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Id: 19472

Title: Structure of social media news engagement and impact on news literacy: A global comparison of ten democracies

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Michael Chan

Email: mcmchan@cuhk.edu.hk

Country: HK (Hong Kong)

Affiliation: Chinese University of Hong Kong

Name: Francis L.F. Lee

Email: francis_lee@cuhk.edu.hk

Country: HK (Hong Kong)

Affiliation: Chinese University of Hong Kong

Name: Hsuan-ting Chen

Email: htchen@cuhk.edu.hk

Country: HK (Hong Kong)

Affiliation: Chinese University of Hong Kong

Abstract: Research Objectives

The proliferation of fake news and misinformation on social media in recent years have raised concerns on the quality and veracity of information that people access and consume (Bode & Vraga, 2015). Recent scholarship has thus highlighted the importance of news literacy, given that higher levels imply greater competence in navigating the stream of information in today's complex media environment (Ashley, Maksl, & Craft, 2017). However, much of the work on social media and news literacy has focused on the United States. Moreover, there has been a lack of comparative work in the area. This study fills the gap through a comparative approach that examines the dynamics of social media use and news literacy in ten global democracies: UK, Germany, Denmark, Spain, Ireland, Norway, USA, Canada, Australia and Korea.

Theoretical framework and methodology

The study draws from extant models from the political communication literature, including the cognitive mediation and OSROR models of news effects (Shah et al., 2017) as frameworks to elucidate the relationship between three aspects of social media use: linkages to public actors, social media news use diversity, and social media news engagement; and news literacy. The core argument of these models is that the relationship between news and political attitudes and behaviors can derive from multiple pathways and mechanisms.

Data for the ten countries is derived from the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism as part of the 2018 Digital News Report (Newman, Fletcher, Kalogeropoulos, Levy, & Nielsen, 2018). The data is derived from online surveys of respective online populations from different countries. This study focuses on subsamples of respondents who use social media for news, providing a total sample size of N = 9654.

Summary of findings

Data from each of the ten countries were analyzed separately. The Canada sample was further split into English-speaking and French-speaking samples. Multiple regression analyses were conducted. After controlling for demographics, news interest and use frequency, analyses show that links to public actors on social media (e.g. journalists, government officials) were positively related to news literacy in most of the countries. Analyses of indirect mechanisms also found that the relationships are often mediated by diversity of social media news consumption and engagement. The study thus highlights and elucidates the underlying mechanisms of social media news use that can engender higher levels of news literacy.

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Id: 19482

Title: Social Policy, Poverty and Public Opinion in Latin America

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Alejandra Estrada

Email: ale0323@gmail.com

Country: MX (Mexico)

Affiliation: Universidad Autónoma de Baja California

Name: Ricardo Velázquez Leyer

Email: ricardo.velazquez@ibero.mx

Country: MX (Mexico)

Affiliation: Universidad Iberoamericana, Ciudad de México

Abstract: Latin America is considered to be the most successful region in the fight against poverty during the present century. However, those achievements have not been uniform and whilst some countries effectively register considerable reductions of poverty rates, in other countries no significant changes can be observed. Variations in real wages, re-configuration of labour markets and expansion of social policies, among others, have been pointed out as possible causes for reductions in poverty levels in the region, but the effects of public opinion in the development of public policies and their outcomes continues to be a scantily researched topic. This article explores the relation between public opinion, social policies and poverty in Latin American countries. The research uses the Latinobarómetro database and data from ECLAC to understand the association between the priority that public opinion gives to the issue of poverty and levels of social spending, social policy architectures and variations in poverty rates in 18 Latin American countries during the period 2000-2015. Variables of public opinion on poverty and anti-poverty policy are correlated with variables of the redistributive potential of public policies, public social spending and poverty levels, and Brazil and Mexico are analysed as case studies. Findings show that whilst there may be an association between the priority given to poverty and the formulation of policies with a potential for poverty reduction, political factors like the role of policy entrepreneurs during processes of policy change may have a stronger influence on the surpassing of the normalisation of poverty as a social problem. One pending task is to identify the mechanisms that may enhance the potential of public opinion to open windows of opportunity during agenda-setting and policy formulation processes, for reforms that may increase governments' capacity to deal with the still severe problem of poverty in Latin America.

Id: 19518

Title: The use of social media in intra-party competitions: A study of the presidential primaries of the National Democratic Congress in Ghana

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Akwasi Boateng

Email: beebeeboateng@gmail.com

Country: ZA (South Africa)

Affiliation: University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa

Abstract: The emergence of the internet and social media is changing political activities and campaigns in different ways. A popular social media that is enhancing political communication and engagements is Facebook. Even though there are a number of studies as regards social media appropriation in presidential elections in Ghana especially inter-party and general elections, there is little known regarding how these new forms of communication are applied in the context of intra-party presidential primaries. With the spread of social media use as a cost effective means of communication, new questions emerge as regards technological appropriation for the achievement of political agenda and successful campaigns. This chapter examines the role of Facebook in intra-party presidential primaries and campaigns of Ghana's main opposition political party National Democratic Congress. The chapter applies qualitative and quantitative methods to describe Facebook usage in political campaigns and mobilisation during the presidential primaries of the National Democratic Congress in January 2019 as a way of contributing insight into how social media is changing the dynamics of intra-party politics. The chapter analyses literature on social media communication and contents of Facebook posts that are made by the flag bearer aspirants of the National Democratic Congress during the 2019 primaries. To this end, the chapter posits the role and utility of social media in political participation and engagements. It applies the concepts of agenda setting and technology appropriation to theorise the usage of social media for advancing political agenda.

Id: 19526

Title: "Me preocupa expresar abiertamente mis opiniones políticas en Internet": un análisis sobre la espiral del silencio en el ámbito digital

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Jordi Rodríguez-Virgili

Email: jrvirgili@unav.es

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Associate Professor in Political Communication in the University of Navarra

Name: Carmen Beatriz Fernández

Email: cbfer@datastrategia.com

Country: VE (Venezuela)

Affiliation: Independent researcher in Political Communication in the University of Navarra

Name: Javier Serrano Puche

Email: jserrano@unav.es

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Associate Professor of Journalism at the University of Navarra.

Abstract: Este trabajo se enmarca en una línea de investigación de los autores que busca comprender el consumo de información política en el ámbito de Hispanoamérica. En concreto, el estudio se desarrolla a partir de la encuesta realizada por YouGov para el Reuters Institute Digital News Report, con base en diferentes muestras nacionales. El trabajo de campo se desarrolló entre finales de enero y principios de febrero de 2018. Se han empleado muestras de usuarios de Internet de Argentina (N=2012), Chile (N=2008), España (N=2023) y México (N=2007), representativos por edad, género, ingresos, educación y región geográfica.

La investigación persigue dos objetivos. Por un lado, ofrecer un análisis comparativo del interés en las noticias políticas en medios tradicionales y en redes sociales (Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp y YouTube), entre usuarios digitales en cuatro países iberoamericanos (Argentina, Chile, España y México), estudiando su relación con el autoposicionamiento ideológico de esos mismos usuarios. Para ello, se plantea como hipótesis que a mayor radicalidad mayor interés en la información política; es decir, aquellos usuarios digitales que se auto-posicionan ideológicamente más en los extremos (ya sean de extrema izquierda o extrema derecha), mayor interés muestran por las noticias políticas.

El segundo objetivo es, desde el marco teórico de la espiral del silencio, analizar el uso de las redes sociales como vehículo de expresión de las ideas políticas. Más concretamente, se abordan dos cuestiones principales: por una parte, las razones por las que los usuarios digitales silencian o callan sus opiniones políticas; por otra, la relación, si es que existe, entre esta prudencia al opinar con la auto-posición ideológica. Como base para el análisis se han formulado las siguientes preguntas de investigación:

- ¿Influyen factores sociodemográficos como la edad, el género o el nivel educativo en esa cautela a la hora de expresar las opiniones políticas?

- ¿Qué relación hay entre el interés en noticias de política y la menor o mayor predisposición a expresar abiertamente las propias opiniones políticas en Internet?

Aunque aún no está realizado el trabajo estadístico que responda a las anteriores preguntas de investigación, los resultados preliminares apuntan que una proporción relativamente alta de los usuarios afirman preocupación al expresar abiertamente sus opiniones políticas en Internet. Se da por diversas razones: a) que pueda acarrear problemas con las autoridades (entre el 21% de Chile y el 34% de México); b) preocupación por lo que puedan pensar amigos y familiares del propio usuario (el 28% en España, mientras que en los tres países de América Latina es más baja); c) preocupación del usuario por los cambios en la imagen que de él tienen sus compañeros de trabajo u otros conocidos, si aquél expresara opiniones políticas (29% en España y menor en México (27%), Argentina (25%) y Chile (22%).

Id: 19528

Title: Reporting Political Change: Al Jazeera and the Politics of Journalism

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Mohammad Ali

Email: njebril@bournemouth.ac.uk

Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: Bournemouth University

Name: Nael Jebri

Email: njebril@bournemouth.ac.uk

Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: Bournemouth University

Abstract: For over a decade, Al-Jazeera (Arabic) News Channel occupied an unprecedented position among Arab audiences. The channel covered significant historical moments in the Arab world from wars in Afghanistan in 2001; Iraq 2003; Lebanon 2006; Gaza 2008/09 to general elections in different Arab countries, while maintaining its strong position among Arabs. With each political crisis in the Arab world, AJA's popularity grew remarkably. However, in the aftermath of the Arab uprisings in 2011, the close adoption of the Arab uprisings, and the Egyptian one in particular, resulted in critics questioning Al-Jazeera's journalistic practice in terms of its coverage of and balance towards various political groups. The perceived influence of Al-Jazeera on Arab Politics has also become more polarised.

This paper is part of a large empirical study that seeks to examine the validity of such claims. It sets to analyse Al-Jazeera's coverage of the political scene in Egypt before and after the Arab Spring. We ask whether Al-Jazeera's coverage has at all shifted following the revolution, and reassess claims that AJA systematically favoured particular ideologies.

Data selected for this study include episodes of two TV talk shows (Without Borders and Opposite Direction) obtained from AJA's digital archives, covering four key electoral moments in Egypt: two before and two after the Egyptian 2011 revolution. A total of ten interviews with current and former AJA TV presenters and editors are also collected. Based on Stubbs's (1997) assertion on the inter-relation between language (lexical choice), power (actors) and ideology (action), an analysis of AJA text and interviews was performed. Three rhetorical strategies: verbal mode, agency and time space (see Chouliaraki 2006) were also systematically applied to the sample texts in order to examine the collected material.

Has Al-Jazeera's coverage shifted after the Arab Spring? Did the channel provide a platform for certain ideologies or ignored others? How do AJA journalists respond to critics and claims of bias? How has AJA's relationship with Arab Audiences changed after the uprisings? These questions will be discussed in this paper in the light of research on media and politics.

The findings in this paper will be organised according to three inter-related themes: Victimisation versus criminalisation, democratisation versus dictatorship, and Islamisation versus secularisation. Two particular frames 'distance framing' and 'empathy framing' (see Robinson 2002) are particularly highlighted in our analysis. Journalists' interviews provided further insights on the rationale and impact of AJA's coverage.

Id: 19543

Title: Presidential and Vice-Presidential Debate Sessions in Nigeria: A Critical Analysis

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Kelechi Amakoh

Email: kelechi.amakoh@post.au.dk

Country: DK (Denmark)

Affiliation: Aarhus University

Abstract: In every electioneering period, candidates and their political parties seek different means to sell their manifesto to the public. One of such means is organized debates. Through these debate sessions, a candidate has the opportunity to sell his plans to the public if elected into office. No doubt, the role of organized debates cannot be underestimated. In Nigeria, debate sessions are organized by independent bodies and transmitted through the media to the public. This is done in order to enable electorates and citizens view, assess candidates and make informed decisions on who to vote during the election.

Since 1999, Nigeria has had nine years of uninterrupted democratic rule. So far, the country has had five elections (1999, 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015). Through these elections, Nigeria has elected four presidents to steer the affairs of the country. In 2019, Nigeria goes to the polls again to elect a new president and vice-president, 31 governors and deputy governors, 109 Senators and 360 members of the House of Representatives. So far, there has been a vice-presidential debate session which took place on December 14, 2018. This had in attendance five vice-presidential candidates address issues affecting Nigeria and proffered solutions. The debate session was organized by the Broadcasting Organization of Nigeria and Nigeria Elections Debate Group, an independent body chaired by John Momoh, the Chairman of Channels Television (an independent and multiple award winning Nigerian television channel). The presidential debate is expected to take place on January 19, 2019.

The political parties involved in the NEDG-organized debates include: Allied Congress Party of Nigeria, Alliance for New Nigeria, All Progressives Congress, Peoples Democratic Party and Young Progressives Party. These parties were selected out of the 79 candidates contesting for the number one position in Nigeria during the 2019 polls. This study will analyse only the BON/NEDG-conducted debates due to the wide media reach. The media reach of the BON/NEDG debate includes: 250 radio and television stations in Nigeria and over 100 public and private broadcasters in Nigeria with coverage of terrestrial radio, television, direct-to-home, digital terrestrial television and multimedia distribution system.

This study seeks to base its analysis on the Functional Theory of Political Campaign Discourse by William Benoit and the socio-cognitive theory of Teun van Dijk. In this study, the discourse meaning and argumentation in the debates analysed will be considered. Through purposive sampling method, the debate sessions of vice-presidential and presidential candidates held for three consecutive elections 2011, 2015 and 2019 will be content analysed. The aim of this study is to examine the type of questions asked by journalists at the debate and the responses from candidates.

It is hoped that this study will benefit the relevant authorities such as the electoral commission in Nigeria, media, independent debate groups and the academia. Furthermore, I hope to make the relevant recommendations needed to help organize subsequent election debates in Nigeria. In addition, this study is ongoing and will be complete after the presidential debate scheduled to hold on January 19, 2019.

Id: 19559

Title: Trump Metaphorized. Metaphors of 45th president of the United States in polish press at the beginning of his presidency

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Tomasz Gackowski

Email: t.gackowski@uw.edu.pl

Country: PL (Poland)

Affiliation: University of Warsaw

Abstract: In my presentation I would like to present a results of empirical research which I have conducted in Laboratory of Media Studies at Warsaw University. With my research team, we have analyzed all articles which contain words “Trump” and “Twitter” in all, polish nation-wide daily and weekly (almost 60) newspapers (from 20th of January (inauguration of his presidency) to 25th of March 2017 r (Donald Trump and his supporters resign to replace Obamacare with a new deal). We wanted to find out how Donald Trump’s tweets are resonating in a polish press discourse in a very crucial moment for a new President of U.S. – during his trying to fulfill one of his most important campaign’s pledge – replacing Obamacare. We wanted to check whether Polish journalists (and experts) reliably recall Trump’s (twitter) online statements, and how the Polish print media wrote about the communication of the President of the United States through his Twitter account. It was equally important to examine in which context journalists decide to refer to Twitter Trump and what function these references in the text do. We checked a total of 70 press titles - dailies and magazines with the highest circulation and the level of readership in Poland – to find articles which met criteria: the time criterion (January 20 - March 26, 2017), thematic criterion (containing key words: "Trump" and "Twitter" / "tweet") and genre criterion (journalistic articles). Finally, we took into consideration 113 articles from 20 different newspapers and weeklies. Selected press materials have been analyzed with sophisticated code book: the basic text parameters, its general thematization, the actors mentioned in the article, the language of the description, detailed parameters concerning individual tweets or mentions about the US president's activity on Twitter and finally metaphores which polish journalists used to describe Donald Trump, his administration and United States of America.

Id: 19569

Title: Mobilizing the U.S. Latinx Vote: Race, Identity, and Organization

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Arthur Soto-Vásquez

Email: adsv03@gmail.com

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: Texas A&M International University

Abstract: After two decades of close national elections, there has been an effort to mobilize Latinx voters to improve the margins. A wide variety of political actors have conducted these efforts in the last decade since the election of Barack Obama in 2008. During this time, the rise of online and digital technologies has transformed campaigning with more data sources and new strategies developed each year. This dissertation focuses on the role of national Latinx organizations in mobilizing Latinx voters in this period. Specifically, I focus on how audiences are conceptualized, which digital strategies are deployed, and how U.S. Latinx political identity is being made.

I use a multi-method and qualitative approach to answer the question of how do U.S. Latinx advocacy organizations shape Latinx identity in the digital era of communication and the racialized public sphere of the 2010s while pursuing their goal of voter mobilization? I use in-depth expert interviews, participant observation, and discourse analysis of mediated texts to collect data. I introduce the concept of mediated U.S. Latinx identity as a theoretical framework to understand the new and old formulations of Latinx identity in the United States. Mediated U.S. Latinx identity theory argues the three themes of identity making unique to Latinxs; denationalization, homogenization, and racialization are being transformed by online communication and elite Latinx opinions.

Several findings are important to understanding how organizations mobilize Latinx voters, use digital tools, and shape identity. First, organizational stakeholders comprise a new Latinx professional elite. Their educational and social capital is very different from the majority of Latinxs. As a result, they tend to adopt the discourses of the upper-middle class, such as political incrementalism, compromise, and belief in the American Dream. They then project their identity onto a mass Latinx audience using digital media. Second, the use of digital tools varies by organizational history and technical capacities. Older groups tend to report information, even while using a variety of digital tools. Newer organizations tend to promote engagement on social media but also email communication. Third, both preceding factors are shaped by the political economy of these groups. Most national Latinx groups are funded primarily by corporate and foundation money. I assert this funding structure constrains organizational politics to small change advocacy and online strategy to the conventional. As a result, Latinx political mobilization ends up being much closer to an elaborate exercise in branding – rather than a genuine social movement.

Id: 19597

Title: Social Networks Sites and its relation to Attitude Ambivalence Phenomenon in shaping Egyptian Public Opinion

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Ahmed Mohamed

Email: ahmed.taha@artnv.au.edu.eg

Country: EG (Egypt)

Affiliation: Cairo University

Abstract: A wealth of studies have examined the phenomenon known as "Attitude Ambivalence". This term refers to the mixed attitude a person can have towards the same issue. In other words, an individual can hold a positive and a negative attitude towards an issue at the same time. Hence, researchers have examined this phenomenon's influence on shaping the public opinion polls and how it limits predicting individuals' behavior. This phenomenon exists in all communities especially in the Arab world. The Arab world is a region that suffers from everlasting conflicts between traditions and modernity. In addition, the 2011 Arab Spring uprising made massive changes in the political sphere that led to distrust in politics. Furthermore, Arabs have rarely practiced democracy and have been living under resilient dictatorships that discredited all opponent voices.

This study examines the "Attitude Ambivalence" phenomenon in the Egyptian public opinion regarding to the economic projects and political decisions that were made during the two periods of the president Abd EL Fatah El-Sisi. In addition, this study explores the role of Social Network Sites (SNS) in amplifying or limiting the influence of this phenomenon, and how can SNS play a role in formulating stable attitudes. Furthermore, linking between spiral of silence theory, ambivalent attitudes and SNS which will help to examine individuals' behaviors and attitudes from new theoretical perspective.

To measure this phenomenon the researcher proposes a two-step approach to identify ambivalent attitudes. First, the researcher will do an experimental study by exposing respondents to specific messages from different SNS. At first, the researcher will examine them before exposure, then another post-test will be conducted to compare the results. Second, to know the influence of public opinion leaders, the researcher will do a content analysis of 15 personal accounts of public figures on SNS, and discuss the content of these pages with them using in-depth interviews. This mixed method approach will help the researcher to reach accurate information and indicators about ambivalent attitudes and how to overcome that to reach stable attitudes.

Id: 19599

Title: Agenda-Setting y Agenda Pública. Estudios de framing e influencia en el contexto electoral (21D) del Procés de Cataluña

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Concha Pérez-Curiel

Email: cperez1@us.es

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: University of Seville

Name: Mar García -Gordillo

Email: marggordillo@us.es

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: University of Seville

Abstract: El 6 de septiembre de 2017 se aprueba en el Parlament de Catalunya la Ley de Referéndum y marca el inicio de un nuevo conflicto. Momentos convulsos y de cambio definen el contexto político catalán. Estatuto, Declaración de Soberanía, Ley de Consulta, Sentencias del Tribunal Constitucional y Artículo 155 anteceden a la convocatoria de unas elecciones autonómicas (21D) forzadas por la confrontación Cataluña/Estado. El tema de la independencia monopoliza la cobertura mediática del país y el Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (CIS) constata un aumento sin precedentes de la preocupación ciudadana. La investigación analiza la posible relación de causalidad entre la proyección del conflicto catalán en los medios (Agenda -Setting) y los efectos en la ciudadanía (Agenda Pública), con el objetivo de comprobar si existe una correlación equivalente entre la información mediática publicada y la evidente inquietud de la población ante tal escenario. En esta línea, se establece una hipótesis inicial que confirma una selección y un encuadre (framing) de noticias sobre el proceso independentista y electoral en la prensa nacional y catalana que aumenta el interés público ante el problema y puede repercutir en la disrupción y fragmentación social. El análisis de contenidos de corte cuantitativo numérico y cualitativo temático aplicado sobre una muestra mediática (portadas y editoriales de El País, El Mundo y La Vanguardia) y temporal (septiembre-diciembre de 2017) constituyen el eje metodológico de la investigación. En paralelo, las encuestas del CIS correspondientes a esta franja revelan la prioridad que la opinión pública concede a la cuestión catalana. Los resultados evidencian un seguimiento mediático preferente y focalizado sobre el procés, cuya tendencia al alza o a la baja es directamente proporcional a los datos sociológicos de la encuestación poblacional. Sin embargo, las conclusiones indican que la comunidad científica experta en agenda setting y framing (McCombs, 2006, Fermín Bouzá, 2006, Garcés, 2007, Anduiza y Bosch, 2012) a la que se suma ahora la agenda inversa de los medios sociales (Aruguete, 2017; Wallsten, 2007; Meraz, 2011; Sung-Tae & Young-hwan; 2007, Casero-Ripollés; 2015) urge de herramientas que midan la capacidad de influencia de los medios, los efectos en las audiencias o la oportunidad para provocar el cambio social y político.

Id: 19607

Title: "We are all Diba members tonight": Cyber-nationalism as emotional and playful actions online

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Zhe Wang

Email: thethe.wang@gmail.com

Country: CN (China)

Affiliation: National Chengchi University, Taiwan

Abstract: Title: "We are all Diba members tonight": Cyber-nationalism as emotional and playful actions online

Author: Zhe Wang, PhD candidates, National Chengchi University, Taiwan

This study attempts to interpret the digital traces of participants during the "Diba Expedition", especially their comments left on Ingwen Tsai's Facebook page, in order to discuss the following questions: From the "Diba Expedition", what kind of continuation and variance of cyber-nationalism can be revealed? How can netizens' construction of self-identity during the "Diba Expedition" be understood and interpreted? What are the contextual structures behind this collective action?

All of the comments on Ingwen Tsai's Facebook page during the "Diba Expedition" (from January 20, 00:00 to January 21, 24:00) were captured via API designed by this study on March 9, 2016, of which the total number was 13,684. The information from all comments were classified as time, content, account, and the number of likes. In addition, the researcher had joined the "Diba Central Division" that was established after the above-mentioned Facebook incident and the corresponding QQ group for the sake of practical observation and to get a complete overview of this incident. Comments left by participants during the "Diba Expedition" are divided as template comments and no-repeat comments, and the former one presents a distinguished cyber-nationalism when compared with before, which can be seen as emotional and playful cyber-nationalism. This could be the result of the collaboration of cyber-nationalism and cyber subcultures: those participants prefer entertaining and positive emotions, while the strategies employed by those participants rely on the digital logic of social networking, which needs to take both community-individual and sensation-reason into consideration. Above all, the cyber-nationalism discussed in this study is embedded in the practices of the "networked authoritarianism" and the entertainment business in China. Generally speaking, cyber-nationalism is still in its very nature a sort of imagination belonging to a common community, which is implemented into the terms and behavioral practices of various cyber communities. Completely different from previous cyber attacks regarding "hostility, hegemony and patriarchy", the current cyber-nationalism is more easily combined with the cyber subculture and implemented into the "Diba Expedition" with emotional and playful forms of practice and performance. On the one hand, the main message templates the agents have chosen are filled with demands focused on positive emotions, addressing delightful "love" and veiling other complicated nationalistic feelings that are activated in disperse terms. On the other hand, the active agents have adopted the action strategy of digital games, utilized the combination of numerical logic and rationality-emotionality existing in social media, and effectively organized a group of cyber citizens who have been seeking a satisfactory place between collectivization and individualization. From a

holistic view, individual nationalistic feelings have been jointly shaped by the networked authoritarianism from national institutions and the commercial pursuit of pan-entertainment from technology firms, and cyber-nationalism can only arouse a large scale of spamming actions with its connections to the growth background and daily usage of the Internet from cyber citizens. Cyber-nationalism such as the "Diba Expedition" will never be merely a single case since its first occurrence.

Id: 19626

Title: Partisan Media Bias during Media Storms

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Doron Shultziner

Email: doronsh@hac.ac.il

Country: IL (Israel)

Affiliation: Politics & Communication, Hadassah Academic College

Abstract: This project deals with two emerging research topics: partisan media bias and media storms. Leading my research interest is the following question: is partisan media bias accentuated during a time of a media storm? This research connects between the phenomenon of Partisan Media Bias (Lichter 2017), which looks at media mechanisms that news editors employ when they are motivated by political considerations. The second media phenomenon is known as 'media storms' which is a very intensive preoccupation of media outlets with the same issue (Boydston et al. 2014; Walgrave et al. 2017) often due to a dramatic event. My research aims are to focus on the connection between these two phenomena and to explore how media outlets behave in the eye of a media storm. I will do so by analyzing the data-set which I created to study the news coverage of the 2011 Social Justice Protest Movement (Shultziner & Shoshan 2017; Shultziner & Stukalina, under review). I will analyze the behavior of the media outlets as the protest climaxed and became a heated political topic over two-month. Rather than assuming that the media operates by normal standards, I propose that media outlets move into a very different mode of behavior (Boydston et al. 2014) which is more political in nature and involves heightened PMB regarding the issue of coverage. I am not aware of a research that has tried to explore this specific question and interaction between PMB and media storms before.

Preliminary Hypotheses:

1. Media outlets accentuate their political line of coverage the stronger a media storm get and in comparison when not in storm mode.
2. Partisan Media Bias during media storm operates through several mechanisms including the percentage of positive, neutral and negative articles about the issue, and the physical placement of those items within the newspaper, such as the front page and the sizing of articles.

Id: 19630

Title: The Taiwanese's media trust, risk perceptions, and policy support regarding the 'New Southbound Policy'

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: WenCheng Fu

Email: uiucfuwencheng@gmail.com

Country: TW (Taiwan)

Affiliation: National Defense University Taiwan

Abstract: Tsai Ing-wen, the president of Taiwan, which is officially known as the Republic of China (ROC) Taiwan, presented her administration's "New Southbound Policy" (NSP). This policy is supposed to play a critical role in developing Taiwan's economy in the future. According to the Taiwan government official report, the trade deficit from China is on a historical record level. Thus, the primary purpose of the NSP is balancing excessive economic dependence on mainland China. Taiwan government believes that economic over-reliance on a single country would be a vital crisis on a national security issue.

Contemporary governments often used mass media to communicate vital public policies and agendas with the public. More specifically, the government often utilizes press conferences and press releases made to or in front of news reporters in order to promote new policies to the public, with the aims of providing relevant information and influencing public attitudes and behaviors; relatedly, such media coverage also allows the public to assess the risk entailed by a given policy. In other words, the media not only constitute the public's primary source of information regarding governmental policies but also the most important means of affecting public perceptions of said policies. The public's trust in news media is also recognized as an essential variable affecting their trust in other social actors. This study selected the NSP as a critical public policy to examine how media usage behavior is influencing people risk perception, can represent how media sector to influence public opinion on a public policy especially in Taiwan, the only one democratic society in the pan-Chinese world.

The researcher used risk communication and perception as the theoretical framework for investigating how policy knowledge, including subjective and objective knowledge, impact people's risk communication behavior. For this study, a nationwide telephone survey was conducted by a Taipei-based commercial polling agency that used randomly generated phone numbers to reach Taiwanese over the age of 20 years old. It took the agency about two weeks to collect a sample of 1,179 completed questionnaires.

The findings indicate that people's risk perceptions positively influence their policy support. Also, the participants' media and political trust also positively impacted their risk perceptions. Concerning policy knowledge, the author confirmed that the objective knowledge around the participants negatively predicted their levels of risk perceptions. In contrast, other aspects of policy knowledge had a positive influence on risk perception and policy support. This research project extends theoretical applications of risk communication to social risk issues. Various implications of these findings are discussed.

Id: 19652

Title: Los líderes sociales en la agenda digital de los congresistas colombianos: entre la corrección política y la denuncia directa

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Juan Cárdenas Ruiz

Email: juancar@unisabana.edu.co

Country: CO (Colombia)

Affiliation: Universidad de la Sabana

Name: Maria Catalina Cruz González

Email: maria.cruz3@unisabana.edu.co

Country: CO (Colombia)

Affiliation: Universidad de La Sabana

Abstract: El asesinato de líderes sociales en Colombia es uno de los problemas más graves que ha vivido el país en los últimos 40 años. Tanto en el marco del conflicto, como durante la negociación y en la fase de pos-acuerdo, decenas de personas que han representado algún grupo social, han luchado por la garantía de derechos y libertades, han sido asesinadas en distintas regiones del país por diversas agrupaciones violentas. Con la llegada de Iván Duque al poder, cuyo sector político tiene una posición muy crítica frente al proceso de paz, el problema ha persistido y las alertas de los organismos de seguridad siguen encendidas. Algunos medios afirman, incluso, que en los primeros días del 2019 han asesinado un líder social por día. En ese marco los ciudadanos se han movilizad y han demandado acciones y respuestas por parte de las autoridades y los representantes políticos. Este estudio experimental busca identificar dentro del grupo de Senadores y Representantes a la Cámara, la relevancia que tiene el tema dentro del entorno digital de estos políticos, específicamente en la red social Twitter, que en Colombia no es la que más usuarios tiene, pero si logra tener una fuerte influencia sobre la definición de la agenda pública

Se analizaron todos los tweets (666), que hablarán directa o indirectamente de los asesinatos de líderes sociales, publicados en cuentas activas oficiales de Senadores y Representantes a la Cámara, en el periodo del 7 de agosto al 7 de noviembre del 2018, primeros tres meses de gobierno del presidente Iván Duque. Se diseñó una matriz de análisis de contenido que contenía variables de tipo cuantitativo y cualitativo que buscaban dar cuenta del origen del contenido, la manera de referirse al tema, los marcos de interpretación frente al problema y la construcción de patrones de victimización y atribución de responsabilidad, entre otros.

Entre los principales hallazgos es importante resaltar que solo la mitad de los congresistas hicieron referencia al tema en su cuenta oficial, la mayoría de congresistas que abordan el tema son de izquierda y centro izquierda, 62%, de los partidos Decentes, Polo Democrático y Alianza Verde, el 16% son tweets del movimiento MAIS que representa a los indígenas y el 12% del partido de gobierno Centro Democrático. Se identificó un patrón relativamente mayoritario, en donde los congresistas privilegian opiniones o informaciones de terceros a través de RT, hablan del tema de manera genérica con la intención en primera medida, de informar sobre los hechos y en segunda medida, denunciar los asesinatos, exigir acciones frente a los hechos y hacer reclamos a las autoridades. Igualmente se evidencia que si bien se habla del tema, parece no ser claro o existir

cierto grado de corrección política con relación a los patrones de victimización y a la atribución de responsabilidades.

Id: 19675

Title: Mass Media and Elections: Assessment of Covering Local Government Election

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Weerasinghe Pradeep

Email: secretariat@nsmrlk.org

Country: LK (Sri Lanka)

Affiliation: Senior Lecturer, Department of Mass Media, University of Colombo, Colombo 3

Abstract: Mass Media and Elections: Assessment of Covering Local Government Election

By being balanced and impartial in imparting news to the citizens, the media industry upholds the principles of a true democracy. In fact, media plays, the most important role during an election in the dissemination of information, around the world. The aim of this study was to ascertain the behavior of the media when covering the local government election that was held in February 2018 in Sri Lanka. The study looked at the media guidelines in covering elections, media usage and its role in providing a full, balanced and impartial coverage of election, which would enable the voter to make a well informed and independent decision. For this both qualitative and quantitative methods were employed to content analysis. The findings indicate, media paid scant heed even to the basic of ethics when reporting on the election and such actions may in the long-term bring about the collapse of a citizens and the very foundations of democracy. The analysis demonstrate that most news reports lacked sources, focused on political crises over presenting facts and the qualities of the contestants. Finally, the study found that all media organizations acted according to their own election related agenda.

Key Words: Democracy, Election, Mass Media, Professional Ethics

Id: 19686

Title: Some Explanation of the French "Yellow Vests" Protests: Emmanuel Macron Presidential Communication Mishaps

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Philippe Maarek

Email: maarek@u-pec.fr

Country: FR (France)

Affiliation: Université Paris EstIC member

Abstract: To many observers' surprise, the 2017 French Presidential Election led to the victory of an outsider without any party affiliation, Emmanuel Macron. Thanks to a well-led campaign making good use of Internet Social Media, he was able to grasp his luck when many of his strongest opponents failed for one reason or another.

Becoming president, Emmanuel Macron thought he would rule differently than his two predecessors, Nicolas Sarkozy and François Hollande. He initially adopted the "kingly" distant posture achieved in the 1980s by François Mitterrand on the advice of his communication advisor, Jacques Pilhan. Convinced after a few months that this stance was not helping his popularity and his actions, Emmanuel Macron then decided to do a complete turn around and started to adopt a very familiar tone, trying to give a feeling of proximity to the French citizens. When some of his policies implementation started to initiate the "Yellow vests" protests in reaction, this new communication attitude not only did not achieve its goal, but apparently became counterproductive, noticeably infuriating the protesters even more.

This paper will show that a partial explanation of the lasting protests of the "Yellow vests" comes from the failure of Emmanuel Macron presidential communication. It will expose the unexpected personal clumsiness of many of his public appearances, both on a personal level and on a professional level. On a personal level, the choice of words and of attitudes of Emmanuel Macron was frequently clumsy and inappropriate, not to say felt aggressive. On the professional side, his communication was often off-target, amazingly poorly organized by a succession of inexplicably disappointing communication advisors. On the core issues, his new stance, seen as arrogance, increased the unpopularity of some of his political decisions attacked by many yellow vests.

Hence maybe faultily decided and certainly ill led, Emmanuel Macron presidential communication may be seen as a partial explanation of the duration and of the intensity of the Yellow Vests protests in France in 2018-2019.

Id: 19708

Title: Digital Challenges for Political Representatives in Contemporary Constituency Life

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Nikki Soo

Email: n.soo@sheffield.ac.uk

Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: University of Sheffield

Abstract: Digital tools are domesticated as they are steadily assimilated into the various domains of our everyday lives and routines (Berker et al, 2006; Dahlgren, 2009: 150; Turkle, 2011). The changes technology introduces in our lives are not merely in how we interact with each other, but also in where we interact with each other. How do contemporary political representatives navigate constituency service responsibilities and challenges in a hybrid media environment (Chadwick, 2013)?

In the United Kingdom, Members of Parliament (MPs) have been found to be spending more time than ever in the constituency, indicating changes in the way MPs approach responsibilities and activities in Westminster and the constituency (Gay, 2005; Norris, 1997; Norton, 2007). Ensuring open channels of communication between MPs and their constituents is the cornerstone of constituency service (Ward and Lusoli, 2005; Williamson, 2009; Jackson and Lilleker, 2011). In response to changes in the media environment, MPs have also increased the number of communication channels they use, especially by embracing the internet. MPs now find themselves in contact with many constituents and other members of the public through multiple forums and outlets. These tools include local, regional and national newspaper articles, interviews on television, updates and blog posts on their personal websites, Facebook and Twitter. These merged face-to-face interactions and the combined situations of electronic media are relatively lasting and inescapable, resulting in greater effects on social behaviour and the overlapping of many social spheres that were once distinct (Meyrowitz, 1985: 5). Hence, tensions may arise as parliamentarians struggle to manage their online and offline selves.

In some ways it is unexpected that MPs are investing more time and resources into the constituency service. With the plethora of digital tools available, why are MPs carrying out more constituency services than before? How are MPs integrating these digital tools into their existing, traditional constituency communication? With this as a point of departure I discuss how MP use of traditional media and digital tools to engage with constituents in their constituency. The paper will first review research on the British constituency service as a case study, its role within representation, and the how the internet and various digital tools have been adopted in that process. Following this, I will present the method, findings from 18 months of ethnographic fieldwork with British MPs in their constituencies. Findings indicate although MPs agree that digital tools are useful to elevate their visibility and could be initial points of access, integration of digital tools to boost visibility is met with some apprehension, with some suggesting it may threaten communication processes.

