



Political Communication Section
Abstracts accepted for presentation at IAMCR 2015 in Montreal, Canada

Id: 9205

Title: Communication, Power, and Uneven Alliances: A Case Study of the Goals 2000: Educate America Act

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Abstract: In 1994, President Bill Clinton signed the Goals 2000: Educate America Act, effectively establishing national education standards. In marketing the law, the Clinton administration took the unprecedented step of touting teachers as educational leaders; thus, seemingly reversing decades of rhetoric in which teachers were either blamed for school failure or rendered "victims" of reform efforts. Casting teachers as solutions to education's ills, and even encouraging educators to use their discretion in implementing the law, the administration seemingly advanced a new rhetoric of teacher empowerment. Indeed, teachers were no longer "victims" of reform, but professionals who deserved autonomy and respect. However, by the end of Clinton's presidency, the American public's trust in teachers had fallen to all time lows, while support for federal intervention in education had risen. Teachers, the intended beneficiaries of Clinton's rhetoric, were by the end of Clinton's campaign of empowerment, worse off. This paper explores the communicative strategies Clinton's administration strategically and consistently employed during its marketing of Goals 2000. I seek to argue that though the administration genuinely wanted to partner with teachers, it also sought to legitimize the federal government's role in education. Using Entman's (2004) concepts of substantive and procedural frames, I suggest that the administration first used a substantive frame to establish a "problem" of systematic educational equity and a "solution" of teacher-led reforms. However, because of divides within the administration, Clinton's team soon labeled teachers as the "problem". Thus, I hope to argue that the administration, however unintentionally, moved from a substantive frame to a procedural one, transforming education reform into a horserace and rendering teachers the losers. Using archival sources and public opinion polls, I hope to suggest that as the administration's framework delegitimized teachers as educational leaders, it concurrently furthered the notion that education reform was a structural issue with viable federal solutions. This paper contributes to literature on political alliances, communicative strategies, and political outcomes. I suggest that institutional power must be considered in studies of political alliances and communicative strategies; indeed, in its Goals 2000 rhetoric, the Clinton administration was able to leverage a robust political marketing machine to shape the public's views on teachers, the nature of education reform, and the federal government's role in education. Moreover, despite shifting rhetorical strategies, the administration was able to achieve a central aim and gain political capital because of this institutional power. I also explore the implications for marginalized groups—professional or other—that align

with the federal government. Is communication, I question, a viable means of resistance against a behemoth like the federal government? I end the paper by exploring the extent to which communicative strategies should be evaluated for not only their ability to legitimize power (e.g., the administration's gaining an unprecedented foothold in education) but also for their ability to delegitimize (e.g., teachers' diminished role). I suggest that as in the case of Goals 2000, political communication's potential to establish and destabilize power should be considered separately, and that each might require different strategies of resistance.

Id: 9269

Title: Wearing my values on my sleeve: Comparing local politicians' values as expressed in their newsletters and council meeting comments

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Abstract: This paper explores the relationship between what city council members say in their newsletters with what they say within city council meetings. The assumption is that because newsletters are more completely under their control, the values that guide them will be more clearly represented than they will under conditions of a collectively established meeting agenda and deliberative process. Although newsletters and press releases issued by Members of Congress have been studied in relation to a small set of strategic goals related to being re-elected to office, there is general agreement that 'claims-staking' and 'position-taking' messages are constrained by the perceived ideological character of their constituents. In order to test this assumption at the local level, the relationship between votes for Democratic candidates within the wards from which councilmembers had been elected is compared with references made to key values associated with governance (accountability, transparency, collaboration, and concern for quality of life) in newsletters and council meetings. In addition to the share of recent (2013) votes going to Democratic candidates (DVS) in each ward, a poverty/stress index (PSI) computed for each ward is also examined as a predictor of councilmembers' emphasis on those governance values. The correlation between the poverty/stress index and the share of votes for Democrats by ward is high and significant, despite the fact that there were only six wards in a single city in this preliminary analysis. Examining the relationships between DVS and references to transparency revealed a strong positive correlation within the council meetings, but not within individual councilmembers' newsletters. The relationships among values across newsletters, and between newsletters and council meetings are also explored. References to these core values are substantially higher within newsletters than within council meetings, and the emphasis on values differs by context. The only strong correlation between the values expressed by councilmembers in newsletters and council meetings is observed with regard to the value of accountability. Examination of the relationships between DVS and values controlling for PSI finds a strong positive correlation with references to transparency and accountability within council meetings. No significant relationships were observed with regard newsletters, although the correlation with accountability approached significance at the .10 level. Discussion and conclusions include an assessment of the limitations of the study, and the importance of exploring local political communication patterns across a representative sample of cities.

Id: 9327

Title: Twitter and political participation in 2014 Ayotzinapa slaughter in Mexico

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Abstract: During the past two decades, media have brought three important events in Mexico into the spotlight. The Zapatista uprising in 1994 in the state of Chiapas, led by Sub Commander Marcos; the student mobilization #YoSoy132, launched Mexico City in 2012 and the massacre of students perpetrated in 2014 by police and members of organized crime in the state of Guerrero. One of the main factors all three events have in common is the role played by hyper-media technology during all of them, each according to their specific circumstance. E-mails played a significant part in the first phenomenon, whereas the following two events employed digital media through social networking. This paper builds a theoretical and methodological framework, documenting the conflict started in the wake of the Ayotzinapa-student-killing in the state of Guerrero, Mexico. It links two types of recurring interactions in political communication research: the nature of virtual communication and the political involvement of community participation engaged in social change. It focuses on the interrelation between democracy and communication with the student-killing at its core. It analyzes results from a study done between September-December 2014, highlighting the impact of public participation through the micro-blog Twitter. The goal of this ongoing research is to answer the following questions: What can be said so far, of the role that Twitter played as the conflict evolved, in relation to information, communication and social mobilization? What changing dynamics affected contexts, procedures and actors during the event? What conditions of the Mexican media hybrid-system facilitated the protests? What consequent

policy-response was there' Four major premises guided this ongoing research. First: visibility, outreach, participation and social and political repercussions would not have been possible (as stated by Andrew Chadwick), without political involvement of both old and new media logics in the organization and communication of the political expressions engendered. Second: participation through digital media alone, would not have promoted the social mobilization initiated and would not have had the influence on public policy, implied, as it used to be argued. Third: the single analysis of tweets cannot provide conclusive evidence about the role of social media in the protest referred. Fourth: is not easy to find a causal link between digital media and political protest. There needs to be a complex combination of events, forces, and people in order for social media to be effective in political change. Statistical multivariate methods scrutinized and shaped results, using frequency methods such as means, standard deviations and non-parametric distributional functions. Data was obtained from distinct sources in order to ensure quality, given the time-frame of the study. Variables considered included hashtags, demographics, influential media accounts, origin, languages, sources, number of posts, public outreach and publications made through printed and electronic media. Analysis required procedures to transform quantitative into qualitative input and address contextual contrasting between historic events during the Ayotzinapa crisis and Twitter's dynamic interaction. Data was gathered monitoring multiple direct and indirect sources, contexts, processes and social and political actors involved, through the contents they conveyed via Twitter.

Id: 9330

Title: Political Journalism Performance in Middle East and North Africa (MENA): A True Case of Dystopia in Egypt

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Abstract: There has been drastic changes in MENA in the last three years that were not sufficiently associated with understanding of the nature of this specific regional crisis. In this political fluidity, the region was destabilized and experienced an intense "era of crises" of mal-governance that range from military regimes to religious states with an acute tone of communication crisis. The research offers a much-needed understanding of the political journalism, which is constantly reshaped in the modern media landscape. It provides a conceptual and empirical answer on the manifestation of journalistic roles in performance, based on the relationship that journalism holds with de facto power, journalists' levels of implication in a story, as well as the way journalists conceive of their audiences (i.e., as citizens, clients or spectators). The fieldwork of the project involves (1) news content analysis and (2) surveys with those journalists who produced the news articles, which we analyzed in the first stage of our comparative project. The aim research question in the research is how the political culture influences media systems and reflect on its journalistic performance in news content. In the meantime, communities draw on a multitude of imaginaries, narratives and symbolic representations to make sense of climate change and its risks. I discuss first the lived experiences of risks at the community level and then follow this with a discussion of the meanings attached to these risks (Saleh, 2010). It is important to consider cultural and political processes that shape how risk is conceived, prioritized and managed. Applying a cultural-political lens magnifies the need to examine how knowledge, meaning and power are produced and negotiated in relation to climate change risks. But attention should be directed towards the ways in which communities define their shared experiences, identities, values, and their way of life. In the meantime, different interpretations implicitly empower some as experts or elites in certain societies, while excluding other windows of knowledge and practices (Pidgeon and Butler, 2009). Considering the historical trajectory of news from news hawkers in the Middle Ages to bloggers in the Information Age, it is possible to argue that we are now witnessing the death of 'modern news', as conceived in the nineteenth century. In this situation of multiple changes, serious thought is required about what constitutes news. The MENA region emphasizes the idea of crisis history, which

links the history and prior reputation to the reputational threat of a crisis that is known as "the velcro effect". Such understanding also offers new insights into the varied cultural significance of different challenges and opportunities in the field of journalism. With this appropriate approach, the rest could arrest the ordinary from the unusual in various communication and political forms that create feelings of simultaneity, help define the contemporary, outline possible futures and shape our understanding and memories of the past.

Id: 9361

Title: Crisis of Democracy, Journalistic Coverage of Political Corruption and press freedom in Portugal

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Abstract: Throughout this paper we intend to discuss the media coverage of the phenomenon of political corruption in Portugal, its relation to the crisis, and the impact of these phenomena in the freedom of the press. Democracy is not a stable or continuous phenomenon, as it is in constant development. Indexes on democracy published annually by "The Economist" magazine, which disclose the annual changes in regional and global trends, have shown how the European crisis has affected the quality of democracy, particularly in relation to pluralism and freedom of the press (The Economist, 2012). In almost all of Europe, the economic and financial crisis has overlapped phenomena of political corruption, involving leading figures of democracies, and resulting in a situation of growing discredit of the democratic system. In Portugal, in recent years the corruption perception indices, published by Transparency International, have shown the visibility of this phenomenon amidst the public opinion. In this context and reflecting initially on democracy and the transformations of democracy in Europe, we base this paper on theories on corruption, including political corruption, and on theories about the news, with emphasis on agenda-setting. Firstly, we define political corruption and practices associated with it, benefitting from classical studies such as Rose-Ackerman's (ROSE-ACKERMAN, 1999). As regards news theories, agenda-setting, framing and priming are the essential concepts (SCHEUFELE, 2000), as well as the principles underlying the cascade model (ENTMAN, 2004). By summoning these theories we intend to explain how public attention is activated toward political corruption issues, according to a logic of synergy between the various news media. Methodologically, we singled out four notorious cases of political corruption that have garnered national visibility and extensive media coverage, and we analyzed a corpus consisting of two daily newspapers, one radio news service, and three prime-time television news services in non-subscription broadcasters. The data from newspaper and radio news were collected from the online editions of these media outlets. The television data resulted from the material supplied by the Markttest / Telenews company concerning the Portuguese non-subscription channels RTP1, SIC and TVI. The cases of violation of the freedom of the press and freedom of expression were chosen with regard to their relation to political corruption allegations in the media and the direct involvement of government. The text aims to be an exploratory contribution toward the clarification of the relation between the signs of crisis in democracy, the visibility of political corruption cases, the increasingly negative image of governments in public opinion and complaints about violation of the freedom of the press and freedom of expression.

Id: 9408

Title: Presidential Debates on French and American television: coincidental or logical similarities'

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Abstract: Since the first of the four televised debates between John Kennedy and Richard Nixon for the 1960 presidential elections, debates have been considered of the utmost important, with commentators claiming them to be "decisive" for the election result. In France, televised presidential debates between the two politicians competing on the final round of voting were introduced in 1974, a delay caused by local factors, and they seem to have taken a similar turn as their transatlantic cousins right from the start: the strong posture of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing facing off against François Mitterrand during the debate was considered a cornerstone of his winning campaign. In fact, in both countries, as expected, the "technical" paraphernalia of the debates have followed a parallel evolution: negotiations on the way the debate is shot, politicians' training, preparation of "sound bites" intended to catch the viewers' attention, kind of interaction between the candidates, etc. But some more unexpected common factors have emerged along the years. For instance, in both countries, the presidential debates frequently seem to have been good predictors of the result of the vote, too much for just a coincidence ' whether they have been truly influential in that result, or just revealing the weaknesses and the strengths of the candidates is still under discussion. Similarly, the 2012 presidential debates showed a strong proximity of postures between Barack Obama's difficulties in the first U.S. debate and Nicolas Sarkozy's unexpectedly inhibited reactions to François Hollande attacks in the (only) French debate. After half a century of televised presidential debates, this paper analyzes and compares the evolution of the debates format in main elections on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean in order to try and evaluate if their similarities are not only coincidental and if the stakes are here as important as so frequently believed.

Id: 9443

Title: How the infotainment model has permeated two Political Frames in the Chilean written press between 1990 and 2010

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Abstract: The Infotainment journalist model has been analyzed from different points of view, and it has critics and supporters. Scholars such as Dahlgren (2001) and Langer (1998) have raised several points of criticism against this model of journalism, arguing that it makes only a minimal contribution to citizen life. However, there are other researchers like Ornebring & Jonsson (2007) or Sparks (2002), who see this type of journalism as positive for the citizenship, because it can make complex issues accessible to a wider range of citizens. It is an alternative for the less instructed classes to get closer to politics and the public sphere in general. This paper speaks to this literature by studying the overlooked relationship of infotainment with the framing of political news. These kinds of studies become relevant due to the international trend to infotainment (Strömbäck & Kaid, 2008), in this context, it worths to ask whether the news usually framed as Public Policy or Game also incorporate elements of the infotainment model. This paper shows the interplay of this model of journalism with two of the most prominent political news frames politics: Game frame and the Public Policy frame. The main purpose of this research is to analyze how the presence of the infotainment model in the two different kinds of Frames has evolved over two decades This is studied in the Chilean context over two decades. Scholars from all along Latin America have started to study the infotainment model, including Waisbord (2000; 2004), Hallin (2000) and Corrales and Sandoval (2005). Researchers like Céspedes & Figueroa (2013) and Villarroel (2009) have shown that the use of this model in Chilean journalism increased over the last decades. This research starts from the post military dictatorship, when a left wing coalition government ruled, and ends with the return to the presidency of the center-right after fifty years. Furthermore, the change in the Chilean electoral model, which took place in January 2015, can be used as a benchmark to study the future development of the infotainment model in the Chilean press and specify empirically whether infotainment is good or bad for Chilean's democracy. Empirically, the study is based on a quantitative content analysis of 2,383 Chilean political news stories in five general-interest Chilean printed media outlets with national circulation These newspapers were chosen because they represent different content orientation (elite/ popular media). Analyzing content from

1990, 2000 and 2010. The data are analyzed based on a standardized scale of infotainment in the press. Due to the Chilean political and economical context evolution over these two decades, Game Politics should present more aspects of infotainment model than Public Policy. The results show an increasing level of the infotainment model in news framed as Game Politics, but not in news framed as Public Policy. The findings also indicate which aspects of infotainment have been present significantly more than others in Chilean political coverage over the last two decades.

