberatively-designed conferences across Brazil over a period of eight months. Yet, when sanctioned by a Presidential decree and divulged by the media, PNDH3 was severely criticized by powerful national elites and was subsequently reformulated.

The analysis compares the changes in the PNDH-3 and the evolution of public controversies in major TV news (Jornal Nacional, Jornal da Band, Jornal da Record) and printed news (Estado de Minas, Folha de São Paulo and O Globo) between December 2008 and May 2010. This period involves: a) the proposal for creating PNDH-3; b) PNDH-3 public divulgation; c) the aftermath of the program’s reformulation. This study examines 793 statements to unpack justifications provided by different actors to support their positions in the news stories. Results show the issues that generated greater contestation; how sophisticated are such justifications; and the actors who articulate reasons based on a concept of the common good or in terms of narrow groups.

This paper presents both theoretical and analytical contributions. In theoretical terms, it helps evincing contradictory effects of publicity – a concept that is at the heart of deliberation. Habermas (2006, p. 413) has emphasized that “publicity and transparency” is a necessary condition to “generate legitimacy”. Publicity exerts pressures for policy-makers to defend policies and proposals backed up by public reasons. These reasons are those that the public could accept, as opposed to reasons grounded in sectarian interests and limited values. Publicity also helps citizens to hold decision-makers accountable (Cohen, 1997; Gutmann & Thompson, 1996). In contrast, a number of scholars have been more skeptical. Chambers (2005, p. 255) argues that

discussions “sheltered from public scrutiny” would at times be necessary to ensure high-quality deliberation, i.e, “more candid, honest and valuable” discussions. Goodin (2005) has remarked that participants, being worried about broader audience’s perception, may avoid changing their positions or accepting compromises. Our study reveals an elite-like nature of contestation and justification in the news media; and explores implications of a discursive solution adopted by the government to restrict human rights norms.

This article also presents analytical contributions. By bringing studies on deliberation and political communication together, it suggests how analysis of public controversies can be broadened. Our investigation considers the diversity of opportunities and constraints of debate in different settings (Chambers, 2005, 2009, 2012; Goodin, 2005; Parkinson & Mansbridge, 2012). In particular, it argues for a research agenda to “scaling up deliberation to a mass public” (Bächtiger & Wegmann, 2014; Niemeyer, 2014; Stevenson & Dryzek, 2014).

**Id:** 13626

**Title:** Can We Use Social Media Data to Predict Our Political Behaviors' A Mixed-Methods Study

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Jing Liu

Email: echocityu86 (at) gmail.com

Country: HK (Hong Kong)

Affiliation: Hong Kong University School of Professional and Continuing Education

Name: Marko M Skoric

Email: mskoric (at) cityu.edu.hk

Country: HK (Hong Kong)

Affiliation: City University of Hong Kong

**Abstract:** Previous research has utilized both network and content features of social media data to predict real-life public opinion and political behaviors (e.g. Adamic & Glance, 2005; Bollen et al., 2011; Boutet et al., 2012; Burgess & Bruns, 2012; Conover et al., 2011; Garcia et al., 2012). Still, there is no clear consensus about the utility of such approaches, as the predictive power of social media-derived estimates varies widely (Gayo-Avello, 2013). In this study, based on both survey and Twitter data from 251 respondents recruited on Amazon Mechanical Turk, we explore the feasibility of using social media data to predict online and offline political participation. The predictors include psychological features extracted from tweets, measures of online network influence, as well as demographic factors. Based on the 82,275 tweets of the 251 respondents collected during Nov. 2015 to Jan. 2016, we use LIWC lexicon (Pennebaker et al., 2015) to conduct text analysis and extracted three categories of psychological features (i.e., drives, affects, and cognitive process). In detail, five types of drives (i.e., affiliation, achievement, power, reward, and risk), five types of affects (i.e., positive emotion, negative emotion, anxiety, anger, and sadness), six types of cognitive process (insight, causation, discrepancy, tentative, certainty, differentiation) were derived from the tweets. Online network influence was measured by four types of centrality metrics (i.e., [in-/out-] Degree centrality, Betweenness centrality, Closeness centrality, Eigenvector centrality) generated by social network analysis (Freeman, 1978), PageRank (Chen et al., 2007), Follower/Followee ratio (Gayo Avello & Brenes Martínez, 2010), and Retweet/Tweet ratio (Hawthorne et al., 2013). Online political participation and offline political participation are measured by the scales modeled after a study by Gil de Zúñiga et al. (2012).