Id: 19710

Title: Realizing the Full Potential of Dialogue between Political NGOs and Civil Society: The Case of Israel

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Clila Magen

Email: clila.magen@biu.ac.il

Country: IL (Israel)

Affiliation: Bar Ilan University

Name: Ruth Avidar

Email: ruthav@yvc.ac.il

Country: IL (Israel)

Affiliation: Yezreel Valley College

Abstract: Several scholars have portrayed dialogue as a fundamental factor in any civil society promoting democratic values. This study explores whether Israeli political NGOs embrace dialogic principles to build online relationships with opposing NGOs and various publics. The study utilizes theories from the field of public relations, and mainly the dialogic communication approach (Kent & Taylor, 1998; 2002). Nine Facebook pages of Israeli political NGOs were analyzed. Content analysis explored the absence or existence of dialogic elements within the features of the nine NGOs' Facebook pages. Additional content analysis delved deeper into dialogue, exploring actual dialogue characteristics between the nine NGOs and their publics. The analysis included all the posts posted by the nine NGOs on their Facebook pages over a one-month period (n=295). The data was triangulated using qualitative methods of in-depth, semi-structured interviews with a representative from each of the nine NGOs in the research sample (Directors or PR practitioners/spokespeople).

The findings pointed to the inclusion of most dialogic elements in all the NGOs' Facebook pages (i.e., link to organizational website, calendar of events and 'contact us' section, etc.). Nevertheless, the elements that actually enable responsiveness to comments and queries, promoting dialogue with external publics, were less popular among all the NGOs. Their level of responsiveness was low, ignoring the comments of both their members and opponents. The Israeli political NGOs' motivations to activate a Facebook page were much more concrete, practical, limited and narrow than the full promise and potential that lies within the embrace of dialogue. All respondents claimed that their principal motivation in managing an active Facebook page was the need for a convenient platform to easily disseminate the NGO's messages and activities, bypassing traditional media gatekeeping through full control over content.

Moreover, both left and right political NGOs interviewees stated that they do not aim their Facebook posts at their political opponents at all. On the contrary, they strategically and intentionally focus on their "base" and do not find any point in debating with people who bitterly disagree with them. Another aspect of political NGOs' non-responsiveness to comments on their Facebook pages is that very harsh and disrespectful language is frequently used in the opponents' comments to the organizations' posts. The interviewees mentioned practical ("time-consuming")

reasons as well as ideological reasons ("allowing authentic voices") for not moderating the tone of the discussions on their Facebook pages.

This study indicates that there is nearly no dialogue between political NGOs and their opponents (which is crucial in the fractured Israeli case), and that the leading NGOs avoid creating opportunities for discussion and exchange of ideas. These findings are undoubtedly disturbing. It is imperative in a divided society such as exists in Israel to risk certainty and security and to enable genuine dialogue to occur. Sticking to one-way communication and avoiding a fruitful dialogue process between various groups undoubtedly erodes Israeli democracy and harms its civil society

Kent, M. L., & Taylor, M. (1998). Building dialogic relationships through the World Wide Web. *Public Relations Review*, 24(3), 321-334.

Kent, M. L., & Taylor, M. (2002). Toward a dialogic theory of public relations. *Public Relations Review*, 28(1), 21-37.

Id: 19746

Title: Voters vs. candidates: Public opinion about electoral fairness and its influence on perceived institutional legitimacy in Singapore

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Weiyu Zhang

Email: viyuheung@gmail.com

Country: SG (Singapore)

Affiliation: National University of Singapore

Abstract: The legitimacy of elections is fundamental to democracies, including the hybrid ones that contain authoritarian components. A self-interest approach attributes public opinion of electoral legitimacy to whether one's self-interest is satisfied by the electoral result. Scholars (e.g., Rasinski & Tyler, 1988) argue that public opinion about electoral fairness plays an equally, if not more, important role in shaping perceived legitimacy of elections. This study is among the few attempts to provide an elaborated conceptualization of electoral fairness, by firstly, focusing on the communicative aspect of the electoral procedure, and secondly, delineating the voter vs. candidate dimensions of the fairness appraisals. Moreover, this study is situated in the unique context of Singapore, a hybrid system that is often called "electoral authoritarianism" (Schedler, 2006) or "authoritarian democracy" (Zhang, 2012). The puzzle of Singapore is that the ruling party, despite its authoritarian style of governance between elections, has stayed strong in electoral results. By understanding the voter vs. candidate fairness appraisals among Singaporean citizens, this paper also provides an explanation about the resilience of such authoritarian democracies.

Among the seven Asian authoritarian democracies established in the 1960s and 1970s (George, 2006), Singapore is the only one that has survived. In the most recent 2015 general election, the PAP stopped the declining trend in popular votes and regained its supermajority support (70% compared to 60% in the 2011 General Election). This victory was obtained in an election in which for the first time since independence all constituencies were contested. If the electoral reforms are manipulations that advantage the ruling party, why did they fail to curb oppositional challenges and lead to negative perceptions about electoral fairness among voters? One answer this study provides is that voters perceived the 2015 election as generally fair and the electoral institution as legitimate, because these two perceptions were influenced more by voter fairness appraisals than candidate fairness appraisals. Moreover, voters seemed to be more satisfied with the fairness in their own communicative actions such as raising questions and having an influence than in candidates' communicative actions. Nevertheless, the less fair treatment of candidates' communicative actions had less impact. This may imply that the Singaporean voters probably do not think that every candidate should have an equal chance to voice, be heard and considered, and exert influence. The voters may think that the treatment of candidates should be conditioned on their competencies or merits. This perception is both possible and plausible given the meritocracy ideology (Tan, 2008) the Singapore state has perpetrated for years.

In summary, this study helps to understand electoral fairness and its influence on electoral legitimacy, from a communicative stance by separately assessing the voter vs. candidate fairness.

The findings are useful to think about Singapore, an authoritarian democracy's resilience in popular elections and hopefully shed lights on how elections can be examined from the fairness approach, in addition to the self-interest approach, in other contexts.

Id: 19758

Title: Misunderstanding Misinformation

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Emma Hoes

Email: emma.hoes@eui.eu

Country: IT (Italy)

Affiliation: PhD Researcher at the European University Institute

Abstract: Scholars, politicians and journalists have a variety of words at their disposal to describe the accuracy and relevance of information. Misinformation, disinformation and fake news are three of those words, all of which have received increasing attention over the past four years. Broadly speaking, these terms relate to the (deliberate) dissemination of incorrect or ‘false’ information by politicians, journalists, policymakers and citizens. It is this dissemination, and mostly the deliberate dissemination, that is considered harmful to democracies (Billiet, Pattyn, Opgenhaffen & Van Aelst, 2019).

To address the issue of this so-called ‘information disorder’ (Wardle & Derakhshan, 2017), political institutions such as the European Commission (EC), Council of Europe, the House of Commons and the United Nations (UN) have drawn up reports by independent experts (HLEG, 2018; House of Commons, 2018; United Nations, 2017). These reports elaborate a conceptual framework allowing to study and understand the emergence and spread of incorrect information within the broader context of disinformation. These conceptual frameworks, however, build upon definitions of and distinctions between misinformation, disinformation and fake news, that are problematic for empirical research.

When it comes to the effects of information disorder, much has been speculated but rather little is known. The shock of the Brexit referendum, the 2016 US elections, Le Pen reaching the run-off vote in the French election and Russian mainstream media’s dissemination of the Kremlin’s disputed statements about Russia’s annexation of Crimea in 2014, have all been used as examples of the potential power of systematic disinformation campaigns (Golovchenko, Hartmann & Adler-Nissen, 2018; Wardle & Derakhshan, 2017). However, empirical data about the exact influence of such campaigns does not exist.

To be able to empirically study the influence of misinformation campaigns, a working definition of misinformation is required. As such, the purpose of this paper is to reconsider the state of the art on information disorder so as to construct a conceptual framework that could aid future empirical research on the topic. Indeed, before considering the dissemination of false information harmful (Billiet et al., 2019), and before implementing regulations and legislations to counter misinformation, more should be known and less should be speculated about the effects of misinformation. Only then can we start constructively discussing solutions (Wardle & Derakhshan, 2017).

By demonstrating how the aspects of intention and awareness in spreading false information are problematic, ambiguous and dispensable, this paper proposes an alternative definition of misinformation. In extant (empirical) research, a clear definition is either missing or problematic for empirical research. The definition as proposed in this paper could foster a more shared and straightforward understanding of misinformation in future research, and in studying the potential harmful effects of misinformation more specifically.

Id: 19767

Title: 'Chai, Mr President is shaking': Social media, protest participation and political efficacy formation among Nigerian university students

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Temple Uwalaka

Email: temple.uwalaka@canberra.edu.au

Country: AU (Australia)

Affiliation: University of Canberra

Abstract: The plethora of internet technologies available to the people has consistently been linked to the recent increase in the organization of collective action around the world such as the Occupy Movements, the 2011 Arab Spring, the 15M in Spain, and the 2012 Occupy Nigeria protest. Generally, digital activism literature has proposed several ways social media has an impact on collective actions such as providing mobilizing information and news not available in other media, assisting in the coordination of protests, helping users to join political causes, creating opportunities to debate or chat with other people, spreading enthusiasm and facilitating emotional contagion. While the majority of previous digital activism research suggests positive relationships between digital media diffusion and socio-political protests, there is little research investigating the long term impact of digitally organised protest to political efficacy formation and participation, particularly in nascent democracies. This study bridges that gap by examining the impact of social media use and protest participation to intention to participate in political affairs. Drawing on a 440 survey response and 19 semi-structured interviews of university students in Nigeria, the study finds that social media use did not increase Nigerian university students' intention to participate in political affairs, rather, protest experience and political efficacy did. This demonstrates that those who participated in the 2012 Occupy Nigeria protest and those who are political efficacious are inclined to participate in political affairs. From the results, the paper proposes a model of political efficacy formation among university students in Nigeria.

Id: 19785

Title: Media Events and Social Media: Discussing 'Gay Marriage' in Costa Rica's 2018 Presidential Election

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Ignacio Siles

Email: ignacio.siles@ucr.ac.cr

Country: CR (Costa Rica)

Affiliation: Universidad de Costa Rica

Name: Carolina Carazo

Email: carolina.carazo@ucr.ac.cr

Country: CR (Costa Rica)

Affiliation: Universidad de Costa Rica

Name: Larissa Tristán

Email: larissa.tristan_j@ucr.ac.cr

Country: CR (Costa Rica)

Affiliation: Universidad de Costa Rica

Abstract: The 2018 presidential election in Costa Rica will be remembered as one of the most controversial electoral processes in the country's recent history. The central issue of the election for many voters was an advisory opinion of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. In 2016, the Government of Costa Rica requested an opinion from the Court regarding several issues: equal marriage, change of name, gender identity, and property rights for same-sex couples. The Court's response came in January 2018, less than a month before the election, and marked the campaign profoundly. On the day of the election, two candidates obtained the right to dispute a second round a few weeks later: Fabricio Alvarado, member of the Partido Restauración Nacional and an evangelical singer explicitly opposed to equal marriage; and Carlos Alvarado, the official candidate of the Partido Acción Ciudadana and ex-minister of the outgoing administration, who argued for respecting the human rights of the LGTBQ+ population.

This paper analyzes the coverage and discussion of the Court's advisory opinion as an opportunity to further understand issues of communication, technology and human dignity. We analyze this case as a "media event" (Dayan & Katz, 1992, Sumiala et al., 2018). We focus on the development of media events in hybrid communication systems, that is, spaces "built upon interactions among older and newer media logics—where logics are defined as technologies, genres, norms, behaviors, and organizational forms—in the reflexively connected fields of media and politics" (Chadwick, 2013, p.4). To this end, we analyze how information regarding the advisory opinion (particularly equal marriage) was produced, circulated, and appropriated on Facebook. In this way, central aspects of the "media events" theory are updated to consider the case of social media.

The analysis is based on a mixed-methods study that combined qualitative and quantitative approaches. We gathered data published on Facebook by two news organizations, presidential

candidates, citizen groups, and sites devoted to creating viral content (such as memes). We conducted content and discourse analyses of these data sources and carried out interviews with journalists involved in the coverage of the case, as well as presidential candidates and the communication specialists who advised them during the campaign.

We argue that, in order to think about the role of the media and the possibilities offered by media events for fostering human dignity and rights, we need to better understand the structural changes that communication systems have experienced over the last decades. The contemporary media regime is characterized by two profound changes: hyperreality (which renders almost useless the distinction between events and their representations) and multiaxiality (which makes visible the presence of multiple voices interpreting events) (Fiske, 1994; Williams & Delli Carpini, 2011). This paper concludes by discussing three implications of our study in light of these transformations: the need to endow the theory of media events with greater analytical flexibility; the role of the media in the definition of central aspects of events in social media; and some consequences of covering media events for democratic deliberation.

Id: 19828

Title: The Illusion of Equalized Political Discourse on Social Networks: Politicians' Blocking Practices ' The Israeli Case

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Sharon Haleva-Amir

Email: sharoni.haleva.amir@gmail.com

Country: IL (Israel)

Affiliation: Bar Ilan University

Abstract: This innovative study, interdisciplinary by its nature, addresses the overlooked fundamental issue of politicians' users-blocking and comments deletion' practices. The internet's infrastructure design enables interactive, effective and direct communication among users; it facilitates discourse and supposedly flattens power gaps between politicians and citizens, let alone social media that are aimed at discourse. But social media political discourse between citizens and politicians is far from being mutual. In fact, in the last few years, more and more cases of comments deletion, as well as complete blocking of users on politicians' pages on social media, are published worldwide.

In my grounded theory rooted research that was based on an Israeli 2017 activists' project data, I analyzed 279 blocking incidents. Through categorizing deleted contents and blocked users' stories and tracing patterns in politicians' blocking behavior, the findings generated a theoretical framework comprised of 12 parameters such as blocking platform, appropriateness of language, content type, critic justification and context – among others, so as to study the neglected phenomenon of institutionally induced echo chambers: The apparent social media political discourse between politicians and citizens creates a false impression (i.e., politicians seem close and attentive to their followers, engaging with the public at eye level and gaining credits for being 'down to earth'). Yet, it is the invisible discourse that causes a greater harm. Put simply, the discourse reflected in the 'censored' pages is in fact a partial and fictitious discourse, and one that includes only pleasant, softened words, without a hint of criticism or difficult questions. It therefore induces a somewhat silencing spiral phenomenon thereby distorting citizens' perceptions regarding the degree of agreement within the public, with one position or another.

In an era of fragmented, radicalized and polarized societies due to filter bubbles and echo chambers (as well as fake news and disinformation spread), politicians' deleting and blocking habits might contribute to a distorted and imagined discourse which results in a weaker democracy.

Formally, politicians' activity on social media is subjected to the platforms' policies. Thus, according to Facebook's terms and conditions, each private user – and parliamentarians serving as individuals that are holding a public position (i.e., activating politicians' pages) – can ban other users; even remove them entirely from their page.

There is, however, a clear distinction on Facebook between users' personal private activity and formal public activity: MPs are elected representatives, and one of their roles is to engage with the public; this is mostly done online nowadays. As such, they are obliged to enable discourse and allow for broader free speech than what is expected from private citizens.

The suggested framework will therefore enable worldwide comparative and longitudinal studies. Furthermore, in a turbulent political world struggling with electoral intervention attempts,

disinformation and distrust, the study of politicians/users discourse is more pertinent than ever thereby serving as a starting point to dealing with broader concepts – from online censorship to the mutual, growing dependence of both governmental institutions and public on commercial platforms, and its outcomes.

Id: 19836

Title: Communitarianism, Populism and (In)civility: The Migrant Crisis in the European Press

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Ekaterina Balabanova

Email: e.balabanova@liverpool.ac.uk

Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: University of Liverpool

Name: Alex Balch

Email: abalch@liverpool.ac.uk

Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: University of Liverpool

Abstract: It has been argued that the increasing usage of the concept of populism to describe political trends in Europe is in effect whitewashing the nativism of the radical right (Mudde 2017). However, the relationship between populist and anti-immigration ideas is not well understood. This is not just due to the well-acknowledged definitional issues around populism. It is also because in public debates over immigration there are a range of communitarian justifications for states to impose restrictions on the rights of non-citizens (Balabanova and Balch 2010). Moreover, all of these have multiple forms or versions that can be more or less civil or tolerant towards 'the other'. We have selected specific flashpoints in the story of Europe's migrant crisis in 2015 in order to test assumptions regarding the correlation between populism and incivility towards non-citizens. Drawing from data regarding press coverage of immigration in four European countries (Germany, UK, Hungary, Bulgaria) we map different communitarian arguments alongside the presence/absence of populist ideas. This allows us to consider the extent to which populism and anti-immigrationism are correlated, or can be disentangled, and to illustrate how these phenomena relate to levels of (in)civility across the European space.

Id: 19863

Title: Right-wing narratives in Spain and Italy facing European election: an analysis through metaphorical framing

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Carlota Moragas Fernández

Email: carlotamaria.moragas@urv.cat

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Universitat Rovira i Virgili

Name: Arantxa Capdevila Gómez

Email: arantxa.capdevila@urv.cat

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Universitat Rovira i Virgili

Abstract: The last years have witnessed a (renewed) interest in right-wing politicians across the globe, exemplified through the rise of European "populist" right-wing political parties (Rooduijn, 2015) like VOX (Spain), Lega Nord (Italy), Freedom Party (Netherlands), Danish People's Party, Alternative for Germany, Freedom Party of Austria, Front National –now, Rassemblement National– (France), Vlaams Belang (Belgium), Slovak National Party, Golden Dawn (Greece), Fidesz (Hungary), Law and Justice (Poland), Swedish Democrats (Sweden), the UKIP (UK) and the election of US President Trump and President Bolsonaro in Brasil.

Despite having distinct materializations, right-wing populism shares some common features: first, it talks a good group threatened by an outsider group who is blamed for the problems concerning the in-group (I). In this regard, right-wing populism is mainly anti-pluralist and "treats cleavages as well as opposition to their own political program as illegitimate" (Rydgren, 2017:490). Secondly, it uses a specific style based on plain language in order to articulate its discourse about presumably talking in the name of the people (II). And, lastly, it proposes simplified solutions to the problems or the simplification of political issues (III), being prone to deep into "post-truth politics" (Rydgren, 2017).

Given that right-wing populist parties are expected to expand their strength in the European Parliament by over 60 percent next May (Reuters, November 2018), it is paramount to understand how they frame the main political issues in the public agenda (1) and how their speech is different from the one of left-wing populism –which is not necessarily exclusionary (March, 2017)– and non-populist organizations, such as social democratic parties (2). The present research aims to shed light on these two questions by taking Spain and Italy as a case study and this is why we will look at the political speeches delivered during the European Election campaign by the populist right-wing political parties VOX and Lega Nord and their respective leaders Santiago Abascal and Matteo Salvini. Because we cannot validate the results without taking into account other political organizations, we are also going to analyse the speeches of their opponents –i.e. left-wing populist parties Podemos/Pablo Iglesias and Movimento 5 stelle/Luigi di Maio– as well as the ones of social democratic parties that are not considered populist, such as Partido Socialista Obrero Español/Pedro Sánchez and Partido Democratico/Matteo Orfini.

In doing so, we will focus on the use of metaphor, which is one of the key discursive strategies used by right-wing leaders throughout history to legitimize their policies (Musolff, 2014). A qualitative methodology approach based on Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black, 2011), which lets us identify (A), interpret (B) and explain (C) the ideological implications underlying the use of the metaphorical expressions, will be used. Materials –campaign advertising on various formats and platforms, rally speeches, etc.– are going to be collected and analysed during the European Election campaign and results will be presented at the IAMCR conference.

Id: 19890

Title: "We tell the truth here!" The representation of 'truth' in the YouTube discourse of anti-systemic opposition in Russia

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Sofya Glazunova

Email: sofya.glazunova@hdr.qut.edu.au

Country: AU (Australia)

Affiliation: Queensland University of Technology

Abstract: As a result of recent geopolitical developments, the term ‘truth’, and what is, in fact, constituted by it, has become increasingly challenged, not least thanks to the proliferation of the speed by which misinformation travels online. Frequently and somewhat simplistically labelled as ‘fake news’, the phenomenon not only signifies the weaponising of the term by political actors to further their own agenda, but longer-term scenarios point to civic decline of trust in the mainstream media as well as a growing digital divide conditioned by demographic, political and economic factors bringing to the fore the contested nature of ‘truthful communication’ and ways in which to communicate it. In semi-authoritarian Russia, the issue of ‘truthful communication’ in politics is amplified by the characteristics of a political regime which hinders freedom of the press through the implementation of a variety of restrictions. In fact, the unidirectional representation of what constitutes ‘truth’ in Russian politics leaves little room for its contestation from either the political opposition or civic society more broadly. However, despite continuous attempts by the Russian government to control and restrict virtual spaces, a plethora of online discourses on the issue of ‘truth’ in Russia’s contemporary public sphere abound. One of the most prominent cases of such discourse is exemplified by the actions of the oppositional figure Alexey Navalny.

Navalny operates a YouTube blog and a YouTube channel where he and his colleagues publish content reminiscent of a profoundly anti-corrupt and anti-elitist character. Notably, at the end of almost every video on his blog, Navalny repeats the phrase “Subscribe to our channel! We tell the truth here!”, making evident that ‘truth’ has become a cornerstone of his communicative style. Mostly, this is due to Navalny being largely ignored by the mainstream media as well as the ruling political elite in Russia. The testament to the latter is Navalny’s exclusion from the 2018 presidential elections. Digital platforms such as YouTube, in turn, provide Navalny with respective platform affordances to broadcast an alternative political agenda in Russia. In this paper, I explore Navalny’s coverage of the idea of ‘truth’ in his YouTube discourse in the lead-up to last year’s elections. For these purposes, a hybrid methodological approach consisting of both content analyses and discourse analyses are deployed to make sense of his compelling narratives.

Preliminary results indicate that ‘truth’ as emanating from his discourse is supposedly associated with institutionalist (democratic) and normative (authoritarian) understandings of politics. The first is connected with the ideas of ‘justice’ and ‘law’, where the judicial system is seen as a legitimate body for upholding justice. The authoritarian understanding of ‘truth’ is connected with the symbols of ‘knowledge’ and ‘power’ in that those who possess knowledge (information and media resources) obtain a monopoly on power; in Navalny’s case, these monopolies are contested through his

strategic use of social media to provide 'truthful communication'. The paper concludes with an agenda for future research.

Id: 19903

Title: What's in a Vox' Analysis of the Spanish far-right populist party VOX in Twitter

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Frederic Guerrero-Solé

Email: frederic.guerrero@upf.edu

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Universitat Pompeu Fabra

Name: Lluís Mas-Manchón

Email: lluis.mas@upf.edu

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Universitat Pompeu Fabra

Abstract: In the last two decades, populism has become a mainstream political ideology in Western democracies (Mudde, 2004; Rooduijn, 2014a; Casero-Ripollés, Sintés-Olivella & Franch, 2017). Although populism has been existing since the 19th century (Mazzoleni, 2014), it is precisely now that populist right-wing parties have achieved a great popularity in many European countries, such as Italy, France or Austria (Mouffe, 2005). Scholars have been analysing populist discourse for decades, and have linked its roots to mass society, which gives rise to populist democracies (Taggart, 2000). The relationship between social media and populism has been underdeveloped in political science (Ernst, Engesser, Büchel, Blassnig & Esser, 2017).

With regards to populism and far-right parties, Spain is not an exception in Europe anymore. The aim of this paper is to analyse the strategies in Twitter of the Spanish far-right populist party VOX, a party that is becoming more and more influential in Spanish politics. With a sample of 273,034 posts from 212 official VOX accounts, we follow Bracciale and Martella's (2017) work to analyse VOX tweets' content and form by using their definitions of register, topics, and function. By means of a computer-assisted content analysis tool (Guerrero-Solé, 2019), we finally identify the main VOX's strategies in spreading their message in Twitter. Preliminary results show that VOX strategies include a constant appeal to the motherland (Spain) and its inhabitants (Spaniards) and the use of pronouns 'ours' and 'we'. They also stress the idea of a polymorphic enemy: the communist Podemos and its leader Pablo Iglesias, the right-winged Popular Party and the centre-left PSOE, the pro-independence Catalans, immigrants, feminists or criminals are among these enemies whose only purpose is to destroy the motherland. On the other side, the Church, the police and the army are the only institutions that fight for protecting Spain and the Spaniards from the enemies. Moreover, we also analyse the structure of the VOX networks (follower-followee, mentions and retweets) following Guerrero-Solé's (2018) works on the interactive behaviour of Spanish politicians in Twitter.

Casero-Ripollés, A., Sintés-Olivella, M., & Franch, P. (2017). The Populist Political Communication Style in Action: Podemos's Issues and Functions on Twitter During the 2016 Spanish General Election. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 61(9), 986–1001.
<http://doi.org/10.1177/0002764217707624>

Ernst, N., Engesser, S., Büchel, F., Blassnig, S., & Esser, F. (2017). Extreme parties and populism: an analysis of Facebook and Twitter across six countries. *Information Communication and Society*, 20(9), 1347–1364. <http://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2017.1329333>

Guerrero-Solé, Frederic. (2018). Interactive Behavior in Political Discussions on Twitter: Politicians, Media, and Citizens' Patterns of Interaction in the 2015 and 2016 Electoral Campaigns in Spain. *Social Media + Society*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305118808776>.

Mazzoleni, G. (2014). Mediatization and political populism. In: Esser, F. and Strömbäck, J. (eds). *Mediatization of Politics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 42–56.

Mouffe, C. (2005). On the political. *Thinking in action*. <http://doi.org/JA 71.M6>

Taggart, P. (2000). *Populism*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Mudde, C. (2004). The Populist Zeitgeist. *Government and Opposition*, 39(4), 542–563. <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1477-7053.2004.00135.x>

Rooduijn, M. (2014a). The mesmerising message: The diffusion of populism in public debates in western European media. *Political Studies*, 62(4), 726–744. <http://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9248.12074>

Id: 19998

Title: Network of lies: disinformation warfare on Brazilian 2018 presidential election

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Ricardo Ribeiro Ferreira

Email: ricardo.ribeiro02@gmail.com

Country: PT (Portugal)

Affiliation: Universidade de Coimbra

Abstract: The dissemination of false or out-of-context content and its impact on decision-making processes in Western democracies gained new strength with social media and became again the subject of much analysis, especially after the results of the Brexit referendum and elections in United States and Europe, in 2016 and 2017. Reviewing studies on these events and discussing the causes and effects of fake news on Web 2.0 on a theoretical and empirical basis, this paper identifies the impacts of this type of content in Brazilian 2018 presidential election. Considering that the voters decisions are made from the candidates images they form from the news about them (Castells, 2007) and that the number of people that consumes news on social media has increased (Newman et al., 2017), the identification of a high amount of fake news at such platforms represent a relevant interference in the electoral process. Following a pre-election study (Ribeiro Ferreira, 2018), which identified, among the top-rated content about the major potential candidates in 2017, that fake news had up to three times more engagement as traditional media outlets true news, 188 fake news published during the three months of official campaign until the day of the second and final round of the election in 2018 debunked by the two largest fact-checking agencies in Brazil were analyzed. Using an expanded approach of Web Content Analysis (Herring, 2009 e 2004) and inductive categorization method (Mayring, 2000; Elo e Kyngas, 2008), formats, subjects, main actors, effects on actors, platforms of distribution and audience were identified and discussed.

Id: 20051

Title: Networking the revolution: A meta-analysis of effects of Facebook use on political participation

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Azmat Rasul

Email: azmatrasul@gmail.com

Country: PK (Pakistan)

Affiliation: National College of Arts

Name: Muhammad Rashid Khan

Email: rkhan.pu@gmail.com

Country: PK (Pakistan)

Affiliation: University of the Punjab

Name: Shehrzad Fatima Rasul

Email: rasul56h@tcc.fl.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: Tallahassee Community College

Abstract: In this meta-analysis project, we are exploring the effects of Facebook use on political participation of the young users. We expect that the effect sizes are heterogeneous, and this heterogeneity is explained by mediators such as political self-efficacy. We believe that a meta-analysis of the effects of Facebook use on political participation is academically significant due to the increasing popularity of social networking among voters, political parties, and candidates. With more than one billion active users in the world (Fowler, 2012), Facebook offers indefinite research opportunities to the researchers to examine the relationship between popular modes of social networking and various political attitudes of the users. Zhang and Leung (2014) reviewed published research on social networking websites in major communication journals and found that approximately half of the studies (44.3%) concentrated on the effects of Facebook. However, research on the effects of Facebook found mixed and, sometimes, contradictory evidence of its effectiveness in influencing the political participation of users. For example,

The escalating popularity of the Facebook made it one of the most popular sites inducing political participation and creating awareness concerning numerous social and political issues (Debatin et al., 2009). The extant literature established a connection between time spent on the Facebook by the young participants and their ensuing political participation as a result of being exposed to the political messages (Ellison et al., 2011; Ellison, et al., 2007; Steinfield et al., 2008). Concomitantly, the academic circles paid sparse attention to the tangible attitudinal changes related to the political beliefs and behaviors among heavy Facebook users. To examine the relationship between Facebook use and offline political participation, we are using a meta-analytic approach to answer the following research questions:

RQ 1: Does Facebook use influence offline political participation among young adults?

RQ 2: Does political self-efficacy mediate relationship between Facebook use and political participation?

Method

In this pilot study, we conducted an extensive search for studies on the relationship between Facebook use and political participation published in English-language peer-reviewed journals. The selected studies were coded with the help of two coders and intercoder reliability was assessed. All coding conflicts were resolved before submitting the studies to further analysis. The intercoder reliability reflected 95% agreement among coders. Comprehensive Meta-Analysis (Borenstein, Hedges, Higgins, & Rothstein, 2005) was used in this meta-analysis to conduct the analysis. To apply meta-analysis as a research procedure, a common effect size metric was essential. To ensure generalizability of our results, we are coding more studies and including unpublished studies to avoid publication bias.

Results

Our preliminary findings indicate that Facebook use affected political participation (weighted effect size of $r = .040$) of the users. However, the follow-up analysis of the effects of Facebook found heterogeneity of effects across the studies. Although measuring political participation has been a major issue for media psychologists, the results indicate a positive impact of Facebook use on political participation. We expect that other moderators such as gender or political efficacy will explain more details.

Id: 20086

Title: "Alternative" media' Self-conceptions of left- and right-wing alternative media and their common strategic objectives

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: André Haller

Email: andre.haller@uni-bamberg.de

Country: DE (Germany)

Affiliation: University of Bamberg

Abstract: In the last years a variety of partisan news sites emerged on the internet in the U.S. as well as in Europe. These pages describe themselves as “alternative” in terms of contesting established hegemonic structures in society. The Research question is whether partisan online sites on the left and on the right try to pursue traditional purposes of alternative media like criticism on the organization and content of mainstream media (Holtz-Bacha, 2015), the goal to establish a counter-hegemonic public sphere (Schweiger, 2017), non-commerciality (Bailey et al. 2008) and participatory journalism (Weichler, 1987).

To answer this question, this study investigates the self-portrayals of the most prominent left- and right-wing alternative media websites in Germany. The data contains manifestos such as self-conceptions and mission statements of the investigated sites. The categories of the analysis were constructed deductive, based on works on traditional alternative media.

The qualitative content analysis shows that almost all pages on both sides of the political spectrum share the same strategic objectives which are characteristic for traditional alternative media: 1) Media criticism, 2) the establishment of counter-hegemonic structures, 3) non-commerciality and 4) elements of participatory journalism. Particularly Gramsci's concept of hegemony (2012 - reprint) and the objective to build counter-public spheres were fundamental claims in left- and right-wing websites. The findings also show that not all traditional alternative media concepts are implemented in the investigated pages: The Compact Magazine can be seen as a "journalistic Janus Head" as it claims to be alternative for right-wing readers but also pursues economic goals (advertising, subscriptions and conference fees). The special case of Compact underlines the thesis of Scholl (2009) that alternative media formats can transform to mainstream media models.

Although political positions of the analyzed media outlets differ significantly, both alternative media camps cross ideological boundaries by sharing the same “journalistic” objectives and theoretical concepts. Although the policies of left- and right-wing alternative media producers fundamentally differ, media criticism is a “common denominator”: Critique on established media primarily aims at the accusation that alternatives are suppressed. Further expressions of media criticism concern the claim that there is censorship in the public debate and that media coverage is controlled by financial and political elites.

Recent works on extremist websites in the U.S. (Klein 2017) indicate an expansion of alternative media research towards rightist players. This explorative study can be used as a blueprint for further analysis of alternative media products. Comparative international studies seem to be promising for the study of partisan media.

Id: 20096

Title: Mapa Infoparticipa: comunicación pública, transparencia y participación ciudadana. Análisis de las webs de los ayuntamientos españoles (2018).

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Nuria Simelio

Email: nuria.simelio.sola@uab.cat

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Name: Francisco Javier Herrero

Email: javiherrero82@usal.es

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Universidad de Salamanca

Name: Alexandre Lavado

Email: alexandre.lavado@uab.cat

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Abstract: En esta comunicación presentamos los resultados de analizar la información que ofrecen las webs de 1.574 ayuntamientos de España, en 2018, en el marco de la investigación "Metodologías y modelos de información para el seguimiento de la acción de los responsables de los gobiernos locales y la rendición de cuentas" (CSO2015-64568-R, financiada por MINECO-FEDER). El objetivo principal del proyecto es colaborar a mejorar la información que proporcionan las webs de los ayuntamientos para facilitar la rendición de cuentas (accountability).

La información que ofrece la administración pública es un derecho básico que debe partir de la transparencia y el buen gobierno como elemento básico de las sociedades democráticas (Cameron 2004). Internet proporciona instrumentos que, combinando el e-gobierno y las políticas de transparencia, ofrecen oportunidades para crear nuevas formas de gobernanza y de participación de la ciudadanía en la definición de las políticas democráticas. (Bertot, et al. 2010). Esto se produce de forma paralela a un aumento de la concienciación de la ciudadanía que demanda una mayor transparencia de las instituciones (Villoria y Jiménez 2012).

El ámbito de esta investigación es el municipal, ya que los ayuntamientos son la administración más directa y próxima de relación entre la ciudadanía y las organizaciones públicas (Moreno Sardà et al. 2017). Se indaga si los gobiernos locales aprovechan las potencialidades de la web 2.0 y las redes sociales para ofrecer información de calidad y fomentar la e-participación, teniendo en cuenta las exigencias establecidas por la Ley española 19/2013, de 9 de diciembre, de Transparencia, Acceso a la Información Pública y Buen Gobierno.

En la metodologías, se utilizan 52 indicadores básicos agrupados en cuatro temáticas: quienes son los representantes, cómo gestionan los recursos, cómo informan y qué instrumentos ofrecen para la participación. Los resultados se publican en una plataforma (www.mapainfoparticipa.com) para que sean accesibles a cualquier persona interesada en conocer el grado de transparencia de su

ayuntamiento, información que consideramos imprescindible para facilitar la participación ciudadana en una democracia moderna y avanzada.

Las conclusiones de la investigación muestran que las webs de los ayuntamientos analizados no siempre proporcionan información suficientemente transparente y de calidad. Por tanto, la entrada en vigor de la Ley de Transparencia no ha sido suficiente para mejorar la información o el cambio de actitud por parte de los responsables políticos y técnicos de las administraciones locales. Es necesario modificar las rutinas, construir nuevas metodologías, y elaborar nuevos modelos de producir y publicar la información. Esta es la razón por la que este proyecto de investigación se orienta también a la transferencia de conocimiento.

Bertot, et al. (2010) Using ICTs to create a culture of transparency: E-government and social media as openness and anti-corruption tools for societies. *Government Information Quarterly*, 27(3), 264–271

Cameron, W. (2004). Public accountability: Effectiveness, equity, ethics. *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, 63(4), 56-67.

Moreno Sardà, et al. (2017): “El impacto de la legislación sobre transparencia en la información publicada por las administraciones locales” *El profesional de la información*, 26 (2), 370-380

Villoria, M., & Jiménez, F. (2012). La corrupción en España (2004-2010): datos, percepción y efectos. *Reis*, 138, 109-134.

Id: 20097

Title: Mujer contra mujer: imagen de la mujer candidata en dos elecciones presidenciales

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Alberto Pedro López-Hermida Russo

Email: alopezhermida@udd.cl

Country: CL (Chile)

Affiliation: Universidad del Desarrollo

Name: Daniel Aguirre

Email: doaguirre@udd.cl

Country: CL (Chile)

Affiliation: Universidad del Desarrollo

Abstract: La imagen proyectada por una mujer candidata en sus spots electorales televisivos cuenta con al menos dos ventajas que hacen que su análisis sea aún interesante: por un lado, muchas veces los spots son el primer contacto directo que el ciudadano tiene con el candidato y, por otro lado, el mensaje de los spots está absolutamente controlado por el candidato y su equipo, sin intermediaciones de ningún tipo.

Por eso, parece interesante estudiar a través de un análisis de contenido de corte cuantitativo cuánto y cómo aparece la candidata en sus spots electorales, con quién, de qué temas habla y qué competencias personales y temáticas menciona, para dibujar así el estereotipo de género que se proyecta a los electores en una contienda electoral determinada (López-Hermida, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2012, 2013).

El análisis se vuelve aún más interesante si el estudio se hace con la misma candidata en dos elecciones presidenciales diferentes, tal como sucede con Michelle Bachelet en 2005/2006 y 2013/2014. El uso de estereotipos de género se podría ver aminorado una vez que el factor de género ya no es primera vez que se presenta.