Id: 9467

Title: A Populist Government Communication Model: The Case of Ecuador

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Abstract: Populism and neopopulism, considered as a political strategy, leadership style or mode of political construction, are distinguished according to political science by elements such as a personalized leadership of a charismatic caudillo, a manichean and polarized discourse, a mediatic capacity and power to mobilize the masses in a political context of weak institutionalism and citizen disappointment (De la Torre, 2010; Freidenberg, 2011; Weyland, 2001). These features are consistent with the object of study of political communication; however, following Mazzoleni, Stewart & Horsfield (2003), the study of populism from the perspective of communication requires greater depth. Analytical frameworks, such as mediatization and the evolution of political communication (Blumler & Kavanagh, 1999; Mazzoleni, 2010), allow the identification of professionalization, personalization, permanent campaign and going public as features of government communication. The result of the analysis gives place to the development of a government communication model in the context of Latin American populism. A definition of populist communication is proposed as the role of direct or mediatized communication with the purpose to reaffirm the capacity of the leader to keep people in permanent mobilization. For that the leader enforces a professionalized strategy of government communication based on permanent campaign, highly personalized and with a constant appeal to the public through a manichean and messianic discourse that requires confrontation and polarization. This communication model of a government with populist features includes four elements: firstly, an external media system composed by the media in which the government has no control, but can regulate; secondly, a media system owned or controlled by government; thirdly, the direct communication through speeches and emotionally charged events; finally, a citizen expression, with online and traditional media labeled as alternative. At the center is the ultimate goal which, according to Weyland (2001), is to enhance the leader's ability to mobilize the masses through communication with the people. Individuals are surrounded by the government's communication strategy where personalization, permanent campaign and going public intervene as strategic drivers. This research aims to contribute to the development of political communication theory by formulating a populist model of communication. It is an opportunity to evaluate communication strategies used in governments in emerging democracies and compare them to experiences in the U.S. and Europe, which have been widely discussed in the literature. In order to apply this populist model of political communication, this research analyzes, through this model, the Ecuadorian government of President Rafael Correa. Partial results of the case study are shown in this article. All in all, this proposal seeks to strengthen research in political communication from a Latin

American approach in order to deepen our understanding of topics such as government and media relations, comparative analysis of government communication, mediatization and populism.

Id: 9543

Title: 'The Local political power can be changed or not' Coverage pattern of Korean media on the 2014 Local Governmental Election, media frames, and their political and ideological meanings'

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Abstract: The purpose of this study was to investigate coverage patterns of Korean media on the 2014 Local Governmental Election, media frames, and their political and ideological implications in the Korean society. It was taken place on June 4, 2014 to indicate change of local political power or not. The author set a nationwide project with financial support of the Press Foundation of Korea to cover up all kinds of media coverage on the election. As main research objects, he selected three major TV news channels, four big-circulated newspapers, three cable TV news channels, four local newspapers, two Internet newspapers and four local TV news channels. He collected 3,607 news items from all of these media coverage. He analyzed such news items mainly by the content analysis with statistical data. In addition to it, he set a frame analysis for news items with format frames and content frames. He also set several in-depth interviews with journalists to join to cover it nationally. As a result of this study, it was firstly found that Korean media tended to focus local governmental election more than local congress election. Secondly, major media had a tendency of focusing controversial issues and policies of each of parties, while local media tended to concern election campaigns of each of candidates. Thirdly, as major media concerned competition and conflicts among candidates, local media paid more attention to illegal and bribery activities of each of candidates and parties. Fourthly, major media focused on nationwide change of political power, while local media and Internet media were interested in change of local political power. Fifthly, major media functioned to report nationwide phenomenon of the election, as local media played more important roles to impact local political power according to their close relations with candidates and parties. Sixthly, there were seven media frames such as 'conflict and confrontation' 'human interest' 'horse race' 'fairness of election' 'issues and policies' 'local issues' and 'unification of candidates'. The major media tended to cover the election from frames of 'horse race', 'issues and policies', 'conflict and confrontation', 'fairness of election', while local media covered it from frames of 'unification of candidates', 'horse race' and 'local issues'. In short, it was concluded that the major media tended to focus on nationwide change of political power

in general, as the local media had a tendency of concerning change of local power in specific.

Id: 9547

Title: Commercialization and partisanship as threats to diversity: A comparative case study

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Abstract: Diverse political news coverage provides citizens with a wide range of political information. As such, it fulfills an important function for democracy that requires an informed citizenry, especially during election campaigns. In many European countries, diversity is an explicit objective in media policy. Theoretically, diversity requires journalists and editors to select news that represents the variety of relevant actors and issues in the political arena, while political or economic power relations should not restrain them from doing so. However, various factors might threaten the diversity of news coverage. Commercialism may create incentives for journalists to focus on actors and issues that are perceived to be the most attractive for the audience (consumer). Partisanship may create incentives to focus on certain political actors or issues as part of an editorial policy. Both processes will lead to less diverse coverage. The impact of different threats to diversity may vary between countries, and comparative research is needed in order to understand their impact. In our paper, we compare actor and issue diversity in political coverage of different media genres (tabloid, elite, and free newspapers; commercial and public television news) between two European countries with a democratic-corporatist media system: the Netherlands and Austria. Despite the large similarities between these two countries, diversity in the Netherlands tends to be seen as under threat by commercialism, while in Austria, political influences are seen as the culprit. If true, a commercialism-oriented editorial culture in the Netherlands versus a political party-oriented editorial culture in Austria could explain the differences in news coverage diversity. Here, we however focus on whether such differences actually exist. Our analysis is based on a comparative study of political coverage during the most recent national election campaign in Austria (2013) and the Netherlands (2012). For each country, political coverage in nine media during six weeks (Austria, N= 6940 news

stories; the Netherlands, N= 2737) was coded manually for visibility of political parties and issues. We then calculated open and reflexive diversity both for parties and ideological issue dimensions, as well as diversions from the average for individual media. We operationalize partisan bias as low diversity combined with individual diversions from the average visibility of parties and issues, and structural bias as low diversity caused by an overrepresentation of certain parties/issues within media genres. Preliminary findings confirm that political news coverage in the Netherlands and Austria diverts from optimal diversity in different ways. In Austria, public television is more diverse than commercial television, while in the Netherlands, both are focused on parties winning in the polls. Also, over- or underrepresentation of coalition parties and their favored policy issues are associated with newspaper genre in the Netherlands, but with individual outlets in Austria. Commercialism does seem to play a bigger role in the Netherlands, although tabloids also appear to take a political stance. In Austria, partisanship seems more pervasive, but public service television provides diverse coverage to supplement the information that people get from newspapers.

Id: 9623

Title: Hegemony moulded in bronze. Statues as contested materialisations of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourses on the Cyprus Problem

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Abstract: Cypriot ideological frameworks have, for a long time, been characterised by ethnic-nationalist hegemonies, that even now have not disappeared. These discourses articulated the other community as enemy, emphasising their evilness, in their being responsible for the death and destruction on the island during the second half of the 20th century. At the same time, in these discourses, the goodness of the self is highlighted by the emphasis on the sacrifice of heroes, and the righteousness of the cause, whether this was enosis or taksim, or yet another political strategy (Michael, 2011; Bryant and Papadakis, 2012). These discourses on the self (and the enemy) became materialised in a large amount of statues, commemorating actors or events from the different periods of conflict. In the case of the southern part of the island, Karaiskou (2013; 2014) counted more than 600 of them, many of which were representing individuals. Most of these statues were well-aligned with the discursive hegemonies on the self, commemorating those killed in action or missing, celebrating victories, leaders and heroes, and indirectly signifying the evilness of the perpetrators. But at the same time, the (south) Cypriot landscape is vast and virtually impossible to control, which has implied that also statues have been erected that contradict and disrupt these hegemonic discourses. In their materiality, they form permanent dislocations of the hegemonic discourses on the self and other, and a support for alternative or counter-hegemonic discourses. This presentation is theoretically driven by discourse theory (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985) and grounded in a one-year long ethnography on Cyprus, where four months were spent on researching a series of monuments in the south of Cyprus, supported by the Public Art in Cyprus database. The presentation uses elements of visual sociology (in its reliance on photography), firstly, in analysing how the memorials serve the hegemonic discourses of suffering and heroism, in some cases (the independence war) leading to closure, in other cases (the later conflict(s)) remaining open-ended. In a second part, the presentation will focus on those monuments that dislocate hegemonic discourses, by stressing reconciliation (in past and present), by bringing otherness to the Greek-Cypriot space, and by bringing diversity to this space. The presentation will show that, despite these dissonances being discursified and discursive struggles being waged, in attempts to protect the hegemonies, the materiality of these statues produces permanent dislocations.

Id: 9635

Title: PANEL: The Digital Public Sphere as an Ambiguous New Power: Twitter during the EU Elections 2014

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Abstract: A widely-discussed issue in recent years has been the assumption that through digital technology and, more recently, the use of social media like Facebook or Twitter, a more democratic and deliberative public sphere (Habermas) can be created, thereby enabling citizens to participate more freely and more actively in political decision-making. However, critical voices have highlighted the risks of such a development, one being the risk of increasing fragmentation between users and non-users (the 'digital divide'), notably in terms of the generation gap regarding social media adoption. Starting from the assumption that, during election times, political participation and political campaigning on social media by candidates, parties and the public is intensified, the panel will study the role, usage patterns and distribution of Twitter in political campaigning during the EU elections in 2014, in which more than 400 million voters were called to the polls. Politicians in many countries have adopted Twitter as a communication tool more widely and more quickly than the populations they represent. The microblogging tool's perceived immediacy gives politicians a direct, real-time, public communication channel, to get their message out, to interact, to take the pulse of public opinion on a given topic, depending on the 'Twitter Styles' they adopt. However, the place occupied by Twitter in the (social) media landscape also differs considerably from country to country, depending on national cultures and media traditions, infrastructure issues, etc. One of the research questions will focus on the national demographics of social media and mobile phone usage, thereby adopting a lifespan perspective on political participation via Twitter. This panel is based on the results of parallel research carried out into Twitter usage in political communication during the European Parliamentary elections in May 2014, in more than 12 European countries, including Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Slovakia, Spain and the UK. The panel will present first-hand results of the selected countries adopt a comparative approach to the ways these differences affect political communication. Through qualitative and quantitative analyses, the panel will shed light on the similarities and differences observed from one country to another, highlighting national logics and specificities, and giving insights into the way how digital public spheres are an increasing power in political discourse. Participants : Mario Anastasiadis, Jessica Einspänner-Pflock, Caja Thimm (University of Bonn/Germany): The EU Elections on Twitter in Germany: Anti-European voices on Twitter Evelien D'heer/ Pieter Verdegem (Ghent University/Belgium): The role of Twitter in the 2014 election campaign in Belgium.

Combining a small and big data approach. Sandrine Roginsky (Université de Louvain/Belgium): The 2014 European election campaign on Twitter: a comparison between outgoing members and new candidates in the UK, Spain and France Guy Starkey (University of Sunderland/UK): Twitter and the 2014 elections to the European Parliament: Tweets from the United Kingdom. Václav Jitka (Charles University Prague/Czech Republic) : Tweeting into the dark' Comparing the use of Twitter by Czech and Slovak political actors during the EP2014 election campaign

Id: 9636

Title: PANEL: The Digital Public Sphere as an Ambiguous New Power: Twitter during the EU Elections 2014
Paper Title: Twitter and the 2014 elections to the European Parliament: Tweets from the United Kingdom

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Abstract: Unlike all but a small number of other countries in the EU, the European election campaign in the UK focused largely on the question of whether or not to remain in the Union. This was highlighted by the prominence in the UK media during the election campaign of a relatively new political party, the United Kingdom Independence Party, led by a politician who is often characterised as both 'populist' and popular yet who lacks a support base among the printed press, Nigel Farage. Despite lacking the resources and funding of the established, 'mainstream' parties, and without any elected MPs in the UK national Parliament at Westminster, UKIP achieved the highest number of votes, beating the Labour and Conservative parties into second and third places respectively. This striking performance by what is often portrayed as a single-issue party was largely a result of the European election being portrayed in many commentaries as an unofficial referendum on UK membership of the EU. The Conservatives, the largest party in the national ruling coalition, had already promised an 'in/out' referendum on Europe, should it win the Parliamentary general election due in May 2015, so the outcome of the 2014 European vote was widely portrayed as indicative of considerable dissatisfaction in the UK with membership of the EU. Withdrawal from the EU is generally recognised for its potentially damaging consequences for the UK and for its citizens, despite the obvious popular appeal of Farage's polemic around tightening UK borders to immigrants and returning decision-making, and thus sovereignty, to Westminster. This paper will present a quantitative and qualitative analysis of tweets sent during two census periods during the campaign, which relate specifically to the UK context. It will show how trending hashtags relating to Farage and UKIP achieved a prominence in this digital public sphere debate that might have been the envy of any candidate, irrespective of their political affiliation. It will also relate tweets at specific points in time to actual breaking news and the wider discourse in the established broadcast and print-based media. Real examples will be used, in order to fully illustrate the debate as it occurred, and conclusions will be drawn about the role of this social medium in the election campaign and its significance in informing and possibly influencing public sphere discourse in a modern democratic society.

Id: 9637

Title: PANEL: The Digital Public Sphere as an Ambiguous New Power: Twitter during the EU Elections 2014 Paper title: The EU Elections on Twitter in Germany: Anti-European voices on Twitter

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Abstract: On Twitter, we generally get a clear picture of the polarizing political topics discussed within a certain public. Research has shown that in the political twittersphere it is especially the discourse around controversial issues that people prefer to take part in (Rasmussen, 2013, Thimm et al., 2014). One issue that has been especially controversial during the EU parliamentary elections in Germany was the rise of broad anti-European sentiments propagated by a new party called 'Alternative for Germany' (Afd). Eurosceptic political campaign issues of the Afd, as for example the rigid regulation of immigration policy which shows parts of the Afd's far-right views, were discussed intensively by citizens, politicians and members of media institutions likewise. The party even got compared to the extremist right wing party in Germany, the National Democratic Party (NPD). In the presentation we discuss the structures and functions of Tweets topically attached to the anti-European trend in Germany. Based on the 'Functional Operator Model of Twitter' we employ an analysis of the four main operators and their contextualized functions. Based on a computer-based content analysis, 16.641 tweets (out of 570.659 tweets collected during the EU campaign) that were part of the anti EU Twitter-discourse in Germany, marked by #afd. Additionally, a qualitative semantic analysis of key words in context with right wing propaganda was carried out. Results show that there was a high percentage of potential supporters of the political goals of the Afd during the EU election campaigns. After the elections, in which the Afd achieved election before the election citizens tweeting about the potential election victory of the anti-EU-party Afd primarily discuss the political orientation of the party controversially whereas after the election they often refer to the major parties' political

misbehavior when dealing with the AfD's entry into parliament. References: Rasmussen, T. (2013). Internet-based media, Europe and the political public sphere. *Media, Culture & Society* 35(1), 97-104. Thimm, C., Dang-Anh, M. & Einspänner, J. (2014). Mediatized Politics ' Structures and Strategies of Discursive Participation and Online Deliberation on Twitter. In Krotz, F. & Hepp, A. (eds.), *Mediatized Worlds: Culture and Society in a Media Age*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 253-269.