We found that five psychological features (i.e., positive emotion, insight, affiliation, and reward) together significantly predicted online political participation (model 1),  $R^2 = .102$ ,  $F(5,245) = 5.56$ ,  $p < .001$ , while only one psychological factor (i.e., affiliation) significantly predicted offline political participation (model 2),  $R^2 = .024$ ,  $F(1,249) = 5.994$ ,  $p < 0.05$ . Thus, we conclude that user generated contents in social media could provide certain psychological cues to predict one's online and offline political behavior; however, online network influence, despite of

the various measures utilized to capture its dimensions, failed to help in predicting political behaviors, both online and offline.

Keywords: social network analysis, text analysis, social influence, political participation, social media

**Id:** 13633

**Title:** Safeguarding the Status Quo: The press and the emergence of a new left in Greece and Spain

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Maria Kyriakidou

Email: m.kyriakidou (at) uea.ac.uk

Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: University of East Anglia

Name: Iñaki Garcia-Blanco

Email: garcia-blancoi (at) cardiff.ac.uk

Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: Cardiff University

**Abstract:** The political party systems of Greece and Spain are undergoing a radical transformation. Two political parties (Syriza and Podemos, respectively) have captured the civic indignation against a political establishment that was (at least) partially responsible for the crisis, deeply corrupt, disconnected from citizens, and uncritically embracing the austerity policies imposed by supranational organisations such as the EU and the World Bank. Presenting themselves as a plausible alternative to mainstream political parties, Syriza and Podemos have transformed the outrage that fuelled the Indignados and the Οι Αγανακτισμένοι movements into partisan options that have been extremely successful in different electoral contests (2015 European Parliament elections, 2015 General Elections in both countries, 2015 Regional and Local elections in Spain).

Although some voices in the press celebrated the regenerative force of these political organisations, the emergence of these parties has not been free from controversy and opposition. The national press in both countries has presented these parties as a possible cure to the economic and political crisis in both countries, but also as a threat to the political status quo and to national competitiveness.

Through a discourse analysis of Greek (Kathimerini, ta Nea, and Naftemporiki) and Spanish (El País, El Mundo, and ABC) newspapers, this paper examines the journalistic construction of these two parties as political actors in the run-up to different elections (2015 European Parliament elections, 2015 General Elections in both countries, 2015 Regional and Local elections in Spain). The paper argues that the Left parties were predominantly constructed as a threat to political stability in both countries and their anti-austerity policies as extreme political positions. In this way, newspaper coverage indirectly contributed to the legitimisation of the imposed austerity policies and neoliberal narratives of the Euro crisis.

**Id:** 13643

**Title:** The Mexican Green Party's smoke and mirrors: from political communication effects to backward realpolitik in the mid-term election of 2015

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Julio Juárez-Gámiz

Email: jjuarez (at) unam.mx

Country: MX (Mexico)

Affiliation: Associate researcher at the Centro de Investigaciones Interdisciplinarias en Ciencias y Humanidades at UNAM

**Abstract:** Campaign strategies are generally evaluated on the basis of electoral results. Victory will highlight 'successful' strategies that ought to be reproduced while a defeat tend to generate 'fool-proof' not-to-do's manuals. However, every school of thought within the realm of political communication will advance the importance of context when analyzing communication effects. The paper analyses the 2015 mid-term election communication strategy of the Partido Verde Ecologista de Mexico (PVEM) in light of its electoral outcome. From early on the party tried and in fact did bend every rule regarding media exposure and paid advertising on different media outlets from television advertising to adverts on cinemas. The PVEM tactics raised public criticism on both the party but also on the electoral authority, the National Electoral Institute (INE). In spite of being the most penalized political party during an ongoing election in the history of Mexican politics, the demands to cancel the party's registry (considered in the local electoral law as the ultimate penalty) were not met by the INE's General Council. Notwithstanding the legal debate for and against this decision, the truth is that many labelled the PVEM's unlawful communication strategy as successful in electoral terms without effectively analyzing its impact on different electoral markets. The paper thus establishes a national comparative analysis in which different regional communication tools utilized by the Party are measured against its historic voting record in all 32 states from the previous congressional election in 2012. The paper points out the importance of rethinking communication effects within particular contexts of political clientelism and conditioned electoral freedom characteristic of certain regions in Mexico.