Más allá de dibujar el estereotipo de género proyectado por Bachelet en sus dos incursiones como candidata (ambas, además, con segunda vuelta electoral), esta investigación demuestra si ese estereotipo o imagen femenina proyectada por la primera presidenta de Chile se desgasta una vez que el tener a una mujer en competencia ya no es primicia.

¿Es la pérdida de novedad un contratiempo para el uso estratégico de estereotipos?

Id: 20111

Title: Combating negative campaigns: What factors cause people to stop the circulation of negative campaigning messages on mobile platforms'

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Chia-Shin Lin

Email: luc48kimo@gmail.com

Country: TW (Taiwan)

Affiliation: Shih Hsin University

Abstract: Negative campaigning messages not only circulates during elections, but also in public policy discussions. Same-sex marriage represents one of these issues. In 2018, Taiwan ran a referendum on same-sex marriage issues with five ballot questions and more than 10 million people cast their ballot (55% voter turn-out). Since it was the first time for people in Taiwan to make a decision on this kind of issue, both supporters and opponents employed various methods to mobilise and demobilise voters. Negative messages were embraced and circulated on social media, instant messaging tools and other internet forums. This provides a fertile ground for research and the current study focuses on the factors that might help people to stop the circulation of such negative messages. Social capital, political efficacy and the theory of planned behaviour have been integrated to develop a theoretical framework. Social capital refers to social influence of voters while political efficacy refers to the personal experience and knowledge possessed by voters. The current study employs a 2X2 experimental setting with a partial least square structure modelling to examine the hypotheses. The total number of participants was 1072, but the current study set two filter questions to eliminate participants who had no knowledge of the referendum nor they vote. The valid number of participants was 656 (61.2%). The results show that political efficacy, source credibility, subjective norms and perceived behavioural control positively influence the intention to discern the message. Further for multi-group analysis, it shows that the stance of same-sex marriage and the correctness of the messages have some differences when compared groups in pairs. Theoretical and practical discussions are offered.

Id: 20138

Title: Satisfaction with and perceptions of news media performance with alienation from government and business corporations: An Ohio case study

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Rafsanul Hoque

Email: rhoque@bgsu.edu

Country: BD (Bangladesh)

Affiliation: Bowling Green State University

Abstract: News media's role as important sources of information, influence and political socialization and their impact in increasing political participation, awareness about policy issues and reducing knowledge gaps between different education groups have been shown by scholars from all over the world. Concurrently, news media have also been seen as inducer of alienation, cynicism and apathy among the people against the government, big business/financial corporations and the media themselves. In the United States, decline of media trust has been a trend since the 1970's, and the recent unhealthy relationship between the White House and the media has been the dominant picture. Media trust is important because it is not just the impact of the news media, but perceptions towards it have been shown to be linked with other areas of political and social feelings and standpoints, and fosters activity towards or against certain issues. Hence, more knowledge about peoples' satisfaction and perception towards the media and how that impact their impressions of different aspects within the social and political realm needs to be studied. The objective of this research is to understand peoples' satisfaction with and perceptions of news media performance and their relationship with alienation from government and big business corporations.

This study will conduct a secondary analysis of data to investigate peoples' perceptions of and satisfaction with news media, and then their level of alienation from the government and business/financial corporations. It will then analyze if perception and satisfaction levels towards news media predict levels of alienation from government and alienation from big corporations. It will use data gathered from 760 structured survey questionnaires collected in 2016 (n=400) and 2017 (n=360), before and after the U.S. presidential election. The data were collected among young college students in a midwestern university using quota sampling method. Perceptions of news media, alienation from government and alienation from business/financial corporations will be measured in separate indices. The dimensions of alienation include powerlessness (over the environment), meaninglessness (of life's alternatives), normlessness (of individual and societal conduct), isolation (from cultural and social institutions), cynicism and disaffection toward major institutions in our society such as the government, big business/financial corporations, and the mass media. An analysis will reveal if satisfaction towards different news media and perceptions of news media predict alienation from government and big corporations.

The five questionnaire items measuring perception of news media will be combined into an index and a reliability score (Cronbach alpha) will be computed for this index. Similarly, alienation from government and alienation from business/financial corporations will be collapsed into two separate indices and a reliability score (Cronbach alpha) will be computed for these indices.

Regression analysis will be used to examine the prediction of news media satisfaction and perception on alienation from government and alienation from big business corporations.

Id: 20179

Title: Robotic political communication in the European Union

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Berta García-Orosa

Email: bertago@gmail.com

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: University of Santiago de Compostela

Name: Eva Campos Domínguez

Email: berta.garcia@usc.es

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: University of Valladolid

Abstract: The main objective of the proposal is to present the results of a research on computer propaganda in the European Union that conditioned the results in the last electoral campaigns and consultative processes (Brazil, 2018; Brexit in United Kingdom, 2016; USA, 2016; Argentina 2015 Australia 2017). Although the automation of the production and circulation of information has been used since the 1970s for meteorological or sports information (Linden, 2017), technological, social and political innovation caused a stage of influence in today's digital society unknown until now. The theoretical framework used is centred on the field of communication (studies carried out on international computational propaganda, especially since 2016, and digital political communication) and on the political sphere (hermeneutics of political parties).

The methodology used is a bibliographic review and in-depth interviews with European deputies, parties represented in the European Union Parliament and think tanks. Some of the results are advanced:

1. The EU warns of the threat to democracy that implies that parties automatically elaborate messages adapted to the needs of each citizen from the analysis of big data manipulated even with fake news (UE, 2017; Government Office of Science, 2018) and other countries have elaborated laws regulating artificial intelligence and computational propaganda (Italy in 2014, France in 2016, United Kingdom in 2017, Spain in 2018).
2. Campaign political advisors indicate that the automation of communication will be a great danger for democracy: "It lowers the level of debates, subtracts authenticity, it is more negative than positive for the quality of the debate" or, as indicated by another of the interviewees "the voters are not improving at all, they are selling their souls to the devil: one gives all the data and receives nothing in return, because the only thing they receive is a selected information elaborated from data that they have given up a few days before".
3. Bots to manipulate online conversations, demobilize the opposition and generate false support for certain political options. Computer programmers produce frameworks, select themes and shape realities by influencing citizens' behaviours and perceptions of the world. The algorithms become infomediaries that examine the feelings and opinions of the recipients from their virtual identities and, in an automated way, construct information or opinions that satisfy their needs (Campos Domínguez, García Orosa, 2018).

4. For the last eight years, political parties and governments have spent more than five hundred million dollars on research and development in this field and robot trafficking now exceeds 1,000 million euros, 60 percent of all online traffic, almost 20 percent more than two years earlier (Condliffe, 2016).

Id: 20190

Title: Las elecciones al parlamento andaluz de 2018 en Instagram: del periodismo profesional al meme.

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Miguel Ángel Sánchez de la Nieta

Email: miguelsnh@gmail.com

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Centro Universitario Vilanueva

Abstract: Los cambios en los hábitos de consumo de información de las nuevas generaciones de usuarios, reclaman a los medios informativos tradicionales una constante adaptación. La competitividad comercial entre las empresas informativas les obliga a responder con celeridad a esas transformaciones, con estrategias que permitan incorporar esos nuevos flujos. Si las audiencias acceden a la información a través de una determinada red social, conviene comprender cuanto antes su lógica, adecuar lenguajes expresivos e incluso modificar rutinas de trabajo que respondan a dicha lógica. La prensa, la radio y la televisión se organizan para aprovechar esta nueva vía para la transmisión de relatos informativos. Y no solo las empresas periodísticas tratan de adaptarse: también el periodista individual busca sacar partido a esos nuevos modos de comunicación con sus audiencias, y utilizan estas redes para fidelizar públicos y generar feedback con ellos.

La presente comunicación estudia la presencia y relevancia de medios y periodistas en Instagram en torno a la campaña electoral de las elecciones autonómicas andaluzas de diciembre de 2018. Se aproxima además al estudio del engagement que genera el meme como contenido en los post de Instagram en el mismo contexto.

Se afrontan, por lo tanto, las siguientes preguntas de investigación:

En un contexto político, ¿generan mayor engagement en Instagram los medios de información o los periodistas como profesionales individuales?

¿Logran más engagement los profesionales de la información que el resto de los usuarios?

¿Es el meme una forma de contenido con mayor impacto y difusión que el resto de formas de comunicación en Instagram en el ámbito político?

La metodología aplicada para llevar a cabo la investigación se basa en el análisis del contenido, a la hora de identificar si el post publicado se puede identificar como meme o no lo es, de la misma forma que se registra si el autor del post es un medio de información o un periodista. Posteriormente, a través de una prueba paramétrica estadística de análisis de la varianza (ANOVA), se identifican las diferencias significativas en cuanto al engagement, cuando el contenido del post se identifica con un meme y cuando no lo es, o cuando el autor es un medio de información o un periodista en comparación con otro tipo de usuario.

Los resultados de la investigación muestran diferencias significativas en el engagement de los post. Cuando el post presenta un meme, el engagement que produce es muy superior que cuando se trata de otro tipo de contenido. De la misma manera cuando el autor es una persona, el engagement es significativamente mayor que cuando quien publica es un medio de información, siendo un poco superior, además, cuando el autor es un profesional del sector de la comunicación que cuando se trata de otro tipo de persona.

Id: 20199

Title: Escándalo Pacogate en Chile: La correspondencia entre los marcos de los noticieros de la televisión y las opiniones en Facebook y Twitter

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Francisco Javier Tagle

Email: fjtagle@uandes.cl

Country: CL (Chile)

Affiliation: Universidad de los Andes, Santiago de Chile

Name: Juan José Guerrero

Email: JJGUERRERO@uandes.cl

Country: CL (Chile)

Affiliation: Universidad de los Andes, Santiago de Chile

Name: María Paz Vial

Email: mpvial1@miuandes.cl

Country: CL (Chile)

Affiliation: Universidad de los Andes, Santiago de Chile

Abstract: En los últimos años en Chile ocurrieron importantes escándalos de corrupción (Thompson, 2001) que provocaron un fuerte impacto en la opinión pública. Según Transparency International (2017), el 80% de los chilenos cree que la corrupción ha aumentado mucho y que las autoridades no han hecho un buen trabajo para combatirla.

Dentro de estos escándalos de corrupción, uno muy significativo fue el ocurrido en Carabineros de Chile, una de las instituciones con mayor confianza ciudadana desde el retorno de la democracia (Latinobarómetro, 2017). El denominado caso Pacogate (2017), como lo llama la prensa en atribución a que a la policía de este país se les apoda de manera coloquial como “pacos”, no sólo sumó más de cuatro millones de dólares de desfalco al fisco, sino que involucró a altos mandos de la institución.

Ante este panorama, el estudio de los encuadres o frames mediáticos de la corrupción cobra suma relevancia (Entman, 2012; Tagle y Claro, 2018; Zamora & Marín Albaladejo, 2010; Park, 2012), considerando tanto sus implicancias para el debate en la opinión pública como para la rendición de cuentas del poder en democracia (Christians, Glasser, McQuail, Nordenstreng, & White, 2009; Coronel, 2010; Waisbord, 2000, 2012; Tagle, 2017). Dado que los encuadres tendrían el poder para estructurar el pensamiento de la opinión pública (Cacciatore, Scheufele, & Iyengar, 2016; McCombs, 2006), es que los medios “suelen proporcionar una cierta interpretación de la corrupción que influye en la forma en que se discuten y evalúa en el debate público” (Park, 2012, p. 3).

Por otra parte, la información proporcionada por los medios sirve de contexto para los debates que se producen en las redes sociales, las que se han transformado en influyentes espacios para la discusión y promoción de la política (Ritzer & Jurgenson, 2010; Weeks, Ardèvol-Abreu, & Gil de Zúñiga, 2017; Youyou, Kosinski, & Stillwell, 2015). En este sentido, de acuerdo a Trilling (2015), existe una relación bidireccional tanto de influencia como de complementariedad entre las agendas de la televisión y de las redes sociales.

De esta manera, esta investigación se fundamenta en la siguiente hipótesis: Existe una complementariedad entre los marcos que utilizaron los principales noticieros de televisión en Chile en el escándalo de corrupción Pacogate y las opiniones vertidas en las redes sociales Facebook y Twitter sobre este mismo caso.

Se estudiaron los primeros 14 días desde que se conoció el escándalo el 6 de agosto de 2017. Para el análisis de la televisión, se seleccionaron los noticieros centrales con mayor sintonía, los que para el periodo de estudio fueron Ahora Noticias y Teletrece de las estaciones privadas Mega y Canal 13 respectivamente (Kantar, 2017). En lo que se refiere a las opiniones vertidas en Facebook y Twitter, se utilizó una plataforma comprehensiva de captura en tiempo real de la información. Se recogieron todas las keyword que hicieron alusión al caso durante el mismo periodo que se analizó los noticieros

Id: 20202

Title: The Mediating Role of Social Media News Use on the Effects of Personality Characteristics over Democratic Engagement

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Brigitte Huber

Email: brigitte.huber@univie.ac.at

Country: AT (Austria)

Affiliation: University of Vienna

Name: Homero Gil de Zuniga

Email: homero.gil.de.zuniga@univie.ac.at

Country: AT (Austria)

Affiliation: University of Vienna

Abstract: Political participation is at the heart of democracy (Verba, Scholzman, & Brady, 1995). Accordingly, understanding what makes people engage in politics has been a key issue for political scientists and communication scholars for decades. Recently, a strand of research deals with the effects that personality traits may have on political attitudes and behavior (e.g., Bekkers, 2005; Ha, Kim, & Jo, 2013; Mondak et al., 2011). While many studies focus on effects of personality traits on political ideology, less is known about its association with political participation (for an overview, see Gerber et al., 2011a). The goal of this paper is to shed more light on this relationship, expanding existing literature in three meaningful ways:

First, as digital networks and social media have amplified the ways of engaging in politics (Ekström & Shehata, 2018), this study not only looks at offline political participation and voting, but also includes online political participatory behaviors. Second, since most of the existing scholarship focus on single-country data sets (e.g., Finland: Mattila et al., 2011; Germany: Schoen & Steinbrecher, 2013), there is a need for cross-cultural studies. We address this research gap by employing survey data from 19 countries worldwide. Third, Weinschenk (2017) calls for studies that investigate indirect ways in which personality traits shape political behavior. We do so by testing whether news use mediates the relationship between personality traits and political participation and voting.

Our results indicate that extraversion, agreeableness and openness help understand people's participation and voting behavior. Interestingly, while these traits show similar pattern for offline and online political participation, the opposite is true for voting. For instance, being extroverted is positively associated to several participatory behaviors online and off; however, it is negatively related to voting. This might be explained by the fact that extraverted people prefer political activities that include social interactions such as attending a protest with others than going alone to the booth (Mondak et al., 2010). Similarly, also agreeableness was differently associated to electoral and non-electoral participation: While less agreeableness people tend to engage more often in activities online and offline ranging from participating in demonstrations to creating an online petition, more agreeableness people show higher levels of voting. This stands to reason as agreeable people are afraid of conflicting situations – the chance to get in such a situation is way more likely in a demonstration on the street where everyone takes up position than in an electoral office. In

addition, our study delivers insights into indirect relationships between individuals' personality traits and their political participation behavior. More specific, results from mediation tests show that social media news use partially mediates the relationship between personality and participation behaviors. Again, there are differences: While social media news use positively mediates the relationship between extraversion and both offline and online political participation, it negatively mediates the relationship between extraversion and voting. We discuss these results in light of opportunities and challenges of social media for democracy.

Id: 20261

Title: Commenting Political topics through Twitter: Is European politics European'

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Javier Ruiz-Soler

Email: javier.ruiz.soler@eui.eu

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: European University Institute

Abstract: Microblogging sites such as twitter have now become host to a wide spectrum of information. The culture of real time postings has generated a plethora of opinions on current issues, foods, products, and complaints on day to day life. This contemporary sharing culture has borne witness to a vast mine of text data. The text data is rich with potential for exploration by data analysts, on an almost unlimited number of topics.

This paper targets how topics of European relevance are spoken in a bottom-up social media platform, such as Twitter. The research question is to what extent the discussions of European topics on Twitter are European or national. Or in other words, how do users perceive topics of European relevance, as national or European? If national or European, this research illuminates how the policies attached to the issue publics mapped in this paper are seen by users and how they are framed with the European demos theories. Answering this question has implications not only on the theory of the emergence of the European demos, but also in the democratic development of the EU project.

In a time when the EU is under strain, and nationalism seems to grow exponentially through Europe, the topic of a European demos becomes more relevant than ever. The aim is to explore social media, and more specifically Twitter, as European demos maker. For that, I use integrated sentiment analysis algorithm (iSA) designed specifically to analyse social media content. I take social media data to complement research that traditionally has focused in mass media content and surveys. I take two Twitter hashtags of European relevance - #schengen and #ttip in three languages (Spanish, English, Italian). Each language provides a comparative base, as each of the languages selected is representative of different national public sphere (Spanish, Italian), or pan European –as a lingua franca- (English).

The paper shows empirical evidence that these topics are being treated by the users as European rather than national, confirming the existence of a European demos. However, the majority of the users speak negatively about these topics. Regardless how negative are treat the topics analysed, negative comments still contribute to the construction of the European demos, as the negative comments are for a better and different Europe

Id: 20274

Title: [Panel] Incivilidad y negatividad en las campañas presidenciales latinoamericanas, 2016-2018 [Presentation] Descripción de panel

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Martin Echeverria

Email: echevemartin@yahoo.com.mx

Country: MX (Mexico)

Affiliation: Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla

Abstract: De 2016 a 2018, en América Latina se celebraron elecciones en Brasil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Honduras, México, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Perú y Venezuela, algunas de ellas con vuelcos significativos en las orientaciones ideológicas de los gobiernos electos y envueltas en climas de opinión caracterizados por la polarización, el uso intensivo de las redes sociodigitales y un discurso de ruptura y anti elitismo por parte de los candidatos . A propósito de éste último, observamos grados de negatividad e incivilidad que, si bien se habían verificado en elecciones previas en otras partes del mundo, señaladamente en las norteamericanas de 2016 (Abramowitz, 2019) alcanzaron registros inusitados en esta región.

La incivilidad se define como una retórica denigrante que cercena las relaciones funcionales entre facciones políticas encontradas, en un campo, como el político, cuyo permanente desacuerdo necesita de relaciones de cortesía (Cherie & Wolf, 2012; Hill, Capella & Cho, 2015). Respecto a la negatividad como forma de comunicación política, es posible poner de manifiesto tres dimensiones bajo las cuales podemos observarla: como un tono fatalista, pesimista o catastrofista, como un estado de permanente conflicto, disputa y desacuerdo entre las partes, y como un discurso descalificador respecto a la capacidad e integridad de los actores (Esser, Engesser, Matthes & Berganza, 2018). Lo llamativo de los recientes procesos electorales es la ubicuidad de este discurso de parte de élites y ciudadanos, por lo común polarizados, y su utilización como estrategia y no sólo incidente de campaña. La inquietud de la comunidad académica respecto a las consecuencias de este estilo de campaña va desde la evidente cancelación de posibilidades de diálogo, deliberación y acuerdo entre los actores políticos, hasta el fomento de actitudes de desafección, cinismo y baja participación de la ciudadanía, espectadora central de estos sombríos intercambios (vanHeerde-Hudson, 2011; Walter, 2014) .

El objetivo de este panel es confrontar la experiencia de varios países y formatos respecto a dicho fenómeno. Para tal efecto, se reúnen trabajos de Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Perú y México que presentan resultados o avances de investigación a propósito de objetos electorales teñidos de negatividad e incivilidad: redes sociodigitales, publicidad política, debates presidenciales y opinión pública. En última instancia, se trata de verificar tendencias, patrones y particularidades nacionales, así como distintas maneras de teorizar e investigar empíricamente dicho fenómeno.

Id: 20276

Title: [Panel] Incivilidad y negatividad en las campañas presidenciales latinoamericanas, 2016-2018 [Presentation] ¿Por qué los candidatos atacan en campaña? Factores explicativos en la publicidad política televisiva mexicana

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Martin Echeverria

Email: echevemartin@yahoo.com.mx

Country: MX (Mexico)

Affiliation: Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla

Abstract: Como en las comunicaciones públicas en general (Golding & Murdock, 2000), las características de contenido de la publicidad política son modulados por factores externos a las intenciones de los equipos de campaña (Kaid y Holtz-Bacha, 2006; Holtz-Bacha, 2017). En el caso de la publicidad específicamente negativa, la literatura resalta variaciones en frecuencia y tácticas a partir de factores políticos y mediáticos tales como el sistema partidista (pluri o bipartidista), la dimensión de los partidos (establecidos o nuevos), la posición de los contendientes (como puntero o rezagado), la regulación de medios, entre otros (Lau & Rovner, 2009; Salmond, 2011; Sullivan & Sapir, 2012; Walter, 2013, 2014)

El objetivo de esta ponencia es explicar la incidencia de la estrategia de ataque en spots emitidos en las elecciones presidenciales mexicanas, así como las tácticas utilizadas para atacar (el cómo lo hacen), a partir de factores correspondientes tanto al sistema político, como a la coyuntura de campaña. El corpus proviene de los spots negativos emitidos durante las últimas cuatro elecciones presidenciales mexicanas (2000, 2006, 2012 y 2018), cuyo carácter longitudinal y suficiencia de casos (N=108), permitió ejecutar regresiones logísticas binomiales para establecer predicciones respecto a las variables independientes que moldean los spots, en cuanto a rasgos tales como el tipo de ataque (directo o indirecto), el objetivo a quien se dirige el ataque (posición del adversario respecto a algún tema, antecedentes de la vida personal, desempeño anterior, etc.) las tácticas para realizar el ataque (humor, asociación negativa del adversario con personas o políticas fallidas, etc.) y el tipo de apelación de la pieza (emocional o racional).

La investigación demuestra que la reforma electoral mexicana de 2007-08 fue el principal factor inhibitorio de la negatividad, cual era su cometido, seguido de la posición del partido atacante, más beligerante cuando está en la oposición que en el gobierno. No obstante, la elección particular de que se trate moldea de manera importante las características de los spots, y sugiere que, por lo menos en México, la coyuntura electoral determina en buena medida las mismas.

Id: 20278

Title: [Panel] Incivilidad y negatividad en las campañas presidenciales latinoamericanas, 2016-2018 [Presentation] ¿Reflejan las campañas presidenciales en Colombia una deconsolidación democrática'

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Diego Mazorra

Email: diegomazorra@gmail.com

Country: CO (Colombia)

Affiliation: Universidad Externado de Colombia

Abstract: Las observaciones de la Deconsolidación Democrática han sido estudiadas recientemente en la ciencia política. Según esta teoría, las democracias contemporáneas pueden presentar una separación entre los principios liberales y la elección popular, por lo que regímenes elegidos popularmente no necesariamente son liberales y regímenes liberales no necesariamente son elegidos popularmente. Aunque el tema se ha venido discutiendo en estudios comparados internacionales sobre las percepciones ciudadanas, no hay una evidencia que vincule los indicadores de la deconsolidación democrática en las campañas políticas.

Este estudio busca hacer un paralelo entre los indicadores de la deconsolidación democrática con los contenidos de las campañas políticas presentadas en la campaña electoral 2018 en Colombia. Estos indicadores como el rechazo a las elites a favor de lo popular, percepción de desmejora de la calidad de vida, bajos niveles de confianza en las instituciones, aumento de percepción de corrupción, preferencias populistas de confrontación entre el pueblo y las elites son analizados en dos momentos. Primero, una encuesta realizada por la Universidad Externado de Colombia y el Comparative National Elections Project _CNEP, a 1118 ciudadanos colombianos mayores de edad y aptos para votar que configuran una muestra nacional representativa de la población urbana colombiana, realizada durante la campaña electoral 2018 en Colombia. Segundo, un análisis de contenido realizado a los 74 anuncios televisivos únicos de los candidatos presidenciales en las elecciones colombianas del año 2018, seleccionados de un total de 316 emisiones realizadas durante la duración de la campaña en el horario prime en Colombia.

Dentro de los resultados se destaca un alejamiento de la dinámica política que había dominado las anteriores elecciones presidenciales en las dos últimas décadas: el proceso de paz entre el Gobierno colombiano y la guerrilla de las FARC. El proceso de paz desapareció de la mención de las campañas presidenciales en el país (12 menciones en los spots de las campañas presidenciales transmitidos por TV) y dio pie a otras preocupaciones como la economía, educación o gobernabilidad (61 menciones). Se busca entender desde este paralelo si las nuevas temáticas se relacionan con una mayor percepción de crisis democrática en el país, y si las campañas presidenciales en Colombia respondieron a estas percepciones aumentando la percepción de incivilidad ciudadana en una separación entre la elección del pueblo contra las élites.

Id: 20280

Title: [Panel] Incivilidad y negatividad en las campañas presidenciales latinoamericanas, 2016-2018 [Presentation] "¡En esta casa nadie pelea! Análisis del marco regulatorio ecuatoriano y su incidencia en la publicidad política durante la campaña presidencial ecuatoriana del 2017

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Caroline Avila

Email: cavila@uazuay.edu.ec

Country: EC (Ecuador)

Affiliation: Universidad del Azuay

Abstract: En el marco del proyecto de investigación “Publicidad política negativa en América Latina: Factores mediáticos y políticos”, que incluye a varios países en Latinoamérica, se realizó una exhaustiva revisión del marco regulatorio que delinea las condiciones legales para el ejercicio de la campaña política en Ecuador. El proceso electoral está regido por la autoridad de un Consejo Nacional Electoral (CNE), de acuerdo con la Constitución y la Ley Orgánica Electoral y de Organizaciones Políticas de la República del Ecuador, conocida como Código de la Democracia. Este instrumento, junto con la Ley Orgánica de Comunicación y sus reglamentos, son los que principalmente regulan la comunicación del proceso electoral para los distintos partidos y movimientos políticos que postularon candidatos durante las elecciones presidenciales de 2017. Como denominador común, el marco legal rechaza toda publicidad que “induzca a la violencia, la discriminación, el racismo, la toxicomanía, el sexismo, la intolerancia religiosa o política, el uso de niños, niñas y adolescentes y toda aquella que atente contra sus derechos” (Constitución de la República, 2008, art. 19).

Esta ponencia analiza los desafíos a los que el regulador se enfrenta para una adecuada observación del contenido negativo de la publicidad política, en particular de aquellos spots que cumplen con la obligación de presentar el plan de trabajo pero que lo hacen junto con referencias negativas y, en algunos casos, despectivas sobre los adversarios políticos. Además del análisis de los instrumentos legales y de entrevistas a los funcionarios que debían monitorear y aplicar la normativa, se analizan catorce spots en los que se encontró contenido negativo, los cuales se difundieron, bajo el control del CNE, durante el proceso electoral ecuatoriano de las últimas presidenciales.

Se concluye que, a pesar de estos esfuerzos regulatorios, las elecciones del 2017 fueron altamente polarizadas con un discurso cargado de ataque y negatividad. El Código de la Democracia y sus reglamentos a pesar de ser exigentes en cuanto al control publicitario, no fueron suficientes frente a la estrategia de la comunicación política electoral empleada en la cobertura noticiosa y en el discurso político, sobre todo en un sistema medial polarizado como el ecuatoriano. Esta característica fue apreciada no sólo como táctica publicitaria, en donde se encontró poco contenido de ataque, sino como estrategia de comunicación política electoral. La regulación ecuatoriana, al igual que sucede en un típico hogar, no impidió que los actores políticos ‘peleen como niños a espaldas de sus padres’.

Id: 20281

Title: [Panel] Incivilidad y negatividad en las campañas presidenciales latinoamericanas, 2016-2018 [Presentation] Análisis longitudinal de los frames partisano y temático en las elecciones presidenciales peruanas 2016

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Sandro Macassi

Email: semacassi@hotmail.com

Country: PE (Peru)

Affiliation: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú

Abstract: La ponencia se centra en los frames noticiosos en procesos electorales. La literatura se centró en la sobre presencia de los frames de juego-estratégico en detrimento de los frames temáticos (Patterson , 1994; Jamiesson, 1992; de Vreese y Setmenco, 2002; de Vreese 2005 y Aalberg et al, 2012). Sin embargo, la atención brindada a los frames electorales que deslegitiman o atacan las propuestas e ideas de los candidatos ha recibido poca atención.

Los estudios se enfocan en cómo la negatividad tiene consecuencias contrarias a la democracia, algunos estudios encuentran que la publicidad negativa tiene un efecto en la calidad y polarización de las elecciones (Ansolabehere e Iyengar, 1997). Asimismo, la actuación de los medios en favor o en contra de un candidato puede influir en el desencanto de la democracia (Cappella y Jamieson, 1996). Sin embargo, para Craig y Rippere (2012) la negatividad, puede movilizar a los partidarios un candidato una mayor participación política.

En periodismo latinoamericano se le acusa frecuentemente de trasgredir el equilibrio informativo y dejar de lado la parcialidad. Sin embargo, no se han realizado estudios sobre el enmarcamiento partisano. Por ello el estudio no solo se centra en la adjetivación negativa del relato periodístico, sino que aborda otras dimensiones como el estímulo a la confrontación o el uso de consecuencias catastróficas en los discursos

Se desarrolla un análisis durante los 4 meses de del proceso electoral presidencial peruano del 2016. Esto es un aporte sustantivo en tanto permite conocer la evolución del uso del frame partisano (estudio longitudinal) pues la mayoría de estudios electorales se concentra en las semanas previas al día de la votación durante la “carrera de caballos”. Además, se analizan los cambios de intensidad del uso del frame partisano antes y después de los debates de primera y segunda vuelta.

El estudio comprende el análisis de 3,460 noticias de radio, televisión y prensa, con una muestra de 20 programas repartidos en 8 semanas de cobertura. Para el análisis se desarrolló un indicador de frames partisanos con un Alfa de Cronbach de .62 compuesto por 5 elementos, y un indicador de frame temático (Crombach de .75) que sirvió de contraste y comparación.

Se encuentra que el frame partisano está presente con una mayor intensidad que el frame temático, además es muy frecuente tanto en primera como en segunda vuelta. Sin embargo, durante la

segunda vuelta electoral el debate electoral genera una disminución de la cantidad de noticias con frames partisanos.

Estos resultados nos muestran a los frames no solo como un fenómeno centrado en las intenciones productivas de los periodistas para generar ciertos efectos en las audiencias, como predominantemente se ha enfocado (Scheufele, 1999), sino que los procesos de producción periodística están en interacción con los procesos políticos.

Id: 20283

Title: [Panel] Incivilidad y negatividad en las campañas presidenciales latinoamericanas, 2016-2018 [Presentation] Engaged and Uncivil' Incivilidad y engagement en la discusión de debates presidenciales en Twitter

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Andrés Rosenberg

Email: aarosenb@uc.cl

Country: CL (Chile)

Affiliation: Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile

Name: Magdalena Saldaña

Email: magdalena.saldana@uc.cl

Country: CL (Chile)

Affiliation: Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile

Abstract: La incivilidad, entendida como expresiones 1) obscenas, 2) que insultan, y que 3) asignan estereotipos a personas o grupos (Chen, 2014), suele ser considerada como impedimento para el intercambio fructífero de ideas, deseable en un contexto democrático que invite a la reflexión deliberativa y respetuosa hacia el prójimo (Stroud, Van Duyn, & Peacock, 2016). Es particularmente preocupante cuando proviene de líderes políticos y se refleja en una audiencia expuesta a dichos mensajes. Es el caso de los debates presidenciales televisados, donde un acalorado contraste de opiniones suele verse reflejado en los comentarios que los televidentes van haciendo en sus redes sociales (Mutz, 2015). Una de las predilectas es Twitter, aplicación que permite mensajes cortos e instantáneos, y que a través de palabras claves (hashtags), contrasta visiones de ciudadanos que no necesariamente se conocen, pero que comparten el interés de comentar una temática determinada. Al mismo tiempo, actúa como una caja de resonancia al permitir que los mensajes de los líderes políticos u otros usuarios (influyentes o no) puedan ser masificados (retweeteados), alcanzando a una audiencia mayor.

Este estudio describe cuánta incivilidad se encuentra en Twitter dentro de un contexto de debate presidencial, y cómo se vincula con la mayor o menor participación de usuarios expuestos a estos rasgos agresivos. Para ello, se descargaron 220 mil tweets generados antes, durante y después del debate presidencial en Chile del día 6 de noviembre de 2017. Los mensajes fueron descargados desde la API de Twitter usando los programas Sifter y DiscoverText a partir del hashtag #DebateAnatel.

Un primer análisis de los datos revela que el 25% de los tweets no recibió retweets de ningún usuario. En la vereda opuesta, 200 tweets fueron compartidos más de 41 mil veces, lo que equivale a un 18% de la base de datos total. Este grupo concentra también la mayor cantidad de tweets marcados como favoritos, evidenciando una gran superposición (alrededor de un 85%) en términos de engagement. El siguiente paso corresponde a analizar una muestra de 2.000 tweets para identificar niveles de incivilidad, los tipos de incivilidad que predominan y los predictores de mayor engagement por parte de los usuarios de la red.

Id: 20285

Title: [Panel] Incivilidad y negatividad en las campañas presidenciales latinoamericanas, 2016-2018 [Presentation] Debates presidenciales en TV: Cuando ser negativo no es negocio

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: William Porath

Email: wporath@uc.cl

Country: CL (Chile)

Affiliation: Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile

Name: Constanza Ortega-Gunkel

Email: cortega1@uc.cl

Country: CL (Chile)

Affiliation: Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile

Abstract: La negatividad en las campañas electorales se encuentra en aumento en todo el mundo (Papp & Patkós, 2018; Geer, 2012) afectando también a los debates electorales en TV (Echeverría & Chong, 2013) aunque estos podrían ser una excepción. Dada la importancia que tienen estas instancias en las campañas y sus especiales características (García-Marín, 2013) es importante entender que factores limitan o favorecen la negatividad en ellos (Papp & Patkós, 2018). Para esto, y dada la pluridimensionalidad en que ha caído el concepto negatividad (Lau & Rovner, 2009; Lipsitz & Geer, 2017) se utilizará aquí el concepto de “ataque”. Asumimos así la perspectiva de la teoría funcional del discurso de campañas políticas (Benoit, 2007) que, además de proveer un marco amplio para entender las alternativas estratégicas de los mensajes electorales, ha permitido comparar diferentes países (Benoit & Benoit-Bryan, 2014; Hrbková & Zagraban, 2014; Téllez, Muñiz, & Ramírez, 2010). En la mayoría de los casos los ataques no superan el 39% de las intervenciones, en conjunto.

La menor ocurrencia de los ataques en comparación con otra función del discurso político (las autoaclamaciones) derivaría del supuesto de que los votantes rechazan a quienes buscan ganar elecciones dañando la reputación de un oponente (backlash) (Choi & Benoit, 2013). Sin embargo este supuesto se ve contradicho por el aumento de los ataques en otros tipos de mensajes de campaña, y por lo efectivos que estos parecen ser (Lau & Rovner, 2009). Maier & Jansen (2017) discuten tres grupos de razones que explican la racionalidad de atacar, concluyendo que candidatos opositores o que están más abajo en las encuestas son los que más probablemente atacarán (en coherencia con Choi & Benoit, 2013). Y que la personalidad de un determinado candidato también puede favorecer la inclusión de ataques.

Este estudio testea estos resultados, aprovechando la oportunidad que brindaron los debates de segunda vuelta de dos diferentes campañas presidenciales chilenas (2005 y 2017) y que permiten aislar el factor de la personalidad, puesto que en ambos participó un mismo candidato representando a la oposición de centro derecha (Sebastián Piñera, conocido por su personalidad impulsiva, pero al mismo tiempo un frío hombre de negocios). En la primera ocasión él estaba abajo en las encuestas, y en la segunda ocasión las encabezaba. En 2005, claramente atacó más que su oponente (25%

contra 8%), mientras que la última campaña su comportamiento fue similar al del candidato de la colación incumbente (en torno al 10%). Esto daría mayor peso a la explicación basada en la posición de las encuesta y rechaza a la personalidad como factor.

Pero estos resultados se discuten en virtud de otros hechos. Cuando el candidato fue más negativo finalmente perdió la elección; mientras que cuando fue menos, ganó. Esto daría la razón a la tesis de que la negatividad produce rechazo en los electores (backlash) chilenos. Esto, en el contexto de que para la elección de 2017 hubo una amplia reacción pública contraria al negativismo que domino el debate de las elecciones primarias de la coalición de centro-derecha.