Id: 9643

Title: PANEL: The Digital Public Sphere as an Ambiguous New Power: Twitter during the EU Elections 2014 Paper Title: Tweeting into the dark' Comparing the use of Twitter by Czech and Slovak political actors during the EP2014 election campaign

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Abstract: This paper examines the role of Twitter as a platform of campaign communication during the 2014 EP Elections in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. While still overshadowed by Facebook in terms of penetration and popularity by the users, Twitter has been increasingly explored by media-savvy political elites as well as journalists and activists in both countries. The 2014 EP Elections therefore presented a unique opportunity to learn about the actual ways political candidates and parties approach and utilize this platform. Drawing particularly on the theoretical debate between the normalization vs equalization hypothesis, we were interested in finding out what were the differences between the parties as well as individual candidates in Twitter adoption for the campaign (RQ1), and whether and how the candidates interacted with the other Twitter users, taking thereby advantage of the technology's networking potential (RQ2). The data were collected using the online archiving tool YourTwrapperKeeper for the period of six weeks (15 April - 31 May 2014). We measured Twitter activity (tweets, retweets, mentions, followers) of all candidates as well as parties running for the 2014 EP Elections. The preliminary results from the analysis reveal that candidates in neither country had taken much of a use of Twitter as campaign tool; only 5.8 % of the Czech candidates and 6.3 % of Slovak ones actively used Twitter during the election campaign period. In both countries, candidates from new and/or alternative parties were relatively more active Twitter users than those representing established/mainstream parties, supporting thereby the equalization hypothesis. This was paralleled by the finding on an individual level; in general, those candidates lower on the list had more followers and displayed comparatively higher activity than those ones occupying higher ranks. However, only a minority of candidates in either country used Twitter in the way that capitalizes on the affordances of this network; majority of the tweets produced by them were singletons, with the difference being even more prominent by the Slovak candidates. This suggests that not only the level of adoption of Twitter, but also the actual acquaintance with this technology and its potential for campaign communication is still relatively underdeveloped by Czech and Slovak political actors.

Id: 9645

Title: PANEL: The Digital Public Sphere as an Ambiguous New Power: Twitter during the EU Elections 2014
Abstract Title: The 2014 European election campaign on Twitter: a comparison between outgoing members and new candidates in the UK, Spain and France

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Abstract: Larsson (2013) points out that 'most research into online political communication has given weight to a view of stability and continuity with regards to the usage patterns of political actors'. Most political actors would then have a somewhat conservative approach to social media. The aim of this presentation is to investigate the messages published on Twitter by candidates running for the 2014 European election campaign. The mainstream perspective on politicians who use social media has been based on the premise that social media technology is, by nature, an innovative tool and that politicians are not using it to its full potential (Roginsky, 2014). However, there is a lack of comprehensive accounts of how politicians perceive social media and the types of messages they publish on the Twitter platform. This paper's ambition is to provide explorative observations concerning these two questions. To do so, the paper adopts a qualitative approach, combining interviews with candidates and a discursive analysis of a limited corpus of tweets: in this research, we are comparing tweets from a selected number of British, Spanish and French candidates, both outgoing members of the European Parliament and new candidates, during a specific census period (5th of May-10th of June). This 'small data' approach allows us to provide insights into the specificities of the message types sent, such as the use of Twitter functionalities by candidates, the type of issues discussed, as well as the type of discursive identity emerging for each selected candidate. As reminded by Postill and Pink (2012), 'social media practices cannot be defined as phenomena that take place exclusively online'. Therefore it seems particularly fruitful to discuss our observations about the discursive use of Twitter by candidates while taking into account experiences candidates and Members of the European Parliament make of the Twitter platform and how they approach Twitter as communication tool. In doing so, we propose to contextualize our findings through a longitudinal overview of the use of Twitter by Members of the European Parliament since 2009 until today.

Id: 9646

Title: PANEL: The Digital Public Sphere as an Ambiguous New Power: Twitter during the EU Elections 2014; Paper Title: The role of Twitter in the 2014 election campaign in Belgium. Combining a small and big data approach.

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Abstract: Building on Bourdieu's field theory and recent conceptualizations of social media logic (van Dijck & Poell, 2013; Klinger & Svensson, 2014), we aim to understand how existing social spheres (i.e. the political and the journalistic field) are related to emerging ones (i.e. social media platforms, notably Twitter). Our study focusses on the Twitter debate in Flanders, the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium and was organized around two hashtags (i.e. #vk14/#vk2014). In Belgium, the European elections co-occurred with the national and regional elections, which is reflected in the hashtag debate in which mostly national candidates are present. Over 100.000 messages were sent during the six-week period preceding the elections, including a peak on election day followed by a sharp decline in the week following the elections. From this dataset, we extracted replies and mentions to construct a 'user-user addressivity network'. Following, each of the users was categorized as a political, media or citizen actor, which provides a structural understanding of the communication practices between each of these actor types. In addition to our quantitative 'big data' approach, we apply a qualitative 'small data' approach via which political candidates' practices and motivations are understood via in-depth interviews. The results of our network analysis showed the network predominantly consists of citizens actors (i.e. 70%), followed by political actors (i.e. 20%) and media actors (i.e. 10%). On the other hand, both media and political actors receive significantly more replies and mentions than citizen actors, hence, take central positions in the debate. Our supplementary, small-sample study reveals the use of Twitter is predominantly linked to the promotion of offline campaigning activities and critical inquiry about competing parties/politicians and traditional media. In addition, politicians apply a variety of principles and heuristics to deal with the large quantity of citizen messages. The latter remain fairly invisible in the larger debate, as reply threads to hashtagged messages are only directed to and visible for a small collection of viewers. In general, the study comprises the multi-layered nature of the Twitter debate and puts forth future challenges related to the study of the public debate, mediated via social media. References: Van

Dijck, J., & Poell, T. (2013). Understanding Social Media Logic. *Media and Communication*, 1(1), 2'14.

Klinger, U., & Svensson, J. (2014). The emergence of network media logic in political communication: A theoretical approach. *New Media & Society*. doi:10.1177/1461444814522952.

Id: 9663

Title: TV Interviews of the President in Chile and France (2012-2015). A comparative approach of political communication and journalistic cultures.

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Abstract: Political speech has long used solemn settings (press conferences, addresses, major TV interview programs). Since the 1990s, as politicians faced a growing distrust (Norris, 1999, 2011), they turned to display in much varied types of settings, in particular on television, in order to improve their connectedness and image (talk shows, infotainment or satirical shows) yet at the risk of feeding their own trivialization. Heads of executive in different countries occasionally brought their input to such a trend in the renewing of political communication. Nevertheless their symbolic status and the assumed implications of their saying on policies prevent them to manage such a communication in the same style as if they were campaigning candidates. It is therefore relevant to clarify how they're trying to take advantage of media exposure chosen opportunities under the constraints linked to their institutional standing. Then, while some interestingly suggest that communication is being redirected through digital devices (Katz et. al. 2013) or by 'going local' (Cohen 2009) in order to better target specific parts of the public, we notice and contend that television still remains the major stage of 'presidential' communication.

At the same time, our assumption is that television may not be used in the same standardized informative or symbolic way it used to be. To investigate how leaders may use television exposure to respond to expectations and pressures about their personal abilities and substantial political goals, we develop a comparative approach on two national cases where the President is highly challenged soon after being elected. In line with the assumption that there are different political communication cultures (Thompson 1986; Gerstlé & Kaid 1991; Pfetsch 2013), we selected Chile (Bachelet in office since March 2014) and France (Hollande since May 2012) in order to take into account two very different media and political systems as it has already been done regarding the hypothesis of gendered leadership (Holtz-Bacha & Uribe 2014). Then, in line with the assumption that speeches of the president in television interviews are guided by a rhetorical strategy (Tullis 1988; Stuckey 1990; Kohrs & Jamieson 1990; Vaughn & Mercieca 2014), we study her/his presentation of substantial political goals and the presentation of her/his self. We raise the issues of how the president tries to 'set the agenda', strengthen trust and suggest preferred frames as well as to what extent the interviewers' styles is helping or challenging the presidential rhetoric. To do so, we present the presidential media agenda and conduct discourse analysis for each case. The detailed analysis is applied to interviews of the president in the following contexts: 1) First appearance after taking office; 2) Personal-oriented interviews; 3) Interviews when facing a high level of political criticism. This paper is a part of a wider project jointly conducted by our research centers, Laboratoire Communication et Politique (CNRS, France) and Laboratorio de Cultura Mediática (Universidad de Chile) on media pluralism regulation and election campaigns' coverage.

Id: 9665

Title: PANEL: [PANEL TITLE] Politics of Oil in a Promotional Culture

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Abstract: PANEL DESCRIPTION: This panel examines the roles of promotional intermediaries (Blumler & Kavanagh, 1999; Aronczyk, 2014; Serazio, 2014) in their strategic brokerage of communication between political figures and their publics regarding oil exploitation in North America. Focusing on information and influence campaigns (Manheim, 2011) around the Albertan oil sands/tar sands and one of its intended distribution networks, the Keystone XL Pipeline in the U.S., we examine the transnational flow of communicative strategies, the related imagery and consider their impact on public opinion and political decision-making. Although there are millions of miles' worth of oil and natural gas pipelines crisscrossing North America, the planned Keystone XL Pipeline has become a lightning rod for the legitimacy contest underway among energy industrialists, government, business interests and activists. Communications around this pipeline and the Athabaskan oil sands more generally condense broader political debates about climate change, electoral campaign funding, legislative changes, media advocacy, and partisanship. This case is therefore paradigmatic for understanding the current range and scope of promotional work as well as its major political implications. Behind the rationale for the use of third-party agents to promote oil concerns is the growing belief that business, not government leaders, should take the reins in fostering political change. We offer a critical analysis of this claim, investigating specific communications strategies, media platforms, public opinion metrics, visual supports, and other legitimation tactics designed to garner broad civic acceptance of

ongoing oil exploitation and to diminish structures of protest and resistance. This panel is part of a larger project to foster research and discussion around the relationship of media and oil in North America. The project examines not only 'corporate activism' around the tar sands but also the communicative action of non-governmental organizations, social movements, and citizen organizations; and not only campaign strategies but also participant observation, interviews and other qualitative approaches to political communication (Karpf, Kreiss, & Nielsen, 2014). By getting inside the social worlds of the various actors and processes involved, researchers can make sense of the ways that political communication around oil is defined, understood and acted upon by interlocutors and audiences.

Id: 9666

Title: PANEL: Politics of Oil in a Promotional Culture

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Abstract: PAPER TITLE: 'Big Green Radicals': Building Political Judgement in a Promotional Culture
AUTHOR: Melissa Aronczyk, Rutgers University
ABSTRACT: In the last forty years, the rise of professionalized political communication has changed the dynamics and the character of political action and influence. Promotional intermediaries ' lobbyists, media managers, advertisers, branding and public relations firms, and other strategic communications consultants ' now wield an arsenal of tactics designed to delegitimize views that oppose or resist their clients' objectives. The work of these promoters is understood to transform political communication into a rationalized, manipulative force that denigrates the quality and character of political discourse and leads to narrowcasting, 'hyperpluralism' and fragmentation, separating electoral politics from governance and excluding citizens from public debate. The putative objective of promotional work is to legitimize political decisions and encourage the flow of information among interested parties. In practice, however, 'current processes of professionalization emphasize the democracy of representatives, not the democracy of citizens' (Cees Hamelink, 2007). This paper draws on two years of empirical observation among and interviews with promotional intermediaries in the oil sector to describe the ambiguous power of communication in political spheres. On the one hand, the allocation of massive resources toward promotional work (by groups both pro- and anti-oil exploitation) would suggest that such work does achieve its goals of political influence, whether via negative campaigns that discount oppositional viewpoints or through support of third-party 'front groups' that purport to educate and inform public opinion. On the other hand, much of the discursive repertoire deployed in the service of political persuasion (ad campaigns, front group activities, industry reports, and other promotional ephemera analyzed in this paper) is hyperbolic, poorly reasoned, and flagrantly antagonistic; and its practitioners are often unaware of the broader implications of their work. The central argument of this paper is that promotional communication around oil exploitation does achieve lasting effects in terms of impacting political reasoning and decision-making; but not in the way that this is typically assumed. At stake are the standards of expertise; the role of rhetoric in constructing political opinion and the impact of what Sarah Sobieraj and Jeffrey Berry call the 'new incivility' in political discourse.

Id: 9667

Title: PANEL: Politics of Oil in a Promotional Culture

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Abstract: PAPER TITLE: Against the Flow: Pipelines, Publicity and Sabotage
AUTHOR: Darin Barney, McGill University
ABSTRACT: Recent critiques of communicative capitalism have raised the possibility that, in media environments saturated with circulating information and communication, the normative framework of liberal democratic publicity might have reached a limit in terms of its ability to account for the terrain of critical, oppositional politics. In this paper, I will explore the implications of the critique of communicative capitalism for understanding the politics of opposition to extractive capitalism. Focussing on the case of Canada's Athabasca oilsands and the pipeline developments required to market the commodity extracted from that resource, this paper will ask whether contention over energy and pipelines provides a glimpse into a politics of communication that exceeds the norms and limitations of liberal democratic publicity. This argument will be placed in the context of foundational accounts of communication as transportation (in the Canadian case, as transportation of resource commodities in particular), as well as more recent accounts of the historical relationship between transportation infrastructure and the political economy of energy extraction. Finally, the paper will consider whether the rich history of sabotage can help us think through the logic of the types of materialist, non-discursive political action that might arise where extractive capitalism presses up against the limits of communicative capitalism. There is a long history of militant and direct action in the modern environmental movement, some of which has been saboteurial and some of which has been publicist in orientation. In light of this history, the paper will conclude by speculating on how and whether a politics of sabotage can be distinguished from a politics of publicity in the context of the case of the oilsands and its pipelines.

Id: 9668

Title: PANEL: Politics of Oil in a Promotional Culture

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Abstract: PAPER TITLE: Selling Oil Sands without Oil: Moving beyond Petroleum in Promotional Culture
AUTHOR: Patrick McCurdy, University of Ottawa
ABSTRACT: The future of the Athabasca oil sands is one of Canada's most significant, visible and contentious energy and environmental issues. Media offer an arena for mediated struggle between industry, government and civil society stakeholders trying to shape public perceptions through the purposeful portrayal of the costs and benefits - the risks and rewards - of oil sands development. A large number of oil sands media campaigns are premised on the tension between industry and government efforts to construct themselves as environmental stewards and eNGOs challenging such attempts at obtaining a social license. However, an emergent trend within oil sands industry promotional discourse is a conscious effort to move beyond the 'endless war' over environmental credentials and impact, towards celebrating the hegemonic ubiquity of oil in everyday life. The following paper explores this discursive turn through an analysis of advertising campaigns from three industry stakeholders: Cenovus Energy Inc., Enbridge Inc. and the Canadian Energy Pipeline Association (CEPA). I begin by examining the conventions of this new visual language which are generic, emotional, domestic and often based on an aesthetic of aspirational consumerism. Next, I consider the implications of this shift from the realm of political and environmental communication to the post-political, domestic lifeworld of the atomised consumer. I argue that despite the benign appearance of such campaigns, they are deeply political and reflective a change in industry's promotional strategy. Whereas the campaigns of organisations opposed to oil sands development require action, the goal of industry in emphasizing oil's ubiquity is to reinforce inaction and maintain the status quo. This strategy of facilitating passivity towards the oil sands is particularly important given the political climate in favour of oil sands development in Canada. This paper is part of a larger study (the Mediatoil.ca project) into the discursive and visual evolution of oil sands stakeholder communications.