**Id:** 13676

**Title:** Democracy drowned in Numbers: Election Polls and News Reporting in Brazil's 2014 Presidential Campaign

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Amelia Aben Athar Olinto Ramos

Email: ameliaab (at) hotmail.com

Country: BR (Brazil)

Affiliation: universidade federal fluminense - uff

**Abstract:** This study investigates the ways in which two of Brazil's most influential newspapers – O Globo and Folha de Sao Paulo – have used election polls to construct their news during the 2014 presidential campaign. These two publications were selected based on two main reasons: they belong to the country's largest media corporations (the giant Globo and Folha de Sao Paulo Media Groups) and they also target the markets of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, Brazil's largest urban centres. The candidate Dilma Roussef (Brazil's current president) had a significant lead over the other candidates throughout most of the campaign. However, a tragic incident, in which one candidate, Eduardo Campos, was killed in an airplane crash, had a strong impact on the elections. Shortly after Campos died, Marina Silva, a former presidential contender who was running as his vice-president started to be presented as the voters' favourite by the two papers.

Drawing from this case study, this research project aims to analyse the ways in which news reports make use of election surveys as potential rhetorical tools. In a context in which political news in Brazil seem to increasingly rely on numbers to assure their credibility, the results of such surveys are often interpreted as the absolute truth by readers and voters. This might carry problematic implications for society's democratic processes. In this way, my focus here is to analyse the different political uses of numbers by journalists as an attempt to better comprehend the relationships between the journalists, their sources and the survey institutes that feed them with the data needed for political news stories.

**Id:** 13682

**Title:** Civic engagement on multiple platforms: Investigating the social media use of Greenpeace followers

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Anastasia Kavada

Email: A.Kavada (at) westminster.ac.uk

Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Westminster

Name: Sandy Schumann

Email: sandy.schumann (at) new.ox.ac.uk

Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: Oxford University

**Abstract:** Research on online civic participation tends to either focus on a specific platform or to be platform-agnostic, disregarding that citizens engage online on multiple platforms and that practices of civic participation in one context may depend on users' activities on other platforms. Research also tends to investigate the efforts of civic organizations to engage users online, rather than the users' attitudes and habits of civic participation. This paper addresses these gaps through a survey of Greenpeace supporters (N=620) in different countries. The questionnaire examined the users' practices of civic participation on different platforms, including Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, as well as the Greenpeace email list, personal email services, and personal blogs. Principle component analysis allowed us to identify distinct types of civic participation across the different platforms and services. These included information retrieval (e.g. reading news about Greenpeace and its activities), interaction (e.g. commenting and 'liking' on Facebook), entertainment (e.g. playing interactive games), expressing support (e.g. by changing the Facebook profile photo), and taking action (e.g. signing petitions). However, the types of civic participation and how these were distributed on different platforms also depended on the number of platforms used by Greenpeace supporters. Most of our survey respondents engaged with Greenpeace on three or more platforms. As supporters became active on multiple settings, Facebook was increasingly used as a platform to express endorsement through 'likes', to take action, and to share information about Greenpeace with one's own network. The website, on the other hand, served as a platform on which users gathered and then shared information onto other platforms. Our results also show that users engaging on multiple platforms tend to take more actions, such as making donations or signing petitions.

By focusing on multiple platforms, this paper demonstrates how civic engagement unfolds on different online spaces. It offers an insight into the functions of commercial and proprietary platforms for non-governmental organizations and discusses how these work in conjunction with the platforms designed and owned by the organization, as well as the personal online media of its followers. It thus provides a more accurate picture of the networked and convergent citizenship facilitated by the current online environment and of the challenges that such practices of civic

engagement pose for non-governmental organizations like Greenpeace.