Id: 20341

Title: Political communication and Twitter: the case of the presidential campaign in Colombia (2018)

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Sergio Alvarado Vivas

Email: salvarado@uniminuto.edu

Country: CO (Colombia)

Affiliation: Corporación Universitaria Minuto de Dios, Bogotá

Name: Joan Pedro-Carañana

Email: joan.pedro@slu.edu

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Saint Louis University, Madrid

Name: Juan Sebastián López López

Email: sebastianlopez@usantotomas.edu.co

Country: CO (Colombia)

Affiliation: Universidad Santo Tomás

Abstract: The Obama effect of 2008 definitely transformed the political campaigns of the last decade in the world. Colombia was not unconscious of this phenomenon, being that since 2010 the use of digital social networks has been added to the landscape in electoral times as another scenario to position, viralize and discuss key aspects of their political proposals with their potential voters. This research focuses on the electoral battle for the presidency of Colombia 2018, with a particular emphasis on the main debates that were positioned on the public agenda of Twitter. Methodologically, it was necessary to systematically build a matrix with a sample of 620 tweets that correspond to 62 Trending Topics (TTs) that highlighted during the campaign. The analysis involved identifying the origin and context of the TTs, the users and their ideological orientations, which politicians they mentioned, the predominant topics and the tones handled in their tweets. As a result, the power relations on Twitter between the politicians of the Left, Right and Center during the campaign were elucidated. Likewise, a predominance was identified in the construction of the Twitter agenda by the mass media and one paradigmatic case of an opinion leader. There was also evidence of the notable participation of citizens in the main debates of the public agenda. Regarding the tone of the electoral contest, it was discovered that despite expecting a much more polarized campaign (as it happened in 2014), a more frequent use of complimentary, informative and conciliatory tones prevailed than negative tones such as disqualification, the complaint or the offense. Scenario that may lead to think that there was a more directed bet to highlight the qualities of the preferred candidate than to attack one of its main adversaries. In conclusion, the agenda built on Twitter reflected a certain fatigue in issues such as the peace agreement reached with the FARC and the negotiations initiated with the ELN. On the contrary, issues such as education and corruption were important nuclei of the debate. In addition, although Twitter narrated a good part of the relevant events that occurred during the race to the presidency of Colombia, it does not currently

seem to be a strong enough thermometer to predict electoral results, at least in the Colombian case. In short, the conclusive decision of the voters is made at the polls.

Id: 20380

Title: Social Media and Youth Political Engagement in Tunisia. Case Study: "Where is the Oil" Campaign.

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Nouredine Miladi

Email: noureddine.miladi@qu.edu.qa

Country: QA (Qatar)

Affiliation: Qatar University

Abstract: Abstract

Recent scholarship suggests a correlation between social media use and social and political change. Facebook for instance has been hailed as significant tool used by protesters in Tunisia to oust the dictatorial regime of Ben Ali and the subsequent success of the 14 January 2011 revolution. Ever since uses of social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook have grown exponentially in Tunisia. Through employing a critical discourse analysis of the campaign '#Where is the oil' this paper examines the extent to which this counter hegemonic discourse succeeded in challenging the mainstream media and provided a platform for youth political activism. By analyzing Facebook threads and Twitter feeds in this campaign, this study looks at the power of social media in maintaining a balance of power between the mainstream media apparatuses and social activists after the revolution.

Findings show that although the youth in Tunisia have been disengaged from the mainstream politics during the last few years, they, on the contrary, have managed to develop various forms of alternative political activism. Also findings reveal that social media not only have challenged the top-down view of traditional journalism which is still in the hands of strong political lobbies and business conglomerates, but it has been able to redefine the agenda of political parties and their priorities for political and economic reform.

Keywords:

Social media, Facebook, Twitter, Tunisia, political engagement, democracy

Id: 20404

Title: Accentuation or Attenuation? How Network Heterogeneity and Cross-Cutting Discussion Moderate the Effects of Selective Behaviors on Opinion Polarization

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Jack Lipei Tang

Email: jacktang0322@gmail.com

Country: HK (Hong Kong)

Affiliation: Chinese University of Hong Kong

Name: Chris Chao Su

Email: chris.su@hum.ku.dk

Country: DK (Denmark)

Affiliation: University of Copenhagen

Name: Hsuan-Ting Chen

Email: htchen@cuhk.edu.hk

Country: HK (Hong Kong)

Affiliation: Chinese University of Hong Kong

Abstract: Scholars have strived to understand how political disagreement can help to mitigate the influence of selective exposure on opinion polarization. Discussion network heterogeneity and cross-cutting discussion are the two forms of political disagreement that have been examined, but the results are mixed. At the structural level, discussion network heterogeneity has been found to be related to dialogue openness (Campbell & Kwak, 2012), but could also lead to audience fragmentation (Lee et al., 2014). At the interpersonal level, cross-cutting discussion can lead to better understanding of opposing views (Mutz, 2002), generate greater political tolerance (Pattie & Johnston, 2008), and consequently attenuate polarized attitudes toward political issues. However, some scholars have found that cross-cutting discussion could distort the deliberative process and intensify conflict because citizens with strong pre-existing political views may be motivated to maintain their beliefs and defend their position (Valentino, Banks, Hutchings, & Davis, 2009). Much work has been devoted to elucidating the role of political disagreement in influencing opinion polarization, but the mechanism of network heterogeneity and cross-cutting discussion still remains unresolved in light of evidence supporting both accentuating and attenuating roles (Taber & Lodge, 2006; Wojcieszak, 2011; Lee et al., 2014; Kim, 2015). With the rapid diffusion of social media platforms as virtual spaces that facilitate political engagement (Kushin and Yamamoto, 2010), social media has altered the patterns of communication through affording various possibilities of self-expressing and self-controlling. Social media users can selectively approach to agreeing information, such as spreading attitude-consistent content (Shin & Thorson, 2017). They can also selectively avoid disagreeing information, such as screening out counter-attitudinal content (Zhu, Skoric, & Shen, 2017). People can decide who they want to talk with and how they would like to behave like on social media. This study intends to examine the two forms of political disagreement and their mixed effects on the associations between selective behaviors and opinion polarization.

Using two-wave panel data from the United States and focusing on different behaviors on social media, this study examines two types of online behaviors – selective approach and selective avoidance – and how they affect opinion polarization. In addition, this study investigates network heterogeneity and cross-cutting discussion in moderating the effects of selective behaviors on opinion polarization regarding the immigration issue. Results suggest that the relationship between selective behaviors and opinion polarization is weakened by the extent to which people are involved in cross-cutting discussion. Furthermore, network heterogeneity strengthens the relationship between selective behaviors and opinion polarization among those who only discuss political issues with like-minded others. The effect of both types of selective behaviors (approach and avoidance) on opinion polarization is found to be the strongest among those who reside in politically heterogeneous networks but only engage in discussions with like-minded people. This paper aims to disentangle the mixed findings by testing both structural-level and interpersonal-level political disagreement and their effects on the relationships between different types of selective behaviors on social media and opinion polarization.

Keywords: selective behaviors, network heterogeneity, cross-cutting discussion, polarization

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(485 words)

Id: 20411

Title: Information dissemination of extremist on Facebook

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Vlad Vasiliu

Email: vladv@yvc.ac.il

Country: IL (Israel)

Affiliation: Yezreel Valley College

Abstract: Social media has been at the forefront of information dissemination. While some of the spreadable content on social media does not make any impact, other became viral, popular or both. Nahon and Hemsley (2013) defined virality as "a social information flow process where many people simultaneously forward a specific information item, over a short period of time... and where the message spreads beyond their own [social] networks... resulting in a sharp acceleration in the number of people who are exposed to the message" (p. 24). Thus, social networks and the possibility of viral transmission of content enable the bypassing of traditional media institutions and reducing the oversight and censorship ability of gatekeepers (Weimann, 2016).

Organizations and individuals affiliated with extremist ideology utilized social media information dissemination abilities to different degrees of success (Weimann, 2015; Strensen, 2008). The current study examined the predictors of virality and popularity content of extremist ideology groups using analysis of activity metrics and content analysis.

Hypotheses asserts that the maximal rate of activity metrics and the number of followers can predict whether the content becomes viral or not (H1); and that correlations exist between information dissemination (as virality, popularity, both or none) and content features such as expression (H2), advocacy and justification (H3), use of intimidation and emotion (H4), attempt to recruit (H5), provision of useful information and support or opposition (H6).

The data for this study gathered by using a dedicated software program that scanned 15 Facebook accounts by organizations and individuals affiliated with extremist ideology. The corpus included 23, 494, 227 samples of 35, 879 posts throughout seven months. The posts were divided according to the discrepancies discussed between virality and popularity. Part of the analysis were conducted on the whole sample, the quantitative content analysis used sub-sample of 200 posts to examine the nature of the content according to the goals of the organization such as calling for activists participation in the organization, fundraising, donations, advocacy, and support of the organization videos as well as intimidation.

Hypothesis H1 was tested using logistic regression and confirmed. The rest of the hypotheses (H2-H7) were examined using a Chi-squared correlation (χ^2) test. Hypotheses H2, H3 were confirmed while hypotheses H4, H5, and H6 were refuted.

This research focuses on content disseminated by extremist organizations and extremist private individuals in the social networks. The mapping of popular and viral content and the dependencies found between their various activity metrics enabled the construction of a model for predicting how content behaves.

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Id: 20526

Title: The whys of political party professionalization: Experiences from a decade of inside information exchange with party campaign managers in Sweden

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Lars Nord

Email: lars.nord@miun.se

Country: SE (Sweden)

Affiliation: Mid Sweden University

Name: Marie Grusell

Email: marie.grusell@jmg.gu.se

Country: SE (Sweden)

Affiliation: University of Gothenburg

Abstract: We know how it is, but hardly why it is as it is. The general theory claiming that political party activities during election campaigns gradually have become more professionalized is supported in a number of political communication studies (Holtz-Bacha et al., 2007; Gibson & Römmele, 2009; Strömbäck, 2009; Moring et al., 2011). There are convincing empirical support for the claim that party campaigning is changed both with regard to structure and strategy of campaign. Digital campaign tools are more frequently used, experts and consultants have become more important, voter feedback is more carefully analyzed and the overall campaign strategy is related to the increasingly professionalized party campaign (Tenscher et al., 2012; Magin et al., 2016; Author, 2018).

While these developments are frequently analyzed and confirmed in both country-specific and comparative studies there are surprisingly little research on the main driving forces behind these trends, and especially so on how they are perceived by the parties themselves. Party rationales on professionalization are less explored, and party perceptions of risks and opportunities with further steps towards professionalized campaigns remain unclear. To some extent, the lack of knowledge in this area depends on restricted access to party headquarters and party unwillingness to discuss internal strategic campaign considerations in public.

This paper gives more insights in such internal party considerations in Sweden during the period 2009-2019. The group of researchers have had access to all party campaign managers during all European, national, regional and local election campaigns that have taken place during this period. After every election, party officials have been interviewed about distinctive campaign features and strategic decisions. In total, more than 50 one hour-long interviews have been conducted. Data enables deep insights in internal party preferences as well as possibilities to compare changes over time and between parties with different size and ideology. The preliminary findings indicate that party motives for 'going professional' vary for a number of reasons; such as electoral outcomes, internal opposition and intentions to follow other parties in this respect. However, final analyses of empirical data will be completed in the forthcoming months.

The Swedish political culture with a relatively high degree of openness and transparency has made the study possible. The study of course has the shortcomings of most case studies, but the rare insights offered on internal party reflections and decisions in this area should be valid for more general conclusions on professionalization developments in other mature democracies.

Keywords

Professionalization, election campaigns, party strategy, Sweden

Id: 20529

Title: It's the political economy after all: Israel as a case study of media system in transition

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Moshe Schwartz

Email: ms.comm.projects@gmail.com

Country: IL (Israel)

Affiliation: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

Name: Hillel Nossek

Email: hnossek@gmail.com

Country: IL (Israel)

Affiliation: Kinneret Academic College

Abstract: This study attempts to examine the models of Hallin and Mancini (2004) through focused observation on the point of transition in which changes between models are diagnosed. We choose Israel's media Institution as a case study since it went through significant changes in a short period of time. It is also a compelling case since it went forth and back according to Peri (2015) that implemented Hallin and Mancini's models to Israel. The Israeli case is also different from east European countries which experienced a shift from communist to democratic political systems, and in some cases back to authoritarianism. By analyzing written documents reflecting the arrangements and decision-making process of the Israeli transition in the late 1980's and early 1990's, we seek to understand the implications of this transition on the normative theory. The analysis is based on the approach of historical institutionalism that analyzes the complex network of institutional arrangements (Galperin, 2004), embodied official and informal agents and provisions (March & Olsen, 1984) and struggling conflictual forces that shape laws and processes in society (Bannerman & Haggart, 2014). Institutional changes occur in particular time points, which change the existing path to a new course. These points in time can be conceptualized as "critical junctions" that can result from an exogenous crisis that changes institutional power relations (McChesney, 2009) or from institutional instability created by a combination of exogenous and endogenous factors and rooted in the period before the critical junction (Bannerman & Haggart, 2014).

Our findings show a combination of state, market and public forces in a unique socio-political situation, in which a reorganization of the economic system was required in response to changes in domestic and foreign circumstances. Despite a prevailing view that Israel implemented a liberal model, we do not believe that the political establishment in Israel did adopt a liberal worldview nor a desire to reduce involvement in the communication market. Due to path dependency, the structure of media regulation that was established in Israel is unstable and allows entry and exit into the political parallelism pattern of "politics in broadcasting" (Hallin & Mancini, 2004). As part of the role of informal patterns in shaping institutional arrangements, we identify a "walking on the threshold of legality" characteristic, on the part of both citizens and the government, that influenced the creation of change. Our main conclusions from the analysis are: (1) Research attention should be paid to junctions where a change in state and media relations takes place, in order to learn from the circumstances of their formation on the nature of the change and the type of pattern created thereafter. (2) The normative theory of media systems can be enriched by a closer analysis of the

relations between the state and the market, beyond analyzing the market characteristics offered by Hallin and Mancini. In the Israeli case, rather than the national ethos or security discourse, it was the political economy that took a prominent role in shaping the media system.

Id: 20536

Title: Developing a More Appropriate Measure for Motivations of Political Use of Social Media during Elections

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Shafiq Rahman

Email: srahman@csc.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: Professor of Communication, Chadron State College

Abstract: The primary objective of this study was to develop a unified measure of social media use for political purposes, especially in the context of US Presidential elections. Social media use in political communication has risen to a critical mass in recent years but scholars are yet to fully understand and measure users' motivations for political use of social media as most previous measures have not fully captured the affordances of contemporary social media. Following the widespread popularity of Uses and Gratifications theory, political communication researchers examined a variety of media to see to what extent those media met the "political" needs such as surveillance, of the users during political events such as elections. Researchers largely modified existing measures of uses and gratifications of interpersonal communication and applied those in early research to examine political use of newspaper, television and other traditional media. The first major study conducted on political use of television in the 1972 US Presidential election revealed that voters used television for what the researchers called surveillance (to judge political leaders, to see what candidates will do once elected, etc.) factor (McLeod & Becker, 1974). Along with surveillance they also identified vote guidance, excitement and anticipated communication. Early research on political use of the Internet used the measures developed for television because the Internet was deemed as functionally equivalent to television. Those studies identified factors such as ease or convenience and entertainment along with surveillance and guidance (Kay & Johnson, 2002). But scholars argue that the Internet-based digital media and other social media apps offer very different affordances and therefore older measures might not fully grasp the political gratifications of those media (Sundar and Limpers 2013). To fill the gap, the present study took agency-enhancement items from Sundar and Limpers and constructed a fuller measure of political use of social media and applied that in a survey during 2016 Presidential election. Need for expression emerged as a key motivation for political use of social media along with other traditional motivations such as surveillance, guidance, political/social utility, entertainment and attachment/identity.

Id: 20542

Title: Protest Movements as Media Events: the Disruptive Function and Hate Speech Movement in Japan

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Fumie Mitani

Email: mitani.fumie@nihon-u.ac.jp

Country: JP (Japan)

Affiliation: Nihon University

Abstract: The media event is a ceremonial event which gathers massive audience stopping everyday life for experiencing the event (Dayan and Katz 1992: 7). The following criticisms have been added to the definition of media events. First, in the current media environment, it is difficult to acquire large-scale audiences. In other words, the "aura" that the live broadcast of the "historic" ceremony had and the "magic" that attracted many audiences were lost (Katz and Liebes 2010: 34; Dayan 2010: 28). Second, "shocking" images have come to acquire large-scale audiences. For example, the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, were reported in live broadcasting. The media event is supposed to contribute to praising the dominant value and fostering the atmosphere of conflict resolution on the premise of the integrative role of the ceremonial rite (Hepp and Couldry 2010: 4). Thus, it became necessary that the media event includes not only integrative "ceremonial" event but also disruptive "shocking" one.

This research focuses on the disruptive function of media events. Katz and Liebes modified the above argument and said shocking news events were also included in media events (Katz and Liebes 2010: 33). Also, as examples of "disruptive" media events, "terrorism," "natural disaster," and "war" were mentioned (ibid: 33). With regard to disruptive media events, the "disaster marathon" was named to patterned ritual coverage about natural disasters, terrorism, and war. In addition to these three, Katz and Liebes also position "protest movement" as forth type of disruptive media event. However, they didn't explain its detail although the other three events were explained (ibid: 36).

This research examines the protest movement as a disruptive media event. As a case study, it took up the protest movement over hate speech that occurred in Kawasaki-city in June 2016. A protest movement organization which operated "Demonstration for Purification!" repeatedly expressed discriminatory remarks against Korean residents in Japan. This movement was taken place a few days after the "Stop! Hate Speech" law was enforced. Fierce conflicts between participants of hate speech and counter-action by Kawasaki residents were extensively reported through television and newspapers. This research analyzes the newspaper coverage and the TBS documentary about this conflict. It also considers how the society in Japan became divided through this issue.

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Id: 20549

Title: Disagreement in Social Networks and Political Participation in ChileNo

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Nicolle Etchegaray

Email: netchegaray@gmail.com

Country: CL (Chile)

Affiliation: Universidad Diego Portales

Name: Daniela Grassau

Email: danielagrassau@gmail.com

Country: CL (Chile)

Affiliation: Universidad Católica de Chile

Abstract: Democratic systems require the participation of citizens, particularly the manifestation of preferences through voting in elections, since the legitimacy of authorities rests on their ability to represent majority sectors. Consequently, the sustained contraction of voter registration represents a problem that calls for the attention of both politicians and scholars (González et al, 2005; Torcal, 2003).

From the perspective of social networks analysis, numerous studies published in the last two decades have sought to understand the relationship between the level of political disagreement in the conversations to which individuals are exposed in their networks and their electoral participation (Mutz, 2002; Huckfeldt Johnson and Sprague, 2003; McClurg, 2003; Eveland, 2009; Bello, 2012).

Political dialogue between individuals with divergent political viewpoints is considered a basic component of democracy, insofar as it makes it possible to understand the existence and validity of multiple positions around political issues, as well as to legitimize those that are imposed in public life (Mill, 1859; Arendt, 1968; Mutz, 2003; Huckfeldt and Sprague, 2003).

However, some scholars argue that the democratic benefits from communication between diverse points of view are gained at the expense of actual political participation, something that Mutz (2002) called the "dark side" of disagreement. That is, as suggested by Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet (1968), and then Eliasoph (1998) and Mutz (2002, 2006), heterogeneous social networks are associated with a lower probability of electoral participation. This could be due to a greater complexity in the decision-making process given the cross-pressures, as well as to the fear of offending some member of the social network.

Other studies report less clear results. For example, McClurg (2006) says that the relationship between political participation and conversation among heterogeneous viewpoints disappears when the analysis incorporates the characteristics of a neighborhood related to one's own ideas. Leighley (1990), Rubenson (2005), and Nir (2011) find mixed and even contradictory results regarding the relationship between both variables. Similarly, Bello (2012) proposes that disagreement in mixed or heterogeneous networks does not have a statistically significant impact on political participation and that only "universal opposition" generates a significant decrease in participation.

This study uses data from the Chilean version of the Comparative National Elections Project (CNEP), a representative survey conducted during the last presidential election in 2017. The 1,600

people surveyed answered a battery of questions associated with their informal political conversation networks, among other subjects. This country represents a good case study, since its electoral participation has experienced a paradigmatic downward trend since its return to democracy. In the 1988 plebiscite, 89.1% of those over 18 voted, but in the presidential election of 2017 only 46.67% did (Serval, 2017).

Preliminary results show that political conversations between homogeneous positions is associated with higher levels of electoral participation when these conversations take place with relatives and neighbors, but that relationship is not significant when political discussion takes place between friends and co-workers. Additionally, and consistent with the literature, there is a positive and statistically significant relationship between the frequency of conversations about the election and participation in the election.

Id: 20563

Title: INTIMATE INSTAGRAM: PICTURES OF SWEDISH POLITICAL PARTY LEADERS IN THE NATIONAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN 2018

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Marie Grusell

Email: marie.grusell@jmg.gu.se

Country:

Affiliation: Göteborgs Universitet

Name: Lars Nord

Email: lars.nord@miun.se

Country: SE (Sweden)

Affiliation: Mid Sweden University, DEMICOM

Abstract: Today Internet and social media are becoming increasingly important for political communication. The use of social media as a form of communication channel has quickly been integrated and become an increasingly important part of political communication. This is particularly noticeable in the research literature, where there is a wide range of not only Anglo-American research, but also from other countries such as Taiwan, Romania, Australia and Brazil (Luc Chia-Shin Lin, 2015; Momoc. A. 2014; Bruns, A. & Burgess, J. 2011; Gilmore, J. 2011). The perspectives examined are mainly the content of social media such as Twitter and Facebook (Jungherr 2014; Aharony 2012; Tumasjan et al. 2010 Sweetser, & Lariscy 2008) and recipient studies of how the content is perceived (Ceron et al. 2014; Conroy & Guerrero 2012; Bennett 2012). However, studies that focus on how political parties strategically work with social media are fewer and even less studies focuses on Instagram (author 2017).

In conjunction to this, political leaders have become more important through the increased degree of personalization of politics (Bjerling 2013; Adam & Maier 2010). Personalization of politics indicates not only a stronger focus on candidates/politicians instead of parties, but also puts focus on their personal, non-political characteristics (Adam & Maier 2010). With the increasing use of use of social media (Svenskarna och internet 2018), it is reasonable to assume, that personalization of politics has progressed even more. This paper therefore aims to build on previous research and add knowledge about personalization through a social media frame.

Instagram had its breakthrough in the Swedish general election 2018. All parliamentary parties and six of nine party leaders were active on Instagram during the election campaign. Politicians is attracted to Instagram for many reasons; the ability to build a more personal relationship with the voters but perhaps most important - the possibility to control how their image is to be perceived by others. The Swedish political culture has a relatively high degree of openness and transparency which gives this study a rare insight on how party leaders chose to present themselves in a public forum.

So how do the Swedish party leaders choose to present themselves on Instagram? This paper provides insights to how the party leaders have utilized Instagram in the general election campaign 2018. Through a quantitative analysis, from three weeks before the election day, all of all the party leader's posts on Instagram will be examined through a frame of personalization of politics. The preliminary findings show a combination of professional and personal character, e.g. posts that reflects the political everyday life alternative "shows" the party leader in his/her family surroundings. However, final analyses of empirical data will be completed in the forthcoming months.

Keywords

Personalization of politics, election campaigns, party strategy, party leaders, social media, Sweden

Id: 20599

Title: Misinformation and anti-elite sentiment: the communication via WhatsApp during the Brazilian presidential elections

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Camila Mont'Alverne

Email: camilapessoa31@gmail.com

Country: BR (Brazil)

Affiliation: Federal University of Paraná

Name: Isabele Mitozo

Email: ibmitozo@gmail.com

Country: BR (Brazil)

Affiliation: Federal University of Bahia

Abstract: Camila Mont'Alverne, PhD candidate.

Isabele Mitozo, postdoctoral fellow.

The supply of good quality information is an essential aspect of healthy democracies, and it is subject of several lines of the democratic theory (Dahl, 1997; Downs, 1999). If it is important that citizens have access to relevant information to form their political views (Aalberg; Curran, 2012; Albæk et al., 2014), this is even more crucial in electoral periods. The 2016 U.S. elections instigated debates about the topic, due to the widespread of misinformation during that campaign (Guess et al., 2018).

The issue was also present in the 2018 Brazilian presidential elections. The campaign of the winning candidate, the extreme-right-wing candidate Jair Bolsonaro, relied mostly on digital communication tools, with a heavy use of WhatsApp by his supporters. This mobile instant messaging service has reached more than 90% of the Brazilian connected voters. Due to the particularities of this tool when compared to other online social media (private conversations and encrypted messages), WhatsApp has become a safe space for spreading misinformation without constraints imposed by algorithms or by legal intromission (Valeriani; Vaccari, 2017).

In addition, the literature on Political Communication has also diagnosed that populist politicians and parties (a category that encompasses leaders such as Bolsonaro) maintain a tense relationship towards elites (Ernst, Esser, Blassnig, & Engesser, 2018), including the media. On the one hand, the media is accused of contributing to the success of populist parties (Mazzoleni, 2008). On the other side, those politicians (and their supporters) are usually hostile towards journalists and tend to receive negative coverage (Wettstein, Esser, Schulz, Wirz, & Wirth, 2018).

Considering such a scenario, this research investigates what has characterized the news that circulated on WhatsApp during the 2018 Brazilian elections. This work aims, then, to analyze how the dissemination of content considered as news was developed through this tool and in which consisted those messages. Furthermore, we also intend to diagnose if citizens express an anti-elite sentiment towards the traditional media.

Data was collected from August 16 to October 28, 2018 (the official campaigning period), and the sample contains 955,252 messages from 213 WhatsApp public groups. The researchers created a

profile to engage on groups through public links and the snowball method (reaching them through links that participants shared or by private invitations).

The main empirical contribution of this paper is an unprecedented prospection of the most shared content among the supporting groups of candidates to the Brazilian Presidency, through automated content analysis. We search for the characteristics of the most shared news to identify mis/disinformation: time of sharing, form, and which are their external sources (e.g. websites of supporters or traditional media). Moreover, we apply a sentiment analysis to discover which sources are regarded as trustworthy by the supporters. We are also able to identify if they are different according to the candidate supported. Finally, the research maps their dissemination among the several groups, allowing us to understand how the network of message transmission was organized.

Id: 20612

Title: The Impacts of Fake News on Taiwan's 2018 Mayoral and Magisterial Elections

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Tai-LI Wang

Email: tailiw@ntu.edu.tw

Country: TW (Taiwan)

Affiliation: Graduate Institute of Journalism at National Taiwan University

Abstract: Research Objectives

Fake news or misinformation had been a heated argument in Taiwan's 2018 mayoral and magisterial elections. Before elections, concerns were growing that Beijing's efforts to sway the island's politics had been armed with a new weapon as "Russian-style influence campaign" (Horton, 2018). In order to investigate the speculated effects of the "onslaught of misinformation" during Taiwan's election, a survey was conducted immediately right after the election held on November 24.

Theoretical Frameworks and Methodologies

Based on conspiracy theories and perspectives of selective exposure to news media, our survey consisted of four sections. First, the survey acquired consent to participate in this research. Second, the survey asked a series of demographic questions, including political affiliation before the 2018 campaign, vote in the 2018 election, education levels, gender, age, residence location and income. Third, the survey investigated voters' news consumption in this election. Fourth, the survey gave 6 false news stories circulated most rampantly in this election, and asked about respondents' recall. An online survey with randomly drawn 1068 voters was conducted via Taiwan's largest Internet survey company platform in the following two weeks of the election day. There are three reasons for choosing online survey over traditional telephone survey. Firstly, the survey required to complete in a short period of time when voters' recalls of fake news in elections still remained. Secondly, the news recall questions consisted of six long paragraphs of fake news reporting, and the news discernment questions stated another six correct and counter news statements, which made telephone survey a very challenging (if not unlikely) option. Finally, research scope involved various aspects of voters' social media uses, therefore respondents essentially needed to be Internet users.

The Main Argument and Findings

Findings confirmed that false news indeed affected voters' news judgment and voting decision. More than fifty percent of voters cast their votes without knowing the correct campaign news. Particularly, politically neutral voters were least able to judge fake news, and tended to vote for the Kuomintang candidates (e.g. KMT is one of Taiwan's two main parties and in favor of unification with China). Regarding demographic differences, female voters were more inclined to believe fake news in election periods than male voters. Younger voters (20-29 year old) had weaker discernment

of fake news, while voters with higher education and income were most able to distinguish between fake news and correct ones. Further analyses and implications of the findings will be deliberated in the final paper.

This study is one of the first empirical studies investigating fake news impacts on Taiwan's election. Hopefully, the findings could shed some light on research in this arena and inspire more discussions in the political communication research section of IAMCR.

Reference:

Horton, C (2018), Specter of Meddling by Beijing Looms over Taiwan's Election, New York Times, Nov.22.

Id: 20643

Title: Competitive authoritarianism and press-party parallelism in Turkey: A longitudinal analysis of press coverage of election campaigns

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Kerem Yıldırım

Email: kyildirim@sabanciuniv.edu

Country: TR (Turkey)

Affiliation: Sabanci University

Name: Lemi Baruh

Email: lbaruh@ku.edu.tr

Country: TR (Turkey)

Affiliation: Koc University Department of Media and Visual Arts

Name: Ali Çarkoğlu

Email: acarkoglu@ku.edu.tr

Country: TR (Turkey)

Affiliation: Koç University

Abstract: Since the AK Parti came to power in the 2002 national elections in Turkey, press freedom and media bias have become heavily debated issues. These debates mostly focused on how political pressure resulted in the (re)configuration of the press to create what some critics named as “yandaş” (a term used to describe an uncritical-partisanship of AKP and media).

This paper aims to bring a new perspective to the debates about press-party parallelism in Turkey by combining micro-level data regarding newspaper readership from national surveys with a content analysis that tracks changes in press coverage of political parties in four consecutive national election campaigns (2002, 2007, 2011, 2015). A sample of political news stories (n = 36,167) published in 15 newspapers, accounting for 75% of the newspaper circulation in Turkey, were content-analyzed. Utilizing survey data about the voting preferences of the readers of each newspaper, we grouped newspapers as “dominant” (i.e., pro-government), “oppositional” or “mainstream.”

Using this dataset, we explore three dimensions of press-party parallelism:

1. Voice allocated to parties was based on coding the number of times a given news story quotes political party officials and representatives.
2. Effective Number of Parties (ENP) mentioned was adopted from the Herfindahl Index, which measures competitiveness in a given sector. ENP is typically used to calculate the number of parties in a given political system. In this paper, we calculated ENP by coding the number of parties mentioned a) positively and b) negatively in a news story (e.g. a higher positive ENP score means more parties received positive coverage).

3. Favorability towards political parties: ENP is an indicator of the level of concentration in a system (in this study, the concentration of positive or negative coverage), and it does identify which party or parties benefit from this concentration in the system. In this light, we also coded the favorability of a given news story to each political party it mentions (-3 extremely negative to +3 extremely positive).

Using these dimensions, we present evidence about the extent to which the Turkish press is being consolidated in the wake of the rise of a hegemonic political system that many define as competitive authoritarianism. Our results suggest that news reporting followed suit with the rise of Ak Parti as a hegemonic party. First, within each campaign period, as we approach election day, voice given to Ak Parti representatives increase while voice given to other parties either remain stable or decline. Likewise, across the four election campaigns, voice allocated Ak Parti increases. Second, for all newspaper groups (dominant, opposition, mainstream), ENP scores indicate that the number of parties that receive a favorable or unfavorable coverage decline over election terms. Third, the concentration of favorable coverage seems to benefit Ak Parti disproportionately. Specifically, Ak Parti is the only party that gained in terms of positive coverage both during each election campaign period and across the four election campaigns.

Id: 20752

Title: News Consumption in Times of Technological and Political Upheaval: Effects of Partisanship and Public Sentiment Cues on Partisan Selective News Exposure in a Social Media Setting

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Cornelia Mothes

Email: cornelia.mothes@tu-dresden.de

Country: DE (Germany)

Affiliation: TU Dresden

Name: Jakob Ohme

Email: j.ohme@uva.nl

Country: NL (Netherlands)

Affiliation: University of Amsterdam

Abstract: The present study examined effects of partisanship and public sentiment cues on partisan selective news exposure in a 24-hour social media field experiment during the 2017 federal election campaign in Germany. Like in many other contemporary democracies, this campaign was shaped by populist movements that efficiently used social media to spread their ideology, instigating an ongoing debate about the threats of social media to deliberative democracy through increased partisan selective exposure. Against this backdrop, 213 German participants were asked to browse a website that closely mimicked the layout and functionality of a Facebook newsfeed. The mock newsfeed presented a random sample of 100 genuine news posts that were published by the 20 most popular German Facebook pages, both major news and entertainment pages, on the day of the survey right until study launch. Aiming at high ecological validity of the data, the contents of the posts appeared exactly as they would have in the users' actual Facebook newsfeeds and were post hoc analyzed by two coders. While the content of the posts was held constant across all participants, public sentiment cues, as a unique feature of social media sites, were randomly manipulated (no public sentiment cues vs. 'likes' only vs. additional genuine emoticons).

Based on two indicators of selective news exposure (i.e., display time of posts and number of click decisions), a series of OLS regressions was conducted, one for each type of public sentiment cue (no vs. 'likes' only vs. additional genuine emoticons). Each regression model included political affinity and voting intention as two common predictors indicating partisanship on an individual level, while additionally controlling for age, gender, education, general political interest, and dogmatism. Findings suggest that partisan selective exposure to social media news posts is contingent on the conceptualization and measurement of partisanship as a political orientation of either low party commitment (i.e., political affinity) or high party commitment (i.e., voting intention). While voting intentions triggered a rather classic confirmation bias with a clear avoidance of negative news about the favored party, political affinity caused selection patterns that appeared to be more strongly guided by informational utility considerations with a clear preference for negative news about the favored party. When public sentiment cues were present, however, these attitudinal patterns disappeared, regardless of whether news posts were accompanied by 'likes' or additional emotional reactions. These findings imply that threats of partisan social media use to

deliberative democracy may be best gauged by taking a closer look at the particular type of partisanship that promotes partisan selective exposure in a new media environment. Furthermore, today's news environments may even potentially override traditional patterns of confirmation biases and informational utility by providing additional social monitoring cues.

Id: 20806

Title: Investigative Reporting and Democratic Movement in South Korea: 1987 and 2017

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Jae-chul Shim

Email: jaeshim0@naver.com

Country: KR (Korea, Republic Of)

Affiliation: Korea University

Name: Moon-hwan Kim

Email: kmoon2724@paran.com

Country: KR (Korea, Republic Of)

Affiliation: Korea University

Abstract: We surveyed Seoul Citizens' collective memory regarding the 1987 democratic movement and compared it with the 2017 movement. For this comparison, we utilized the theoretical framework of Raymond William's structure of feeling and van Dijk's cognitive situational model in democratization discourse. Thirty years after the Korean people's uprising against the authoritarian government on June 9, 1987, Korean media's investigative reporting again revealed that the deposed South Korea President Park Geun-hye colluded with her close friend, Choi Soon-sil, for the President's post-presidency retirement funds and attempted to secure tens of millions dollars in bribes from businesses to donate to Choi's non-profit organizations.

Through this coverage and the following massive but peaceful candlelight demonstrations, the National Assembly and the Constitutional Court were pressured by public opinion to oust the first female South Korean President, Park Guen-hye, for not keeping with the Korean Constitution. From this period of political upheaval, we examined how the Korean citizens in Seoul evaluated the mass media's role in the investigative coverage of the Park government's wrongdoings and mass media's influences on people's perceptions, feelings and contextual evaluations of Park's impeachment.

We compared these investigative report findings of 2016 and 2017 with the six-month investigative reporting of Park Jong-chul, a college student who died of suffocation while he was water-tortured by policemen in 1987. In a situation similar to the Watergate scandal, the innocent college student's death emerged as a national issue, symbolizing the improprieties of an unethical government. The police brutality in 1987 became a national agenda to be solved in South Korea and led to the people's uprising for national democratic reform in 1987. Since then, South Korea has achieved a peaceful transfer of political power from the authoritarian government to a more or less democratic one. Similar to the political turmoil in 1987, the presidential impeachment of Park Geun-hye occurred in 2017.

For this comparison, we interviewed 300 citizens randomly selected from Seoul's population and asked what they remembered about President Park's wrongdoings and whether they participated in the 2016 and 2017 candlelight marches. If the subject participated in the marches, we asked why

and how she or he did participate in urging President Park to step down. We compared this survey's results with the one we already conducted about Korean citizens' uprising in 1987. We found that not many subjects remembered the details of both Park Jong-chul's death during the military regime and President Park Geun-hye's impeachment process. Nevertheless, they remembered the political situation of the 1980s under military government and President Park's wrongdoings and administrative mismanagements under her presidency. From these findings, we discussed the usefulness of Raymond Williams' concept of the "structure of feeling" for the comparative analysis of South Korea's democratic movements. We also discussed the theoretical and methodological implications of the contextual analysis of van Dijk's cognitive situational model to the historical periods of Koreans' civil uprisings in 1987 and 2017.

Id: 20820

Title: Flak as Weaponized Political Discourse: Definitions and Case-Studies

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Brian Michael Goss

Email: brian.goss@slu.edu

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Saint Louis University - Madrid, Spain Campus

Abstract: Recently, much attention has been devoted to "fake news". However, in its 2018 report on fake news, the United Kingdom's House of Commons Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Committee judged the term as too vague and contradictory to be useful (2018). Moreover, on a structural view of news media, the fake news concept does not extend far enough into an institutional account of the current informational environment. The Rand Corporation-backed concept of "truth decay" contributes a clever name (Kavanaugh & Rich 2018); but the truth decay analysis does not extend far enough either in making its critique and even implies a nostalgic desire to re-enthroned the status quo antebellum of ostensibly "trusted" news that was indeed compromised in systematic respects (see, for example, Goss [2013] on the "Propaganda Model").