Id: 9669

Title: PANEL: Politics of Oil in a Promotional Culture

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Abstract: PAPER TITLE: Covering the Grassroots: Professionalized Advocacy and News Framing of the Keystone Pipeline in Canada and the United StatesAUTHOR: Tim Wood, New York University ABSTRACT: Since the 1970s public relations professionals have played an increasing role in organizing the political advocacy of everyday people in Canada and the United States. This trend is conspicuously evident amid recent debates over the Keystone oil pipeline, wherein oil companies, working in conjunction with PR firms, have helped found and fund several citizens coalitions to lobby for the pipeline's approval. While scholars and critics have given abundant attention to how such groups are financed, few empirical studies have examined how PR-managed citizens groups actually participate in the Keystone debate. Do they merely echo the opinions of oil companies' Or do they broaden the Keystone discussion, bringing previous marginalized perspectives to the public's attention' Are their messages meant for a broad audience, or do they tend to appear in local or niche forums' By answering these questions I aim to contribute to an understanding of how the ongoing professionalization of activism is influencing the breadth, robustness, and inclusiveness of contentious political debate. To investigate the relationship between oil companies, managed citizen activists, and other Keystone advocates this paper presents a framing analysis of Keystone related news in the U.S. and Canada from 2004-2014. Drawing on a sample of 640 articles from 8 media outlets, I offer a cross-national comparison of which sources are quoted in Keystone reportage, and what issue-specific frames they present. Extending this comparative focus, I analyze how coverage changes by region, by the national versus local character of news outlets, and across different sections of individual publications. This methodological approach moves beyond investigating a monolithic 'Keystone debate' to instead examine how journalists differently assemble the voices of oil companies and citizens groups for varying audiences.

Id: 9727

Title: PANEL: Politics of Oil in a Promotional Culture

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Abstract: Proposed discussant and chair for panel Politics of Oil in a Promotional Culture: Chris Russill, Associate Professor, School of Journalism and Communication, Carleton University

Id: 9747

Title: Violence in Mexico: Use of Twitter to alert and citizen participation

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Abstract: Twitter acquires every day a more important role when it comes to reporting on incidents of violence, especially the ones related to organized crime but also in other manifestations of social violence. According to the study "The new war correspondents: the rise of civic media curation in urban warfare" (Monroy Hernandez et al, 2013) Twitter is the most used social network to report events related to violence. In that same report, it states that of all users of social networks in Mexico, about 15% have been reported by Twitter of the events that deal with violence. In a climate where there is under the PRI government, and with the application of information control to media, social networks have become a resource to inform and be informed, but other sources have appear in order to alert the society about violence in their communities. These sources have been created by media, as well as security institutions and citizens. Like @ValorTamaulipas (with more than 117k followers) and some others. We seek to analyze the use of the social network in Tamaulipas, Veracruz, Sinaloa and Jalisco. In Mexico, the number of murders and crimes have grown exponentially in recent years, especially after the "War against organized crime" was declared, on December, 2006. Even that the PRI is back to power, things has got worse. Given this scenario where violence continues to manifest itself in many regions in the country, how is Twitter been used by different actors (media, civic organizations and government) in order to alert on violent events' how the followers of this social network are engaged and participate on them' Through a content and discourse analysis of the information we will present a comparison on the thematics, frames, actors, language, etc. and the type of participation that followers have (which informations are retweeted' what issues are most talked about and what are their comments on violence' How the users get engaged (or not) with civic organizations, media and government on violent events' References Monroy-Hernández, A., Boyd, D., Kisiman, E., De Choudhury, M. Counts, S. (2013) The New War Correspondents: The Rise of Civic Media Curation in Urban Warfare retrieved on July 20th 2014 from <http://research.microsoft.com/pubs/182251/civic-media-warfare-CSCW2013.pdf>

Id: 9805

Title: Do candidates matter? Press coverage of the 2014 European Parliament Election in Germany in a long-term perspective

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Abstract: In May 2014, about 500 million European citizens were called upon to elect the European Parliament (EP). It was the eighth European election since the first EP election in 1979. From the beginning European elections differed from regular national Parliament elections (second-order elections; Reif & Schmitt, 1980). This was true not only for the elections themselves but also for the election coverage by the media. Several reasons were responsible for the low amount of media coverage on EP elections. One of these reasons (among others) was the missing of top candidates in EP elections. Between 1979 and 2009 the situation did not change much, only scarce progress was made to improve the coverage on EP elections (still second-order; Schmitt, 2005; Wilke, Schäfer & Leidecker, 2011). 2014 for the first time the situation was different. The voters could decide via the composition of the new European Parliament who will be the President of the next European Commission, so to say the chief of the EU government. Under the new rules, European political parties put forward their candidates for this position. The candidates, sometimes referred to by the German term 'Spitzenkandidaten' (top candidates), were Jean-Claude Juncker for the European People's Party, Martin Schulz for the Party of European Socialists, Guy Verhofstadt for the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe, Ska Keller and José Bové jointly for the European Green Party and Alexis Tsipras for the Party of the European Left. Our study investigates if and how these new circumstances might have influenced the German press coverage of the 2014 EP election campaign, compared to all previous elections. Our quantitative content analysis takes into account the coverage of four German national quality newspapers (Frankfurter Rundschau, Süddeutsche Zeitung, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung and Die Welt) four weeks prior to each EP election since 1979. We consider how the amount of EP election coverage changed over time. Our analysis focuses on the formal features of the election coverage (the formal 'make up') as well as on characteristics of content, e. g. the topics. In the center stands the question of personalization and the role of the top

candidates within the recent campaign. How were they portrayed, how many references to and quotations of the candidates did the articles contain and how many photos of them were printed'On the basis of our long-term comparison we are able to show if changes in the European political system (in our case: the new procedure to elect the European Commission President) improve the visibility of the European Parliament in its election campaign and enhance the often missed Europeanization. Our results show that the recent elections truly differed. The amount of election coverage exceeds all previous EP elections. The 2014 election was also significantly more personalized: the coverage contained about twice as many references to the candidates (compared to 2009) and also more quotations and pictures of them.

Id: 9847

Title: Iatrogenic Spin Doctoring

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Abstract: The intense battery of activities around what can loosely be called spin control is historically unique, and a major facet of contemporary democratic politics. The bulk of public commentary on spin doctors portrays them as a sinister force, but in doing so nearly always also emphasizes their efficacy. In contrast, this paper concentrates on when the efforts of spin doctors do their cause more harm than good. After elaborating the major activities associated with the contemporary spin enterprise, the paper explores some of the constraints on spin doctors' power ' the difficulty of translating PR precepts into effective action; variations in individual skill; the countering of one side's spin by their opponents; and that in rapidly evolving political situations it is frequently impossible to know what strategy will work best. The paper then goes a step further, by outlining how the attributes that make spin doctoring successful at some times make it likely to be counter-productive at others. These include 1. the inherently precarious nature of the spin enterprise because of its self-denying nature; 2. that spin tends to be a self-diminishing resource, prone to long-term decay; 3. the tendency for spin doctors to accentuate tactics over strategy, which combined with a combative approach can escalate minor irritants into major embarrassments; and 4. that efforts at spin control interfere with other political processes and relationships, leading to internal conflicts and sub-optimal policy-making.

Id: 9871

Title: Connecting with voters. Media strategies of political parties in the EP elections 2014

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Abstract: Faced with some fundamental changes in the socio-cultural, political and media environment, political parties have substantially altered their communicative strategies to connect with voters. Such transformations have repeatedly been assigned to three different phases of political communication: a premodern (party and organization-centred), modern (candidate-centred) and postmodern (message- and marketing-driven) phase. Each phase is characterized by the choice of a distinct set of media channels. While parties particularly relied on paid media in the premodern era, they focused on free media channels ' especially television ' in modern times. Nowadays, in the postmodern era, it is mainly the broad set of new and social media channels that parties are supposedly choose when reaching for voters' attention. However, we would argue, such a classification may be too undifferentiated, especially since it neglects differences between countries, election types and parties. It may happen that political parties simultaneously use media channels that are theoretically assigned to postmodern, modern and premodern times. We assume that it is exactly this communication mix that characterizes

professional campaigning as flexible adaptation. Against this backdrop, we will investigate parties' strategic use of different media channels during election campaigns. Our test case is the European Parliamentary elections of 2014. As a typical 'second-order election' it limits parties' use of free media and asks for alternative communicative routes to connect with voters such as paid media and 'particularly' new and social media. Our study is based on standardized interviews with 90 campaign managers in eight Western European and six Eastern European countries. They were asked to state how important a broad set of traditional and new media channels were in their parties' campaigns. We will use these answers to look at country- and party-specific patterns of media choices. Our findings help to cluster parties in accordance with their media strategy and to identify macro- and meso-level factors that explain differences. In sum, we provide for the first time empirical evidence on a large empirical basis that relativizes the phase model of political communication.

Id: 9876

Title: What candidates say during election campaigns versus what they actually mean: The importance of speech techniques to political communication consulting.

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Abstract: This research presents a study on the circumstances in which the candidates' behavior and absence of rhetoric indicate failures of the campaign communication strategies. The subject chosen for the study considered the relevance of the theme (the elections) and the importance of techniques to improve the performance of professionals working in the field of Political Communications. The purpose of this study is to develop a media training technique manual for communication consultants, who focus on election campaigns, stump speeches and debates, emphasizing what should not be done after analyzing the candidates' behavior. It is expected that the results enrich the perception of professionals working with communication consulting. The research has five steps: a) research on bibliographic works; b) review of the documents transcribed from videos collected on websites; c) summary and analysis of all material collected; d) development of a media training technique manual for communication consultants; e) printing, reviewing and presenting the research. Communication consulting is essential to creating strategies and speech techniques to competitors considering that the candidates' speech and behavior during a political campaign may influence the election results. Then, it is analyzed both candidates' speech styles as an attempt to detect and avoid communication failures and to search new approaches for future elections. In order to accomplish the goals mentioned, an analysis of the presidential debate videos is proposed, making a comparison with the candidates' speeches before and after the counting of votes. The videos, which were broadcasted by SBT - a Brazilian TV channel - on October 16, 2014, focus on candidates Mrs. Dilma Rousseff and Mr. Aécio Neves, who were running for the second round elections in Brazil. Brazil is a democratic country like many others. People are free to choose their governors through periodic elections as well as to participate in the political life of the country. The majority of votes, which are secret and individual of each Brazilian citizen, elect the nation's representatives. Consequently, political campaigns are so important for candidates to gain the population's trust and votes. It is discussed under which circumstances the candidates' behavior and absence of rhetoric evidence an unsuccessful communication strategy. A hypothesis is that the lack of confidence and preparation shown by Mrs. Rousseff and the arrogance and irony used by Mr. Neves during the broadcasted debates revealed the poor performance of the campaign communication consultants. Therefore, examining the candidate's behavior requires other approaches like analytical, psychological and semiotic features. The research is based on previous literature, for instance, Coracini (apud DUARTE and MACÊDO, 2006) details the political speech; Velloso (2012) explains the construction of candidate's Dilma

Rousseff image; Figueiredo (2008) teaches political marketing in modern times; Perissinotto and Veiga (2012) question about the professionalization of Politics; Flora Davis (1979) shows the possibility humans have to express themselves beyond the bounds of oral communication; Socrates, the philosopher who developed the irony and maieutics method, and other authors exploring the Semiotics are also listed in the bibliography of this study.

Id: 9999

Title: ANÁLISIS COMUNICACIONAL DEL USO QUE LOS DIPUTADOS ESPAÑOLES HACEN DE TWITTER

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Abstract: En las democracias representativas el desapego a la política de una parte de la población coexiste con el deseo de otros sectores que reclaman una mayor participación en el debate público. En tales circunstancias, compete a los dirigentes políticos la búsqueda de vías eficaces de comunicación con los ciudadanos. Sin embargo, la praxis política tradicional difiere mucho de la que los sectores políticamente más activos demandan. Aquella tiene a la persuasión como una finalidad consustancial y prescindir de la participación ciudadana en la discusión de los asuntos públicos. Esta limitación se ve facilitada por la naturaleza de los medios convencionales que no permiten una comunicación directa, bidireccional y masiva. La aparición de nuevos medios en Internet que hacen posible este modo de comunicación avanzada, levanta expectativas respecto a una mayor y mejor relación comunicacional entre dirigentes y ciudadanos. En especial en países como España o EE.UU. donde el uso habitual por los políticos de redes sociales como Facebook o Twitter hace presumir que esas expectativas se puedan materializar. Sobre todo cuando movimientos como el 15-M en España y Occupy Wall Street en EE.UU. han evidenciado una crisis de la democracia representativa y reclaman formas de participación más allá del voto y del asociacionismo partidista. Pese a ello, lo que observamos es que la dirigencia política infrutiliza las facilidades comunicacionales que proporcionan esos nuevos medios. Es el caso que aquí presentamos de los diputados españoles, quienes, a pesar de haber normalizado el uso de Twitter para la comunicación política, mantienen actitudes que no invitan a la participación ciudadana. Así lo demuestra un análisis de contenido de unos 30.000 mensajes emitidos en Twitter desde las cuentas personales de 185 diputados, unos 15.000 en periodo electoral y otros tantos en periodo de normalidad legislativa. Los resultados del estudio evidencian un abuso de una finalidad eminentemente persuasiva, junto a una infrutilización de las funcionalidades avanzadas que ofrece el medio para implicar a los ciudadanos en una mayor participación en la discusión de asuntos públicos. Esta conclusión hace difícilmente sostenible la excusa de la naturaleza del medio como el gran impedimento para la interacción de dirigentes y ciudadanos. Los medios sociales de Internet hacen posible nuevas formas de comunicación política articuladas en redes sociales donde el ciudadano se siente

empoderado y en igualdad de oportunidades para opinar sobre las políticas que le afectan. En esas redes aflora una especie de esfera pública periférica en la que políticos, periodistas, intelectuales, ciudadanos comunes y otros tradicionales influyentes, desempeñan todos el papel de comunicantes. El tránsito de la comunicación política desde los escenarios tradicionales a las redes sociales requiere que los políticos se despojen de los hábitos de una comunicación que considera al ciudadano como el receptor pasivo y objetivo de una comunicación persuasiva orientada casi exclusivamente a la consecución del voto. Para inspirar este tránsito, y como complemento a nuestro estudio, en la última parte presentaremos una relación de buenas prácticas de dirigentes políticos destacados que hacen un uso eficaz de este servicio.

Id: 10009

Title: Personalization 2.0 ' A traditional concept of political communication in the new setting of social media

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Abstract: Personalization, i.e. the process of putting a stronger focus on (1) politicians instead of parties, institutions, or issues and (2) their personal, non-political characteristics instead of political ones, is considered to be a key feature of political communication (Adam & Maier, 2010; van Aelst, Shaefer, & Stanyer, 2012). So far, it has gained broad scholarly consideration in the realm of traditional media such as newspapers or news shows. However, social media applications have lately opened up new discursive rooms for political communication. Taking this development into account, we tackled the question whether personalization is also a central feature when it comes to political communication based on social media. Focusing on Twitter communication in the run-up to the election of the German Bundestag 2013, we were interested whether or not single, person-centered events like televised debates change the subject of Twitter communication in terms of personalization tendencies and whether personalized tweets gain more attention in the Twitter sphere than non-personalized tweets. To answer these questions, we conducted a content analysis of in total 5,744 tweets collected via Twitter search API over the course of four weeks (14th August to 22nd September 2013) using the hashtags #merkel, #steinbrück, #btw13, and #tvduell. We coded for the variables reference of the tweets (issue, protagonist, or both), and characteristics of a protagonist (political characteristics such as competences, integrity, or leadership, or private characteristics such as non-political traits or hobbies). We used the ReTweet count of each tweet to operationalize attention for the tweets. Results show that overall the majority of the tweets was both candidate-oriented and issue-oriented. When tweeting about the candidates, issue-competence ' a role-close characteristic ' was the most prevailing attribute. However, non-political traits like sympathy of the candidate were also highly important, and even more important than a candidate's integrity or leadership-

qualities. Private details such as hobbies played a marginal role in tweets though. Particularly interested in the development over time, we looked at tweets posted before, during, and after the debate. We can state that the candidates were the most prevalent subject of discussion during the televised debate. Thus, we can say that the debate set a prime on candidates instead of political issues and that the assumption of televised debates fostering personalization of political communication can be verified. Yet looking at the characteristics of the candidates, the results are not as clear. Both political and non-political traits of the main candidates were subject of discussion during the debate. Hence we cannot fully verify the assumption of privatization (i.e. putting focus on personal, non-political characteristics) due to televised debates. Finally, we investigated which content led to a higher ReTweet-rate. It seemed that person-centered tweets and person/issue-combined tweets were able to gain more attention in terms of ReTweets than tweets that focus on political issues alone. Moreover, mentioning political characteristics rather led to ReTweets than writing about non-political traits of politicians. Thus, the likelihood to get retweeted was highest when combining a person in the tweet with political characteristics.