**Id:** 13714

**Title:** The construction of political leadership through the photographic image on social media. The Spanish case facing the decisive 2015 general elections.

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Hugo Doménech-Fabregat

Email: hdomenec (at) uji.es

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Universitat Jaume I de Castelló

Name: Amparo López-Meri

Email: meri (at) uji.es

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Universitat Jaume I de Castelló

Name: Pablo López-Rabadán

Email: rabadan (at) uji.es

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Universitat Jaume I de Castelló

**Abstract:** The management of the political photography is vital to project an strategic and careful image of the political leader. Nowadays, in digital environment, the potential of social media as platforms to spread pictures about politics represents a key factor in the intentional plannification of contemporary political communication.

The aim of this paper is to analyze the political leader's image that political parties promote through the pictures published on social media. Specifically, this study focuses on Twitter and analyzes the presence of the political leader in photographs spread from the official profile of the leader and his party. In order to do this, different variables are contemplated in two spheres: contents and formal processing of the pictures. In the first sphere, professional and personal attributes of the leader and the agenda of topics proposed are reviewed. In the second sphere, the staging, the technical quality and the application of postproduction effects are studied.

The methodology used is based on the technique of investigation of the case study. According to the exemplary work of the photographer Pete Souza in the Obama administration, the sample focuses on the analysis of Spanish political context. In particular, it is studied the timeline of four political parties and their leaders in Twitter during the six months preceding the official election campaign in December 2015. The political parties selected, all with parliamentary representation, are two traditional parties (PP and PSOE) and two emerging parties (Ciudadanos and Podemos) with real options, all of them, of coming to power. In this context, the process of construction of the image of the candidates to chair the Spanish government, in a field so new as social networks, becomes particularly relevant.

In the temporary level, to delimitate the sample, six weeks between June and December 2015 have been randomly selected, before the Spanish general elections. This case is crucial to study the construction of political leadership because of two factors: the deep wear of the traditional parties and the rise of new political formations, which burst strongly into the Spanish political scene to satisfy the demand for democratic regeneration required by citizenship.

The findings confirm the use of the photography in Twitter as an integrated routine in the communication policy of the main Spanish political parties. Moreover, this study identifies a significant number of topics and formal characteristics associated with the leader' image and allows an overall evaluation about if these strategies are effective to boost his credibility.

This work is included in the research project CSO 2014-52283-C2-1-P, funded by the Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness of Spain (Plan 2013-2016).

Keywords: digital photography, political communication, social media, Twitter, Spain

**Id:** 13756

**Title:** Analyzing Users and the Media Agenda Setting during the 2015 Israeli General Elections

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Dana Weimann-Saks

Email: danawe (at) yvc.ac.il

Country: IL (Israel)

Affiliation: College of Emek Yezreel

Name: Vered Elishar-Malka

Email: veredm (at) yvc.ac.il

Country: IL (Israel)

Affiliation: College of Emek Yezreel

Name: Ruth Avidar

Email: rutha (at) yvc.ac.il

Country: IL (Israel)

Affiliation: College of Emek Yezreel

Name: Yaron Ariel

Email: yarona (at) yvc.ac.il

Country: IL (Israel)

Affiliation: College of Emek Yezreel

**Abstract:** The growth of online social networks raises questions about the interconnectedness of ‘new’ and ‘old’ media. In view of the increased use of new media and in light of the potential impact of new media on the agenda, this study employed the agenda setting perspective (McCombs & Shaw, 1972) with a special focus on its new media-related evolution (Weaver, McCombs & Shaw, 2004; Coleman, McCombs, Shaw & Weaver, 2009; McCombs, Holbert, Kioussis & Wanta, 2011). This topic is particularly relevant during elections.

In this study, we compared the online public discourse that took place over Web 2.0 platforms (e.g., social networks and readers' comments on news websites) with the main topics on television evening news broadcasts during the 2015 Israeli general election.