This presentation arises from the first book-length treatment of "flak" (scheduled for publication in 2020) that develops the concept beyond its origins in Herman & Chomsky's (1988) Propaganda Model. In the brutal concision of two words, flak can be characterized as "political harassment". In the case of flak-in-discourse, flak may assume the form of ideologically-driven attacks made in bad faith that harm reputations and are indifferent or hostile to empirical fact. Flak-in-action is not wholly distinct from flak-in-discourse, but extends to actions such as lawsuits, boycotts, and letter-writing campaigns to damage an institution or person's professional standing and disrupt the target's functioning. In each case, flak is not good faith criticism but assays to undermine and delegitimize the conduct of a person or organization. Flak is also analytically distinct from the discourses and procedures around scandal that, as Thompson (2000) suggests, orient to ascertaining the truth. By contrast, flak generates noise and ruins reputations by weaponizing (dis)information in a context of political conflict without a concomitant concern with divining truth.

The presentation takes a structuralist approach by examining organizations that have been established and funded for the purpose of generating a steady stream of flak for further dissemination. I will examine case studies from flak factories that spoof journalistic (Project Veritas) or ostensible "think tank" activity (Heritage Foundation); organizations that are dedicated to bringing flak discourses into the mainstream of political discourse in the effort to disable the work of perceived ideological opponents on issues such as electoral fairness and climate change.

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Id: 20950

Title: Twitter, herramienta política de uso limitado para la interacción con los ciudadanos. Análisis desde la Etnografía virtual en un Cabildo Municipal colombiano

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Giovanni Bohórquez Pereira

Email: giovanni.bohorquez@upb.edu.co

Country: CO (Colombia)

Affiliation: Docente Asociado, Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana- Seccional Bucaramanga

Name: Juan Diego Flórez Quintero

Email: juanfloq98@gmail.com

Country: CO (Colombia)

Affiliation: Estudiante, Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana- Seccional Bucaramanga

Abstract: Los ecosistemas digitales generan sociedades que buscan espacios para ejercer su derecho a participar en la política por medio de internet, puesto que los mecanismos tradicionales no satisfacen la necesidad de los ciudadanos. Las redes sociales aportan a la creación y promoción de encuentros interactivos que garantizan la comunicación horizontal y multidireccional entre sus miembros. En palabras de Sánchez (2014) estamos en la mira de una “sociedad autogestionaria en la que desaparece la intermediación para contribuir al debate de los asuntos públicos”.

Estudios y reflexiones hechas por Cotarelo (2013), Guitierrez-Rubí (2015), Gómez (2016), Marques (2014), Demers y Lavinge (2007) indican que en la actualidad los líderes políticos tienen a su favor herramientas digitales que al ser aprovechadas en ejercicios de interacción permiten alcanzar mejores relaciones con los ciudadanos y potenciales electores. Sin embargo, existen limitaciones de uso por parte de los funcionarios públicos en las acciones de difusión, comunicación y actividad en la red pues no se tiene en cuenta un público objetivo.

Durante tres años, docentes y estudiantes de un grupo de investigación formativa de la Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana, UPB- Seccional Bucaramanga, generó antecedentes que se desarrollaron en el ámbito local de la ciudad capital del departamento de Santander, Colombia, los cuales han concentrado su mirada en cómo los Concejales de la localidad establecen y desarrollan procesos comunicativos con la ciudadanía en general.

En un primer momento Alguero y Bohórquez-Pereira (2017) estudiaron las relaciones políticas que los ediles hacían con los líderes sociales y presidentes de Juntas Comunales, en particular con quienes generaban filiaciones personales y alianzas electorales.

Un año después, se decidió estudiar con más detalle el funcionamiento, uso y grado de actividad de las cuentas de Twitter de los concejales, como servidores públicos. Orihuela (2013), Castells (1999), Mayorga, Chené y Suárez (2015) y Sánchez (2014) orientaron las bases teóricas de este proyecto, así como establecieron los recursos que utilizan en sus conversaciones y la interacción que logran con los usuarios.

La metodología acudió a la Etnografía Virtual (Hine, 2000), la cual permitió establecer qué concejal(es) eran activos en las redes sociales digitales, cuáles herramientas utilizaban y cómo era su comportamiento en Twitter. Posteriormente se retomó a Sánchez y Damas (2016) quienes permitieron, desde la cuantificación, establecer el indicador de actividad en el microblogging con el cual se pudo afirmar que las redes sociales son desaprovechadas por los concejales, quienes centran su atención en ejercicios egocéntricos de visibilización y divulgación de gestiones propias de su función. Un reducido porcentaje de sus publicaciones las usan para convocar o motivar la participación política y ciudadana.

Se percibe desinterés por parte de los funcionarios para aprovechar al máximo las características de Twitter y coincide con lo encontrado en la primera fase de la investigación: mostrar que el principal centro de atención del edil es la masa electoral, y no la creación de comunidades virtuales integradas por ciudadanos activos y críticos.

Id: 21034

Title: Social media and the institutionalization of hate speech in Greek politics

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Vassilis Vamvakas

Email: vamvakasv@jour.auth.gr

Country: GR (Greece)

Affiliation: Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

Abstract: This paper aims to explore the ways in which hate speech has become a dominant political discourse in the economic crisis period in Greece. The theoretical contribution of the paper is the proposition to expand the research of hate speech beyond the examination of racism or nationalism, especially during a period that globally the political antagonism is taking unforeseen degrees of polarization. In this sense the paper complements the few cases in the international literature that try to examine the public hate being expressed towards not only the expected targets (immigrants, minorities etc.) but also towards new ones: the existing national and global political and economic establishments and the basic agents that represent them nationally or internationally (parties, politicians, media, journalists, EU, IMF, banks etc.). Additionally this research aims at evaluating the role of social media in multiplying political hate speech nowadays.

The research material that will be used for this paper is focused on the national-populist discourse of the Greek government (2015-2019) which consisted of a coalition of two parties, SYRIZA (left) and ANEL (ultra right). Especially what will be carefully examined is two accounts of Twitter and Facebook of two prominent ministers (ex-Minister of Defense, P.Kamenos, Minister of Health, P.Polakos) of the Greek government who have given to hate speech not just a radical form but also a highly institutional (state) mode of expression. The paper is going to explore both the targets, the aesthetic and ideological values of this institutionalized hate speech but also the responses these expressions generate in the public sphere of the greek social media either by its users or by the journalistic commentary.

The methods being used in this research are content and discourse analysis in order to examine in quantity terms the signs (words, phrases, images, emoticons etc.) mostly used in the chosen sample but also in quality terms the symbolic and imaginary relations of this "official" hate speech to other utterances that are circulated in the greek public sphere by extremist political groups and parties (ex. Golden Dawn) and leftist terrorists (ex. Rouvikonas).

Id: 21039

Title: La transparencia de los programas electorales de los partidos políticos españoles: cómo transmitir confianza sin parecer ficción

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Beatriz Martínez Isidoro

Email: bc.martinez@ucm.es

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Universidad Complutense de Madrid

Abstract: La presente comunicación es un estudio que tiene un doble objetivo: en primer lugar, determinar qué información o datos deberían acompañar a las propuestas que componen los programas electores de los partidos políticos españoles, para garantizar al electorado el cumplimiento de dichas propuestas. El segundo objetivo del estudio es comprobar si los programas electorales de los partidos políticos que actualmente tienen representación en el Congreso de los Diputados durante la XII Legislatura, incluyen o facilitan esta información como garantía de sus propuestas y promesas electorales.

La teoría de este estudio está basada en dos metodologías: el sistema de análisis de la transparencia de los partidos políticos españoles, desarrollado por Fundación Compromiso y Transparencia, y publicado anualmente desde 2011 en el informe “Transparencia, el mejor eslogan”; y el “decálogo de un buen programa electoral” realizado por Fundación Transforma España sobre las características que debe cumplir un programa electoral para ser considerado bueno, entendiendo que este documento debe servir como un contrato social entre los partidos y la ciudadanía.

En concreto, este estudio se centra en comprobar los mecanismos de rendición de cuentas que los partidos políticos españoles tienen con respecto a sus promesas electorales, basado en el análisis de la información facilitada por los propios partidos políticos a través de sus páginas webs, ya que este es el medio más sencillo, económico y accesible para cualquier ciudadano.

La conclusión a la que llega este estudio es que actualmente las propuestas electorales que realizan los partidos no van acompañadas de información suficiente y considerada adecuada para permitir que los votantes tomen decisiones bien informados durante la campaña electoral. Esto quiere decir que la ciudadanía no puede comprobar la viabilidad real de las propuestas realizadas y tampoco se hace pública la información necesaria durante y al finalizar las legislaturas, para comprobar el grado de cumplimiento de los partidos con respecto a sus programas electorales, que presentaron para ser votados.

Finalmente, el estudio permite establecer una serie de directrices generales para elaborar programas electorales considerados “fiables o de confianza”, como una alternativa a los actuales programas de los partidos políticos españoles, que no establecen ningún mecanismo de rendición de cuentas, hecho que incide en la desafección política de la sociedad española.

Id: 21050

Title: the digital performativity of populism: the case of charismatic leaders on Twitter

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Angelos Kissas

Email: ak2182@cam.ac.uk

Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: University of Cambridge

Abstract: It is hard to overlook the recent mushrooming of populist political parties, movements, and especially leaders; from Donald Trump in the US, to Jeremy Corbyn in the UK, to Viktor Orban in Hungary, among many others. It is even harder to explain the dramatic rise of this dense but variegated populism. Quite popular are some macroscopic politico-economic explanations that treat populism as symptom or syndrome of deeper structural inefficiencies and failures in our societies (see Cox, 2018; Kaletsky, 2017; Montier & Pilkington, 2017).

This article attempts a different take on populism which could be said to amount to an inversion of such explanations. Its point of departure is that explaining the structural failures of a politico-economic system does not suffice for understanding why supporters of populism feel and think that the system is not working and how they come to feel and think so. As Inglehart's and Norris' (2016) recent anatomy of the populist vote in thirty-one European countries demonstrates, anti-progressivist and anti-cosmopolitanist/multiculturalist values and sentiments are strongly associated with the populist vote regardless of voters' socio-economic background. Taking these findings a step further, I wish to argue that populism should not be treated as symptom of a given politico-economic reality but as enactment-making of the politico-economic realities that we are invited to live and act upon in certain ways (instead of others).

These enactments circulate our public spheres, nowadays, through the media, primarily digital media, to such a degree that researchers talk about an 'elective affinity' (Gerbaudo, 2018) between populism and social media (see also Engesser, Fawzi & Larsson, 2017; Groshek & Koc-Michalska, 2017) or an organic bond between populism and mediatized politics, in general (Higgins, 2017; Moffitt, 2016). In this article, I explore this bond through what I call the digital performativity of populism: a repertoire of digital media practices-performances whereby 'the people' is enacted as a concrete political subject with its own moral qualities and social demands. I focus, particularly, on the charismatic leader as a distinct mode of this performativity, the authentic persona, proposing an analysis of authenticity as an affective quality of media performativity which is intertextually (semantically-symbolically) invested with certain forms of agency, or an ideological politics (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2019).

Therefore, contra to performative-discursive paradigms that want populism a non-ideological performance (Aslanidis, 2016; Moffitt, 2016), this article advocates an approach to populism as performative ideology and uses it to critically understand what is, perhaps, the major concern in the study of populism: whether and when, under what mediatic conditions, populism is democratic or undemocratic. To this end, I present two specific yet paradigmatic examples (case-studies) of digitally performed charisma: Donald Trump's defiant and Jeremy Corbyn's ordinary persona on Twitter. As I see them, the former embodies a resenting politics of national palingenesis which along with its xenophobic outburst, insidiously, serves the neoliberal agenda, while the latter

embodies a melancholic politics of moral vindication which condemns neoliberalism but fails to address the xenophobic implications of its own Eurosceptic origins. What this analysis seeks to demonstrate is that the (un)democratic potential of populism is not normatively predetermined but contingent upon the ideological dynamics of media performativity.

Id: 21062

Title: Mediation, disintermediation, re-intermediation: the case of fake news in the Brazilian elections of 2018

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Nina Santos

Email: ninocasan@gmail.com

Country: FR (France)

Affiliation: Université Panthéon-Assas

Name: Ana Suzina

Email: anasuzina@hotmail.com

Country: BE (Belgium)

Affiliation: Université Catholique de Louvain / Universidade Anhembi Morumbi

Abstract: Although not recent, the phenomenon of fake news (or misinformation, as a broader concept) gains new contours and dimensions in the era of digital communication. The recent experience of the Brazilian electoral campaign of 2018 showed that the phenomenon can have concrete impacts not only in the communicational dynamics, but, consequently, in political decisions. In this context, we propose a conceptual analysis of the role of journalism in times of digital communication, especially through a discussion of the relationship between gatekeeping and the production of public debates. If, on the one hand, the digital communication environments allow the inclusion of new voices in the public debate, on the other, the criterion for including these voices is no longer a deontology and a professional ethic and becomes the rule of the audience. In a country where the mass communication system and the exercise of journalistic activity are strongly criticized, these processes of disintermediation and re-intermediation produced by digital social networks bring new questions about how ensure quality information. We propose a reflection on the role of information mediation not as a technique to be incorporated and reproduced, but as an ethic to be considered in the construction of public spheres. On one side, we question the extent to which the existence of a journalistic control over information can contribute to or limit the construction of democratic public debates and, on the other, how new types of information mediation enabled by digital technologies relate to this process.

This paper focuses on the Brazilian case, with a particular focus on the last elections, in 2018. It recovers the issue of journalistic filters from the problematization of the concentration of media ownership and the inequality in access to resources for the development of alternative media. In this sense, the most recent Brazilian election is an interesting case of the breakdown of the dependency and importance of historical structures, with which mass media, including the obligatory programs of the candidates on radio and television channels, seem to have had little impact on the decision of voters. Digital platforms are initially presented with their capabilities to introduce new voices and narratives into the public debate as accessible mechanisms to break media domination by traditional media. The issue is compounded by a discussion about the possible risks of lack of mediation - or the perception of the absence of mediators, even though they are present in more subtle ways. Again, the 2018 elections illustrate the debate from the mass circulation of (dis) information by electronic means. Brazil has followed the trend already observed in the United States elections and in the

Brexit referendum in the United Kingdom, with the novelty of the centrality of Whatsapp as a communication platform. Finally, the question of mediation is taken up from the perspective of ethics, including journalistic responsibility in the production and dissemination of information in a highly unequal society, but also the responsibility of citizens as reproducers and editors of information, in a dialogue with the journalistic process.

Id: 21064

Title: Politics, Gender and Media in the International Arena

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Yossi David

Email: davidyossi4@gmail.com

Country: DE (Germany)

Affiliation: Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz

Abstract: This study explores the manner in which the use of gendered stereotypes to describe political leaders can shape emotions and attitudes toward these leaders' countries. By so doing, the study aims to contribute a new theoretical perspective on the importance of gender in the international arena. The gendering of groups is the construction and representation of groups as masculine or feminine. Instances of this form of gendering include American generals characterizing the occupation of Kuwait as an ongoing "rape" to justify American military involvement in the 1991 Gulf War; Vladimir Putin stating that Donald Trump is "not my bride, and I am not his groom"; and the Israeli media using a dating metaphor to represent Israel's rejection of a Hamas-proposed ceasefire as "playing hard to get." Based on my previous research on the role of groups gendering in predicting attitudes and emotions in the political arena, this study examines the extent to which gendering affects emotions and attitudes toward groups. Using an online experiment designed and conducted in Israel and Germany, the study explores the effects of the use of gendered stereotypes for shaping public opinion. It adopts a gender theory perspective of gender as a process and social construct, adding an experimental paradigm to explore the effects of gendering in the international arena. The findings will contribute new analytical perspectives in gender and media studies—examining the role of gender as a process—using an experimental paradigm to explore the effects of gender as a construct rather than as an identity.

Id: 21126

Title: ESTRATEGIAS DE COMUNICACIÓN DE LOS LOBBIES EN LA UNIÓN EUROPEA

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Antonio Castillo Esparcia

Email: acastilloe@uma.es

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: University of Malaga

Name: Ana Castillo Díaz

Email: anacastillo@uma.es

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: University of Malaga

Abstract: Los primeros estudios sobre el papel de los grupos de interés en las instituciones europeas ya resaltaban su importancia y el crecimiento de su actividad (Andersen y Eliassen, 1991; y Barron y Hultén, 2014). En este sentido, el registro de grupos de interés de la Unión Europea ha ido aumentando desde su creación llegando a una alta cifra en las diferentes categorías.

El papel de los grupos de interés y de los lobbies han sido resaltado por numerosos autores como una actividad esencial en el proceso democrático (Wittenberg y Whittenberg, 1989; Almond, 1958; Bentley, 1908; Binderkrants y Rasmuseen, 2015). En este sentido, el sistema político participa de procesos de conversión, es decir, los procedimientos que transforman el flujo de las demandas sociales hacia el sistema político, en una corriente de extracción, regulación y distribución en el proceso de participación de las organizaciones sociales en la implementación de políticas públicas.

Este texto analiza la presencia de los grupos de interés en el registro oficial de la Unión Europea para conseguir conocer qué tipologías de lobbies está más representadas, analizar los países que mayor presencia poseen en el registro y estudiar qué estrategias de comunicación utilizan en sus actividades en las instituciones europeas.

En la actualidad, en el registro se encuentran inscritas 11909 organizaciones lideradas por el sector empresarial (5977), el de las Organizaciones no Gubernamentales (3163) y el sector profesional (1196), que siguen la línea de presencia señalada por diversos estudios (Dür y Mateo, 2012; Gaber, 2013; Greenwood y Rnit, 1994; Hays, 1991).

Se observan las fichas de registro de los lobbies para ver el tipo de actividad que desempeñan, los recursos personales y económicos que disponen en su actividad de lobby y las estrategias comunicativas (proactivas, reactivas) que realizan en su labor. La muestra se selecciona de manera estratificada a partir del grado de presencia de lobbies en cada uno de los países que pertenecen a la Unión Europea.

Conocer el mapa y tipo de influencia de los grupos de interés con las instituciones públicas permiten saber el tipo de relación, ya que las investigaciones nos muestran una variedad de acceso

relacionado directamente con las características de las diferentes tipologías de lobbies (Bacheller, 1977; Barron, 2011; Berhagen, 2014; Chari y Hillebrand, 2011; Coen, 2007).

Esto nos permite realizar un mapa de los grupos de interés que mayor presencia han mantenido y, por tanto, poseen una estabilidad en la participación en los procesos de elaboración legislativa (Chari y Hillebrand, 2011; Bernhagen, Dür y Marshall, 2015; Binderkrants y Rasmuseen, 2015 y Bouwen, 2002).

Id: 21136

Title: Cross-Cutting Exposure, Cross-Cutting Attention, and Cross-Cutting Discussion: Dimensions of Cross-Cutting Experience on Social Media and Political Participation

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Jihyang Choi

Email: choi20@ewha.ac.kr

Country: KR (Korea, Republic Of)

Affiliation: Ewha Womans University

Abstract: Cross-cutting exposure—exposure to fellow citizens whose political views differ from one’s own—has frequently been branded with infamy for depressing political participation. However, the relationship between exposure to political disagreement and political participation needs to be revisited amid the dramatic changes in the communication environment. Individuals’ experience related to dissonant information within online social networks is likely to vary. As online space facilitates both “selective scanning” and “elaboration,” people can either disregard disagreeable voices or be very attentive to voices from the other side. At the same time, the quality of actual discussion with opposing parties might differ individually, since online forums facilitate both civil and uncivil, as well as both deliberative and non-deliberative discussion. In other words, the substance of the online cross-cutting experience has become distinctive from that in the offline space, thus allowing people to experience political disagreement in a wide variety of ways. However, many studies thus far have ignored the meaningful layers in citizens’ cross-cutting experience.

Thus, the study aims to re-conceptualize cross-cutting exposure by proposing an alternative concept of “cross-cutting experience” and to clarify its effects on political participation. The present study empirically identified that, in the social media environment, people’s cross-cutting experience is multidimensional and specifically comprised of automatic cross-cutting exposure, cross-cutting attention, and cross-cutting discussion. These differing experiences yield distinctive influences on people’s political behaviors: those who discuss with fellow citizens holding dissenting political views were more likely to participate in political activities, while those who were simply exposed to or pay attention to politically dissonant information did not show any noticeable tendency to participate in more political activities.

The study offers a clue to understanding as to why the abundant previous studies have yielded very convoluted findings regarding the link between cross-cutting exposure and political participation, by revealing a more detailed mechanism of the relationships. In doing so, the researchers re-illuminate the role of cross-cutting exposure, which has suffered a stigma of demobilizing political participation. Ultimately, the study suggests theoretical and practical solutions for connecting the ideals of deliberative democracy and participatory democracy in the rapidly changing communication environment. For this study, the researchers employed a two-wave panel survey data collected during the 2016 U.S. presidential election campaign, in which political disagreement on key national issues and political polarization were very conspicuous among the citizens.

Id: 21235

Title: Framing the Vote: A Comparative Content Analysis of Election Coverage in the United States and Brazil

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Imani-Grace King
Email: imani-grace.king@furman.edu
Country: US (United States)
Affiliation: Furman University

Name: Natalie Rocha
Email: natalie.rocha@furman.edu
Country: US (United States)
Affiliation: Furman University

Abstract: Elections in democratic nations represent civic engagement, political efficacy and an opportunity for the public to express their grievances and interests with a vote. While this process is different in various democratic nations the media play an important role in framing public opinion. This study compares the difference in media coverage of the elections in Brazil and the United States. The researchers examined the the framing of the 2018 Brazilian presidential election and the United States midterm elections through four online news publications. The study is a content analysis that coded news articles for bias in language and framing of story. By focusing on two moderate and two traditionally conservative publications from each country, this study compares how the news media in the respective countries cover candidates, their platform, and their opposition. The study draws on framing theory to evaluate election coverage by CNN, Fox, The Rio Times and Estadão of the presidential election in Brazil and congressional elections in the United States. Entnam (2010) defines framing as “selecting a few aspects of a perceived reality and connecting them together in a narrative that promotes a particular interpretation” (391). Tuchman (1976) discusses how journalistic frames allow reporters to organize the large amounts of information presented to them at a given time and “like all public documents, it is a constructed reality possessing its own internal validity” (97). The study found that while amount of bias in the news coverage in conservative publications were not excessive, the framing of the news emphasizes candidates of a certain ideological viewpoint. The content analysis reveal gaps in the current literature about media bias but align with framing theory. The findings of this study are relevant because they contribute to the literature on comparative research on election coverage that provides an alternative perspective that goes beyond United States centered studies on election coverage.

Id: 21249

Title: The role of the Macedonian opinion leaders in online and social media before the Referendum on changing the constitutional name of the Republic of Macedonia

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Eleonora Serafimovska

Email: eleonora@isppi.ukim.edu.mk

Country: MK (Macedonia, The Former Yugoslav Republic Of)

Affiliation: University Ss. Cyril and Methodius, Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research

Name: Marijana Markovikj

Email: marijana@isppi.ukim.edu.mk

Country: MK (Macedonia, The Former Yugoslav Republic Of)

Affiliation: University Ss. Cyril and Methodius, Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research

Abstract: The referendum on changing the constitutional name of Republic of Macedonia was held on September 30, 2018. Twenty days before the designated date, the official campaign for the referendum began, although the campaign from all relevant entities began immediately after the signing of the Prespa Agreement, an international agreement signed between the heads of diplomacy of the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece on June 17, 2018.

The change of the constitutional name of the state was related to the declaration of "for" or "against" EU and NATO membership, and the question on the referendum was: "Are you for membership in EU and NATO by accepting the Agreement between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece? This essentially put the citizens of Macedonia by deciding on the name change in a position to vote "for" or "against" joining international institutions in which the name of the state is not part of the requirement for membership.

This research objective is recognition of opinion leaders in Macedonia in the online and social media in Macedonian language and what and how they speak/argue about the name issue during the critical period, June to September: from signing of the Prespa Agreement by day of the referendum. In communication theory (two-step flow theory of communication specifically), opinion leaders are individuals who are influential members of the society, group or community that other people believe in, follow them in the media field or even address them for opinion or advice. In this research Opinion Leaders (OLs) are defined as journalists or experts (not politicians) from different fields who give their opinions on the referendum in online and social media in the critical period and seek to direct citizen's opinion and attitudes. Journalists, members of the largest professional organization Association of Journalists of Macedonia, identified the members of the group on Opinion Leaders used in the research.

As a research tool content analysis is applied. Subject of content analysis are the texts of the identified OLs that are published in online an social media (depending in which of them OLs were active) during the critical period. OLs and their texts are categorized into three categories: "for", "against" and "boycott" of the referendum, and the attempt to answer on the following research questions will be made: In which three categories are the majority of the published texts?; Does the

change of the name appear as the main or secondary theme? With which other topics and themes the name change is followed? To which segment of population the authors (OLs) address their messages?; What kind of words are used and how much they are emotionally charged?, and Which basic motives are trying to be caused?

Key words: Referendum on name change, Republic of Macedonia, Prespa Agreement, Online and social media, Opinion leaders.

Id: 21252

Title: Twitter as a battlefield for the survival of Chavism

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Iria Puyosa

Email: ipuyosa@gmail.com

Country: EC (Ecuador)

Affiliation: Universidad Central de Venezuela

Abstract: Online disinformation campaigns and social media pollution have been a central part of Venezuelan communication environment since as early as 2010. After 2014, Venezuelan audiences started to rely mainly on social media and messaging apps for obtaining information on political issues, given the "communicational hegemony" or government controls over mainstream mass media. The Venezuelan case have offered an opportunity to systematically document information disorders promoted by an authoritarian government facing civil unrest and a political movement aiming to regime change.

The research objectives is:

- To analyze the dynamics in the generation of trending topics related to the struggle for/against democratization.

Based upon previous studies, there are the following working hypotheses,

- a) Automated bots, government agencies and international networks are going to be crucial on generating pro-government trending topics, while opposition trending topics may rely more in political party activists and disperse users.
- b) Automated bots, government agencies and international networks are going to be crucial on spreading false information through Twitter.
- c) Automated bots and delocalized trolls will be the main agents of attacks or harassment against activists and journalists.

Research design relies on relational data from Twitter to analyze how the government sponsored disinformation and automated propaganda, as well as cyber harassment and online speech criminalization. Data-gathering is being conducted by pulling requests on trending hashtags through the Twitter API, using the NodeXL software (January-February 2019). Analysis of the hashtags networks will be performed using Gephi software. Analysis will focus on identifying the communities using both clustering and modularity algorithms, as well detecting the most influential nodes using measures of betweenness centrality, vector centrality, page rank, and authority.

This study aims to systematically document how the Venezuelan government (as well as their international allies) deployed strategically disinformation disorders during the uprising promoting transition to democracy in early 2019.

Results may be used for theory-building on government-sponsored information disorders under authoritarian regimes.

Submitted by Iria Puyosa.

Associate Professor. Universidad Central de Venezuela.

Id: 21317

Title: Attitude towards politics: Influence of social media

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Ugyal Lama (Yolmo)

Email: ugyal.lama@gmail.com

Country: IN (India)

Affiliation: Salesian College, Siliguri Campus

Abstract: The national general election of 2014 in India was the first elections where social media played an important role. It was the first time where the electorates had a platform for formation of political opinion and social media was the new combat zone. Political parties and candidates indulged themselves in participation with the electorates to gain their trust and votes. However 2014 was just a glimpse of what social media as a platform for political participation could do. Five years later India is set to face another national general election and this time the role of social media is expected to be greater than that in 2014. As in the past five years the penetration and understanding of social media has increased (137 million users to more than 500 million users) it becomes very important to understand the attitude of the social media users (electorates) towards politics and the general elections. The present study was aimed at understanding the attitude of social media users towards usage of social media as a platform for political participation and engagement. Also to answer the research question as to how important is social media in shaping political attitude. To study the same a study was conducted comprising of 133 participants (F= 76) with 94.7% falling in the age range of 18-34 years (youth). The results showcases that a large section (66.4%) utilise social media platforms via mobile for obtaining information on politics and for political participation with more than three fourth having some level of interest in politics. From the study it could be analysed that the general attitude towards politics is that the respondents (electorates) are not very politically active or politically engaged. However it is not that they do consider politics to be bad but mostly because only a few or none of politicians are trust worthy (84.2 %) and elected officials seem to be motivated by selfish reasons (85%). At the same time a large section have instilled some level of trust or faith in media (83.5%) and also has accepted the influence of social media on their decision to vote (53.2%) and even enable them to choose as to whom to vote for (48.9%). Other important findings of the study was that a large section of the respondents felt that need more practical information about politics before getting involved (93.2%), to vote is a duty not choice (72.2%), it does make a difference as to which party is in power (79.7%), they do have a say on what the government does (66.2%), their vote does make a difference (70.7%) and to meet the challenges the country is facing (75.2%).

Keywords: Social Media Engagement, Electorates, Attitude, Politics, Influence, Political Participation

Id: 21444

Title: When populism and digital meet in an electoral campaign: Bolsonaro's political message in online social networks

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Célia Belim Rodrigues

Email: celiabelim@gmail.com

Country: PT (Portugal)

Affiliation: Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas - Universidade de Lisboa

Abstract: "The conservative revolution has arrived in South America" (Bystron, Alternative Party for Germany) through Jair Bolsonaro, which, with his victory, attracts the international interest and expectations regarding this region and contests "truths".

Bolsonaro, with a nationalistic, religious and aggressive rhetoric, especially critical of corruption and crime, attracts the Brazilian electorate, believer, immersed in several cases of corruption in last years and thirsty for human dignity and disputed rights, giving them the right to voice and visibility. The logic that "good bandit is dead bandit" or even "good bandit is arrested bandit" is illustrative of the radicalism of some positions.

In addition to this rhetorical style, Bolsonaro was able to exploit the potential of technology, specially the online social networks, in his favor. "Social networks have had far more influence on the presidential election campaign than electoral programs". In this sense, Bolsonaro will be in the history of Brazil as the first President elected practically only with the help of social networks (RTP, 2018).

In populist communication, three aspects are present in message: (1) reference to "the People", (2) a battle against the "corrupt" elite, and with a possible extension of (3) the identification of an out-group (de Vreese, Esser, Aalberg,

Reinemann & Stanyer, 2018, p. 5). Several scholars (eg Aalberg et al., 2017; Jagers & Walgrave, 2007; Kriesi, 2014; Mudde, 2004) have emphasized these traits as defining of populism. Populist communication summons a particular thematic agenda and rhetorical style. Rhetoric is the art of using language to convince or persuade.

In this scenario, the argument is that the populist content and style of Bolsonaro's electoral messages distinguished his communication and led him to victory. Therefore, it is assumed as a starting question: How was it constructed, in the context of the 2018 presidential elections in Brazil, the content and form / style of Bolsonaro's messages on Facebook and Instagram? The research objectives are: a) to understand the issue - "what" - of the message, in order to know the thematic agenda in which Bolsonaro's message was concentrated; b) to perceive the form and the style - "how" - of the message; c) to discuss the attributes of the populist rhetoric and ideology, present in Bolsonaro's message.

Methodologically, one proposes qualitative content analysis, namely the thematic analysis, and a more formal analysis, concretely the rhetorical analysis.

The corpus is composed of posts with more interactivity from Facebook and Instagram, online social networks where Bolsonaro is most popular. Bites, a digital consulting, observes at the beginning of November 2018 that, with 20 million followers, Bolsonaro is on the list of "politicians with the largest number of digital allies in the world". The period of analysis runs from the

beginning of the electoral campaign (August 23, 2018) until the election of the second round (October 28, 2018).

The preliminary results, as the study is going to be completed, reveal a tendency to a populist discourse, founded in thematic lines, such as reproof of criminality and corruption, devotion to religion, and nationalism, and in a style oriented by simplification of ideas, promises (of change and order), identification of scapegoats (criminals, corrupts), incentive of a sense of community.

Id: 21483

Title: El impacto mediático en los debates parlamentarios sobre leyes contra la LGTBIfobia en España

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Adolfo Carratalá

Email: adolfo.carratala@uv.es

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: University of València (Assistant professor of Journalism)

Abstract: Los delitos de odio categorizados como LGTBIfobia han aumentado durante los últimos años en España, situándose como la tercera discriminación más habitual, solo por detrás de los crímenes xenófobos y los cometidos por motivos ideológicos. Según datos del Ministerio del Interior, en 2017 se registraron 271 delitos perpetrados por la orientación o identidad sexual de la víctima, lo que supuso un incremento del 17,8% respecto al año anterior. La mayor parte de los medios de comunicación españoles son considerados como actores partícipes del sistema de alianzas con el que cuenta la comunidad LGTBI (Monferrer Tomàs, 2010), habiéndose mostrado como plataformas favorables a la difusión de sus demandas y reivindicaciones. Por ello, el discurso periodístico español también ha promovido en los últimos años una cobertura que enmarca la discriminación por orientación sexual o identidad de género como un problema social que debe ocupar la atención de las administraciones (Carratalá, 2017). En paralelo, algunos partidos políticos han introducido la lucha contra la discriminación por LGTBIfobia como tema destacado en la agenda institucional. De hecho, entre 2014 y 2018, nueve parlamentos autonómicos han aprobado leyes dirigidas a impulsar medidas para garantizar la igualdad de las personas gays, lesbianas, bisexuales, transexuales e intersexuales, así como para erradicar la violencia que sufre esta comunidad, mientras en la actualidad se tramita una norma a nivel estatal en el Congreso de los Diputados.

El impacto que los medios de comunicación tienen en la construcción de la agenda parlamentaria ha sido demostrado por investigaciones que, sobre todo, han centrado su análisis en los debates en torno a política exterior y conflictos violentos (Walgrave et al., 2008, Berganza et al., 2018) revelándose como una expresión más del progresivo fenómeno de mediatización de la política (Davis, 2007; Strömbäck, 2011). La posible influencia de la comunicación mediática sobre la discusión parlamentaria en torno a medidas orientadas a reconocer derechos a la comunidad LGTBI se ha planteado como una realidad dada (Platero, 2009) para comprender, por ejemplo, el protagonismo alcanzado por el debate sobre los derechos de las parejas de hecho en la segunda mitad de la década de los 90 y, posteriormente, el matrimonio entre personas del mismo sexo ya en el siglo XXI (Calvo, 2013), asumiendo que el incremento de noticias en prensa sobre estas cuestiones explicaba automáticamente su entrada en la agenda política. Sin embargo, el papel jugado por el discurso mediático en la construcción de la agenda parlamentaria resulta más fácil de evaluar a través del estudio de las referencias y menciones que los representantes en estas instituciones hacen a los medios de comunicación en sus discursos (Herrero-Jiménez et al., 2018). El objetivo de este trabajo es profundizar en el área de las investigaciones sobre la relación entre la construcción de la agenda parlamentaria y la mediatización política a través del análisis cualitativo

de las actas de los debates parlamentarios desarrollados en las nueve cámaras legislativas de carácter autonómico que en los últimos cinco años han aprobado normas para luchar contra la discriminación por LGTBIfobia.

Id: 21487

Title: Difusión de fake news en redes sociales: ¿compartimentos estancos o espacios dialógicos' El caso Martin Luther King y Quim Torra / Dissemination of fake news in social networks: closed spaces or dialogical spaces' The Martin Luther King and Quim Torra cas

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Julen Orbegozo-Terradillos

Email: julen.orbegozo@ehu.eus

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: University of the Basque Country / Universidad del País Vasco

Name: Jordi Morales i Grass

Email: jordi.morales@ehu.eus

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: University of the Basque Country / Universidad del País Vasco

Name: Ainara Larrondo-Ureta

Email: ainara.larrondo@ehu.eus

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: University of the Basque Country / Universidad del País Vasco

Abstract: La expansión de fake news en la era de internet con el objetivo de influir en la opinión pública preocupa cada vez más a instituciones públicas y privadas de todo el mundo. De hecho, el concepto de las fake news ha inundado la esfera de lo público y ha entrado de lleno en el debate político (Navarro, 2018). Por sus impactos negativos a nivel social e individual (Shu, Sliva, Wang, Tang, & Liu, 2017) este fenómeno ha impactado en el corazón de las sociedades democráticas trastocando el normal desarrollo de los procesos electorales, la reputación de la clase política, Estados y empresas, así como la credibilidad de los medios de comunicación (Ríos, 2017).

Los estudios científicos coinciden a la hora de señalar la enorme capacidad de difusión de la ‘red de redes’ de las noticias falsas, aunque, existe cierta controversia o desconocimiento a la hora de medir científicamente su influencia real (Nyhan 2018, Lazer et al. 2018). Sobre esta cuestión, ciertos estudios como el de Guess, Nyhan y Reifler (2018) demuestran que la endogamia de las interacciones podría conllevar a que el consumo de fake news sea preminentemente “intracomunidad”. Asimismo, al contrario de lo que pueda parecer, son los humanos quienes contribuyen en mayor medida que los bots a la viralización de contenido falso (Vosoughi, Roy, Aral, 2018). En todo caso, este campo de investigación académica requiere de muchas respuestas que puedan aportar información a este fenómeno.