Id: 10048

Title: Arguments by Definition: Felipe Calderón's War on Drugs and the Power to Persuade

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Abstract: Rhetorical studies have shown the significance of presidential rhetoric and the presidents' power to define public issues and policies through discourse. This research addresses how former Mexican president Felipe Calderón (2006-2012) defined the fight against drugs that characterized his administration and the later process of changing his definition. The paper relies on the concept that presidential rhetoric is one source of executive power of great importance given the ability of presidents to speak almost without restrictions, and to reach broad audiences through electronic media coverage. This work builds on the notion that definitions are strategic, persuasive claims that encourage people to understand situations in a particular way, highlighting certain elements of the situation and obscuring others, influencing not only how people can respond to it but arguing, by definition, a set of causes and solutions (Zaresfky, 2004; Schiappa, 2003; Cox, 1981). The research claims that through the definitional practices of association, dissociation and condensation symbols, Calderón advanced a particular definition of the drug problem in Mexico. Understanding the presidency as both a realm of action and history, I rely on the analysis of presidential public speeches and TV spots to 1) identify Calderón's key rhetorical practices of definition; 2) discuss the implications of those practices and the political definitions they sustain; and 3) address the limits politicians face when attempting to change a definition they initially advanced. By highlighting the historical constraints that presidents face when defining situations, I stress the strategic view of language that pervades in rhetorical studies. In conclusion, I discuss how the set of metaphors and definitional practices advanced by Calderón opened up a rhetorical space where human rights could be dismissed and violence encouraged.

Id: 10079

Title: Winning hearts but not minds' Emotional and rational appeals in Mexico's mid-term political advertising in 2015

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Abstract: Mexican electoral law has given political advertising a central role for political parties and candidates' campaign strategies. Based on a state-funded electoral system political parties are allowed to access radio and television freely according to a complex state-time allocation system first implemented in 2009. Empirical evidence has shown two collateral effects that diminish the persuasive impact of this model. First, the generous amount of time (48 minutes daily per radio frequency and television channel) plus the duration of the campaigns produce a saturation effect. Simply put, all parties broadcast too many ads during a long period of time resulting in an irate overexposed electorate. Second, following a worldwide trend, a majority of ads are mainly focused on emotional appeals. Over the last decade Mexico's political discourse has been overtaken by the so-called war on drugs. The recent disappearance of 43 students from a rural school in Ayotzinapa has triggered massive protests across several and quite diverse social groups. The issue is expected to frame the 2015 mid-term campaigns although political parties' reputation has been tarnished amid a 'security crisis'. Following the work on the emotional response towards political ads, the paper sets out to explore the way different emotional appeals are portrayed in political advertisements broadcast during the campaign. Adopting a three-fold perspective from the affective intelligence theory, the work analyses the content of all political parties' television advertisements, broadcast during the election, in order to assess the way appeals to anxiety, aversion, and enthusiasm are visually and verbally framed.

Id: 10271

Title: Civil Participation, Internet Use and Xinfang (Petition): A Multilevel Analysis of 31 Provincial Cities in China

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Abstract: This study investigates the relationship between civil participation, Internet use and political participation in China through a hierarchical liner analysis of a nationwide survey conducted in 2010. The specific form of political participation we focused here is urban residents' petition behavior named Xinfang, which means letters and visits literally. In China's one-party authoritarian regime, Xinfang is the rare legal opportunity for grassroots to interact with the political system. To urban residents, Xinfang is a common choice to address their grievance and needs due to the fast urbanization and developmental marketization, which bring the social problem like millions of hundreds laid-off workers, forced demolition, social insurance, etc. We want to exam what kind of resources urban residents mobilized in the petition Xinfang. For all respondents (N = 16559) of the multi-level analysis showed that, after controlling the effects of other variables at the individual-level and aggregate-level, civil participation in groups like hobby groups, charity activities and religious, neighborhoods activities, will significantly improve the chance of individual petition (Xinfang). Internet adoption and internal political efficacy would positively influence Xinfang activities independently, but the interaction between them is significant negative. The interaction between the Internet use and external political efficacy may enhance the possibility of individuals involved in the petition. Statistical results for Internet users groups (N = 8285) showed that the involvement of non-governmental organizations, hobby groups, and church or religious activities will significantly improve the chance of petition, but political psychological variables, the degree of use of Internet news and the interaction term between them, do not have a significant impact on the possibility of the petition. One of the findings surprised us is participation in church and religion activities, which has the most positive influence on petition Xinfang. The structure of religious in China has greatly changed in recent 30 years. When the state's ideologies withdraw from private life, religions began to play a key role in reconnecting ordinary Chinese especially in their emotion commutation. Another interesting finding is the dual effect of Internet use in China. Internet uses do afford alternative information sources to urban residents, but more negative opinions to the system may lower the possibility for them to go to petition.

Id: 10320

Title: Government Communication in Mozambique (2005-2014): the open presidency of Armando Guebuza as a public relations strategy

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Abstract: After independence from Portugal in 1975, Mozambique 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 infrastructures and the death 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 four elections through universal suffrage (1994, 1999, 2004 and 2009). The Mozambican government has been presided by Armando Emílio Guebuza since 2005 and from the very beginning he inaugurated a cycle of more proximity to the citizens, with a strategy named "Open Presidency", whereby the president temporarily leaves the Ponta Vermelha, the official residence, to live in simple and humble places throughout the Mozambican territory. The president's public speeches, the communication action with highest visibility and media repercussion in the scope of the open presidency, constitute an important element of the president's public relations strategy. In this paper, we seek to analyse the president's speeches from several perspectives, all bearing a common objective: to ascertain to which extent public relations can influence the assignment of meaning to the concepts of national identity and unit (Deutsch, 1966; Emerson, 1966). This is an added challenge within Mozambique's reality since it is a "deeply divided society" (Guelke, 2012), at the socio-economic, cultural and linguistic levels. A multifaceted methodology will be adopted. On the one hand, we develop a comparative content analysis of a sample of 30 public speeches given throughout the president's two mandates in three provinces in Mozambique: 1) Niassa, in the north, also known as "the forgotten land"; 2) the City of Beira, in the centre, the opposition's stronghold; and 3) Maputo, 'the capital of all Mozambicans'. With this analysis we seek to identify the recurring themes in the president's political discourse as well as to ascertain any eventual differences in the call to national identity and unity depending on the location at which the speeches are mediatized. On the other hand, we developed in-depth interviews with the main players involved in the process of strategic

construction of the president's speeches and their diffusion: the president's communication advisors and press officers; the official journalists and the most influential political analysts. By crossing the information obtained from the content analysis of the aforementioned speeches with the content of the interviews, it should be possible to better perceive 1) the different layers of construction and reconstruction of meaning, in what regards the issue of national identity in Mozambique throughout almost a decade, as well as, 2) in what way the strategic planning of those speeches and the framing of the nation identity in the scope of the open presidencies, depends on power relations negotiated and established between different social actors within this post-conflict African state.

Id: 10331

Title: The politainment, a way of resistance to the power

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Abstract: This paper examines the issue of politainment or political infotainment in Western democracies, in order to make a theoretical contribution to the investigation of this phenomenon. The study carries out a conceptual review through the international scene of the terms tabloidization; (Esser, 1999; Langer, 2000; Stark, 2000); infotainment (Kruger, 1988; Graber, 1994; Brants, 1998; Delli Carpini y Williams, 2001; Anderson, 2004; Moy et al, 2005) and politainment (Van Zoonen, 1998; Patterson, 2000; Hamilton, 2004; Nieland; 2008; Sayre & King, 2010; Schultz, 2012). The research describes how has been their development in different countries (Brants, 1998; Brants & Neijen, 1998; Patterson, 2000; Bahry, 2001; Lynch, 2004 a, 2004b; Baum, 2002, 2003, 2005; Hollander, 2005, Moy, Xenos & Hess, 2006, Shirk, 2007). In addition, it shows their penetration in different media (Brants, 1998, 2008; Delli Carpini & Williamns, 2001; Thussu 2007); and the possible consequences of this phenomenon on citizenship (Blumler, 1992; Brants, 1998; Grabe, Zhou, Lang & Bolls, 2000; Baum, 2002, 2003, 2005; Prior, 2005; Moy, Xenos & Hess; 2006; Stockwell, 2004; Taniguchi 2007). The infotainment is been created as a response of the media to the need to gain audience and thus getting publicity to ensure their survival. This phenomenon pervades the political information because the media realizes that citizens pay more attention to political news turned into political infotainment news. The trivial or anecdotal issues are treated as preferred news (Holtz-Bacha, 2003; Missika, 2006; Kellner, 2010) leaving out or omitting the relevant and developed information minutely (Jebril et al, 2013). Politainment has become the new and dominant trend in XXI century in Western democracies to deal with political information. In addition, citizens gladly respond consuming the new format presented as soft news, political show or political parody. This study attempts to establish whether the start to and development of politainment is linked to the historical period in which we live: economic crisis, citizens fed up with political class and the origin of citizen movements that require new forms of government and communication. After the theoretical review carried out, this paper defends the idea that politainment consumption represents a way of activism by citizens before a policy that has become outdated. These citizens want to belittle notoriety to that policy and ridicule it through the different formats using this new genre.

Id: 10443

Title: Proximity in the City' Describing, Explaining and Assessing a Crucial Dimension of the Relationship Between Political Actors and Journalists in a Mixed Methods Comparative Analysis of German Cities.

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Abstract: Philip Baugut (research associate at the Ludwig-Maximilians-University of Munich) Nayla Fawzi (research associate at the Ludwig-Maximilians-University of Munich) Carsten Reinemann (professor at the Ludwig-Maximilians-University of Munich) The relationship between political actors and journalists is a central topic of political communication research, as they are the 'two types of actors without whom no political public sphere could be put to work' (Habermas, 2006, p. 416). However, there are three research deficits our paper aims to reduce: First, research on local media-politics relations is very rare. Second, the explanation of different patterns of interactions found in different contexts remains a big challenge, as internationally comparative research suggests (e.g., van Dalen & van Aelst, 2012; Pfetsch, 2014). Third, the normative assessment of relationships between political actors and journalists is still widely neglected. Against that backdrop, our paper aims at describing, explaining and assessing a crucial dimension of the relationship between local political actors and journalists: proximity vs. distance. On the one hand, journalists are supposed to be public watchdogs and keep distance from the political actors; on the other hand, there is no doubt that proximity to political sources is a prerequisite for access to in-depth information. We will theoretically draw on the concept of political communication cultures. It deals with the orientations, attitudes, and norms of political actors and journalists regarding this subjective dimension as context-bound (e.g., Pfetsch, 2014). We will then transfer the logic of internationally comparative research to the local level to analyze the degree of proximity and distance in diverse social, political and media contexts (media competition,

political competition etc.). Empirically, this is done by a combination of methods: a)

Quantitative data: We integrate micro-level data from a representative survey of more than 600 local political actors and journalists in 52 German cities with macro-level data describing the contexts of those cities. b)

Qualitative data: We interview political actors and journalists in four cities with extremely different political and media contexts. The evaluation of selected findings will be done by referring to normative democratic theory, especially the deliberative approach and the theory of communicative action. Our findings show, inter alia, that local politics-media relations can be characterized by the problematic exchange of positive publicity against access to information, especially in cities with media competition. The finding that media competition can be regarded as a significant predictor of close politics-media relations, contributes to the debate on how to assess the increasing number of monopolies on local media markets. References Habermas, J. (2006). Political Communication in Media Society: Does Democracy Still Enjoy an Epistemic Dimension? The Impact of Normative Theory on Empirical Research. *Communication Theory*, 16 (4), 411-426. Pfetsch, B. (Ed.). (2014). *Political Communication Cultures in Western Europe. Attitudes of Political Actors and Journalists in Nine Countries*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. van Dalen, A. & van Aelst, P. (2012). Political Journalists: Covering Politics in the Democratic-Corporatist Media System. In D. H. Weaver & L. Willnat (Eds.), *The global journalist in the 21st century* (pp. 511-525). London: Routledge.

Id: 10673

Title: Ideology in contemporary political communication: Still here' How and why

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Abstract: This paper seeks to revitalize a fading debate in the field of political communication, the debate around the role of ideology in the contemporary media-saturated practices of political communication employed by political parties. Much of this debate has been dominated so far by evolutionist and reductionist speculations about the modernization of the political and communication systems which is taken to cause the collapse of 'ideological politics' in the 'politics of pragmatism'. Practices of political communication are argued to be primarily oriented at attracting voters by capitalizing on the aesthetics of media technologies (e.g. personal appeals, sound bites, dramatic effects), therefore, progressively emaciated from the erstwhile 'grand narratives' (e.g. liberal democracy, socialism, communism, etc.) and the conventional linear distinctions (e.g. Right, Left). As Manuel Castells puts it "regardless of ideology and rhetoric in political discourse, only one thing matters for political parties and candidates in campaigning 'winning. Everything else is a derivative" (2009, p.228). In this paper I want, first of all, to remind, drawing on post-structuralist discourse theory, that although 'grand narratives' may not drive contemporary political practice the latter cannot be conceived as lying outside discursive articulations in general. Political practice has always been a socially situated discursive practice and, more recently, a discursive practice almost inevitably interwoven with the institutional and technological features of the communication media. This mediatized discursive practice of politics, albeit fundamentally indeterminate and managerial (e.g. the discourse of neoliberalism and Third Way), still carries with it a carefully restructured ensemble of symbolic fragments from the historical past (e.g. economic liberalism mixed with social conservatism in neoliberalism and economic liberalism mixed with social democracy and communitarianism in Third Way). My argument is, very broadly, that to study ideology in the context of political pragmatism is to study the plethora of re-contextualizations of symbolic meanings as they are discursively instantiated through different practices of political communication. Ideology has been argued, at least theoretically, to provide justification for the promotion of specific policies (political science) and serve specific forms of relations of domination (critical theory). In the contemporary highly complex and uncertain terrain of political communication, however, it is questionable to what extent the, often, contradictory policies that are promoted by and the, potentially, irreconcilable interests and asymmetric relations that are associated with specific political parties can effectively claim legitimacy on the basis of coherent hegemonic belief systems. It is rather the re-contextualizing function and its multifarious imbrication with the exercise of power that needs to be considered at the heart of ideological work. To substantiate this argument I will bring into

the discussion some empirical data, collected for the needs of my PhD project, that is, televised political ads produced by the major Greek political parties for the recent general election. I will analytically focus on how the generic and stylistic aspects of ads, seen through a critical discursive analytic approach, may allow the re-contextualization of political symbols for the benefit of several institutional interests.