The first research question examined whether, and to what extent, compatibility can be found between the online public agenda and the media agenda, as manifested in evening news broadcasts. The second explored the extent to which television preserves its power as an agenda-setter in an age in which the Internet and social networks are experiencing increasing popularity. In other words, does television continue to function as an autonomous player that influences the public agenda, or does the online public agenda facilitate ‘reverse agenda-setting’ (McCombs, 2004) that influences the media?

Two quantitative research methods were employed as part of this study: First was a content analysis (n=132) of all evening news broadcasts on three Israeli television channels (one public

and two commercial) during the six weeks preceding Election Day. Second was an online system that crawled through all available (public and open) online Israeli social networks and news websites during the same period. This system was used to monitor conversations, identify specific topics, and record the volume and duration of discourses generated of each topic that was monitored.

The findings revealed consistency between the media agenda and the online public agenda ( $r = .42, p < .05$ ). There was no significant difference between the most salient subjects on television and those on the Internet. Ordinal regression analysis revealed that the relative salience trends in the online public discourse followed those of the television news broadcasts ( $X^2_{2.95; df=587} = 21.205, p < .01$ ). A comparative analysis of salience trends in the coverage of the topics at hand revealed a similarity between the two media spheres.

These and other research results imply there is interconnectedness and a convergence of 'old' and 'new' media. Nonetheless, online public discourse continues to be fed by, among other things, information sourced from traditional media. In other words, at the very least, it is too early to declare television's demise as an important arena.

**Id:** 13762

**Title:** All change in the British media and UK politics' Continuities and changes in news coverage of General Elections

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Dominic Wring

Email: d.j.wring (at) lboro.ac.uk

Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: Loughborough University

**Abstract:** The paper compares and contrasts traditional news coverage of the most recent UK General Election of 2015 with previous British campaigns drawing on Loughborough University Communication Research Centre's surveys of content that began in 1992. Consideration is also given to the similarities and differences between the legally regulated (to be impartial) broadcasters and the notoriously partisan print media. The latter have acquired a reputation for trying to influence public opinion, particularly in their coverage of elections. However declining readerships and scandals such as the 2011 phone hacking revelations have led to some commentators to claim these supposedly once opinion-forming news media have become increasingly marginal to political debate. Yet there is evidence that the 2015 campaign marked something of a return to partisan form for some of those titles who had significantly moderated their traditional colourful reporting of elections during the Blair era and his party's three victories.

Drawing on the Loughborough team's extensive as well as unique audits of news media coverage of several UK election campaigns the paper will explore a number of pertinent topics. The sampled material includes all of the national press as well as the major broadcasters including the BBC as well as its commercial rivals. Several themes and issues will be addressed including what was and was not on the policy agenda in the run-up to polling day. These include the personalisation of the campaign and whether or not there evidence to suggest this has increased in recent years and if so which kind of actors have become more or less prominent during this period. A related question is the degree to which the leadership debates introduced in 2010 for the first time ever in British electoral history have had a discernible impact in terms of the presidential nature of the resulting coverage. Other areas for exploration include an assessment of how the rise of what were once labelled the smaller parties, i.e. the Greens, the anti-EU UK Independence Party, and the nationalists in Scotland and Wales, has registered on the media agenda.

**Id:** 13788

**Title:** Uses and Gratifications of Social Media

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Hamza S. Mohamed Saad

Email: hlmm2006 (at) yahoo.com

Country: AE (United Arab Emirates)

Affiliation: Dr

**Abstract:** Abstract: Though Egypt boasts high levels of political and media freedoms compared to many countries in the Middle East, and it enjoys an exciting social media scene, however, the use of social media applications as tools of political information has not been fully explored by the Egyptian researchers. This study aims to observe and analyse to what extent university students are actively seeking out political information on social media during the 2015 Egyptian parliamentary election campaigns. Moreover, it explores the impact of social media usage in the production of political information and its influence on participants' likelihood to vote. A random sample of 400 students at three public Egyptian universities qualified to vote in the 2015 parliamentary election were selected. The study drew from the uses and gratifications approach.