En este trabajo analizaremos el proceso de difusión de un caso particular sucedido en el contexto del conflicto entre España y Cataluña: la noticia falsa difundida por el medio digital “El Confidencial”, según la cual el Instituto Martin Luther King (EEUU) había solicitado al President de la Generalitat, Quim Torra, que dejara de referirse a su figura en sus discursos. El director de la institución, Clayborne Carson, desmintió la información a través de su blog y corrigió al periodista

del citado medio de comunicación. Sin embargo, la polémica saltó inmediatamente a Twitter, y muchos medios de comunicación y miles de usuarios difundieron tanto la falsa noticia y los desmentidos posteriores.

El estudio de caso se examina con técnicas de análisis de datos masivos (big data) en redes sociales capturados y elaborados a partir de la herramienta Twitter Capture and Analysis Toolset (DMI-TCAT) y aplicando un algoritmo de detección comunitaria. Se consigue así conocer cómo la información incorrecta y las correcciones posteriores se difunden de manera desigual a lo largo de una red altamente politizada, en la que diferentes grupos de usuarios están expuestos a diferentes “versiones” de la información difundida (RQ1). Se analizan así 27.648 actores y 76.815 conexiones. Además, se discute la utilidad de la Red Social y el Análisis de Big Data en la detección de propagación de noticias falsas y su eventual mitigación. El estudio corrobora la hipótesis de que la exposición de la información viene determinada por relaciones virtuales ideológicamente mediadas, y que las noticias falsas tienen éxito cuando están anidadas en estructuras de ideas y visiones del mundo previamente establecidas.

Id: 21534

Title: Celebrity politics across cultures: Image choices of the heads of government in Spain and India

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: DEEPTI GANAPATHY

Email: deepthi.ganapathy@nmims.edu

Country: IN (India)

Affiliation: School of Business Management, NMIMS Bangalore

Name: Celina Navarro

Email: celina.navarro@uab.cat

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Abstract: Recent work in political communication has emphasized ways in which political expression on social media can foster deeper engagement in democratic life (Boulianne, 2015; Vaccari et al., 2015). Political communication on social networks has been well-researched and supported by studies of participatory culture especially among young people. Political actors seek to engage with their electorate through these platforms. These dynamics of political expression can be explored through visual data on the popular social network of Instagram.

With social networks and particularly the international rise of the image-oriented platform, politicians are able to select how they visually present themselves online to the citizens. This is part of the celebrity politics that is at the centre of the political strategy (Lalancette & Raynauld, 2017). This paper aims to analyze how we can apply this concept of digital celebrity politics in two countries with different socio-cultural contexts. Spain, a southern-European country, and India, a South Asian country. Our objective is to delve into the differences but more importantly the similarities of the image choices of the heads of government of the two countries. For instance, international events in the agenda of the two heads of government such as the G20 summit in November 2018 in Argentina, included in the time period of our analysis, will be key to showcase the different or common approach of celebrity politics.

With these objectives, a visual qualitative and quantitative content analysis of the posts published on the official Instagram accounts of the Spanish president Pedro Sánchez and the Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi will be studied. The period analyzed comprises six months from September 2018 until February 2019. The results will focus on the issues that the heads of government portray in the images shared on Instagram, the kind of people that they associate with and the stages of performance, public or private, that they show. This will introduce the perspective if the differences in culture and social needs of the two countries influence on how they visually portray themselves online.

Id: 21554

Title: Effects of traditional and socio-digital media on political trust

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Evelia evelia-mani

Email: evelia.mani@gmail.com

Country: MX (Mexico)

Affiliation: Autonomus University of Puebla

Abstract: Political trust is essential for the functionality of a democratic regime, and a downward asset in Western countries. The media have been confirmed theoretically and empirically as an important source of influence in it, although studies do not usually consider socio-digital networks as relevant channels of information consumption, where the circulation of false, misleading or propaganda information could negatively affect the political confidence.

This work compares the effect of attention to traditional media and socio-digital media on the trust that citizens place in political institutions, considering the differences between both environments in relation to their level of professionalization. Secondly, it updates the available empirical knowledge about the effects of media attention on political trust in the specific case of Mexico, an academically unexplored scenario regarding these concerns and emblematic of an acute, almost endemic distrust towards the political system, product of a semi-authoritarian regime of more than 70 years that was decomposing until culminating in a democratic transition, and successive corruption scandals occurred in the last five years, at the highest level. Both components make pertinent and current research about the role of the media in this feature of Mexican political culture.

To clarify the weight of socio-digital media compared to traditional media, hierarchical multiple linear regression models are performed on a survey applied nationally in Mexico during the recent presidential election of 2018. The findings indicate that the lack of trust towards institutions and political objects is a generalized attitude that is sharpened in those with greater media visibility. Evidence was also found in favor of a virtuous conception of media effects, with a positive prevalence of television as the main means of influencing political trust and the scarce participation of socio-digital networks in this phenomenon.

Id: 21570

Title: Terrorismo internacional e islam en Estados Unidos: un análisis de las Estrategias de Seguridad Nacional de Clinton, Bush, Obama y Trump

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Ana Córdoba

Email: ana.cordoba@unisabana.edu.co

Country: CO (Colombia)

Affiliation: Universidad de La Sabana

Name: Marcela Durán

Email: marcela.duran1@unisabana.edu.co

Country: CO (Colombia)

Affiliation: Universidad de La Sabana

Abstract: Finalizada la Guerra Fría, hubo quienes se atrevieron a afirmar que con el desgaste del comunismo, el Islam era la nueva amenaza contra los principios occidentales (Huntington, 1993; Sciolino, 1996; Falacci, 2001), afirmación respaldada muchas veces por medios y políticos que no dudaban en culpar a musulmanes –y no islamistas- como los autores de atentados y amenazas alrededor del mundo. En Estados Unidos, el 11 de septiembre de 2001, terminó por posicionar y blindar esa imagen generalizada y reduccionista a la vez, donde para muchos el fundamentalismo equivalía a islam, sujetando a esta religión a un puñado de reglas y estereotipos sobre la fe, su fundador y sus fieles (Said, 2005) y vinculándola a acciones de fanatismo, violencia y resistencia (Castellanos, 2007).

La equiparación de conceptos y la sencillez de lenguaje facilitan el discurso político, en especial cuando el objetivo de los gobiernos es exponer la guerra como “un drama de opuestos, bien y mal, «nosotros» y «ellos», victoria o derrota” (Fisk, 2006). Desde aquel histórico 11-S, y a lo largo de estos años, el terrorismo islámico ha sido un elemento esencial en el discurso estadounidense y en concreto en su Estrategia de Seguridad Nacional (ESN).

La presente investigación procura analizar el lenguaje y la argumentación presentes en las ESN publicadas por los últimos cuatro presidentes norteamericanos: Clinton, Bush, Obama y Trump, identificando elementos y características relacionadas con el Islam, así como con sus vertientes políticas y radicales. ¿Ha sido el Islam verdaderamente una amenaza para la seguridad nacional? ¿Las ESN se comportan de manera generalizada? ¿Se tratan de discursos simplistas que alimentan las malinterpretaciones y por consiguiente el miedo, el odio y hasta una probable islamofobia en la población? ¿Los gobernantes utilizan narrativas reduccionistas del Islam para favorecer y legitimar sus acciones en el marco de una “Guerra contra el Terror”? ¿Qué transformaciones ha habido en el discurso a lo largo del último cuarto de siglo? Estas son algunas preguntas que se pretenden responder en este trabajo.

Id: 21580

Title: Politainment televisivo en el entorno de la posverdad. El caso español (1995-2019).

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Salome Berrocal Gonzalo

Email: salomeb@hmca.uva.es

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Associate Professor in Political Communication. University of Valladolid (Spain)

Name: Ana González Neira

Email: na.gneira@udc.es

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Associate Professor in Journalism. University of A Coruña

Name: Patricia Zamora Martínez

Email: patricia.zamora@uva.es

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Graduate Teaching Assistant in Journalism. University of Valladolid

Name: Raquel Quevedo Redondo

Email: raquel.quevedo.redondo@uva.es

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Adjunct Professor in Journalism. University of Valladolid

Abstract: Este trabajo tiene como objeto de estudio el politainment o entretenimiento político con el fin de hacer una contribución tanto teórica como empírica a la investigación de este fenómeno.

En cuanto a la aportación teórica, el estudio realiza una revisión conceptual del término politainment en las democracias occidentales (Van Zoonen, 1998; Patterson, 2000; Hamilton, 2004; Nieland; 2008 ; Sayre & King, 2010; Schultz, 2012; Berrocal, 2016, 2017) así como de los estilemas predominantes en el género, su presencia en los medios de comunicación, en particular en la televisión (Brants, 1998, 2008; Delli Carpini & Williamns, 2001; Thusu 2007) y sus repercusiones en la opinión pública (Nieland, 2008; Sayre & King, 2010; Schultz, 2012). Este fenómeno adquiere gran importancia en el contexto actual de posverdad donde prima la apelación a las emociones y a los sentimientos, ya que en el politainment predomina la “celebrificación de los políticos” (Oliva, Pérez-Latorre; & Besalú, 2015), la relevancia informativa de lo anecdótico (Holtz-Bacha, 2003; Missika, 2006; Kellner, 2010), el sentimentalismo y la dramatización (Carrillo, 2013) y el predominio de la sátira o el humor (Mutz & Chanin, 2004; Moy, Xenos & Hess, 2006), lo que contribuye a simplificar la complejidad de la política y favorece una opinión pública en la que predomina el conocimiento superficial dadas las dificultades para obtener una información seria y rigurosa.

El estado de la cuestión se complementa con la investigación empírica del caso español, que presenta las conclusiones de un análisis de contenido realizado sobre la muestra total de programas

televisivos de politainment emitidos en el periodo 1995-2019, para dar respuesta a preguntas tales como: qué formatos adopta el politainment, qué estilemas lo definen, qué cadenas televisivas propician su emisión, qué audiencia respalda estos programas, cuál ha sido su evolución en España y qué presencia tienen durante la campaña electoral. Precisamente, los resultados obtenidos hasta la fecha indican que es el periodo electoral cuando se incrementan el número de emisiones que contribuyen a la política espectáculo, por lo que resulta de especial interés incorporar a la investigación el análisis de los programas de politainment que puedan surgir con motivo de las Elecciones Municipales y Elecciones al Parlamento Europeo, que se celebrarán en España el 26 de mayo de 2019, con el objeto de examinar su contribución a la simplificación de la política y conocer el seguimiento que estos programas tienen entre la audiencia.

Id: 21700

Title: How can I trust you' Diminishing disinformation strategies against the electoral authority in the Mexican 2018 presidential election

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Julio Juárez-Gámiz

Email: jjuarez@unam.mx

Country: MX (Mexico)

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

Abstract: After decades of one-party rule sustained by a charade electoral system until 1988, Mexican modern democratic history has been built upon the basis of distrust. Every presidential election ends with claims of fraud and inequality as the political explanation behind electoral results. Not surprisingly, the electoral system and its laws have been subject to structural periodic reforms every federal election. This has had a positive impact on the professionalization of electoral bodies and processes. Illustrative examples of this are one of the most accurate and comprehensive voters' registry worldwide, monitoring systems to distribute and verify political parties TV and radio advertising, platforms devised for overseeing campaign expenditure on real time, and mastering an intricate process for capacitating thousands of citizens every election to serve as polling station officers. The sole institutional responsibility nationwide for making this possible relies on the National Electoral Institute (INE in Spanish).

However, despite serving as a United Nations and a Council of Europe electoral assistance ally, unverified rumors and conspiracy theories against INE constitute a recurrent topic every election. It takes a few trending topics on Tweeter, some Facebook fake posts, a viral WhatsApp message, or a homemade YouTube video to question and dent INE's credibility by strengthening the fraud narrative. Tales of obscure algorithms changing results overnight, electoral IDs not valid for voting, ballots apparently being manipulated by polling station officers, and a long list of disinformation materials find fertile soil across Mexico's well established fraud narrative in traditional media and social networks alike.

Usually disinformation strategies target voters in order to promote or discredit a political movement or candidate. However, in Latin American countries like Mexico where the central electoral authority has a highly visible role throughout the electoral process, the elections' organizer is a target itself for questioning electoral integrity and, eventually, the results' credibility as a whole. The Mexican paradox is evident: according to Latinobarómetro, Mexico has one of the lowest regional levels of approval for democracy despite having one of the most sophisticated electoral systems in the region. The challenge for INE as the protagonist of a highly centralized electoral system is twofold. How to communicate a complex technical chain of procedures and measures designed to eradicate fraud across the whole organizational process amid a hostile environment towards the electoral authority? And, how to respond effectively to invalidate disinformation strategies put forward by different actors during the electoral process without affecting freedom of speech or endangering privacy?

The work offers a detailed analysis of INE's communication strategy during the organization of the 2018 presidential election. It takes into account different actions taken by the electoral authority in order to counteract disinformation strategies in traditional media like radio, television and print media and also across digital platforms like Facebook and Twitter. The research critically analyses INE's lessons learned from the electoral process in 2018 as well as the main challenges and opportunities ahead for preserving electoral integrity in the Latin American region.

Id: 21706

Title: POLARIZACIÓN POLÍTICA A TRAVÉS DE TWITTER: POSICIONAMIENTO EN LA RED SOBRE EL PROCESO INDEPENDENTISTA CATLÁN

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Juan Antonio Guevara

Email: juanguev@ucm.es

Country:

Affiliation: Universidad Complutense de Madrid

Name: Jose Manuel Robles

Email: jmrobles@ucm.es

Country:

Affiliation: Universidad Complutense de Madrid

Name: Mirko Antino

Email: m.antino@psi.ucm.es

Country:

Affiliation: Universidad Complutense de Madrid

Name: Daniel Velez

Email: danielvelezserrano@mat.ucm.es

Country:

Affiliation: Universidad Complutense de Madrid

Name: Daniel Gómez

Email: dagomez@estad.ucm.es

Country:

Affiliation: Universidad Complutense de Madrid

Name: Rafael Caballero

Email: rafacr@ucm.es

Country:

Affiliation: Universidad Complutense de Madrid

Abstract: El uso de redes sociales en el ámbito de Internet se ha convertido en una parte crucial de la sociedad, donde los usuarios crean nuevas realidades digitales en las que poder comunicarse y expresar su opinión, interactuando así con el resto de usuarios de la red. En este nuevo escenario, algunos autores hablan de una opinión pública más amplia e inclusiva, así como la presencia de fenómenos como la polarización política en la red, la cual, gracias a las nuevas oportunidades que ofrece este contexto, el estudio del desarrollo y formación de la polarización política se ha vuelto más ambicioso que nunca.

Debido a esta digitalización de la realidad, sirviéndonos de la plataforma Twitter, con el fin de acceder a la polarización política reflejada en los mensajes de los usuarios, y con el fin de

categorizar los mismos como detractores, neutros o favorables hacia la independencia de Cataluña, nos servimos de la metodología machine learning. Con la aplicación de un análisis de sentimiento sobre una primera muestra de los tweets, clasificándolos como, en una primera instancia, si pertenecen a nuestro objeto de estudio o no, y posteriormente su posicionamiento (favorable, detractor o neutral) hacia la independencia catalana, se entrenan diferentes clasificadores de aprendizaje automático con el fin de conseguir un modelo que replique el análisis de sentimiento realizado y poder aplicarlo a la totalidad de la población de mensajes en Twitter durante el proceso de independencia.

De esta forma, los objetivos de este trabajo se resumen en el estudio del proceso de polarización política, pudiendo ser centrífuga (los usuarios tienden a expresar opiniones en orden de diferenciarse con el exogrupo, creando un posicionamiento de naturaleza exclusiva), o centrípeta (ambos grupos presentan una actitud conciliadora caracterizada por la emisión de mensajes de orden inclusivo y entendimiento), así como la valencia de la misma, durante el proceso independentista catalán. Además, Caballero, Naveso, Pérez-Núñez y Robles (en revisión), concluyeron que el estudio de la polarización en las redes muestra una capacidad predictiva sobre los resultados electorales del objeto político estudiado.

Id: 21722

Title: Private vs. Public Digital Spheres: Examining Self-Censorship and Heterogeneity on WhatsApp in Brazil

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Patricia Rossini
Email: patyrossini@gmail.com
Country: US (United States)
Affiliation: Syracuse University

Name: Vanessa Veiga de Oliveira
Email: veiga.jornalismo@gmail.com
Country: BR (Brazil)
Affiliation: Federal University of Minas Gerais

Name: Érica Anita Baptista
Email: anitaerica@gmail.com
Country: BR (Brazil)
Affiliation: Federal University of Minas Gerais

Name: Jennifer Stromer-Galley
Email: jstromer@syr.edu
Country: US (United States)
Affiliation: Syracuse University

Abstract: Research on the use of social media for political discussion has been primarily focused on social networking sites (SNSs), such as Facebook and Twitter, with less attention to mobile instant messaging services (MIMS) such as WhatsApp and Facebook Messenger (Valeriani & Vaccari, 2017). These applications are increasingly central to how people engage with politics, receive information, and participate in discussions in many countries (Gil de Zúñiga, Jung, & Valenzuela, 2012). This study contributes to the emerging literature on mobile messaging and political talk by examining the use of WhatsApp in Brazil. With over 120 million users in 2017, WhatsApp is among the main social applications in Brazil—where mobile internet access reaches over 90% of the population (Newman, Fletcher, Kalogeropoulos, Levy, & Nielsen, 2018). In the aftermath of the 2018 presidential elections in Brazil, WhatsApp played a central role in enabling access to information and fostering political talk, particularly through discussion groups. There are notable differences between the affordances of MIMS to foster political talk compared to SNSs. First, while SNS users generally cannot control their audience, WhatsApp users generally know all participants in a discussion. Thus, WhatsApp may be perceived as safer space to discuss politics compared to SNSs, where users may self-censor opinions to avoid controversies (Valeriani & Vaccari, 2017). As well, WhatsApp facilitates discussions between closer social ties as users connect to others through phone numbers, while SNSs foster connections with weaker ties (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007). As such, there might be social constraints to engaging in disagreeable discussions on WhatsApp.

This study examines the dynamics of political discussion on WhatsApp, compared to SNSs. We are interested in understanding how WhatsApp facilitates exposure to cross-cutting opinions, the conditions for self-censorship, and its use as a source of political information. We use a representative survey of internet users in Brazil (N = 1,600), mixing online panels and phone interviews, to answer the following research questions. First, to what extent are citizens exposed to cross-cutting political views on WhatsApp? Second, are users more likely to feel free to express their political opinions on WhatsApp than on social media? Third, does exposure to cross-cutting political talk affects users' willingness to self-censor their opinions on WhatsApp?

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Id: 21738

Title: Exploring the Impact of Synthetic Political Video on Citizens' Confusion and Trust in News

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Cristian Vaccari

Email: cristian.vaccari@gmail.com

Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: Loughborough University

Name: Andrew Chadwick

Email: A.Chadwick@lboro.ac.uk

Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: Loughborough University

Abstract: Artificial Intelligence (AI) now enables the mass creation of what have become known as “deepfakes”: synthetic videos so realistic that the human eye cannot reliably distinguish them from real ones. To shed light on the potential perils of political deepfakes we administered novel experimental treatments to a large online sample representative of the UK population. Using different cuts of an educational video produced by news organization BuzzFeed in 2018 depicting a synthetic Barack Obama calling President Donald Trump a “dipshit,” we compare subjects’ evaluations of deepfakes that do and do not reveal themselves as fake. We find that people are more likely to be confused rather than misled by deceptive deepfakes. We develop an account of why this is the case, based on our interpretation of what makes political deepfakes unique forms of disinformation. We show how confusion, in turn, reduces levels of trust in news on social media, creating problematic implications for the quality of online public discourse. Our findings suggest that deepfakes may erode citizens’ certainty and trust, further intensifying recent challenges to online civic culture in democratic societies.

Id: 21749

Title: Buzz mediático en la elección presidencial de México 2018: el dilema entre cantidad y calidad informativa.

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Marco Arellano-Toledo

Email: marellano7@yahoo.com.mx

Country: MX (Mexico)

Affiliation: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

Abstract: Las campañas electorales son procesos de gran envergadura que evidencian la disputa de proyectos políticos e ideológicos. Los mecanismos para comunicar las ideas centrales y la necesidad que tienen los contendientes para mostrar diferencias significativas entre ellos, convierten a las campañas en un pujante fenómeno informativo. En contextos de competencia electoral democrática, como es el caso de México, los competidores tienen acceso gratuito, garantizado y equitativo a radio y televisión para realizar pautas publicitarias, además, la propia autoridad electoral monitorea que los tiempos que los noticieros dedican al tratamiento informativo tengan un sentido equitativo. En lo que respecta al circuito digital, la falta de regulación posibilita que los candidatos pauten publicidad, atiborren de contenidos informativos, abanderando guerras sucias a través de bots, rumores y con deslealtad informativa. Por su parte, la autoridad electoral difunde mensajes publicitarios sobre las etapas del proceso electoral, los derechos y obligaciones de la ciudadanía, con el objetivo de potenciar su educación cívica, a fin de que pueda emitir un voto libre e informado.

El abundante y groso torrente informativo que consume un ciudadano durante una campaña presidencial indica que asistimos a una nueva relación en la construcción del proceso informativo entre emisores y receptores. Su articulación, basamento y formas de asimilación hoy están en un proceso vertiginoso, de cambio sustantivo. Por el momento lo único que se conoce, son sus consecuencias. La sobresaturación de información conlleva como riesgo más característico la calidad de sus contenidos, la imprecisión de sus fuentes, la presentación de juicios de valor sin sustento. Existe un desconcierto generalizado en el que tenemos acceso a más información, pero cada vez nos cuesta más trabajo procesarla, analizarla y entenderla. Hoy en día se peca de “gula” informativa, se consume mucha información, pero se digiere poca.

Este trabajo tiene como objetivo diagramar los esfuerzos comunicacionales de los cuatro candidatos presidenciales y la autoridad electoral, a fin de caracterizar cómo se nutrieron los circuitos informativos por los que la ciudadanía asimiló la campaña; se cuantificará y analizará en términos de contenidos, cuatro outputs informativos: la emisión de spots publicitarios en televisión; el volumen de información generado en los principales noticieros de televisión (a partir de un monitoreo que realiza la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México); la emisión de mensajes y contenido informativo en las cuentas oficiales de twitter y, el contenido de la primera plana de dos periódicos nacionales ideológicamente divergentes a lo largo de los 90 días que duró la campaña.

¿Cuentan los ciudadanos con opciones informativas de calidad para ejercer un voto informado? O, por el contrario, ¿la vasta información que se genera en una campaña distorsiona el proceso

informativo afectando la construcción de afinidades políticas y por ende el proceso democrático? Asumiendo que existe una saturación informativa que inunda el ecosistema de medios, los resultados de este trabajo buscan dimensionar el volumen de información a la que estuvo expuesta la ciudadanía en la campaña presidencial de 2018 y cómo dicha abundancia tuvo como contrapartida la calidad y claridad de la misma.

Id: 21798

Title: Online news media, fake news, partisanship and the 2019 Nigerian presidential elections.

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Adeyanju Apejode

Email: A.Apejode@edu.salford.ac.uk

Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: PhD Research student, School of Arts and Media University of Salford, Manchester, United Kingdom

Abstract: The pervasiveness of the internet especially the online news media within the sphere of human communication and the relative ease at which information is gathered, processed and disseminated has raised concern about the truthfulness and objectivity of an information and how such information shapes a democratic process (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017; Jang & Kim, 2018). Similarly, the online media space has become proliferated with several information dissemination platforms so much so that determining the accuracy of an information is gradually becoming difficult (Shellenbarger, 2016). Likewise, the embedded algorithms on the various online news media and social media platforms have increased readers' polarisation and partisanship within the online space on the one hand (Druckman, Levendusky, & McLain, 2018), and unmoderated news sites that encourage anonymity and incivility on the other (Mustafaraj & Metaxas, 2017) to the extent that it has become a tool for politicking, blackmailing and mudslinging (McMahon, 2018). This paper focusses on the phenomenon of fake news within the online news media space and has as its main objective the interrogation of how fake news influence and affect the election process in Nigeria from contestations among the various political actors during campaigns to the actual elections in Nigeria. The paper adopted agenda-setting theory as the theoretical lens for investigating the research problem. Also, the study adopted a survey and content analysis methods. For the content analysis part of the research, twelve news stories including news photos and videos together with 632 comments around the news stories were analysed using thematic analysis method. Also, one hundred and twenty-three respondents completed the questionnaire. Preliminary findings revealed that most of the readers are not aware that the news they read is fake. In addition, the readers do not have adequate knowledge on how to differentiate between fake and real news, and the fake news postings are influenced by online media partisanship along political party line.
Keywords: Fake news, Online news media, Partisanship, Election

Id: 21846

Title: Soundbites and emotional appeals: How technology and social media are changing political rhetoric ' The Portuguese case

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Francisca Amorim

Email: franciscagoncalvesamorim@sapo.pt

Country: PT (Portugal)

Affiliation: University of Beira Interior - LabCom. IFP

Abstract: The rhetorical and political communication paradigm in the world changed. The way politics, but also journalists, communicate with citizens has undergone a visible and audible transformation in the past decades, which is perceptible by the fact that discourse shrunk and became even more emotional. That way, two rhetorical strategies stand out in the current communication scenario: soundbites and emotional appeals. The intensification of its use coincides with the grow of social media and the technological innovation, so that soundbites and emotional appeals arise in response to advances in media and communication technology on society. How this transformation occurred, with what discursive characteristics and with what impact for information and citizens enlightenment are the main objectives of this work.

The presence of soundbites and emotions in politics was particularly evident in the Portuguese context during the campaign for the 2015 legislative elections. This moment of great national interest was taken as a case study, in order to know and better understand these ways of communicating. Intending to go beyond the negative connotations of the common language attributed to it, a rhetorical analysis of the soundbites of the leading candidates for the Portuguese legislative elections was carried out. The analysis intended to verify their strategic and argumentative characteristics focusing on the pathos - one of the three means of persuasion of Aristotle (along with ethos and logos).

The impact of technology and social media in political rhetoric and communication is undoubtedly. Given the communicative context that we are experiencing today, the study concludes that the configuration of political rhetoric in the form of short, catchy and affective appealing phrases was inevitable. Soundbite corresponds to an intentional option to give visibility to certain aspects, hiding and silencing others, which is deliberated both in the political and media decision-making process. In this sense, it is our intention to reflect on the challenges posed by the persuasive (in)visibility of soundbite and the discursive power of emotions for citizens.

Nowadays, political rhetoric is a nearly invisible, simplified and more emotional than rational rhetoric that found in the brevity and complexity of soundbite the best strategy to adapt to the 21st century media and social scene. Our research shows that the political rhetoric of soundbites and emotional appeals is a very effective rhetoric. By not fulfilling the canons of traditional rhetoric it does not seem rhetorical. Therefore, it requires a citizen increasingly conscious and attentive to the manipulation of what does not seem to manipulate him.

This study is the result of an investigation already carried out in a master's degree, which is currently been deepened at the doctoral level.

Id: 21857

Title: The Development of Contemporary Media Populism in Japan: An Analysis of Media Discourse on "Reform"

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Shuzo Yamakoshi

Email: shuzo@mediacom.keio.ac.jp

Country: JP (Japan)

Affiliation: Keio University

Abstract: This research discusses on the role of the mainstream media on the development of populism in Japan.

As a result of the “Trump phenomenon” and “Brexit,” there is increasing interest in the effect of SNS on populism. But critical media studies should not reduce dynamics of media populism to the social media, and the causes of populism to contemporary issues in Western society such as “anti-globalism” or “anti-immigration.”

This research analyzes how antagonistic and populist political communication has been constructed over the past 20 years in Japan; first, contemporary populism in Japan has been established as a discourse of neo-liberal “reform,” and second, this discourse has been formed by “liberal” news media as a style of “criticism” to conservative regime.

In order to clarify these two features, this research employs an analytical framework depending on concepts of discourse developed in theories of radical democracy. This discourse theory has been used in research fields such as critical discourse studies and critical media politics. By referring to analytical concepts such as “antagonism” and “political logics” in discourse theory, this research makes clear the process of the formation of discourse on “reform” with logics of populism.

In this research, news articles and editorials of the Asahi Shimbun are analyzed. The Asahi is a leading liberal newspaper with the second largest circulation in Japan. The period of analysis is from the mid-1990s to the mid-2000s.

Since the 1990s, Japanese society has experienced stagnation called the "lost decade." In this situation, "reform" as a political symbol won a legitimacy. Liberal media has formed the discourse of "reform." This discourse insisted that the "lost decade" was caused by the "post-war system" of politics and the economy, and therefore, it is necessary to break down the vested interests of Japanese conservative forces and promote neo-liberal reform.

The discourse of "reform" developed a narrative of good-evil dualism and a poetic justice story (logic of antagonism). In other words, the populist logic that criticizes politics and society was formed by news media including liberal media.

The discourse of this "reform" came to be appropriated by the conservative forces. Koizumi administration (2001-2006: Liberal Democratic Party) utilized this logic to develop populist politics (theatrical politics). The important point is that the logic of this populist antagonism has been widely shared since then. As a result, not only mainstream liberal media, but also various political actors and social media also began to deploy this kind of logic. Liberal media gradually came to be attacked by populists as "enemies" by this logic. In other words, this discourse has become the basic form of Japanese political communication of digital media environment today.

This research shows some suggestions for renewal of journalism through 'genealogy' of populist political communication.

Id: 21920

Title: Social media use, self-censorship, and political expression: a moderated mediation analysis

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Putri Limilia

Email: p.limilia@unpad.ac.id

Country: ID (Indonesia)

Affiliation: Padjadjaran University

Abstract: Present study believes that social media is the appropriate medium to express opinion or idea. Since user did not need a permission to do it. However, this condition may lead to polarization and hate speech. In Indonesia, government tried to solve this problem with "Electronic Transaction Law". Some experts did not agree with this solution since it give a side effect such as people will afraid to express their opinion in social media. Therefore, this research tries to examine the mediating role of self-censorship in the relationship between social media use and political expression, the moderating effect of gender toward social media use and self-censorship relations, the relationship among self-censorship and political expression. Authors deploy spiral of silence theory in exploring the relationship among variables. The theory argues that the fear of isolation would predict individual decision about whether they want to speak up or keep silent. The present study also found that social media usage's motive, observation on communication climate, feedback, and diversity exposure will also affect it. Furthermore, it will also affect self-censorship. Therefore, authors used several variables such as social media observations as independent variable (IV), gender as moderator variable, self-censorship as mediation variable, and political expression as dependent variable (DV). Data was collected from college student (N=189) through survey design. In order to measure the variables, authors use measurement from Hayes et al (Self-censorship), Kwon et al (observation on communication climate), and Zuniga et al (political expression). The results indicate that there is the mediating effect of self-censorship in relationship between social media and political expression although it is not significant. There is a moderating effect of gender in relationship between social media use and self-censorship. Its effect varied among gender. The political expression can be predicted from social media use and self-expression. These results are consistent with prior research which stated that observation on communication climate, self-censorship, feedback, and diversity will predict political expression. Moreover, these results also indicate that the spiral of silence still relevance in social media context.

Keywords: social media use, self-censorship, political expression, spiral of silent, quantitative method

Id: 21962

Title: Investigating a News Overload on Social Media and Users' Coping Strategies

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Zhieh Lor

Email: jiaeeh_13@naver.com

Country: KR (Korea, Republic Of)

Affiliation: Ewha Womans University

Abstract: With the accelerated emergence of social media sites (SNS) and their growing importance in facilitating the speed and content of news consumption, people are increasingly becoming handicapped capacity processors in a mediated environment. This analogy becomes even more prevalent when considering the rapid rate of news production and consumption, along with its curation through numerous news algorithms. This study attempts to clarify the role of news overload within the theoretical framework of the limited capacity model of motivated mediated message processing (LC4MP, Lang, 2000), which emphasizes the inherent limitations of cognitive processes in a mediated environment. The evidence from this study suggests that allocation of mental resources in the human processing system is conducted at a rate commensurate with message density and complexity. Findings reveal that stimuli will thereby be ignored or unattended to when demands exceed capabilities, resulting in effects such as social network fatigue and negative emotional reactions to social network activities, including tiredness, stress, and severe redundancy (e. g. the repetition of useless message exposure). Such effects of cognitive overload in an individual's physiological and behavioral responses suggest that there may be significant performance breakdowns while using SNS platforms for news, which have the potential to powerfully affect subsequent political knowledge formation. Our results demonstrate substantive implications for the relationship between the use of SNS for news dissemination and civic knowledge formation.

In addition, this study specifies coping mechanisms such as “unfollowing,” “blocking,” and “delaying” that people commonly utilize when confronted with excessive news. These findings are contextualized within current literature by clarifying the relationship between cognitive (over)load and management while using social media for news consumption. These mechanisms become particularly urgent when considering the fact that a healthy democracy and civil engagement requires equal access to information—something that is elided with coping strategies such as news avoidance. Finally, we offer promising directions for future research in the domains of SNS news circulation and consumption.

Id: 22048

Title: "Manufacturing the (un)necessary illusions" Fake News, Bots and Cyber-propaganda during the July 2018 elections in Zimbabwe

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Admire Mare

Email: amare@nust.na

Country: NA (Namibia)

Affiliation: Namibia University of Science and Technology

Abstract: Fake news has become one of the most destabilizing forces of modern day electoral politics. Although the problem of fake news is as old as the oldest profession in the world, its easy circulation and hyper-sharing in the digital media ecology has generated massive scholarly attention in the global North. This presentation sheds light on the July 2018 elections in Zimbabwe, which were framed as historic in the sense that it pitted two 'new' presidential candidates—Emmerson Mnangagwa (ZANU-PF) and Nelson Chamisa (MDC-T)—who replaced Robert Mugabe and the late Morgan Tsvangirai from the apex of contentious politics in post-2000 Zimbabwe. Drawing on ethnographic studies (a combination of semi-and-unstructured interviews and virtual ethnographic accounts) amongst political activists, cyber-troops, journalists and ordinary citizens, this study looks at the production and consumption of fake news and cyber-propaganda in a polarized political environment. It provides compelling evidence of huge investment in both financial and human resources by the two main parties in the recruitment and deployment of cyber-troops and online spin-doctors. This also looks at how digital media became an invaluable avenue for disinformation, character assassination, subvertisements and 'memefication' of electoral politics. In a bid to create the necessary illusions, politicians and political parties also creatively inserted fake news and cyber-propaganda on a number of social media platforms in order to confuse and manipulate the electorate. It argues that fake news and cyber-propaganda have become sharpened 'electoral weapons' of the 21st century even in the global South where access to smartphones and internet connection is still very much limited. Whereas fake news and cyberpropaganda are very much automated through the strategic deployment of bots and algorithms in the global North, this presentation argues that in the Zimbabwean context there was an overreliance on human actors (cyber trolls or armies) who were part of the campaign teams of political actors. These human actors creatively invaded hashtags like #EDHasMyVote, #GodIsInIt and #GenerationalConsensus. The presentation also argues that because of limited digital literacy in rural spaces, fake news and cyber-propaganda played an important role in subverting the will of the people.

Id: 22091

Title: Global news flow: What countries are the Russian media talking about'

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Anastasia Kazun

Email: adkazun@hse.ru

Country: RU (Russian Federation)

Affiliation: National Research University Higher School of Economics

Abstract: International news construct images of enemies and friends. This can redirect the attention of the population from domestic social problems to foreign policy. According to the rally around the flag theory, external threats and crises lead to the consolidation of society and the growth of support for the national leader. In this paper we apply the global news flow theory to explain what countries discussed in Russian media and why. We study the mentions of 193 countries in the reports of the most quoted Russian TV channels, print newspapers and online resources for 2017. Since the Russian media have limited independence, coverage of the countries will be analyzed in different types of media – government-controlled (TV channels), relatively independent (newspapers) and independent (online resources). The data was collected using the Factiva database, containing texts of newspaper articles and transcripts of news television programs. In total, 26269 mentions of foreign countries in television news, 39171 articles in print newspapers and 31367 news in online resources were analyzed. The influence of geographic and economic factors and intercountry relations on the number of information messages about countries in Russian media is demonstrated. The high role of the economic factors in the coverage of international news was revealed. Some differences in the agendas of Russian television, press and news websites are concluded. Models that explain attention to foreign countries have a much greater explanatory power in the case of the press than regarding television. Observed differences may relate to greater control of Russia's government over television news, which makes the political relations of countries more meaningful than their economic characteristics. Although a significant number of studies carried out on materials of Europe and the USA suggest that the agendas of different types of media are similar, Russian data demonstrate the opposite. In addition, the paper pointed out the extremely high attention of Russian media to the US, which exceeds even the number of references to own country.

Id: 22092

Title: The use of affective communication by right-wing parties on Twitter during election campaigns: The case of German State Elections in Bavaria and Hesse in 2018

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Vivien Benert

Email: v.benert@fu-berlin.de

Country: DE (Germany)

Affiliation: Freie Universität Berlin

Abstract: The communication strategies of populists and right-wing parties such as the German Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) have recently received considerable attention in communication science (Heinisch, Holtz-Bacha & Mazzoleni, 2017). Especially social media have been argued to be a driver of the dissemination of fake news and hate speech, which in turn have been linked to populist parties and their communication strategies during election campaigns. These changes in the affective dynamics and modes of (political) communication in digital media environments can lead to what has been described as dissonant public spheres (Pfetsch, 2018). Due to technological changes and an increasing number of actors (e.g. non-professionals, social bots) in political communication on social media, dissonance in the public sphere increases, making political deliberation more difficult. At the same time, the importance of social media, especially Twitter, as an important tool for political actors during election campaigns has been emphasized (Jungherr, 2016).