Id: 10743

Title: Mapping Political Interest and Democratic Orientation Predictors in East Asia: A Comparative Study on the Impact of Media Exposure and Authoritarian Family Value on Political Engagement in Four Eastern Asian Societies

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Abstract: Media exposure, especially new media exposure, is found in many studies to have a positive impact on boosting political engagement and democratization. However, the roles of traditional media and new media in the democratization processes in non-western cultures, especially in Confucian or Muslim societies remain a debated question. As an important indicator of Confucians value, authoritarian family value is hypothesized to have a direct impact on individual's political interest and democratic orientation, and also an indirect moderating effect on the impact of media exposure on individual's political interest and democratic orientation. This study uses data from the 6th wave of World Value Survey in an effort to analyze the dynamics and direction of the impact of traditional media exposure (including newspaper, magazine, TV news, radio news), new media exposure (including mobile phone, email and internet) and authoritarian family value on political interest and democratic orientation in four East Asian societies with strong Confucian culture (China, Taiwan, Japan and South Korea). A typology of these societies is devised according to their authoritarianism on state level and family level, and results are analyzed against this typology. OLS regressions are used to establish models predicting interest in politics and democratic orientation across the four societies. Key results include: new media is found to have no significant contribution to political interest in all of the four East Asian countries, and the only significant contribution of new media to democratic orientation is found in Taiwan where pro-democracy orientation is the highest among the four East Asian societies; authoritarian family value does negatively impact political interest in non-democratic country with averagely low authoritarian family value, as in the case of China; it also has a mixed moderation effect on traditional media's contribution to political interest and democratic orientation in almost all democratic societies of East Asia. Implications of the study are discussed.

Id: 10803

Title: Framing the Anti-Putin Movement: Narrative analysis of 'The Big Three' Russian channels

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Abstract: In December 2011, a new political force occurred in Russia: 'Fair Elections' movement. It was compared with the 'Arab Spring' in the Middle East and considered to be 'The Anti-Putin one' (Kiriya, 2013). The protest movement couldn't change the general public attitude to the current political situation in the country. On the contrary, the development of Russian political system turned to the new repressive measures (Gabowitsch, 2013). Those protest demonstration gained a wide coverage by either domestic or international media, but there is a lack of systematic research on it ' most of studies focuses on the period from December 2011 to March 2012 (the pick of the protest movement), missing a number of important protest demonstrations, e.g. 'March of the Millions' (May, 6), which was the trigger for so called 'Bolotnaya Square case' and provoked new wave of 'political prisoners support' demonstrations. This study compares the coverage of the Russian protest movement started December 2011 by Russian media. It is based on the analysis of the news items, released from December 2011 to December 2014 by 'The Big Three' federal channels - Channel 1, Russian 1 and NTV, which fully control the official public sphere. Previous research on media framing of protest movements show that in order to control the opposite political force and to diminish its influence on public opinion (micro-level effect) and, as a result, to maintain the status quo (macro-level effect), the corporate media employ 'protest paradigm' ' a set of framing strategies that used by corporate media to diminish the influence of protesters on public opinion ' (Detenber et al., 2007; McLeod, 1995; McLeod & Detenber, 1999; Shoemaker, 1982; Xu, 2013; Baysha, 2014). Through a combination of narrative analysis and frame analysis the author shows that government-loyal quazi-narrators, lawlessness of oppositional leaders, refusing to establish the dialog with the current authorities, diminishing the amount of protesters, their aggressive behavior, the absence of their social portraits, internal dissensus, public disapproval of the movement, the Western influence on the protesters, simplifying the goals of activists and the possibility of revolution are the most used isolation tools in reporting Anti-Putin movement. These frame strategies are similar on all selected channels and construct 'macro-level protest paradigm'. It leads to narrowing the television-mediated public sphere in country, marginalizing the opposition and politically active people from political debate and protecting Putin's authoritarianism status quo.

Id: 10810

Title: Digital Democracy: an Analysis of the Role and Influence of Online Media to Political Discourse in Zambia By Parkie Mbozi

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Abstract: TECHNOLOGICAL changes in information delivery systems, such as the Internet, are capable of disseminating messages instantly, to wide audiences and across physical divides. This raises the question as to whether the agenda-setting theory is as relevant and applicable in the age of new media as it has been in the age of mainstream media. On account of the dynamism of internet to transmit information from senders to receivers, it is assumed that traditional theories of mass communication can directly apply to online communication. . The purpose of the current (on-going) study is to examine the agenda-setting process and the role it may play on the Internet. It focused on four Zambian online publications that appear to be the most popular, going by the number of bloggers who post comments on the stories they carry. These are: Zambian Watchdog, Lusaka Times, Zambian Reports and the Zambian Eye. All the four are run by Zambians though not all are registered in the country. The existence of these online publications is well noted and from time to time they have been reference points in offline discourses. However, little is known about the actual impact of these media in terms of reach and influence as both sources of news and information and in agenda setting, particularly in politics and governance. Recently research revolving around blogs and social media has flourished but the major focus of these studies has been on illustrating what these blogs and online publications are and the motivations of their bloggers to utilize this platform. Most of the studies have also been on Western online blogs and publications. Along these lines, this study examines the agenda setting role of online publications in Zambia by specifically examining the link between stories by these media and offline discourses in politics and governance of the country. Political and governance discourse will be determined by the following: instances of reference to the stories carried by these publications by political and governance stakeholders (both in and off government and state and non state actors); actions taken by political and governance stakeholders that can be directly attributed to the online media coverage; and, influence of online media on the agenda of mainstream (offline) media. Content of the four national dailies and parliamentary debates over a one-year period (June 2013 ' June 2014) will be examined. This study is focusing on examining for a more powerful effect than previous agenda-setting studies. It goes beyond the cognitive effects of agenda-setting - McCombs and Shaw (1972) called agenda-setting 'social learning' - to examine a behavioral effect: specifically, whether political and governance audiences take notice of the information in the online news media and whether it actually influences their choice of issues to give prominence to in their debates, decision making and actions.

Id: 10839

Title: Negative emotions in political television advertisements in the 2009 and 2014 South African National General Elections

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Abstract: The 2014 South African National General Elections marked 20 years of democracy in South Africa. However, this does not imply that the South African democracy has matured or could be compared to liberal Western democracies. Despite having regular free and fair general elections, the South African democracy has remained a dominant party democracy. The only real question during elections have been whether the African National Congress (ANC) would attain a two-third majority or not. Within this context it is argued that political parties in the context of African dominant party systems have a responsibility to not only canvas votes, but also contribute to the democratic culture by means of their campaigns (see Wang, Gabay & Shah, 2012; Hansen & Pedersen, 2014). There has been a lot of debate regarding the motivational and informational value of negative or attack television advertisements in liberal or well established democracy. The main issues debated are whether negative or attack messages demobilizes the voter and whether negative advertisements have more informational value (see Vaccari, & Morini, 2014:20; Nai, 2013:44). The research in this regard has been inconclusive, but researchers are concerned about the benefit of negative or attack advertisements for democracy. Television political advertisements are fairly new phenomena in South Africa and were only introduced in 2009. Initially the concern regarding television advertising in South Africa was a question of accessibility. It was argued that not all political parties could afford the production cost of television advertisements or viewing time. The latter concern was addressed by adopting a dual system of paid television advertisements but also allotting viewing time for Public Election Broadcasts. Up until the 2014 national elections; television advertisements focused mainly on positive messages. From 2014 it became evident that the use of negative messages would also raise concerns regarding the sustainability of the democracy. It was not clear who was responsible for the regulating of political television advertisements in South Africa and the National Broadcaster (SABC) refused to broadcast advertisements of the Democratic Alliance (DA) and Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF). Against this background the use of negative or attack messages in television political advertisements during the 2009 and 2014 South African National General Elections will be investigated. More specifically the use of different negative emotions in political television advertisements will be studied. A qualitative content analysis of the television political advertisements of the main political parties will be done, in order to determine the nature of the messages in the advertisements.

Id: 10844

Title: POP POLITICS IN SPAIN AS A NEW PARADIGM TO EXPLAIN POLITICS FOR CHANGE

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Abstract: Recent Spanish political arena has been facing serious challenges coming from different fronts. On one side, there is a serious crisis of traditional political parties- Partido Popular (PP) in government and the Socialist Party (PSOE) as the main party in the opposition. These parties are facing strong critics not only as the result of the devastating effects of the economic crisis but main and foremost coming from different scandals connected to corruption that challenge their leadership. On the other side, new political parties challenge the traditional political discourse and the hegemonic representation of Politics. The latest political polls show the emergence of four political parties that strongly attempt to remove or at least to marginalize the two political parties that have monopolized the Spanish Politics since the eighties. The new parties (Podemos and Ciudadanos in Spain and Guanyem and Procés Constituent in Catalonia) challenge the inner idea of 'democracy' by using very different media and different communication strategies that result in different legitimation processes. This paper proposal shows the results of a wider research on Political Communication in Spain, namely Pop Politics in Spain: Television, Internet 2.0. and Videogames, financed by the Spanish MINECO. This research departs from the assumption that the representation of Politics does no longer occur mostly at the traditional information genres but it is closely connected to entertainment. As such, taking the concept of Pop Politics (Mazzoleni & Sfondrini, 2009; Van Zoonen, 2005), its dynamics connected to the personalization of Politics 'namely the notion of celebrity politicians (Street, 1996, 2001, 2011-2012; Franklin, 1994; Wheeler, 2013) as well as the new display of media 2.0. in which political representation occurs 'websites, blogs and social media (Lillecker, 2010; Vergeer, 2013; Vaccari, 2013; Bogost, 2006)- we develop our research focusing on different media, different genres as well as a different methodological approach (semionarrative, Greimas 1970, Barnhurst, 2011). Altogether shows not only a different representation of Politics but also a challenging representation of Politics -for the existing status-quo ' and, more interestingly, they offer new ways of political participation and empowerment. Specifically, in this paper we deal with the research question of 'which are the main communication strategies used by the Spanish political parties to challenge the existing status quo' Some of our working

hypothesis concerns the relationship between Politics and Media such as: the use of different media 'internet 2.0. and videogames-; the different use of old media 'television talk shows, new formats of politainment-; a different language or the proposals of different frames to conceptualize traditional political issues. These strategies would be closer to the so-called top-down strategies. A second group of working hypothesis turns around the relationship between Politics and social movements, incarnating an opposed strategy 'a down to top strategy-, that is, some of them have their origin in social discontent, social and cultural movements, even self-determination movements and have later become political parties.

Id: 10944

Title: Business as usual' Comparing politicians' communication strategies on Facebook during non-election period and campaigning.

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Abstract: The internet and especially social media becomes more and more an important tool for political campaigning (Chadwick & Howard 2010). Research on this issue indicates, that personalization (Hermans & Vergeer 2013) and direct appeals to voters (Bronstein, 2013) are often used by politicians in their social media campaigning. Studies on 'classical' campaigning indicate that citation of evidence (Levasseur & Dean 1996) as well as strategic ambiguity (Reinemann & Maurer, 2005) rank among the frequently used communication strategies. Furthermore challengers usually try to attack the government, whereas the incumbents stress their past efforts (Holtz-Bacha 2006). Although social media provide a platform for the use of these strategies (e.g. linking external sources to strengthen arguments; attacking opponents directly), research hasn't paid attention to the use of these strategies on social media. Besides research on (social media) campaigning mainly focuses on the intense phases of campaigns. In doing so it cannot be ruled out that politicians use the same strategies in their everyday communication routines (e.g. permanent campaigning). To discover campaign specific communication strategies it is necessary to contrast the communication in the intense phases of campaigning with non-election periods. This paper wants to illuminate these issues and addresses two main questions: First, which 'classical' persuasive strategies are principally used by the politicians on Facebook' Second, are there differences between the daily routines and the communication during the intense phase of campaigning'The study aims to answer these questions with a quantitative content analysis of status updates (n = 1005) posted by 105 members of the German Bundestag. In order to identify campaign specific changes in communication behavior the study recorded a period of one month both before (April) and during (September) the intense phase of the campaign for the German federal election 2013. First, various dimensions of personalization (i.e. politician himself vs other actors; single vs collective actors; private vs official context) were collected and argumentative strategies (i.e. acclaims, attacks) and appeals were coded. In addition, the use of emotional vocabulary and evidence (i.e. statements, data and links originating from a source other than the politician) were collected.The results overall suggest an increasing importance of Facebook during campaigning. Representatives primarily see

Facebook as a new channel for self-promotion. During campaigning the presence of the owners of the profiles increases significantly, while the importance of the parties remain at a lower level. By frequent linking of media products the politicians try to strengthen their argumentation. Instead of attacking the opponents, the representatives stress their efforts and promote their goals on Facebook especially during campaigning; this applies both for the politicians of the governing parties and the opposition. It's likely that communication on Facebook differs from the classical strategies. Only a fraction of status updates directly addresses citizens. But the frequency increases during the campaign when politicians try to convince the voters. Parallel to this, posts were significantly more often emotional. Appeals that ask citizens for dialogue are rarely found. The implications of these findings will be discussed.

Id: 10947

Title: Parliamentary debates in the news. Journalistic selection criteria and politicians' reactions

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Abstract: Parliamentary speeches only seemingly address the attendant parliamentarians. In fact, the main objective of the parliament speaker is to convince the public of own accomplishments or to generate public support for positions in the population, which learns about the debates through traditional news media. There, many hours of debating are inevitably shortened to a few lines. This leads to the question, which arguments and concise quotes are the most important from the viewpoint of journalists. In research, the news value theory has emerged as a central approach to the explanation of journalistic news selection (Galtung & Ruge, 1965). We adapt the theory to single statements from speeches and assume, that journalists quote or report in their coverage of the parliamentary debates disproportionately more often statements that contain news factors (H1). Theories of persuasion deal with the use of rhetorical devices. The use of evidence (e.g. statistical evidence, quotes by authorities) and emotional appeals (positive or negative) are seen as particularly effective (e.g. Levasseur & Dean, 1996; O'Keefe, 2003). We assume that journalists quote or report in their coverage of the parliamentary debates disproportionately more often statements that include persuasive rhetorical devices (H2). In the knowledge that politicians can get through to the public only through the mass media, they use media selection criteria in their statements in advance. This approach refers to the long-term process of the adaption of politics to the production- and selection routines of the mass media (e.g. Mazzoleni & Schulz, 1999). We assume that political actors focus more and more on communication strategies in the parliamentary debates that are disproportionately more often quoted or referenced in the media coverage (H3). This study aims to test these hypotheses with a content analysis of the parliamentary debates at the German Bundestag in the years 2000 until 2010 and the coverage about the debates in nine print and online news media. In a first step, the occurrences of news

factors and persuasive style devices have been coded in the speeches. We coded the speeches by the current Chancellor as well as the leader of the opposition (2838 statements). In the second step we have taken identical codings for the media coverage (2198 statements). We have only coded literal or corresponding statements from the previously coded speech. Findings show that statements containing news factors, especially negativity, tend to have a greater chance to get covered by the media as the proportion of statements including news factors is higher in media coverage than in the speeches. Concerning personalization, statements that deal with people rather than with factual issues even have a lower chance of publicity. Statements containing persuasive rhetorical devices do not increase the possibility of publication. The speakers in the parliamentary debate have increasingly used those communication strategies over time that result in disproportionately frequently quoted or referenced statements. Opposition leaders therefore increasingly criticize the government in their speeches. Chancellor and leader of the opposition tend to talk less and less about persons. Implications of these findings will be discussed.