The social media applications have dramatically changed the media landscape by expending individuals' access to information and their opportunities to express their own opinions. The interactive nature of social media makes the uses and gratifications approach well suited for studying the phenomena of extensive use of social media among adults especially, university students. It should be mentioned that although there is a huge literature empirically studying the Internet and social media political effects and usage in Western liberal democracies, but there are few such studies researching developing countries, where, political, economic and social systems are completely different. Consequently, the current study is designed to enhance literature by investigating how and why university students are actively seeking out political information on social media during the 2015 parliamentary election.

**Research Design and Methodology.**

For a study that requires responses from a sizeable sample, a survey was deemed the most appropriate and flexible way by which respondents can provide answers to a self-administered questionnaire. The questionnaire-based survey research was conducted over the Six-week period from 10 October 2015 to 25 November 2015 during the first and second round of the 2015 parliamentary election campaign in Egypt. A random sample of 400 Egyptian university students who use the social media and have the right to vote in the election was selected. The university students were chosen to conduct the study because young adults, especially university students are considered as vast users of social media applications all over the world

**Research Questions**

This study tries to examine the following research questions:

1. What are the patterns of exposure to social media and traditional media among university

students in Egypt?

2. What are the uses and gratifications obtained by Egyptian university students in general from using social media?
3. How often do university students actively seek out political information on social media?
4. What is the role played by social media in the production of students' political information?

**Id:** 13833

**Title:** Tweeting the results: How newspapers covered the Iowa election primary

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Jason Stamm

Email: jstamm2 (at) radford.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: Radford University

**Abstract:** While aspiring United States presidential candidates had been campaigning and laying the groundwork for their campaigns, the first indication of who could be the next president took place on Feb. 1, 2016. The run-up to each presidential election officially begins in Iowa, during the state's primary elections, the first of state primary elections held throughout the country. The study analyzes how Twitter was used in election coverage, from a national (Los Angeles Times), regional (The Des Moines Register) and local (The Roanoke Times) level. Twitter has been commonly used by journalists since its inception in 2006 and based on who the author of the tweet is or the subject matter, can become news itself (Broersma & Graham, 2013).

Theoretically, this study uses Diffusion of Innovations to explain the messages the newspapers are sending and how and why innovations, such as Twitter, become embedded within and become mainstays of cultures (Rogers 2003.) Diffusion of Innovations is defined as something communicated over time through different channels by those in a social system or culture and is important when explaining why newspapers use Twitter as a communication medium and the importance placed upon it. Wand in the process of innovation, when an innovation becomes commonplace, then the innovators will become part of the community (Robertson, 1967). This paper addresses the tactics used by newspapers, the message conveyed, whether sensationalized or not and the success of these through the following research questions: 1) How did regional and national newspapers use Twitter in covering the Iowa election primary? 2) To what extent were tweets from newspapers sensationalized? 3) What were the similarities and differences in how regional and national newspapers used Twitter in covering of the election primary?

The methodology the study utilizes is a content analysis of the tweets by the three newspapers, which explains how they report, the volume of tweets, and the stance they take towards a candidate or party. A content analysis explains how various contexts, including size and location are used in communication via Twitter. The timeline examined was the day before the primary election, the date of the primary (Feb. 1, 2016) and the day following the primary election. Two coders were used and inter-coder reliability was calculated using ReCal2.

Results show that the Los Angeles Times tweeted more than double the amount of The Des Moines Register and The Roanoke Times. The study also found that the national and regional newspapers used more advanced innovations, such as a branded Bit.ly domain. Bit.ly is a relatively new tool used in order to shorten and track data from links. By using a branded Bit.ly domain, newspapers gain more credibility, according to Bit.ly's blog. This illustrates that local newspapers have plenty of room to catch up to their larger brethren.