From a dissonant public sphere perspective, affective dynamics of the contents of issue publics are important with regard to the quality of discussions and deliberation in public spheres. This is especially true for election campaigns. This study therefore focusses on affective communication in Twitter discourses about the German state elections in Bavaria and Hesse in 2018. Since retweets are an important element of information dissemination and thus affect polarization and attention dynamics to content on Twitter, the questions of who retweets whom and resulting communication strategies are of special interest during election campaigns. The research question is: How does the use of affective and emotional communication of the right-wing party AfD differ from other actors' communication in Twitter retweet networks about the German state elections in 2018?

To answer this question, social network analysis will be combined with co-occurrence analysis of words to gain insights into the structure of the retweet networks and the use of (affective) language of important actors on Twitter. The data includes all tweets containing the official hashtags for the two elections (#ltwby, #ltwhe) from the election weeks in October 2018, respectively. Data was retrieved via the Twitter Search API and the R-package rtweet resulting in a total of N=300,141 tweets. The importance of specific actors will be evaluated using measures from network theory (degrees, betweenness). Community detection will be used to identify clusters of densely connected nodes in the networks, depicting what can be interpreted as communicative coalitions.

Preliminary results indicate that the AfD gets most of the attention in terms of hashtags, mentions, and retweets. Thus, a closer investigation of network structures and language used by different actors seems promising to further understand the communication strategies applied by populist actors on Twitter. Data analysis will be finished in April 2019.

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Id: 22104

Title: Global News Flow in G-20: Attention to Countries vs Attention to Leaders

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Anton Kazun

Email: kazun.anton@gmail.com

Country: RU (Russian Federation)

Affiliation: National Research University Higher School of Economics

Abstract: The paper analyzes the global news flow in the G-20 countries in 2017-2018. For the analysis we use the global news database Dow Jones Factiva, which includes nearly 33,000 media from 159 countries of the world. We compiled a list of 3 leading print media for each of the G-20 countries (120 sources) and coded the number of mentions of all G-20 countries in each of them. The similar database was created for mentions of national leaders in all G-20 countries. Based on the created matrices with mutual mentions of the G-20 countries and their leaders, we build networks: in the center of the network there are countries or leaders that are more often mentioned in leading foreign print media, and on the periphery those who are less often mentioned in the media. Existing literature (Golan, 2008; Guo & Vargo, 2017; Kim & Barnett, 1996; Segev, 2015; Wu, 2000; Wu, 2007) generally indicates that the global news flow could be generally explained with economic factors (GDP, trade etc.). We show that the situation is more complicated: interest to some countries could be largely explained with economic factors, while the interest to other countries depend on political factors (for example, participation in international conflicts, level of democracy etc.). The network analysis revealed the presence of asymmetry in the number of mentions of countries and the number of mentions of their leaders. If the attention to a country (or its position in the network) depend to a significant extend on political factors, then the name of the leader will have a relatively higher centrality on the network than the name of the country. Conversely, the leaders of countries whose mentions could be generally explained by economic factors are less frequently mentioned in foreign media. Thus, comparing the attention to the country and to its leader, it is possible to draw conclusions about the factors which explain high or low interest to the country.

Id: 22139

Title: Changes in election campaign strategies. Party or media driven'

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Kajsa Falasca

Email: kajsa.falasca@miun.se

Country: SE (Sweden)

Affiliation: Mid Sweden University

Abstract: During election campaigns, political parties are primarily vote-seeking. This means we can expect them to design their election campaign strategies in order to be as effective as possible in attracting the support from the electorate. Over time, the media have become increasingly influential and the perceived need to communicate through the media is especially important in election campaigns (Strömbäck, 2008). The process of mediatization of politics is defined as a process where media is not only becoming more important for political information for the electorate but also has spill-over effects on how political actors more or less reactively or proactively adapt to the media and their own needs to communicate through the media (Strömbäck and Esser, 2017). However, the influence of mediatization on election campaign strategies cannot be taken for granted. If and to what extent mediatization effects political parties and their campaign strategies must ultimately be regarded as an empirical question requiring empirical research.

In this paper, we investigate what the main driving forces behind the changes or developments of political parties' election campaign strategies are. We derive and evaluate expectations from two competing theories. First, party change theory (e.g. Harmel and Janda 1994) holds that parties change as a consequence of party specific events such as electoral failure, shift in party leadership or change in dominant faction in party. To validate this perspective, we expect parties' campaign strategies to change asynchronously, that is, in different ways dependent on party specific events and characteristics. Second, mediatization theory argues that a media logic increasingly is determining the actions by political actors. From this perspective, therefore, we would expect parties to adapt synchronically. In other words, we would primarily expect to find patterns of similar changes independent of party characteristics.

In order to evaluate the hypotheses this study is based on systematically collected data from interviews and surveys with party secretaries from each of the political parties represented in the Swedish national Parliament at the time. The empirical material covers the 2010, 2014 and 2018 Swedish national election campaigns, which allows us investigate developments over time and within the same national context.

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Id: 22142

Title: Digital Political Labour: The affordances of social media in election campaigning

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Kajsa Falasca

Email: kajsa.falasca@miun.se

Country: SE (Sweden)

Affiliation: Mid Sweden University

Abstract: Both scholarly and popular discourse on social media is overflowed with ways of describing how social media can facilitate audience involvement and engagement in political campaigning (Kruikemeier, van Noort, Vliegthart, & de Vreese, 2013). Digital and especially social media such as Facebook is regarded as enabling interactive communication between political parties and citizens. The engagement affordances of social media have often been assessed as the online interaction between political parties or candidates and citizens (Blumler & Gurevitch, 2001; Werder, 2015) but research indicates that parties mostly leave citizens to communicate amongst themselves without interaction (Falasca, Dymek and Grandien, 2017). Overall, social media is mainly used to amplify or advertise political issues to a wider audience rather than engaging with the audience.

Albeit the top down oriented campaign communication in social media people commenting are co-creators of meaning and carriers of advertising. In that sense and despite the lack of direct interaction, active audiences are, by their own actions in social media, taking part in what this study posits as digital political labour (DPL) since audiences do not only receive political messages but also increase the reach of messages and contribute significantly with their own user-generated content.

Against this background, the purpose of this longitudinal study is to analyse how political parties perceive the affordances of social media use in election campaigning. Do they bank on user engagement and DPL? And how has the perception of social media affordances developed over time? The empirical material of this study is a unique set of interviews with leading party officials from the political parties represented in the Swedish Parliament. It covers the 2002, 2006, 2010, 2014 and 2018 Swedish national election campaigns. This material is rare in the sense that direct access to political parties are unusual in the field of political communication as well as the longitudinal aspect of the material.

The results show that over time most of the communications work is more and more performed by the audiences, and not by the parties themselves. This study highlights how the perceived affordances of social media in campaigning focuses on two important dimensions of DPL where users do not only constitute targets and carriers of advertising as well as audiences whose free labour generates campaign content but political parties actually depend on users DPL in their election campaigns on social media.

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Id: 22174

Title: South African elections: Is there a difference between local and national election campaigns in a developing country'

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Lynnette Fourie

Email: lynnette.fourie@nwu.ac.za

Country: ZA (South Africa)

Affiliation: North West UniversityPotchefstroom CampusPotchefstroomSouth Africa

Abstract: Local government is the tier of government that functions the closest to grass roots and is therefore seen as the most democratic tier of government. Furthermore, South African local government also has a developmental responsibility. Against this background it is argued that South African political parties should follow a civic perspective to local election campaigns. This would imply that political parties contesting a local elections have a responsibility to engage with voters on issues relevant to local government. However, typical local government issues, such as: service delivery, maintenance of local infrastructure and capacity of municipalities are often perceived negatively by the South African electorate and thus not necessary favourable topics for election campaigns, especially if you are the ruling party. It is argued in this paper that in local elections parties should campaign according to participatory development communication principles in their campaigns. The basic assumption is that the electoral should be empowered to form part of the community that addresses issues, rather than merely relying on local government to provide the solutions.

On the other hand, national elections should focus on political issues relevant to sustainable democracy. When following a civic approach to election campaigns it is further argued that these messages should contribute to the empowerment of the electorate. Although it is accepted (and encouraged) that in national election campaigns traditional voting appeal strategies should be used to canvas votes, it is proposed that the campaign should also empower voters by means of relevant information, stimulating debate on political issues and motivating them to vote. The basic argument is that there should be integration between emotional and rational appeals.

It is therefore argued in this paper that both local and national election campaigns should focus on empowering the electorate, but the dominant themes and election campaign styles should differ.

It is against this background that this paper will investigate how the dominant themes and nature of the communication messages in the 2016 local South African elections and the 2019 South African national elections compare. The focus will be on the dominant political parties in the JB Marks municipality district during the 2016 South African Local Government elections and upcoming 2019 national elections. The parties include: African National Congress (ANC), Democratic Alliance (DA), Freedom Front Plus (FFP) and Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF). The election material for the 2016 local election was collected / and or photographed by the researcher and sourced from youtube and the parties' websites. The same procedure will be followed for the 2019 national election campaign.

The messages will be analysed by means of qualitative content analysis according to the assumptions or the participatory approach to development communication and traditional election

appeals in order to determine to what extent political parties used messages which could empower the electorate.

Id: 22175

Title: Interaction among newsmedia, politics and public sector organizations in Italy

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Francesca Rizzuto

Email: francesca.rizzuto@unipa.it

Country: IT (Italy)

Affiliation: University of Palermo

Name: Lucia D' Ambrosi

Email: Lucia.dambrosi@unimc.it

Country: IT (Italy)

Affiliation: University of Macerata

Name: Gea Ducci

Email: Gea.ducci@uniurb.it

Country: IT (Italy)

Affiliation: University of Urbino Carlo Bo

Name: Alessandro Lovari

Email: alelovari@gmail.com

Country: IT (Italy)

Affiliation: University of Cagliari

Abstract: Interaction among newsmedia, politics and public sector organizations in Italy (Francesca Rizzuto, Associate Professor University of Palermo, Lucia D' Ambrosi, Assistant Professor University of Macerata, Gea Ducci, Associate Professor University of Urbino Carlo Bo, Alessandro Lovari, Assistant Professor University of Cagliari)

The paper will present different perspectives of the problematic relationship among newsmedia, politics and public sector organizations in Italy in order to underline the permanence of some traditional features as well as the emergence of a new style of interaction, connected to the success of infotainment and to the pervasive use of social media, which brought about a redefinition of the role of political journalism. As a matter of fact the contemporary communication circuit among institutional sources, political actors, journalists and citizens outlines a new information ecosystem, a framework in which there is a changed perception of the meaning of journalism (Zelizer 2004; Morcellini, 2011).

The attention will be focused on two fundamental topics, highlighted by the most recent scientific debate: on the one hand, the corpus of studies that identified the peculiarities of Italian information system, often presented as an anomaly among Western countries (Forgacs, 2000; Murialdi, 2006). On the other hand, on the current problematic configuration of the interaction between public organizations and social media and its impact on the participation of citizens to democratic life (Ducci 2017; Faccioli 2013; D'Ambrosi 2012; Mazzoleni, 1998).

Hallin and Mancini (2004) included Italian journalism in the Mediterranean or pluralist-polarized model: according to them, in Italy, as in other Southern European countries, there is a peculiar relationship between the media and politics because capitalism and democracy developed later than other contexts. This slow transition to political democracy produced the tendency to consider media as instruments of political mobilization and to use them not to inform but to participate to politics (Bennett, Segerberg, 2013).

In this perspective, therefore, the characteristics of the political system would have strongly influenced the evolution of the newsmedia and their high degree of political parallelism. This anomalous proximity-proximity between journalists and politics has given rise to a sclerosis of the information circuit from politics to citizens, with the exclusion of the latter as active actors of the democratic dynamics. At the same time public institutions have not played an active role in involving citizens and promoting a wider democratic debate.

More recently, the presence of social media made possible a radical change in the interaction among newsmedia, politics and public institutions (Rizzuto, 2018; Sorrentino 2008; Lovari, 2013).

Moreover, with digitization and social media, Italian public sector organizations started to actively enter the communication circuit, with their press offices and official social media platform, bypassing traditional newsmedia and reaching directly citizens and their strategic publics. The article will investigate the Italian case study, identifying the main factors that have created these hybrid flows and complex dynamics related to the interaction of these social actors in the contemporary communication ecologies.

Id: 22355

Title: The venting, taming and channelling of outrage online: background communication dynamics of an ad-hoc protest against animal cruelty

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Benjamin Loveluck

Email: benjamin.loveluck@telecom-paristech.fr

Country: FR (France)

Affiliation: Telecom ParisTech

Abstract: On the 31st of May 2017, a stray cat was discovered dead and mutilated in Draguignan, France, a town of 40,000 inhabitants. The event was reported the very next day in the local newspaper Var Matin but also many national outlets, with gruesome details of “torture” and a “massacre” committed by a “gang of young people”. Intense outrage sparked the immediate setting up of Facebook groups, along with the creation of an online petition on Change.org asking that “justice be done”. The petition quickly gained traction and eventually reached over 265,000 signatures – thus becoming one of the ten most successful petitions on Change.org for France in 2017.

With no resolution of the crime in sight, the movement grew steadily with demonstrations organized in Draguignan, Marseille and Paris, along with other forms of protest. A suspect was finally arrested by the end of July, and a different narrative emerged – much less dramatic than the one which initially precipitated the outrage. During that period however, passionate activity unfolded online and took a diversity of forms:

- expressing grief for the martyred cat, which became an icon for the movement;
- carrying out investigations and assessing information in order to establish the facts and make sense of the many rumours and unfounded accusations which were (sometimes intentionally) spread;
- calling for action, with an active minority pushing for the suspects to be found and punished directly, while others advocated more routinized forms of protest.

This contribution aims at understanding the internal communication dynamics of these events and the ‘connective action’ associated with expressive forms of public engagement (Bennett & Segerberg 2012). The study focuses on the social media ‘backstage practices’ (Treré 2015) of an emotionally-charged protest movement. It explores the emergence of a collective identity (Gerbaudo and Treré 2015) and highlights the ‘messy’ and uncertain nature of such ad-hoc mobilisations by addressing three related issues. The first one is the expression of outrage as driver of an ‘affective public’ (Papacharissi 2014), and how it relates to the collective definition of the boundaries of legitimate political action, sometimes verging on a form of parallel policing and digital vigilantism (Loveluck 2016; Trottier 2017). The second is an assessment of how information is discussed and deemed trustworthy (or not) within a group engaged in such collective actions. The third is an appraisal of the role played by informal ‘leaders’ online (Poell et al. 2016) as highly contested yet essential figures for organizing and setting limits to the discussions.

The research is based on a digital ethnography (Markham & Baym 2009; Hine 2008) and mixed methods approach combining several types of empirical material: 1) online observation and archiving of webpages, Facebook groups and online petitioning platform Change.org; 2) collection and analysis of quantitative data from the platforms where possible, particularly Facebook pages scraped at regular intervals via the Netvizz application (Rieder 2013); 3) semi-directed interviews of key actors such as Facebook page admins and Change.org representatives. The scale of the issue and the short time frame until its resolution (4 months) enabled the collection of comprehensive data and detailed analysis.

Id: 22361

Title: The combination of disruptive and institutional tactics as a key to get favorable media treatment. The case of the organizations 15-M and PAH in Spain

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Eva Espinar-Ruiz
Email: Eva.Espinar@ua.es
Country: ES (Spain)
Affiliation: University of Alicante

Name: Amador Iranzo
Email: iranzo@uji.es
Country: ES (Spain)
Affiliation: Universitat Jaume I

Abstract: In general, social movements have a limited capacity in influencing media thematic agenda and the interpretative frame that will prevail in covering protest events. In fact, social movements are compelled to compete with other actors in the definition of the specific frames that will become dominant (Albizu, 2016). In such a competition, they not only aim to receive broad coverage (standing) and to convey their own approach to the issue (preferred framing), but also, as Gamson & Wolfsfeld (1993) affirm, to receive positive coverage (sympathy). Sympathy thus refers to the tone with which the social movement and its actors are covered.

Most of the research developed in the field of mainstream news media's portrayal of social movements totally or partially supports the so called 'protest paradigm' (Chan & Lee, 1984). According to this paradigm, protests and social movements are usually covered in a negative way. Among the characteristics of this media treatment, McLeod & Detenber (1999) highlight the following: use of narrative structures that emphasize violence, reliance on official sources and official definitions, representation of activists as minority groups, and the use of other techniques that involve the marginalization of activists. However, the media treatment of social movements does not always fit within the protest paradigm (Edgerly, Toft, & Veden, 2011; Shahin, Zheng, Sturm, & Fadnis, 2016; Veneti, Poulakidakos, & Theologou, 2012). Consequently, the question to be answered is: What causes a social movement or an act of protest to receive favorable media treatment or more adapted to its objectives? In the quest for a response, different movements and protests have been analyzed and comparative research has been promoted, without getting a unanimous agreement.

This paper aims to collaborate with new data to this debate. Thus, our main purpose is to develop a comparative analysis of the news media treatment of two Spanish social movements: the 15-M movement (or Indignados movement) and the Platform of People Affected by Mortgages (Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca). The media portrayal of the 15-M has been the subject of several studies. However, the comparative approach has been quite absent, despite its potential to offer relevant information about the factors that may influence the media treatment of social movements and the possibilities of getting a more positive coverage. From this comparative perspective, a mainly quantitative content analysis has been applied on a sample of news about the 15-M and the PAH published in the digital editions of five of the most popular Spanish mass media.

The results question the main premises of the protest paradigm, given the mostly positive or neutral treatment received by both movements. Both the PAH and the 15-M take advantage of the structures of opportunities that open with the financial crisis of 2008. However, the journalistic coverage of the PAH is significantly more favorable compared to the 15-M, which is derived from the PAH's combination of both disruptive (to attract the media) and institutional (to get positive treatment) tactics. This combination is reinforced through the PAH's strategy of communication.

Id: 22411

Title: Constructing the new 'enemy of the people' How populist actors frame traditional news media on Twitter.

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Peter Maurer

Email: peter.maurer@ntnu.no

Country: NO (Norway)

Affiliation: NTNU Trondheim

Name: Anna Bil-Jaruzelska

Email: anna.bil-jaruzelska@ntnu.no

Country: NO (Norway)

Affiliation: NTNU

Name: Sina Furkan Özdemir

Email: sina.ozdemir@ntnu.no

Country: NO (Norway)

Affiliation: NTNU

Name: Marta Rebolledo de la Calle

Email: mrebolledo@unav.es

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: University of Navarra

Abstract: Social media have become an important arena where politically relevant discourses are constructed and find a potentially massive legitimization among the public. Populist actors, in particular, have become apt at using social media to spread their message. Populism can be understood as a discursive frame consisting of two main dimensions: anti-elitism and people-centrism. Anti-elitism constructs an opposition between ‘the people’ and a certain elite, whereby both concepts remain vague and can be filled with different meanings. During the last years, the mainstream media have been criticized by populist parties and in popular street protests across Europe because of their alleged collaboration with political elites. Even though populist discourse has become one of the most widely debated issues in contemporary politics, this particular aspect of populist discourse – references to the mainstream media – on social media is as of yet underexplored. The present study seeks to fill this research gap by asking the following questions:

- 1) How do populist actors in Europe portray the media in their tweets?
- 2) How salient is the media as a topic in the populist anti-elitist discourse?
- 3) What is populists position towards the media as an institution?
- 4) Which discursive frames do populist actors use when referring to the media on Twitter?

The working hypothesis is that populist actors integrate the mainstream mass media in their anti-elitist discursive framework, where a vertical opposition between ‘the people’ and different groups defined as the elite is constructed. The mainstream mass media would thus become another manifestation of the elite, portrayed as a group acting against the interests of, or betraying, ‘the

people'. To answer the research questions, this study will use Twitter posts written by relevant actors from populist parties and movements in four EU countries: France, Germany, Poland and Spain. These include, among others, the public figures of Rassemblement National, La France Insoumise, Gilets Jaunes, AfD, die Linke, Law and Justice (PiS), and Podemos. As the first step, all tweets from relevant actors will be collected during a 3-month window running up to the EP election. From those, all tweets containing anti-elitism will be retrieved automatically using a dictionary. Next, the tweets referring to the media will be filtered out of the total sample using a keyword list. This subset of media-related tweets will undergo an automated sentiment analysis and a detailed manual frame analysis. Using content analysis based on a carefully designed codebook, this approach will allow us to identify a) the share of anti-media tweets among anti-elite tweets, b) the sentiment of populist actors from different parties and countries toward the media, and c) which frames they use to portray the media. Finally, a synopsis of findings will show whether there is an emerging uniform populist discourse about the media, or if it is largely determined by country-specific factors.

Id: 22461

Title: Selective Avoidance and Disconnection on Social Media During Political Turmoil: A Study of the 2018 Catalan Crisis

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Manuel Goyanes

Email: mgoyanes@hum.uc3m.es

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Universidad Carlos III de Madrid

Name: Laura de Grado

Email: 100332341@alumnos.uc3m.es

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Universidad Carlos III de Madrid

Name: Marko Skoric

Email: mskoric@cityu.edu.hk

Country: HK (Hong Kong)

Affiliation: City University of Hong Kong

Abstract: This study examines the role played by social media during the political crisis triggered by the Catalan Referendum of Independence held on October 1st, 2018. The referendum was denounced by the Spanish government which swiftly deployed judicial and police resources to quell the rebellion and re-establish the Spanish legal order in Catalonia. Many Catalan citizens, led by the independentist parties, took the streets to protest the government's moves against independence. The protests were extensively covered in both national and international news media and caused a flurry of activity in the social media sphere. Our study seeks to shed more light on Catalan citizens' engagement on social media, testing the assumption that these platforms provide robust public forums for political expression, discussion and deliberation during the times of political turmoil. More specifically, we examine what citizens did not do on social media, who they avoided and/or unfriended, as well as the implications of such social media behaviors for political polarization in Spain.

Our findings, based on 45 interviews with Catalan citizens, show that despite strong political partisanship, Catalans show marginal inclinations to discuss political issues online and consequently develop what we term a teflonic social media behavior. This form of self-presentation strategy on social media may involve self-censorship, segmentation of content by platform, and selective avoidance of topics for discussion (Pitcan, Marwick, & boyd, 2018). By implementing these personal tactics, they avoid commenting and sharing political information about the Catalan conflict, due to inappropriateness, sterility, or tediousness. As for political polarization, it is articulated through reciprocal discourses of alterity, "us" against "them" (i.e. independentist vs. unionist) by which Catalan citizens legitimate or challenge the narrative of the independentist process ("El Procés"). Political discussions on social media are mainly triggered by obvious lies or fake news that both sides of the political spectrum understand should be challenged or countered based on their own opinions or real-life experiences. Our participants report that despite that the fact

that the independence movement has undeniably heightened social and political conflict, the unfriend button on social media was only used when specific norms of uncivility were breached (see Schwarz & Shani, 2016, for similar findings in Israel). Verbal aggression, calls for violence, and blind insistence on certain issues (repeatedly expressed) were the typical triggers for tie dissolution on social media, rather than the mere exposure to dissonant views and opinions. We argue that the perceptions of the dramatic social consequences of the independence process reported by national media are challenged by individual narratives of Catalans, in a context where the independentist bubble is losing breath due to its media and social ubiquity.

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Id: 22558

Title: Echo Chambers of Disinformation' Towards a Confirmation Bias in Believing and Disseminating True and False Political News Online

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Fabian Zimmermann

Email: fabian.zimmermann@uni-mannheim.de

Country: DE (Germany)

Affiliation: University of Mannheim

Abstract: The recent success of populist parties and politicians around the globe has led to an ongoing public debate about the perils of attitudinal polarization for democracy. A fundamental disagreement regarding the empirical facts, on which political controversy is based in the first place, is even more dangerous. Against this background, disinforming news, i.e., deliberately and empirically false news articles, could deprive society of a common factual foundation and thereby result in its disintegration.

As disinformation is primarily spread via social media, some authors claimed and proved that it circulates within ideologically homogeneous clusters (i.e., echo chambers). Nevertheless, its relationship to true news has not yet been taken into account. Moreover, authors mainly focused on the exposure to rather than the processing of disinformation. An actual fragmentation of factual versus counterfactual beliefs would however imply the formation of two separated clusters of believing and disseminating accurate news on the one hand and disinforming news dealing with the same issue on the other. Therefore, I build on previous research by considering echo chambers of (dis-)information, which are divided along the boundary between trueness and falsehood. I thereby attend to the impact of political attitudes, news usage patterns and structures in social media on believing and distributing (dis-)information, which potentially enables the emergence of such echo chambers.

I addressed my research question based on data from a representative three-wave panel survey that was conducted during the campaign of the German parliamentary elections in fall 2017 (N = 872). For each wave, I assessed the perceived credibility of several online-spread false and true news articles on refugees and immigration conveying similar narratives. Moreover, I measured respondent's political attitudes, social media news reading and dissemination as well as the degree of their social media network heterogeneity. In addition to these focal variables, I added potential confounders to the questionnaire.

I performed autoregressive structural equation modelling to analyse the data with regard to causal considerations. The results give no general indication for echo chambers in which people either exclusively rely on true and proven or solely on alternative, distorted facts. The credibility of disinforming as well as accurate news on immigration is equally driven by a confirmation bias which is amplified by reading news in social media—a relationship that was surprisingly not dependent on the heterogeneity of users' social media networks. Hence, the gap between reality perceptions seems to mirror the boundaries of political attitudes. In this light, the ongoing polarization of opinions, not online disinformation campaigns, is what we should really worry about with regard to factual fragmentation. Beyond that, my study hints at the existence of distributional echo chambers. Apparently, credible disinformation is more inciting to like and share them via

social media as compared to true news. In the long run, this disparity could result in a spiral of disinformation which increases the likelihood of exposure to false news stories in social media.

Id: 22697

Title: Tweeting to Influence Policy or Populism' A comparative analysis of France, Portugal and Spain

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Susana Salgado

Email: susanapsalgado@gmail.com

Country: PT (Portugal)

Affiliation: Universidade de Lisboa, Instituto de Ciências Sociais

Abstract: This paper presents the results of an analysis intended to assess whether different types of actors (e.g., politicians, political parties, journalists, pundits, interest groups, citizens) in France, Portugal and Spain are using Twitter to discuss and influence policy. The main RQ is as follows: Is Twitter just a means for spreading populism, or it is also being used to influence policy direction and policy decision-making in a substantive manner?

The paper addresses specifically the character and tone of online political speech and debate, and indirectly the risks of polarization in political discussions that may result from online discussions. It investigates whether online political discussions on issues and policy are strengthening new forms of democratic participation and citizen engagement, or if they are on the contrary polarising positions and disseminating populist agendas and approaches to problems (e.g. over-simplification of issues, etc.).

The rationale behind the choice of these three countries signals the intention of studying cases with different types of populist politicians and political parties, which have also different levels of electoral success. This allows examining whether the electoral success of populist political actors impacts on the characteristics of online messages on issues.

The methodological approach is based on content analysis (human and automated) of tweets. The analysis looks for patterns in the prevalence of references, discussions, and proposals of policy in tweets, as well as the prevalence of populism and antagonism. It classifies the tone of messages and investigates specific expressions of antagonism, hate and insult; and analyses populist rhetoric through specific elements that have been linked to populism in extant literature, such as: reference to 'the people' and/or expression of closeness and belonging to the people; anti-elitism (addressed to any type of elite); anti-system and anti-establishment; division between "us and them"; other expressions of dichotomous views (e.g., good vs. bad, right vs. wrong; evil vs. pure, etc.); blame frame; and other expressions of blame shifting and scapegoating.

This paper is part of ongoing research included in research project 'Politics, Policy and Populism in the New Media' funded by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology - FCT (2015-2020; Reference: IF/01451/2014/CP1239/CT0004).

Id: 22767

Title: The Construction of Charisma and Populist Appeal: Modi and Xi Jinping in Comparative Analysis

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Swati Maheshwari

Email: swati.maheshwari@gmail.com

Country: HK (Hong Kong)

Affiliation: Hong Kong Baptist University

Name: Wai Han Lo

Email: janetlo85@gmail.com

Country: HK (Hong Kong)

Affiliation: Hong Kong Baptist University

Abstract: Political scientists conceptualize populist politics as a political strategy whereby a leader claims to be the people's sole true representative reaching voters directly bypassing established intermediary organizations (Wayland 1999, 381) and as such, the populist actor him/herself becomes the crucial element (Ernst, Engesser, Buchel, Blassnig, Esser, 2017). Not surprisingly, one of the key constitutive elements of populist movements is a focus on a charismatic, often, narcissistic and intolerant party "leadership" (van Kessel, 2011; Wayland, 1999; Heinich 2008; Linden, 2008). Political scientists define charisma as a distinct type of legitimate leadership that is personal and aims at the radical transformation of an established institutional order (Pappas, 2011). While the construction of charisma has been a subject of analysis in political communication, salience of the media's role in manufacturing charisma, particularly, in this age of "mediatized populisms" (Chakravartty and Roy, 2017) has been underexplored.

This paper illuminates the similarities and differences in the use of media to construct a personal appeal by the leaders of the world's two most populous countries - India and China – across different political systems. Both Chinese President Xi Jinping and Indian Prime Minister Modi have carefully crafted and drawn on personal appeal to consolidate their hold over authority. Xi Jinping has been described as China's first populist president (Babones, 2017) as he has projected himself as both as the affable "Xi Dada" unleashing the popular anti-corruption crackdown while burnishing his strongman credentials through the "rule of fear". (Chang and Ren, 2017). The incumbent leader, Modi's historic parliamentary majority was ascribed to his charismatic personality. The Modi's "charismatic" leadership is attributed to have fashioned a new hegemonic bloc by reconstituting the voting public pulling together contradictory strands of tradition and modernity, capitalists and the working class, upper and lower castes, rewriting electoral success (Sinha, 2017; Chakravartty and Roy, 2017).

Both the states have significantly differing political systems but their political leaders bear a striking similarity in their embrace of digital technologies at the heart of propaganda, public opinion and social control work (Creemers, 2016). A discourse analysis of Modi's Twitter account and the nearest Chinese equivalent, a public Weibo account of People's Daily about Xi, titled Xue Xi Wei Pi Tai will be undertaken over a six month period preceding their elections to examine the manufacture of charismatic appeal and personal image and the constitutive elements of it. The

research seeks to examine and outline strategies adopted by populist leaders like Modi and Xi Jinping, who have always exerted tight control over media coverage of themselves (Ohm, 2015), used to manufacture political charisma adopting the Weberian idea of it being socially and politically constructed (Keller, 1999).

Given the inextricable link between charisma and populism, analyzing the process by which political charisma is constructed is crucial to our understanding of the mechanisms of populist politics (Gurov and Zankina, 2013) and its implications for deepening authoritarianism across political systems.

Id: 22844

Title: Contested Imagery: Networked Visuality, Framing and Conflict within US Gun Control Debates Online

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Chad Van De Wiele

Email: cvande25@uic.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: University of Illinois at Chicago

Name: Sharon Meraz

Email: smeraz@uic.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: University of Illinois at Chicago

Abstract: Of the contentious issues occupying contemporary US politics, gun control is among the most polarizing and intractable (e.g., DeGrazia & Hunt, 2016); and given the recent emergence of youth activist networks and liberal gun policy agendas in response to recurrent instances of school and mass shootings, the issue has grown increasingly volatile. Similar to the formation of ad hoc issue networks and spaces for democratic discussion surrounding other contentious sociopolitical issues (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013; Papacharissi, 2004), the public debate concerning gun violence and policy pervades online spaces, including Twitter (#GunReform), Facebook (@marchforourlives), Instagram (@everytown), Reddit (r/gunpolitics), and others. As scholars have previously argued, these networked dialogues often contribute to offline political discourses (Conover et al., 2011), and may premeditate policy.

An integral, though frequently overlooked, component to online political debates is the circulation of visual content. While scholarly interests have gradually shifted toward investigating digital objects, such as memes and viral images, few have examined how visuals perpetuate or mitigate conflict, and contribute to the framing of sociopolitical issues within networked spaces. Therefore, this study illuminates how visual content facilitates these functions. To do so, this study focuses on resonant digital objects within the US gun control debates on Twitter.

Leveraging current visual analysis frameworks (Margolis & Zunjarwad, 2018; Rose, 2016) and social network analysis methodologies (see for review Borgatti, Everett, & Johnson, 2018), this study utilizes a mixed-methods approach to identify and analyze the most frequently appearing images (roughly 2,200 images) from a sample of ~800,000 tweets (from 01/11/2019 to 02/08/2019, though still collecting). The sample is being collected through a combination of prominent hashtags (e.g., #GunReform, #2ndAmendment, #gunviolence, etc.) and keywords (e.g., '2nd amendment,' 'gun control,' etc.) surrounding the gun control debate on Twitter, thus focusing on how visual content contributes to political debate and networked framing practices on the platform (Meraz & Papacharissi, 2013). Through the analysis of networked images, the current study will answer the following research questions: RQ1) How are networked visuals utilized within conflict-laden political discussion on Twitter?; and RQ2) How do networked visuals contribute to networked framing processes on Twitter?

Building on existing visual communication scholarship, this study focuses on the audiencing of networked visuals, or the processes through which images' meanings are constructed and negotiated by audiences (Fiske, 1994); or, "how different audiences interpret the same visual images in very different ways, and how these differences [may be] attributed to the different social identities of the viewers concerned" (Rose, 2016, p. 40). As this paper argues, this negotiation – alongside the visual content itself – facilitates conflict between disparate political networks and contributes to networked framing processes on Twitter.

Contributing to current political and visual communication literature, this study advances current understandings of how images contribute to online political debates surrounding gun violence and policy in the US. These findings carry several possible implications, such as determining how online discourse may premeditate legislation and expanding current insights of how and why younger populations become politically active both on- and offline.

Id: 22846

Title: Government, Journalism and Hostile Media: The Press Seen Through Donald Trump's Twitter account

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Giulia Sbaraini Fontes

Email: giuliasfontes@gmail.com

Country: BR (Brazil)

Affiliation: PhD candidate in Political Science at Federal University of Paraná, Brazil

Name: Paulo Ferracioli

Email: ferracioli.paulo@gmail.com

Country: BR (Brazil)

Affiliation: PhD candidate in Political Science at Federal University of Paraná, Brazil

Abstract: In addition to the emergence of new communication tools and suffering from public mistrust, Western Journalism has faced another challenge in the recent past: explicit opposition by members of the political elite. This is not a new phenomenon. It is well known that authoritarian and populist leaders seek to consolidate themselves in power by marginalizing important actors for democracy - such as the communication companies (Levinitsky and Ziblatt, 2017). Literature in the area of Political Science (Inglehart and Norris, 2016) points out that one of the representatives of this type of behavior is US President Donald Trump, who has already pronounced statements saying that "80% of the media" is enemy of the American citizens (Patterson, 2017) and has harassed reporters from companies with which he does not sympathize as well. In this context, Trump's use of his accounts on social networks, especially on Twitter (BOSSETTA, 2018), is an essential tool for him to disseminate his views among voters - often performing attacks on media outlets such as CNN and The New York Times, classifying their content as fake news. It is, therefore, the crystallization of the hostile media phenomenon by a political agent, in the manner described by Mattes, Maurer and Arendt (2017). In this context, this paper intends to deepen the understanding of the relationship between populist leaders and media companies, as well as the hostile media phenomenon in the case of political agents, focusing on Trump's attacks towards US media. To do so, the research does a Content Analysis (Bauer, 2002; Krippendorff, 2004) of the tweets published by the president during the 2016 election campaign and his first two years at the office (2017 and 2018). The study will allow the development of a typology of attacks, identifying 1) how much they represent in comparison to Trump's total posts on Twitter; 2) which are the most attacked companies; 3) which themes are the most recurrent in this type of post; and 4) what arguments the president uses to disqualify journalistic content that bothers him. As this is an exploratory research, the study does not offer a working hypothesis, but it seeks to contribute to the literature of the area by providing a typification of the attacks and giving more details about the case under analysis. The current stage of the research is the data collection, with forecast of a finished paper by April 2019.

Keywords: Donald Trump; Twitter; populism; hostile media.

Id: 22907

Title: The post-truth in the conversation of Spanish-speaking public space. An analysis of #Posverdad on Twitter

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: José Luis Terrón Blanco

Email: Joseluis.terron@uab.cat

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona

Name: Luisa Martínez-García

Email: luisa.martinez@uab.cat

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona

Abstract: The public sphere of Habermas (1962) has been collapsed by Internet and social networks. We went from a mediatized public reality to a public reality altered by Internet users and the new technologies. To a reality in which the bots are the new producers of social referents and in which the prosumers have a symbolic interference. This incorporation enhances, among other things, the dissociation between the affirmations and the facts. The cognitive bias currently covers the post-truth understood as "a form of ideological supremacy, whereby its practitioners are trying to compel someone to believe in something whether there is good evidence for it or not. And this is a recipe for political domination" (McIntyre, Lee, 2018: 13). The US presidential election of 2016 and the Brexit catapulted into the public sphere the discussion of post-truth, fakenews and "alternative facts" (or lies).