Id: 10951

Title: The prism of the public sphere: The COP15 coverage by the Brazilian media system

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Abstract: Current studies of political communication offer valuable contributions to comprehending in a more nuanced way the different conditions under which the quality of mediated deliberation might improve or decrease. But in our understanding of the news media's role in a deliberative system (cf. recent works published by Jane Mansbridge and colleagues) a number of questions remain unanswered, especially when it comes to the problem posed by the increasing social complexity. This is because most studies focus on the dimension of 'deliberativeness' of media content. Only scarce attention is paid to other aspects of mediated deliberation, especially regarding news media's potential to mediate between discursive arenas ' e.g., politics, science, or everyday talk ' with rather distinct codes and languages. This paper aims to contribute to closing this gap by conducting an empirical analysis that operationalizes a systemic view of mediated deliberation. We investigate how distinct contributions to public deliberation are articulated via outputs from different media outlets. In doing so, this study aims to shed light on how the media system contributes to a systematic articulation and exchange of ideas between civil society and administrative powers. To explore this articulation, we conducted a case study about the Brazilian coverage of the 15th United Nations Climate Change Conference (COP15) which took place in December 2009 in Copenhagen, Denmark. It is a suitable case since this Conference triggered an unprecedented level of media visibility on climate change. Without this extensive coverage, most Brazilian citizens would not have had the opportunity to know about and understand the official statements made by their representatives in the formal sessions at this Conference. Therefore, without this coverage the normative principles of publicity and intelligibility would have had much less chance of being accomplished for a wider public. To investigate how this coverage helped Brazilian citizens to hold their representatives accountable and to understand the political debate on climate change, all fact-based articles (n=86) about the COP15 published or broadcasted in two central media outlets of the Brazilian media system were selected. One is the nightly TV newscast Jornal Nacional (JN) and the other the quality daily newspaper Folha de São Paulo (FSP). We conducted an interpretative and content analysis of these news articles to test the

following hypotheses:H1: The JN fulfills the principle of intelligibility to a higher degree than FSP.H2: The FSP fulfills the principle of publicity to a higher degree than the JN.On the most aggregated level our research results confirm the hypotheses. However, on a disaggregated level our data shows some characteristics of the media debate not consistent with our hypotheses. By discussing these variables we outline how future research may improve our understanding about how journalistic mediation works differently depending on the media outlet and the distinct normative principles of deliberative democracy in question. Finally, we indicate how conceiving the media system both as a prism of the public sphere and as a gateway to the informative system improves our understanding of the mass media's role in a democratic deliberative system.

Id: 10992

Title: Influence of political, economic and geographical factors in the media agenda of immigration issues on the United States

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Abstract: While much research has been devoted to how media reports on illegal immigration and how individuals respond to media messages about it, a continuing question in communication science deals with what motivates the intensity of news reporting about certain issues. Given the important consequences of media information about minorities and its potential in forming anti-immigration attitudes, this project explores the factors that explain variations in immigration news coverage as a function of structural indicators, political and economic contexts and geographic situation. Previous studies have associated recession numbers with a higher animosity toward illegal immigration in public opinion (Citrin et al., 1997, Brader et al., 2009), but these efforts in media research have been rare or they have not considered the intervention of other important political events and actors. Equally, past efforts have focused on the illegal immigration news coverage in response to single events (California's or Arizona's immigration state policies) or the image representation of undocumented immigrants. Through the theoretical lens of agenda building and electoral competition theory, new considerations are introduced in the content analysis of the present study. Measures of news frequency and frame coverage across places, for the period 2000-2012, are used to assess how economic reality, electoral context and geopolitics factor in the evolution of immigration reporting. The content analysis compares the news visibility and tone on seven newspapers, four representing the closest and most significant border cities for each one of the Border States and three representing national elite newspapers. The descriptive results show that immigration news visibility has increased overall and that variation is linked to national attention, while topic and frame are linked to geographical factors. News visibility is substantially influenced by infrequent polity related state and national proposals such as the Arizona Law in 2010 and the 2006 immigration debates in the American Congress. News frames and topics are mainly influenced by the quality of the local experiences, such as accidents along the border, deaths of immigrants or everyday encounters. The findings demonstrate that while media intend to present a more sympathetic approach towards the immigrant's individual condition and contribution to the nation, at the same time they continue to employ already known and negative dominant narratives about immigration, consistent with past studies.

Id: 11041

Title: The Last of the Mohicans' Comparing Finnish Political Journalists' Professional Values and Attitudes with Journalists on Other Beats

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Abstract: This paper studies Finnish political journalists' views on their professional values and attitudes and compares them with journalists working other beats. The study has three objectives: 1. To investigate Finnish political reporters' professional values and to explain their changes, 2. To locate and analyze the particularities of political journalism in the Finnish context, and 3. To participate in the international discussion about the different roles and functions of political journalism in the changing political public sphere. Theoretically, the study is informed by research on the changing dynamics between the media, politics, and citizens (e.g. theories of professionalization and mediatization), by the theories of recent societal changes (mainly liquid modern), and by comparative studies on journalistic cultures. Finland makes a compelling case for research for three reasons. First, the changes in the dynamics between the media and politics have emerged later than in many other Western democracies. Secondly, many aspects of this change are still generating strong resistance among politicians, journalists and citizens. Thirdly, the rise of the Internet and social media has diversified the dynamics between the actors in the political public sphere. This forces political journalism in Finland to (re-)negotiate its position at many levels simultaneously: both internally and in relation to citizens and politicians. These negotiations are not made easier by the increasing competition and the financial constraints that have become commonplace in Finnish journalism in the last few years. Investigating political journalists' understanding of their professional values and attitudes in a time of flux is useful and may give us new insights into the influence of different actors and factors on political journalism, and the political public sphere in general. To investigate the topic, I have collected data from three sources. Two are surveys based on the Worlds of Journalism Study project ' the first one a national survey conducted in 2013 with all kinds of journalists (N=366), and the second one a sample from the members of the Association of Political Journalists in Finland (APJF) done in 2013'2014 (N=83). I will analyze these two surveys statistically and supplement them with qualitative responses from the APJF's internal survey from 2014 (N=49). Despite changes in the political public sphere, I hypothesize that political journalists still support the traditional journalistic values of detachment and neutrality and enjoy more autonomy than their colleagues due to the high standing given to politics. Thus they can act as 'the last Mohicans'. However, the differences to other journalists are becoming smaller because of societal changes and financial constraints in journalism. Finally, some differences are emerging between different age groups regarding the role and functions of political journalism, and it is likely that these differences will increase

rapidly in the future as the older generations ' who make up the majority of the APJF's membership ' head for retirement.

Id: 11278

Title: Political Knowledge and Participation in Relation to Media Use Habits of Egyptian Citizens

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Abstract: Based upon a recent and extensive face-to-face survey conducted in Cairo, Egypt, this research analyzes political knowledge and participation as they relate to media use habits among Egyptian citizens. Survey questions related to a range of key issues, including variables associated with media use, socioeconomic status, and political activism. Egypt is a key country in part of a broader region ' the Middle East ' that has experienced major political challenges, and in some instances upheaval, stemming from what has become commonly referred to as the 'Arab Spring.' The country has experienced several protest movements since 2011, and the political situation remains fluid. Amidst these dynamics, media use and production in Egypt have been described as the largest and fastest growing in the Arab World. While western news media and a number of academic scholars initially tended towards glorifying the role of social media in the Arab Spring, the results of this study identify a host of fundamental issues that should not only be acknowledged, but further interrogated, regarding relationships between social media use and political outcomes. Statistical analyses conducted on the survey data resulted in a number of important findings. These findings included notable differences in media use habits in relation to socioeconomic status, as well as variations in political knowledge and activism in relation to preferred sources of media content. Furthermore, the consumption of traditional media, particularly television, remains prevalent in Cairo. Such content is not only produced and controlled by the country's long-established, and politically influenced, media hierarchy, but much of it directly proliferates various forms of social media. Perhaps most importantly, the study's findings suggest that amidst a tendency for scholars and the news media to focus on the democratizing influences of social media, it becomes all that much more important to not simply assume that new media has particular efficacy when it comes not only to promoting democracy, but when it comes to increasing citizens' knowledge about political matters as well.

Id: 11301

Title: Construcción de hegemonía discursiva e identidades políticas en la Argentina contemporánea. En torno a las elecciones presidenciales de 2015.

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Abstract: La ponencia propuesta tiene como finalidad el estudio de la construcción de hegemonía discursiva en el campo político, desde la perspectiva del análisis del discurso social (Angenot, 1989; 2010). La problemática que se pretende indagar es la relación entre hegemonía discursiva, identidades políticas y medios de comunicación, bajo el postulado de que una construcción hegemónica resulta, en sociedades mediatizadas, de un proceso de interdeterminación entre las lógicas identitarias políticas y las lógicas mediáticas. Para ello, toma por objeto de estudio, a partir de un corte sincrónico, producciones discursivas de dos esferas en el contexto de las elecciones presidenciales de 2015: las de las principales fuerzas políticas (y centralmente, de sus líderes) y las de los principales medios de comunicación (y centralmente, de sus editorialistas). La delimitación obedece a tres criterios: en primer lugar, la posibilidad de analizar el estado del discurso político argentino en las postrimerías del ejercicio de gobierno de una fuerza política, el kirchnerismo, que 'dada su permanencia temporal y su grado de iniciativa política' ha definido en gran medida las orientaciones del debate social contemporáneo; en segundo lugar, el interés en estudiar la progresiva diferenciación de las identidades de las distintas fuerzas políticas a partir de la pugna por asumir el gobierno; en tercer lugar, la preocupación por indagar de una manera sistemática la interpenetración de la esfera política con la esfera mediática y sus posibles repercusiones en la esfera pública. La hipótesis de trabajo es que el estudio sincrónico de las discursividades política y mediática en el contexto de las elecciones presidenciales de 2015 ofrece, junto con un perfil de las identidades políticas en competencia, indicios de un estado del discurso social y de la hegemonía discursiva. Esta hipótesis se enmarca en un conjunto de preocupaciones teórico-metodológicas que han motivado nuestras investigaciones anteriores y que buscan articular dos dimensiones: a) la dimensión de la hegemonía discursiva (Angenot, 1982, 1989), y b) la dimensión de las identidades discursivas (Maingueneau, 2010; Charaudeau, 2010; Plantin, 2011). Los resultados preliminares sugieren que, tras más una década de ostentación del conflicto como dimensión eminente de la práctica política en el partido gobernante (esto es, el kirchnerismo), las principales fuerzas políticas candidatas a gobernar en el próximo período se presentan como representantes de una política de consenso y armonía, para la que el conflicto es un mal evitable y la unidad policlasista un horizonte posible.

Id: 11367

Title: DACA, y plurivocidad político-comunicativa: una crítica al mensaje de Barack Obama a los 'Dreamers'.

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Abstract: Summary This is an overview of a research job carried out between 2011 and 2014, looking for univocity and plurivocity evidences at Barack Obama's messages about DACA 'Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, an Executive Order', to young students whom the 'dreamer' qualification has legally termed. Abstract En septiembre 2006, los senadores Orrin Hatch 'republicano, por Utah' y Richard Durbin 'demócrata, por Illinois' presentaron un proyecto de ley llamado 'Development, Relief and Education for Alien Minors', conocido como 'Dream Act' o 'Dream'. Esta iniciativa pretendía facilitar el tránsito de una población específica de indocumentados para regularizar su estancia en territorio estadounidense. La 'Dream' buscaba beneficiar a jóvenes que atendieran algún tipo de educación formal, para que no pagaran ésta a precios que cubren los estudiantes extranjeros pudientes. Así, el 15 de junio de 2012, Barack Obama puso en movimiento una 'Acción diferida' 'conocida como 'Acción' o DACA' que impedía temporalmente que los 'dreamers' pudieran ser echados del país. Tanto la 'Acción' como la 'Dream' no extienden la ciudadanía estadounidense a los millones de indocumentados ya residentes en el país. Yendo más lejos, ni siquiera existen argumentos sólidos y válidos para pensar que la DACA cumplirá con el objetivo de millones de beneficiados. Por lo que se refiere al 'dreamer', legalmente se trata de un indocumentado que llegó a los Estados Unidos antes de cumplir los dieciséis años de edad y que no tenía 31 años antes del 15 de julio de 2012, fecha en que el presidente Barack Obama echó a andar la 'Acción'. En la práctica, la 'Acción' es una acción política de Obama que ralentiza la potencial deportación de una persona, manteniéndola bajo una cobertura legal temporal. Este documento resume una crítica cualitativa sobre el mensaje que Barack Obama envía a los 'dreamers' con la DACA, además que presenta un conjunto de escenarios comunicativos que podrían darse cita en la administración federal que sucederá a dicho funcionario, a partir de dos coordenadas semiológicas: las características de univocidad que representa el mensaje en su propósito o intención política y las características de plurivocidad que presenta en la realidad de los 'dreamers'. Esta crítica exhibe algunas discordancias que la acción comunicativa de Obama hacia los 'dreamers' ha producido' y explica algunos de los

escenarios comunicativos que pueden darse cita a partir de la llegada de su sucesor a la Casa Blanca, a principios de 2017, tras los comicios de 2016. El horizonte analizado es de junio 2011 a diciembre 2014. Resumidos para esta ponencia en un formato tipo tabla, se presentan los principales hallazgos de la crítica desarrollada, en ellas, se identifican las discrepancias de 'univocidad' y 'plurivocidad' del discurso de Obama, una vez que pasó por la realidad pública, aquella que deja de lado al discurso oficial para instalarse en lo que ocurre en las diversas manifestaciones del poder en Estados Unidos.