**Id:** 13852

**Title:** PARTISAN MEDIA AND DEMOCRACY: EXAMINING THE ROLE OF VIEWERS'S POLARIZED EXPOSURE ON THEIR POLITICAL PERCEPTION

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Muhammad zahid

Email: zahid.bilal (at) uog.edu.pk

Country: PK (Pakistan)

Affiliation: Assistant Professor,Center for Media and Communication Studies,University of Gujrat.Pakistan

Name: umair nadeem

Email: umair.nadeem (at) uog.edu.pk

Country: PK (Pakistan)

Affiliation: Lecturer and PhD fellow at Center for Media and Communication Studies, University of Gujrat, Pakistan

Name: sobia abid

Email: sobia.abid (at) gmail.com

Country:

Affiliation: Lecturer and PhD fellow at Center for Media and Communication Studies, University of Gujrat, Pakistan

**Abstract:** Partisan media can lead toward polarized views among the audience about political parties. It has been argued that people get them exposed to that media outlet which support their political affiliations. Role of partisan media, in this selective exposure situation, is considered very significant in understanding the individual's behavior toward democratic process of society. This study found a very interesting example of partisan media during a political movement after the general elections 2013 in Pakistan. This movement made its way on the issue of electoral rigging. Two mainstream television channels i.e. 'Geo TV' and 'ARY TV', it was observed, were divided on political issue of electoral rigging. Polarization between these channels may have attracted to the audience that were affiliated to that party to whom certain media house was favoring. This study aims to examine the relationship between selective exposure and polarized media effects on university students' perception about two mainstream political parties i.e. Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PMLN) and Pakistan Tehreek-e- Insaf (PTI) respectively. Both parties were divided on the issue of electoral rigging issue likewise media houses. Data was collected from 185 students of universities from Gujrat city. Findings reveals although students have become more politically active and choosy in channel selection during electoral rigging issue in Pakistan, yet they don't avoid contradictory information. Selective and diverse exposure, both are prevalent among students. They are not only watching GEO TV, but also ARY TV for electoral rigging information. However, multiple linear regression results found GEO TV as a good predictor in shaping pro PML-N attitude. On the other hand, ARY TV is a good predictor

for shaping pro-PTI perception.

**Id:** 13936

**Title:** Turning back towards Anti-Diversity' Dynamics of Boundary Drawing within the German Right Populist Party AfD

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Özgür Özvatan

Email: oezguer.oezvatan (at) hu-berlin.de

Country: DE (Germany)

Affiliation: Humboldt University of Berlin, Institute of Social Sciences

**Abstract:** The rise of right populist parties in Europe triggers reflexive public and academic debates over the role of right populism in Europe and its effects on the making of a European Identity. Some cases remain as resistant bastions that impede the electoral success and permanent establishment of right populist parties, though. In Germany, one of those bastions, right populist parties evolved at different time periods in recent decades, but the only remarkable electoral success was achieved by the NPD in the early 1990s. In 2013, Bernd Lucke, professor of economics, founded the German right populist party Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) setting up a new strategy by assembling a team comprised of liberal eurosceptics and national-conservatives. In this study, I argue that, once migration-related issues are said to be the most important societal problems, political discourses addressed by right populist parties undergo a substantial change. In those times, not only discursive shifts between the AfD's poles are caused, but also do the national-conservatives gain the upper hand by turning towards discourses of anti-diversity, which are characterized by romanticized narrations of ultra-homogeneous societies.

For this reason, I ask how political discourses of the AfD's two wings, liberal eurosceptics and national-conservatives, and their cohesion are challenged in times of highly salient migration-related issues in public perception. Moreover, it is asked how discursive boundaries are redrawn within the AfD in respective times.

In order to capture the interactional change of discursive boundaries, I compared contentious public debates of the AfD from 2013 to the break of the wings in summer 2015. More precisely, I compared streams that evolved before and after migration-related issues were perceived as Germany's most important problems. For this comparison, I coded 456 political claims out of 136 media articles gathered from the online archive of the German daily newspaper Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ). Relying on the discourse process of these two years, I put the discourse peaks under scrutiny. In so doing, I do not only focus on the interactional change in heated political debates across streams of contention in general, but by employing the Discourse Network Analyzer (DNA) I also highlight which discursive elements are emphasized or ignored by whom in what context. Discourse networks allow reliable comparisons of public debates and facilitate to delineate and compare political discourses.

First results of my research show that either the political discourses addressed by both wings and their interaction underlies a huge change. After migration-related issues became most salient in public, nodes with confrontative stances between the wings increase. This study shows that migration easily enters political discourses of right populist parties comprised of liberal eurosceptics and national-conservatives and makes them face a crucial test. Assembling the puzzle of discourses and their elements (nodes) depicts the overall picture of right populist parties that turn towards narrations of anti-diversity once migration-related issues are perceived as the most important problem in public.

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**Title:** Old and new political parties in Twitter. The 2015 electoral campaign in Spain

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: Andreu Casero-Ripollés

Email: casero (at) uji.es

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: University Jaume I of Castellón (Spain)

Name: Laura Alonso-Muñoz

Email: lalonso (at) uji.es

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: University Jaume I of Castellón (Spain)

Name: Silvia Marcos-García

Email: smarcos (at) uji.es

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: University Jaume I of Castellón (Spain)

**Abstract:** Social media have changed political communication, becoming in a key tool especially in the electoral campaigns. Platforms like Twitter let us developing communicative strategies closest to the citizens, promoting the dialog and the interactivity with the users and limiting the mass media influence.

In Spain, the 2011 electoral campaign was the starting point in the use of Twitter by the Spanish political parties, who saw on it a direct channel of communication to the citizens. In 2015 this trend has consolidate and the use of this digital platform is widespread. Meanwhile, the Spanish political system has seen the emergence of two new political parties that have gained significant electoral result: Ciudadanos and Podemos, who comes from the 15M protest movement.

The main goal of this paper is to analyse comparatively the use of Twitter by the Spanish old and new political parties during the electoral campaign. Especially our analysis will focus on two aspects. The first one will be the general management of their profiles in Twitter, attending aspects such as number of publications, retweets or their followers. And the second one will be centred in the agenda-setting that they present during the electoral campaign in this social network.

The methodology used is based on a quantitative content analysis that will be complemented with a metrical analysis of the Twitter profiles selected. In this sense, the sample will be composed by the profiles of the four political parties that obtained the highest results in the Spanish parliament: PP and PSOE, the agents of the old political logic because of their extensive experience, and Podemos and Ciudadanos, present for the first time to a general elections where

they obtained the 20,6% and 13,9% of the votes respectively. The study period corresponds with the 2015 Presidential electoral campaign. Specifically the 15 days of campaign, the reflection day, the voting day and the day after the election, when the results were known.

The obtained results show that management of Twitter is significantly different among old and new political parties. This shows that the trajectory of the political party is a determining factor for the use of Twitter. Recent political parties make more intensive use of Twitter. Generate a greater number of tweets and have a greater number of followers, causing a greater impact of their communication. In the same way, the new parties will focus on promoting actions to regenerate democracy and social change, while the old parties are focused on self-promotion.

Keywords: Twitter, political communication, social media, electoral campaign, Spain.

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**Title:** The effect of office sought and campaign experience on support for political campaign reform in the United States

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

Name: James Kevin Hertog

Email: jim.hertog (at) uky.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: University of Kentucky

Name: Seungahn Nah

Email: seungahn.nah (at) uky.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: University of Kentucky

**Abstract:** In his 2016 State of the Union Address, President Barack Obama called for reform of campaigns in the United States in order to reduce the impact of private money on the process. The influence of large donors, secretive PACs and unaffiliated groups seeking to influence the outcomes of elections have long been a source of concern in the US. Little is known about the views of those who could actually enact reforms--the candidates themselves-- regarding the varied proposals put forward over the years, such as the provision of free television air time to candidates, requiring that all political ads identify their sponsorship, inclusion of all qualified candidates in debates, and so on. Nor is it clear what the impact of running for public office in the United States upon candidate support for such proposals might be. To determine what the impact of candidate characteristics, office sought and campaign experience on support for a range of measures might be, findings from biennial online surveys of candidates seeking a wide variety of elected positions in the United States were reviewed. The measures included several sets of questions regarding office-seekers' support for a series of proposed reforms of campaigns, their demographic characteristics, the offices they sought, their access to various communication channels, and their support for a number of proposed reforms. Data from 2010, 2011, 2012 and 2014 surveys, totaling over 3,000 respondents and including a targeted sample of judicial candidates, were analyzed both for overall impact of the variables outlined above on the reforms and any trends in support for the reforms that might reflect the impact of increased access to Internet distribution or campaign communications, contact with constituents via social media, etc.