Id: 11478

Title: The Role of Media in the Resignation of the German President Christian Wulff

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Abstract: Author: Anne-Christin Hoffmann, graduate student Introduction On 17th February 2012 a scandal involving the highest political office in Germany forces Christian Wulff to resign. The trigger event of the mediated debate is the investigation that Wulff benefits from a personal loan at lower rates. This first publication of the »credit affair« on 13th December 2011 by the German highest-circulation newspaper Bild causes an enormous outcry and further media coverage about benefits taken by Wulff. In his resignation speech the president says that he felt violated by the coverage, he blames the media for his fall. This study focusing on the role of journalists in the resignation of Wulff attempts to test how the print mass media report on the president after the announcement of his political misconduct. Theory This analysis is based on the scandal research by Kepplinger (2012), Burkhardt (2011) and Thompson (2000), the media functions in democratic societies (Tonnemacher 2003), news values (Schulz 2009), the relation between mass media and politics (e.g. interpenetration, Jarren/Donges 2011) and the effect of media coverage on public opinions and images (agenda setting, McCombs 2004). Hypotheses and Method To find out if the debate about Wulff is scandalized by the media eight hypotheses measure the media coverage of the German leading newspapers »Bild«, »Der Spiegel«, »Süddeutsche Zeitung« and »Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung« focusing the 1) period, 2) placement, 3) topics, 4) form of presentation, 5) rate of scandalizing, 6) number of sources, 7) calls for resignation and 8) statements of Wulff. The data is collected from 13th December 2011 (first coverage about Wulff-affair) to 17th February 2012 (resignation of Wulff) by a quantitative content analysis of 335 articles. Results The examined media pay high attention to Wulff by reporting continually and intensively and placing the Wulff-items prominently. During the whole analysis period the coverage tenor is negative (82.2%). Especially journalists (83.0%) estimate the president`s conduct, 59.0% of their valuation is negative. 30.1% of the articles include demands for the president`s resignation. The tabloid newspaper »Bild« and the newsmagazine »Der Spiegel« scandalize the politician`s misconduct but the premium newspapers »Süddeutsche Zeitung« and »Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung« report neutrally. So the scandalizing role of mass media cannot be confirmed. However the high negativity has an impact on the reputation of Wulff: his image is significantly disturbed not only by his own misconduct but also by the mediated negative drawing of his person. References Burkhardt, S. (2011): Skandal, medialisierter Skandal und Medienskandal. In: Bulkow, K./Petersen, C. (Ed.): Skandale. Strukturen und Strategien öffentlicher Aufmerksamkeitserzeugung. Wiesbaden. Jarren, O. / Donges, P. (2011): Politische Kommunikation in der Mediengesellschaft. Wiesbaden. Kepplinger, H. M. (2012): Die

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Id: 11483

Title: Media Criticism, Political Disenchantment and Populism

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Abstract: At the end of 2014 a citizen's movement warning against an 'Islamization' of the Western world enter the public arena by demonstrations all across Germany. Apparently independent from any political party, they use the agenda of populist parties in Europe as described e.g. by Dimitrov (2009): restoring statehood, anti-Americanism, nationalism combined with xenophobia and anti-institutionalism (Dimitrov 2009: 311pp.). Additionally, the protesters emphasize media-criticism and express disenchantment with politics. The latter two concepts were objects of several studies in the field of political communication research. Studies dealing with media-criticism mostly come to the conclusion that trust in media in general and/or journalists in particular is decreasing over the last decades (cf. Gronke & Cook 2007: 270; IfD Allensbach 2013, Schielicke, Mothes & Donsbach 2014, PEW Research Center 2013). A similar negative development could be observed for interest and participation in politics. For Germany only half of the citizens recently stated, they were interested in politics (Petersen, Hierlemann, Vehrkamp, & Wratil 2013). The situation in Europe and the US is similar (cf. World Value Survey 2010-2014). Disinterest with politics seems to be correlated with rising negative attitudes towards politics in general and politicians in particular (Cook & Gronke 2005, Haas 2014), condensing in increasing political cynicism. The three concepts: rising of right-wing populist parties across Europe, declining trust in media and increasing political cynicism are all mirrored in the current citizen's movement in Germany. Following this observations and assumptions the research-question of this study was (RQ1): Which factors drives the participation in such demonstrations respectively sharing the goals of the movement' We conduct a non-representative web-survey with a probability-based online-sample of inhabitants of a major German city (n=860). For xenophobia we applied the 'group-focused misanthropy' scale by Beckmann (2012) and Borstel & Heitmeyer (2012). For nationalism we used

specific items from a study by Zick, Küpper & Hövermann (2012). To ascertain the degree of political disenchantment we used an index of items measuring political cynicism and political responsiveness (Pedersen 2012, Tedesco 2011, Wolling 1999). For media-criticism we used the more general question to which degree the respondent trust journalists (Schielicke, Mothes & Donsbach 2014). A binary logistic regression shows xenophobia, nationalism and media-criticism as main factors. People who share the goals of the movement at least partially are characterized by hostility against foreigners, share nationalistic values and express a significant higher level of anti-Americanism and critic in capitalism. Unexpectedly, political disenchantment showed no significant effect. In contrast, distrust in journalists was as strong as xenophobia and nationalism. Asking for the reasons for distrust, respondents mentioned one-sidedness, lack of independence and distance from ordinary citizens. Further analyses showed differences in usage of types of media (e.g. national, local). Data analysis is not finished yet. Since we have used a panel we can track down changes in media-usage of the participants from the last national election in 2013 until today.

Id: 11488

Title: Informed vs. Interpreting Citizens: The Changing Role of Citizenship and its Implications for the Quality of News Coverage

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Abstract: 'The public role of the media in a democratic society applies to the news sector above all others, since the quality of the news received will affect the ability of citizens to contribute to and participate in the decision-making processes which concern them.' According to the recently published report of the High Level Group on Media Freedom and Pluralism, established by the European Commission in 2011, the news media have the duty to provide citizens with the information they need in order to participate in democratic processes. The definition of news quality, therefore, goes along with the functions of the media in a democracy. However, in an increasingly diverse society, types and forms of democratic processes and with them the roles of citizens and the media in the public sphere have changed. On the one hand, new concepts of democracy and citizenship are emerging, that unsettle liberal ideals of representative government and rational citizens who engage with politics through traditional political organizations and media outlets (Ferree et al., 2002). Neither the 'informed citizen' nor the corresponding 'full news standard' no longer applies to the contemporary societal and media environment very well. On the other hand, audience fragmentation and content diversification have led to a fundamental shift in the media landscape that seems to make former conceptions of the public sphere as a single, integrative entity obsolete. Therefore, discursive as well as participatory concepts of democracy deal with the problem of how social consent can be defined (and obtained), considering a more dispersed structure of the public sphere. While the concepts differ on norms such as accountability and conciliation on the one hand and empowerment on the other, both approaches agree on norms like inclusion and the notion of what Porto (2007) called the 'interpreting citizen,' who is regarded as competent in developing and arguing consistent preferences and, thus, making sense of political and social reality. The research question of this paper is, therefore, to which extent there is a need for (1) adjusting traditional news quality concepts to these changing forms of citizenship and (2) formulating different quality demands for different news media, operating in different markets. By presenting preliminary results of the first Austrian cross-media study on news quality (analyzing

news coverage in 36 media outlets during 2014), we argue that the definition of criteria for news quality should 'break free from the assumption that the media are a single institution with a common democratic purpose. Different media should be viewed as having different functions within the democratic system, calling for different kinds of structure and styles of journalism.' (Curran, 2004, p. 140)

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Id: 11533

Title: The many ways to gather political information: Changing patterns of news media attention

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Abstract: In order to participate in civic life and to reach well-founded political decisions, citizens need to obtain political information (Delli Carpini, 2000; cf. Lau & Redlawsk, 1997). One of the main sources for political information is the news media. There have been times when patterns of news media attention seemed simple. There were only few important news broadcasts on radio and television, a selection of regional and national newspapers, and some news magazines. The increasing number of TV and radio channels, digitalization and later the Internet, along with individualization tendencies in society, brought an explosion in the number of available media choices and a more fragmented audience (Webster & Ksiazek, 2012). Since well-informed citizens are required for the functioning of democracy, it is vital to understand patterns of attention to political information and news media. This paper aims at understanding how people get information on politics and at how this varies in different situational contexts and among different (groups of) people. Many studies concerned with news media attention (or avoidance) assume active users that pursue their cognitive (or other) needs. While this uses and gratifications notion (Katz, Blumler, & Gurevitch, 1973; Ruggiero, 2000) often is useful in explaining news media attention, there are certain situations in which people's news media usage might actually be driven by other reasons like ritualized media usage (Rubin, 1984) or the feeling of civic duty (Poindexter & McCombs, 2001). The above mentioned multitude of media choices also led to concerns that people will increasingly avoid the news (Ksiazek, Malthouse, & Webster, 2010), that they will isolate themselves in 'information cocoons' (Sunstein, 2009), and that more partisan media will foster political polarization (Prior, 2013). Another issue is the dwindling confidence in the media and in journalists (e.g., Jones, 2004). We approach news media attention as something that is embedded in people's everyday lives. To learn more about it an open

and comprehensive approach is necessary. Therefore, this study is based on semi-structured interviews (N=40) and analysis will be guided by the considerations above. We are currently conducting interviews with people of different age, sex, and level of education. Our paper focuses on Austria, whose media system can be characterized as 'democratic corporatist' (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). Preliminary findings from our interviews show that there are indeed huge differences in patterns of news media attention between different groups of people, but also that the same peoples' usage patterns vary, depending on the situational context. Situational context also plays a role in people's willingness to actively gather or passively consume political information. Our in-depth analysis will provide rich insight into the many ways people gather political information. This will help in developing a more concise theoretical understanding and can also facilitate future quantitative survey research. It will also allow us to tackle some aforementioned concerns about democracy that are often brought up in light of recent media trends.

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Id: 11534

Title: Trust or non-trust in traditional news media and how it matters for how social media is used in different national contexts

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Abstract: News exposure and trust in media is of importance for individuals and for local and national democracy. Several studies have shown how media system (Hallin and Mancini 2004) or 'information environments' (Esser et al 2012) matter for news exposure, political interest and political knowledge in a society. Others have indicated how media use and political interest are positively correlated with trust in media (Tsfati and Arielys, 2014). Changing media environments have increased the group of individuals tuning out the world of news and current affairs in traditional media in Europe (Blekesaune, Elvestad and Aalberg 2012). The decrease in consumption of news in traditional media is most obvious among the young people. This rise questions about young people's attitudes to traditional news sources and the role of social media as a new source for news. In this paper, we discuss how young adults' interest in local, national and international politics relate to the kind of news sources they find most useful. We also ask how young people's trust in media explain their news exposure, and whether low trust in traditional media makes social media (such as Twitter, blogs, Facebook etc) more important as news sources. The political and media situation in a country may influence individual's attitudes to news and news sources, which stress the need for cross-country comparison. We use data from a cross-national survey (N=847) and from in depth interviews with 37 students in three different political and news media environments: Israel, Norway and UK. We find that the Norwegian and UK students are more interested in international news and international politics while the Israeli students are more interested in national politics and news. The Norwegian students think of social media as less important for knowing what is going on in their society than the Israeli and UK students. Further, we find that students from all the three countries trust the traditional news media (offline and online versions) more than social media, but there are national differences. The difference

between trust in traditional news sources and social media is most obvious for the Norwegian case, and least obvious in the UK case. Despite living in rather different political situations, the Norwegian and Israeli students seems to live in national contexts, which contributes to greater trust in media than the UK students. Finally, we discuss how low trust in traditional news media among the UK-students and higher trust in traditional news media in Israel and Norway can explain differences in the way social media have become a source for news for young adults in these countries.

Id: 11560

Title: Popular support and relationship between government and the press: The performance of closed and open governments in Latin America.

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Abstract: The main goal of the research is describe the relationship between the level of popular approval of ten presidents in Latin America and the approach that each one of them have to the models of open or closed government. In Latin America we recognize two models of communication of government (Amadeo 2012, Ponce 2013), 1) Open Government: the more attached to freedom of expression and management open dialogue with opposition, 2) Closed Government: which seeks to position the press as the main opposition the government and fight the free exercise of the profession. The methodology measures the relationship between levels of popularity, as measured by public opinion polls in the period January 2012- December 2014 divided into six sub-periods semester, compared to the communication styles of government that followed in those periods. Cases of analysis include the governments of Evo Morales (Bolivia), Cristina Fernández (Argentina), Michelle Bachelet (Chile 2014), Jose Mujica (Uruguay), Dilma Rousseff (Brazil), Ollanta Humala (Peru), Nicolas Maduro (Venezuela), Juan Miguel Santos (Colombia), Francisco Franco (Paraguay), Enrique Peña Nieto (Mexico). The thesis of the research is that open government models have higher levels of approval in public opinion polls that governance models closed.

Id: 11666

Title: Framing the Conflict: Coverage of Indian elections 2014 in Pakistani press

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Abstract: This paper looks at the coverage of Indian general elections 2014 in three national English-language newspapers of Pakistan (Dawn, Daily Times, Express Tribune). India and Pakistan have traditionally had tense relations and political developments in either country invariably have implications for the bilateral relationship. India elections in 2014 were also one such occasion as a potential change in government on the Indian side was expected. This paper looks at the framing of Indian elections in Pakistani press to find out whether the coverage highlighted conflict and was influenced by political and nationalistic considerations. McGoldrick and Lynch (2000) have argued that the understanding of conflict by journalists could contribute towards the promotion of war or peace. Mitra (2009) looked at the coverage of 11/26 Mumbai attacks in the Indian media and argued that it had played a significant role in perpetuating mass hysteria and creating a mob mentality against the state. DeVreese, Peter and Semetko (2001) compared coverage of television news programs in four European countries at the time of the launching of Euro currency. They found that the journalists were more likely to use conflict frames as compared to any other frame in political coverage but the economic consequences frame dominated the coverage of the launching of Euro. Using a content analysis methodology, this research applies Semetko and Valkenberg's (2000) framing design to the coverage of Indian general elections 2014 in Pakistani newspapers. Additionally, this research also adopts the framing design of Nitz and West (2004) who coded the framing of environmental news stories during the presidential campaign of Al-Gore and George W. Bush in 2000 as primarily thematic or episodic. The Indian elections had started on 7th April 2014 and ended on 12th May 2014. All stories published in the three selected newspapers (Dawn, Express Tribune, Daily Times) during April 1-May 15, 2014 that made any reference to Indian elections (n=95) were selected through the Lexis-Nexis Academic database. The intercoder reliability for all framing categories was above .90. The results have shown mixed results. Contrary to the evidence from literature, coverage of Indian elections in Pakistani newspapers was primarily thematic. The overall tone of the coverage, however, was negative. Human-interest, morality and economic consequences frames were absent in the coverage. The Pakistani newspapers attributed responsibility for bilateral issues on India but generally did not pinpoint any individual or political party. The results provide evidence that the coverage of Indian elections 2014 in Pakistani newspapers promoted bilateral conflict and was influenced by political and nationalistic considerations. Making an important contribution to the existing literature on framing, this study analyses framing of events happening in one country in the newspaper coverage of a rival country. It also expands the scope of such

research to South Asian countries, where such issues have not been given due attention by the communication scholars previously. Key words: India, Pakistan, conflict, election, framing

Id: 11733

Title: Social Media Use, Political Efficacy and Political Participation in China: The Moderating Role of Need for Orientation

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Abstract: With an estimated 632 million Internet users, China now has the world's largest online population, among whom 46.9% reported using microblog (China Internet Network Information Center, 2014). Social media facilitates a hybrid virtual discursive space where citizens can express and share opinions on political issues, and therefore expands the range of public discussion in breadth and depth. The combination of a government-controlled mainstream media and a relatively free social media in China provides a unique opportunity to test the potential impact of social media on political participation (Willnat et al., 2013). However, previous literature focused on the issue in western countries, few studies have addressed this argument in authoritarian regimes like China, especially empirical studies. What's more, the study extends to the third dimension of political efficacy, collective efficacy, which defined as a citizen's belief in the capabilities of the public as a collective actor to achieve social and political outcomes (Lee, 2005). Based on the three-dimensional view, it's helpful to understand the unique culture in a highly collectivistic society. Recognizing that psychological explanation is an important condition for media effects, the study has examined the moderating role of need for orientation, which refers to the tendency of an individual to seek information about an issue in the news media (McCombs & Weaver, 1973; Weaver, 1980). As 'the most prominent of the contingent conditions for agenda-setting effects' (McCombs, 2004), whether need for orientation as a moderator can be apply to social media deserves further study. Given the gap in current literature, this study aims to explore how social media influence political efficacy and political participation in China, and how are above relationships moderated by need for orientation. Therefore, the following research hypotheses will be asked: H1: Social media use is positively (positively, negatively) related to internal (collective, external) efficacy. H2: Social media use is positively related to online (offline) political participation. H3: The relationship between social media use and internal (collective, external) efficacy will be stronger (stronger, weaker) for those with higher need for orientation. H4: The relationship between social media use and online (offline) political participation will be stronger for those with higher need for orientation. The data will be collected with an online survey among 500 adult Chinese. The survey will be conducted by Sojump, a professional polling company from China. A stratified quota sample will be recruited from Sojump existing panels of respondents who have agreed to participate in Sojump's online surveys at some earlier time. To be representative of Chinese Internet users overall, the characteristics of the subsample include gender and age which according to the latest survey by China Internet

Network Information Center. The language will be in Chinese, and I anticipate collecting data with this online survey for about one week in early March 2015.