The objective of this research is to analyze Twitter as a conversation tool for peripheral public spaces. Specifically, we will analyze what and how Twitter is spoken about post-truth and what concepts and themes are associated. There are numerous studies that reveal the inextricable relationship between post-truth, political communication, political parties and elections (Gross, 2017, Rose, 2017, Ott, 2017, Sismondo, 2017, Tsipursky, 2017) from an Anglo-Saxon point of view. But little do we know what happens with this concept in the Spanish-speaking public space. The object of analysis is the hashtag #Posverdad used in Twitter from November 1, 2018 to February 7, 2019. In total we analyzed 753 tweets using the methodology Social Network Analysis (SNA) with Phyton. Basically, we have focused on the measurement of centrality, density and clustering coefficient.

The results of SNA of #Posverdad on Twitter reveal that this is directly related to the concept of Fakenews (in English) and to pedagogy; to a lesser extent, but equally important, with technology and creativity. Although timidly the debate on post-truth and the American president Donald Trump leaked into the discussion in the peripheral Spanish-speaking public space. The geographical areas from where it is supposedly discussed about post-truth is mostly Spain, in second and third place Argentina and Mexico. Other countries with significant results are Colombia, Chile and Peru.

One of the limitations of our research is to analyze Twitter as a public space due to the difficulties to verify the identity of profiles and duplicity among other things. But nevertheless, our analysis provides knowledge on the use of digital tools as dynamizes of peripheral public spaces of conversation and specifically on how the Spanish-speaking community does not directly relate #Posverdad to the political sphere. Instead, in some way, it appeals to literacy to fight with this new form of political domination and cognitive dissociation.

Id: 22953

Title: Migration in an electoral context: the case of Italian media discourse in the 2018 parliamentary campaign

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Catalina Meirosu

Email: meirosucatalina@gmail.com

Country: RO (Romania)

Affiliation: University of Bucharest

Abstract: In Italy, the discourse on migrants has increased in the context of the Italian parliamentary elections in March 2018 when the electoral programmes of the anti-system parties were focused especially on stopping migratory flows. During the electoral campaign, the populist public discourse of the North League and Five Star Movement parties has been characterized by a solid anti-migratory rhetoric that increased the distinction between ‘we’ and ‘them’ (Antonsich, 2015) through slogans such as “Italians first”, “Stop the Invasion”. In this paper we analyse how media -through diverse positioning, including those of politicians- situates migration and especially labour (intra-EU) migration in an electoral context. Hence, the research focuses on specific ways in which media re-brought some key topics related to migration in the electoral context which had been previously covered by the Italian press. Considering these premises, the research answers two related research questions: "What types of representations of migrants (in particular of Romanian migrants) are built in the Italian press, taking into account the context of Italian elections?" and "To what extent, by representing migrants, the media makes use of a public memory that include sensitive topics about migrants and labour migration (past representations and contexts) to build claims and types of responsibilities? By relying on these research questions, our claim is that the election context could be understood as a site of discursive struggles in which public issues (such as migration) are reframed by various public actors (especially by politicians and media) and thus, instrumentalized. Therefore, the 2018 parliamentary elections represent a key context of public debate on migration which should be seen within the broader Italian media dynamics. Based on an interdisciplinary analytical framework that links transnationalism (Portes et al., 1999; Boccagni, 2012) and media and migration studies (Balabanova, Balch, 2010, Belmonte et al., 2012), this paper focuses on opinion articles from two Italian daily general-interest newspapers: La Repubblica (centre-left political stance) and Il Giornale (one of the most popular among the right-wing national newspapers). A multi-method research design is developed, covering the month of February 2018 when the debate on elections has begun to get even more intense. In this period, the public discourse culminated with the attack of the former League candidate Luca Traini on migrants that brought back to public attention the increasingly xenophobic and anti-migratory rhetoric. In this regard, content analysis is used, on the one hand, to identify the extent to which the migration and more precisely labour migration is a topic of debate in the Italian press during the electoral campaign of 2018 and, on the other hand, what type of migration is covered by the Italian press (labour migration, refugee crisis etc). Complementary, tools from Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 2003; Wodak, 2010) is used to highlight media discursive practices of representing migrants especially in terms of building forms of engagement through normative statements and moral assessments (Beciu et al., 2018), inclusion/exclusion and prevailing ways of being and acting.

Key words: Italian elections, labour migration, media discourse, media representation, public debate, transnationalism.

Id: 23054

Title: Clasificación de sentimientos en Twitter desde la noción de cultura política: una revisión discursiva en el escenario electoral de Colombia

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Ysabel Briceño Romero

Email: ybriceno@unab.edu.co

Country: CO (Colombia)

Affiliation: Universidad Autónoma de Bucaramanga

Name: Liliana Calderón-Benavides

Email: mcalderon@unab.edu.co

Country: CO (Colombia)

Affiliation: Universidad Autónoma de Bucaramanga

Name: Miguel Eugenio Jurado-García

Email: mjurado850@unab.edu.co

Country: CO (Colombia)

Affiliation: Universidad Autónoma de Bucaramanga

Abstract: En la ponencia se comunicarán los primeros avances conceptuales y metodológicos de una propuesta de clasificación de sentimientos en contenidos derivados de Twitter, desde la noción de cultura política como una expresión de la opinión pública asociada a actores, estructuras y procesos del sistema democrático. La investigación está centrada en el desarrollo y reflexión de rutas posibles para el reconocimiento discursivo de contenidos derivados de los hashtags o etiquetas Twitter, como unidades temáticas controladas.

Con la incorporación de la noción “cultura política” a la clasificación discursiva en redes sociales proponemos una adaptación de conceptos aplicados en encuestas de opinión pública en América Latina sobre el apoyo político o la desafección política del ciudadano.

La investigación transita por la aplicación y verificación de técnicas para la clasificación de sentimientos, centrada en los usuarios de Twitter como emisores de contenido, hasta la anotación manual y entrenamiento de un modelo de clasificación de mensajes originados en un contexto de campaña electoral presidencial. En esta experiencia se han documentado fases de reflexión y sistematización de ideas para fortalecer el aparato conceptual que la ha ocupado, así como también el desarrollo de un protocolo metodológico. Proponemos un enfoque interdisciplinario que sea enriquecido con criterios de revisión del discurso y la pragmática del lenguaje, adaptando categorías relacionadas con cultura política, más allá de las opciones incorporadas desde el área de procesamiento de lenguaje natural para la clasificación automática de sentimientos en el ámbito de lo positivo, negativo o neutral en el discurso.

Los contenidos derivados de la red social Twitter fueron descargados en el contexto del proceso de elecciones presidenciales del año 2018 en Colombia. El dataset obtenido consta de los contenidos

encerrados temáticamente en cinco etiquetas o hashtags originados en Twitter por los debates presidenciales, promovidos por empresas mediáticas, universidades y organizaciones empresariales, y transmitidos en momentos diferentes durante la primera vuelta de estas elecciones, por canales diversos, tradicionales y emergentes (televisión comercial, Youtube, y streaming por redes académicas). El total de tuits susceptibles al análisis fue de 6241.

Para el desarrollo de este trabajo se propuso realizar una clasificación discursiva desde cinco categorías adaptadas, en la llamada entidad o centro del mensaje: cultura Colombia, ejercicio democrático, instituciones democráticas, actores políticos, e ideología, a cuya anotación se les cruzó la valoración del sentimiento (negativo, positivo o neutro). Un subconjunto de los tuits descargados originalmente fue clasificado por un equipo de clasificadores, quienes dado un tuit, asignaron un valor a cada categoría propuesta. En este momento los resultados están siendo procesados para detectar grados de coincidencia en la anotación, entre los grupos de clasificadores, desde metodologías ya trabajadas en experiencias de clasificación de sentimientos.

Como contribución, consideramos que al reconocer los flujos y tendencias discursivas que emergen en las conversaciones de Twitter en temas nacionales con impacto social significativo, podría aportarse en la identificación de un capital social en la nueva conformación de opinión pública en entornos digitales, en medio de escenarios trascendentales para América Latina. La interpretación centrada en unidades temáticas de Twitter, expresadas en hashtags, nos propone la continuación de una línea recientemente abierta en la revisión de la opinión pública en esta red social.

Id: 23086

Title: Political communication for empowering citizens: The role of citizen engagement on growth. A comparative analysis of 14 Northern and Southern European countries

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Paloma Piqueiras Conlledo

Email: ppiqueiras@ucm.es

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Complutense University of Madrid

Name: María José Canel Crespo

Email: mjcanel@ucm.es

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Complutense University of Madrid

Name: Vilma Luoma-aho

Email: vilma.luoma-aho@jyu.fi

Country: FI (Finland)

Affiliation: University of Jyväskylä

Abstract: Many countries are facing a number of socio-economic challenges and social risks, particularly in a period of public sector austerity. At the same time, public managers are increasingly involved in collaborative relationships with citizens to design, implement and evaluate public services. In this sense, scholars have extolled the virtues of public deliberation as a fundamental component of a responsible and responsive democracy (Carpini et al., 2004; Carpini, 2009; Dahlgren, 2005). Literature documents the positive outcomes of public participation arising from the direct involvement of citizens (Adams and Hess 2001; Head, 2008; Yang & Pandey 2011; Barrett y Brunton-Smith, 2014; Brandsen y Honingh, 2015). In fact, a "committed citizen" has been defined as that who participates in public activities (Adler and Goggin, 2005; Ekman y Amna, 2012; Kahne et al., 2012, among others).

However, so far few studies have been able to measure the benefits that a participatory society has for the economy of a country. This paper aims to assess the impact that citizen engagement has on tangible growth and provides suggestions to improve public sector communication with citizens. Building on theory of intangible assets as applied to the public sector (Canel & Luoma-aho, 2015, 2018), this paper explores the relationship between engagement—conceptualized as an intangible asset built through communication—and tangible growth (wealth), and it uses international comparisons (Northern European countries are compared to Southern ones, 14 countries on the whole) to examine the global impact of engaged citizens.

The methodology entailed the following steps: 1) Variables that may express Citizen Engagement were identified. Apart from literature review, two sets of data were analyzed. Firstly, data from the World Bank were used for valuable indicators on economic growth at the macro level of countries. Secondly, data from the European Social Survey and Eurobarometer were used to elaborate indicators of intangible assets based on citizens attitudes and behaviours; 2) Factor analyses were conducted to examine whether there are components that explain Citizen Engagement; 3) A linear

regression model was built to compute how different factors of Citizen Engagement shape economic growth (Gross Domestic Product [GDP] per capita is the dependent variable). Data from 14 countries was used.

Present research: 1) Shows that political engagement behaves different from public engagement; 2) Shows a positive and direct relation between the intangible asset Citizen Engagement and tangible wealth; 3) Suggests a regression model that allows for exploring causal relationships as also for predictions, and so it will assist in the elaboration of governmental public policies of citizen participation; 4) provides comparative data on citizen engagement and its influence on growth from 14 Northern and Southern European countries.

Based on findings, this paper determines the relevance of citizen participation and provides suggestions to improve public sector communication with citizens.

Id: 23097

Title: [Panel] La posverdad. Una cartografía de los medios, las redes y la política [Presentation]
Panel description

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: David García-Marín
Email: davidsonseca26@yahoo.es
Country: ES (Spain)
Affiliation: UNED

Name: Roberto Aparici
Email: raparici@edu.uned.es
Country: ES (Spain)
Affiliation: UNED

Abstract: Panel Internacional en el que expertos de diferentes países proponen diferentes perspectivas y vías de estudio multidimensionales sobre la problemática de la posverdad y las fake news.

El fenómeno de la posverdad es considerado como una de las principales amenazas a la democracia actual: convierte a la ciudadanía en consumidora de noticias, la responsabiliza del alcance de las fake news a la vez que la empuja a la desconfianza, y cuestiona a los medios de comunicación y a la propia práctica del periodismo.

Este panel plantea un profundo análisis sobre las múltiples caras de la posverdad y reflexiona sobre sus implicaciones mediáticas, sociales, tecnológicas, filosóficas y políticas. La propuesta establece una cartografía de los aspectos que explican este fenómeno, examina de manera analítica las formas que adquiere y aborda las diferentes estrategias y técnicas utilizadas por los poderes para controlar y manipular a los ciudadanos.

Desarrollada desde una óptica internacional al agrupar a expertos de diferentes países (Argentina, España y Canadá) la propuesta plantea un trayecto descriptivo, crítico, analítico y filosófico alrededor de uno de los desafíos más urgentes de nuestros días.

Id: 23117

Title: [Panel] La posverdad. Una cartografía de los medios, las redes y la política [Presentation] La posverdad. El software de nuestra era

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Roberto Aparici

Email: raparici@edu.uned.es

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: UNED

Abstract: Aunque la historia de la manipulación y la propaganda tiene una trayectoria de muchos siglos, el actual entorno comunicativo, caracterizado por su digitalidad e interactividad, alimenta la circulación del mayor volumen de falsas informaciones conocido hasta la fecha.

La nueva era de la posverdad se configura como un fenómeno complejo asentado a partir de la confluencia de varios factores: la proliferación de pseudo-contenidos en las autopistas digitales de la información, las condiciones tecnológicas y el modelo de negocio de las principales plataformas de la comunicación y la información digital y la escasa preparación de las audiencias para manejar la sobrecarga informativa a la que se enfrentan diariamente. La posverdad se encuentra en el declive de los medios tradicionales y en el auge de los medios digitales interactivos, en las campañas electorales, en los grupos de presión a los políticos, en los gobiernos y parlamentos, en la negación de la ciencia, en los grupos de WhatsApp, en nuestro rastro digital, en nuestros sesgos cognitivos. En nuestro cerebro. La posverdad es una programación, una codificación del mundo que nos coloca a todos en la tesitura de jugar al like, al retuit, al remix y a compartir los contenidos sesgados y falsos que inundan cada día nuestros espacios virtuales. Somos jugadores seducidos por la promesa de la participación en una partida global donde nuestra voz casi nunca resuena con fuerza, pero donde nuestros actos tienen valor político y económico que rentabilizan las élites tecnológicas. La posverdad es primordialmente una cuestión sobre nosotros. Si la tecnología digital es el hardware de nuestro mundo, la posverdad es su software.

Afrontar este problema exige una aproximación multidimensional. La Comisión Europea pide precaución contra las soluciones simplistas y recomienda examinar el fenómeno desde diferentes perspectivas, entre las que destacan el refuerzo de la transparencia del ecosistema informativo digital, la adopción de eficientes proyectos educativos para potenciar las competencias mediáticas de la ciudadanía y apostar por el desarrollo de herramientas de última generación a fin de empoderar a los usuarios y a los profesionales de la información en la gestión de la sobrecarga (des)informativa que inunda de forma creciente nuestras múltiples pantallas.

Id: 23124

Title: [Panel] La posverdad. Una cartografía de los medios, las redes y la política [Presentation]
Posverdad y representación social. Un aporte conceptual sobre fake news y periodismo

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Leonardo Murolo

Email: nlmurolo@gmail.com

Country: AR (Argentina)

Affiliation: Universidad de Quilmes

Abstract: A nivel conceptual, la posverdad se refiere a un marco de referencia más amplio que las llamadas fake news. Alude a una condición previa y elaborada para que el apilamiento de fake news alrededor de un determinado tema sea creíble y reproducido por las audiencias. En este sentido una posverdad es una idea, un imaginario, un conjunto de representaciones sociales o sentidos ya incorporados por las audiencias y desde donde son posibles noticias falsas que refieren a esa idea afirmándola o ampliándola.

La teorización de los términos fake news y posverdad propuesta pretende ser operacionalizable como variables de análisis en el estudio de casos concretos de noticias periodísticas viralizadas en redes sociales virtuales. Desde los trabajos Social media and fake news in the 2016 election de Hunt y Gentzko (2017) y Trump, el muro y la posverdad de Ana M. Vázquez-Rodríguez (2017), comprendemos la relevancia de estas maniobras en los márgenes del periodismo aplicadas a la información política. De allí que creamos pertinente aplicar el análisis a un caso recurrente en el periodismo argentino: las denuncias de corrupción a políticos del gobierno de 2003-2015. En ese contexto, casos de cuentas bancarias, bóvedas ocultas, bolsos con dinero y hasta cuadernos con registros de sobornos, fueron y siguen siendo protagonistas de portadas de diarios y noticias falsas viralizadas en redes sociales virtuales. Esto se debe a que tanto el Grupo Clarín junto a otros poderosos multimedios concentrados del país se posicionaron en el terreno de disputa hegemónica como oposición explícita de estos gobiernos.

Queda pendiente como tarea seguir construyendo herramientas teórico-conceptuales para analizar la dimensión simbólica de la posverdad y los mecanismos en que un sector con intereses político-ideológicos y económicos emplea el discurso periodístico como instrumento para afianzar una posición. Allí las fake news son una herramienta más que se vale de las dinámicas de viralización digitales para crear representaciones sociales que se emplean en la batalla cultural.

Id: 23133

Title: Encouraging Myself: Expression Effects and Political Efficacy

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Meyer Levy

Email: mlevy3@nd.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: University of Notre Dame

Abstract: Online discussion has revolutionized the means by which individuals communicate and discuss politics. Nowadays, the political conversation has largely moved to online discussion forums and video hosting websites. This fact is so plain as to have produced massive censorship and manipulation efforts by states around the world. However, the mechanisms underlying this revolution are still unclear. Although a number of studies have examined the effects of online discussion on the political behavior and orientation of individuals, they have done so from within a relatively narrow theoretical perspective.. From the mainstream view, media effects are one-directional; only the recipient can be influenced by some communication (Pingree, 2007; Shah, 2016). However, it is likely that not just the recipient, but also the sender of the message themselves, are affected by political communication (Pingree, 2007).

This paper intends to explore this possibility by analyzing the impact of sender effect upon feelings of political efficacy. In order to do so, I use data drawn from a survey administered to users of Reddit, a popular discussion forum which covers a variety of interests ranging from sports to local and national politics. In exchange for a chance to win a raffle prize, survey respondents are encouraged to provide their usernames, which are then used to collect their posting history.

In order to estimate the effect of political posting on one's sense of political efficacy, I intend to use propensity score matching to compare "treated" respondents to "untreated" respondents. In this case, the treated group will be respondents who completed the survey after posting, and the untreated respondents will be those who completed the survey prior to posting. In order to control for differences between these two groups, I plan to match respondents based on behavior such as average number of posts a day and average post length as well as demographic factors such as age, education, and income. I will then compare treated and untreated respondents in terms of their overall sense of political efficacy, as reported in their survey responses.

This methodological approach has a number of advantages. First, and most importantly, the unprompted posting history of individual respondents provides for an estimate of the relationship between posting and attitudes that can be generalized beyond this study in particular. Second, the means of data collection --- surveys combined with data scraping --- produces a more holistic picture of both the individual and their behavior, allowing for better statistical controls and thus theoretically appropriate comparisons.

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Id: 23136

Title: [Panel] La posverdad. Una cartografía de los medios, las redes y la política [Presentation]
Los influencers, oráculos del liderazgo, chamanes en las redes sociales

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: José Antonio Gabelas-Barroso

Email: jgabelas@unizar.es

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Universidad de Zaragoza

Abstract: En Grecia, los oráculos eran una respuesta que transmitía la divinidad a través de sus sacerdotes. Por extensión se llamó oráculo al lugar en el que se producía la consulta. Fenicios y hebreos también tuvieron sus propios oráculos, incluso algunos pueblos africanos como los yoruba disponen de sus mediadores sagrados. Al chamán se le atribuía la capacidad de condicionar la realidad, de modificar la percepción colectiva. Estos demiurgos cumplieron un papel central en las primeras comunidades cazadoras y recolectoras. Eran los depositarios de la sabiduría, los transmisores del conocimiento.

Los influencers comparten la naturaleza de los oráculos y los chamanes en su función transmisora y creadora de opinión. Se ha producido un desplazamiento de los lugares físicos (montes y templos) a los territorios virtuales, en los que las prótesis tecnológicas y sus redes construyen la liturgia de esa mediación. El poder de enseñar y orientar a miles de seguidores, de transferir sus consignas e instrucciones, el poder de ser escuchados caracteriza su existencia.

Las estrategias de estos nuevos chamanes combinan la inteligencia artificial, la legión de bots, con las fakes news; donde también aparecen los líderes de opinión, que son conocedores de las redes, de su posicionamiento y del control de los algoritmos. El canal demiúrgico que antes nacía y transitaba en las aldeas, ahora se reproduce en la tecnología post-PC, donde las grandes plataformas marcan las normas y las horas para la ruta.

Los influencers ejercen de cebos para crear corrientes de opinión que marquen tendencias y tracen la agenda setting. La ubicuidad y el consumo-interacción multipantallas amplificará y reforzará esta visión, esta representación mediática, asumida como verdadera. Estamos en un mundo digital en el que existe más información que nunca, y donde tenemos más posibilidades de sentirnos más libres para ejercitar la expresión, pero donde el control nunca fue mayor.

Id: 23139

Title: [Panel] La posverdad. Una cartografía de los medios, las redes y la política [Presentation]
Más allá de las fake news. Estrategias de la posverdad y política-cyborg

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: David García-Marín

Email: davidsonseca26@yahoo.es

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: UNED

Abstract: La dinámica comunicacional de nuestro tiempo ha cristalizado en un conjunto de convergencias que abren un amplio espectro de materias y unidades expresivas, de técnicas creativas, modos de difusión, experiencias de recepción y emisión, géneros, canales, formatos y soportes. El actual panorama mediático hibrida los viejos y los nuevos medios, derivando así en el regreso y sofisticación de las viejas reglas de la propaganda, basadas en la exageración y la simplificación, la ridiculización del adversario, la mentira, la desinformación, la difusión de bulos y la propagación de teorías conspirativas (Domenach, 2001; Ellul, 1973). Sin embargo, la actual era de convergencias mediáticas donde el contenido online profesional confluye también con las creaciones, apropiaciones y remezclas de los ciudadanos y la enorme facilidad de acceso y utilización de software específico para generar materiales que pueden alcanzar una alta propagación en los circuitos digitales, provoca que, más allá de las fake news, los modelos y contenidos generados para manipular a la población adquieran múltiples apariencias, muchas de ellas, novedosas, tales como el clickbait o el astroturfing.

El lenguaje de la falsedad propagada en nuestros días se completa con la implementación de un número significativo de técnicas de engaño que hemos podido identificar y cartografiar a partir de la observación detallada de determinados hechos acaecidos en los últimos años. El uso de la metonimia, la polarización a través del estereotipo, los procesos de descontextualización o la suplantación de identidades (counterfeit) son algunas de las estrategias más destacadas, cuya última expresión es la explosión de las deepfakes.

De forma paralela, se observa una suerte de política-cyborg caracterizada por una creciente robotización del mensaje político. La difusión automatizada de contenidos en redes sociales mediante bots, especialmente en el contexto de grandes eventos políticos y electorales, cada vez es más frecuente, llegando a suponer la quinta parte de las conversaciones registradas en Twitter en las elecciones presidenciales de 2016 en Estados Unidos. Uno de los objetivos de esta automatización del discurso político es la segregación del contenido en función del perfil del usuario, estrategia que resulta especialmente dañina para la participación ciudadana en el debate público. Una personalización extrema del relato en la Red puede abrir la puerta a un discurso político contradictorio en función de la audiencia previamente seleccionada, lo que implicará la degradación paulatina del debate y la confrontación de perspectivas. La política dejará de ser la batalla de las ideas y la comunicación para convertirse en la guerra del software.

Id: 23140

Title: Cleavages in populism ' antagonistic responses to the 'refugee crisis' in Slovenia

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Marko Ribač

Email: marko.ribac@gmail.com

Country: SI (Slovenia)

Affiliation: The Peace institute

Name: Mojca Frelih

Email: Mojca.Frelih@mirovni-institut.si

Country: SI (Slovenia)

Affiliation: The Peace Institute

Name: Emanuela Fabijan

Email: emanuela.fabijan@hotmail.com

Country: SI (Slovenia)

Affiliation: Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana

Abstract: While numerous empirical studies and theoretical elaborations demonstrate that populist discourses and practices are part of politics en masse, they also point out many differences in rhetoric, content as well as styles that exist across the social and political spectrum (Lazaridis and Campani 2016; Müller 2016; Mudde and Kaltwasser 2018; Pajnik and Sauer 2018). In our paper we would explore some cleavages that are intrinsic to the complex phenomenon of populism. We would first clarify some theoretical and conceptual dimensions of populism and second present some preliminary findings of an ongoing empirical study that analyses broader political reactions during and after the time of the functioning of the “Balkan migratory route” when an increased number of refugees and migrants crossed the territory of Slovenia. A sense of a (“refugee”) crisis in 2015 and 2016 generated (at least) two polar antagonistic opposite responses, when observing a wider field of politics, the response of Non-governmental organizations and social movements on one hand and responses of the representatives of the state and ministries on the other (Kogovšek Šalamon and Bajt 2016; Modic 2016; Klemenčič and Verbič Koprivšek 2017). We would argue that responses were oscillating between empathy and solidarity on one hand (responses of the former) and framing migration as a problem to “national security” or a threat on the other (responses of the later). We would thus arrange two types of populist responses to the refugee crisis into 4 cleavages elaborated by Gagnon et al. (2018). We would differentiate between 1) authoritarian and democratic, 2) exclusionary and inclusionary (antipluralist and pluralist), 3) xenophobic and cosmopolitan and finally 4) electoral and participatory (thick) populism. We illustrate distinct features of an authoritarian, exclusionary and xenophobic populist discourse, which reinforced the state of emergency situation, perpetuated militarization and securitization of migration and contributed to the reproduction of “nationalizing statehood” and show that those responses are inherent to electoral form of populism (Wodak et al. 2014; Wodak 2015). We analyse and interpret parliamentary speeches, party statements, legal and policy documents, which were adopted in that period and show how they reproduced a technicist nationalist discourse that presented migration as a “(security)

challenge” to the state apparatus. On the other hand the paper explores the notion of inclusionary, democratic and participatory populism (Dzur and Hendriks 2018) and presents how various non-parliamentary (civil society) actors developed critical counterarguments (in various published petitions, manifestos, public letters etc.) and participatory practices (protests, coordination groups, meetings, working shops etc.). We analyse their public letters and conduct interviews to show how civil society actors managed to influence some important legal changes and provided coordinated responses that reframed the migration debate during the “refugee crisis”.

Id: 23142

Title: Mainstream media coverage of the far-right: A Comparative Analysis of News Coverage in Italy and the UK

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Cinzia Padovani

Email: padovani@siu.edu

Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: University of Loughborough

Abstract: This paper contributes to the ongoing discussion on far-right populisms by focusing on “mainstream” media coverage of a selection of far-right groups and social movements in Italy and in the UK, both established democracies but with different journalistic traditions and histories of far-right politics. This research adds to the existing literature in three ways: 1) by focusing on “mainstream” media coverage longitudinally, thus paying attention to variations and continuities of coverage over time; 2) by adopting a comparative dimension, comparing and contrasting two different media systems; 3) by focusing on coverage of small groups and movements, rather than the traditional attention to parties and electoral politics.

Theoretical Framework and Literature Review:

The literature on far-right populism has been dominated by the concept of “mediated populism” (Mazzoleni 2008), according to which hyper-commercialized media systems have been necessary conditions for the contemporary rise of far-right populisms. The concept of “mediated populism” is highly connected to that of “mediatisation of politics”, a process through which political communication has become progressively defined by “media logics”, with an emphasis on the personalization of political communication (Mazzoleni, 2015).

The theory of “mediatisation” has been revised and critiqued in various further studies. For instance, in their analysis of British news coverage of the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), Deacon and Wring (2016) have found little evidence that mediatisation, and in particular, “media logic”, have played to the advantage of this particular party and concluded that the increase in attention to UKIP, since the mid 2010s, was mostly due to “the ‘political logic’ of [the party’s] continued electoral advances, changes in communication policy, and a reorientation in the public relations strategies of the party and its opponents” (169).

My research adds to this body of literature by focusing on coverage of movements and groups, thus contributing to a better understanding of what happens at the fringe of political reporting.

Research Questions:

- How have mainstream news media covered far-right social movements historically in the two countries?

- Are there differences in coverage due to media organizations' political and ideological leaning? If so, what are those and how have they changed over time?
- Are there different patterns of coverage in the two national contexts? What are they (if any)?

Methodology:

Content analysis as well as textual analysis of a selection of news sources

Conclusions:

This paper discusses the results of an analysis of news sources with comparative and longitudinal lenses. The intent is to highlight patterns and changes over time in order to better understand the role of mainstream media in the rise of far-right politics in the two countries.

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Id: 23145

Title: [Panel] La posverdad. Una cartografía de los medios, las redes y la política [Presentation]
Posverdad en la era del algoritmo

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Fernando Raúl Alfredo Bordignon

Email: fernando.bordignon@unipe.edu.ar

Country: AR (Argentina)

Affiliation: Universidad Pedagógica Nacional

Abstract: El término posverdad, entendido como la construcción de una mentira emotiva, que apela a la distorsión deliberada de la realidad con el fin de crear y modelar la opinión pública no es algo nuevo. Esta operación basada en una construcción de una "realidad ficticia paralela" a partir de la desconexión entre hechos objetivos y emociones, creencias y percepciones es algo que fue utilizado desde hace siglos por ejércitos, gobiernos, corporaciones, religiones y hasta la mismas comunidades.

La novedad es que en la época de las tecnologías digitales y los algoritmos esta herramienta de desinformación y control toma otro volumen e importancia. Los usuarios de las redes sociales ayudan a fomentar y amplificar significativamente el fenómeno de las noticias falsas. Al tener las posibilidades de replicar y llegar con mensajes, de manera casi instantánea, a millones de usuarios en el mundo. Y por otro lado, las personas también los pueden generar y propagar para diversión o beneficio propio.

En general, los algoritmos que utilizan los buscadores de Internet y las plataformas de redes sociales para la construcción de muros generan burbujas de filtro que alteran la forma en que cada uno adquiere y construye conocimiento. Allí, algoritmos desconocidos, opacos e invisibles filtran, seleccionan y muestran contenidos 'personalizados' y no otros posibles, es decir solo aquellos que no concuerdan con el filtro implementado por el algoritmo y que están en sintonía con las necesidades corporativas. Esta restricción de información y de conexión puede verse como una "censura" impuesta por los algoritmos, con efectos adversos, dado que pueden lograr que las personas se aíslen o se refugien en espacios conocidos de información que no les hagan salir de su 'zona de confort', ni les expongan a otras informaciones y argumentos de personas con criterios diferentes a los suyos. En este sentido, las burbujas de filtro son espacios fértiles, o una suerte de invernadero, donde la posverdad crece de manera efectiva.

La intervención girará en torno a dos preguntas: ¿Cómo los algoritmos potencian la circulación de relatos basados en posverdad? ¿cómo se pueden mitigar los efectos de la manipulación mediática?

Id: 23154

Title: [Panel] La posverdad. Una cartografía de los medios, las redes y la política [Presentation] Viejos, nuevos medios y Democracia 2.0

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Michael Hoechsmann

Email: mhoechsm@lakeheadu.ca

Country: CA (Canada)

Affiliation: Universidad de Lakehead, Ontario

Abstract: La Democracia 2.0 plantea subrepticamente complejas preguntas relacionadas con la dinámica de la construcción social del conocimiento, conectadas con la necesidad epistemológica de una (re)consideración amplia, profunda, deliberativa y dialéctica del mismo concepto de democracia. La Democracia 2.0 cuestiona las epistemologías normativas, abre un camino hacia una pluralidad de formas (alternativas) de conocimiento, y genera construcciones sociales divergentes, incluyendo aquellas que facilitan la participación ciudadana en relación con las diversas plataformas e intersecciones que enmarcan los medios sociales y las redes.

Los medios 2.0 nos conectan a espacios que se entrelazan en un número casi interminable de nodos sociales. En conjunto, estas estructuras materiales y redes virtuales constituyen una nueva modernidad (una nueva estructuración de las concepciones del mundo) que está respaldada por una nueva racionalidad, esencialmente mediatizada y comunicacional. Esta transformación nos lleva desde la noción social del «vivir juntos» al hecho de «comunicarnos juntos». En esencia, estamos mutando desde la existencia humana del homo sapiens (el ser humano que sabe) a un homo communicare (el ser humano que se comunica). La razón ya no tiene el mando (es el declive del cogito ergo sum de Descartes) y de forma creciente, la comunicación (communico ergo sum) es lo que cuenta. Ser es comunicarse; tener es comunicarse; hacer es comunicarse; hablar es comunicarse.

Con tantos creadores mediáticos empoderados en acción, pero pocos anclajes epistemológicos compartidos, todavía estamos deliberando sobre si los medios 2.0 mejorarán nuestras vidas democráticas. No obstante, algo está sucediendo a nivel mundial: la gente en general, y los jóvenes en particular, parecen estar rechazando la democracia normativa y representativa, y los gobiernos reaccionarios están empujando a la población a las calles y a generar movimientos activistas en las redes sociales y fuera de ellas. Occupy Wall Street, los movimientos ecologistas, los movimientos por la paz, los movimientos antirracistas, las acciones contra la pobreza y muchos otros proyectos similares están vivos, aunque las fuerzas hegemónicas desean hacerlos parecer facciones aisladas y trivializables.

Las redes sociales pueden tener un impacto beneficioso en la movilización de estas fuerzas contrahegemónicas.

Pero a la vez, también tienen el potencial de desatar una visión reaccionaria del mundo, como observamos en el regreso de los discursos abiertamente racistas y sexistas en Norteamérica y en otros lugares, incluido el resurgimiento de un movimiento neonazi en Estados Unidos que está apoyado por grandes medios tradicionales y alimentado por la gran cámara de eco que ofrecen las

redes sociales. Movimientos reaccionarios, racistas y excesivamente violentos que vilipendian al «otro» han sido movilizados y nutridos con discursos unidimensionales que circulan en Twitter y en una miríada de redes/plataformas de intercambio y organización. La funcionalidad de las redes permite un diálogo interminable con aquellos que uno nunca imaginaría que existen, interacciones que pueden ser una poderosa fuerza democratizadora tanto como un factor potencialmente debilitante.

Id: 23170

Title: Reporting from the Whites of their Eyes: How Whiteness as Neoliberalism Promotes Racism in the News Coverage of "All Lives Matter"

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: sang kil

Email: sang.kil@sjsu.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: san jose state university

Abstract: This study evaluates how “all lives matter” (ALM) advances whiteness in the news. Critical race theory’s critique of liberalism’s embrace of race neutral racism is applied to journalistic practice of objectivity. Racialized reporting is considered “fair” through the race neutral journalistic practice of objectivity that mystifies the Whiteness of the news industry. Neoliberalism, a project of liberalism, creates structural racism that impacts society and the newsroom, where regulatory changes help to vertically integrate the media market. This media oligarchy threatens democratic principles, distorts racial reality, and advances Whiteness and its supremacy. I use Critical Discourse Analysis to examine the ALM slogan as a referential strategy that relates to other “lives matter” groups in terms of a dichotomous in-group (implicit) and out-group (explicit) relationship in the New York Times, Washington Post, Chicago Tribune, and the Los Angeles Times to illustrate the subtle and not so subtle ways that White supremacy appears unchallenged in mainstream news media reporting. ALM’s three discursive strategies in relation are: 1) co-optation of Black social justice work, 2) fear of Black Power or “blue”/police power, and 3) ALM=White Power. First, the news coverage treats ALM and “black lives matter” (BLM) as interchangeable slogans and overlooks the race consciousness of juxtaposing ALM and BLM by the color-conscious protestors, thereby communicating the co-optation of BLM’s intellectual justice work by ALM that further marginalizes Black by insisting that all lives are and treated equal. Second, the dangerous conflation of ALM, BLM and “police lives matter” (PLM) shows how these three groups are initially treated equally by the news, until they are not, resulting in the diminishment of BLM and its political purpose, where PLM undermines BLM’s efforts to publicly expose the historic and enduring link between whiteness and law enforcement. Third, ALM implicitly means “white lives matter” (WLM) that stands for white supremacy or helps to legitimate WLM. ALM here implicitly means WLM, given the Jim Crow/apartheid optics of Trump’s white men supporters chanting ALM while criminally attacking and choking a Black man at a presidential campaign rally. In addition, the news communicated uncritically and broadly that WLM is not racist, when in actuality, WLM is a hate group tracked by the Southern Poverty Law Center who monitors and litigates against hate groups. Theoretical significance reflects that Whiteness as neoliberalism owns all, is all, and flattens all differences. Recommendations for resistance is color-conscious, intersectional journalism.

Id: 23291

Title: Tuitpolítica. Un marco de referencia para el análisis de la opacidad social a partir de la democracia 2.0 y la participación política a través de Twitter

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Natalia Angulo

Email: natalia.angulo.m@hotmail.com

Country: EC (Ecuador)

Affiliation: Professor

Abstract: La presente investigación se desprende del estudio doctoral sobre participación y democracia, desde la noción de ciudadanía 2.0 y el tipo de sujetos políticos que construyen los medios sociales. El ejercicio de la política se expande a través del ciberespacio y la virtualidad establece modos de interacción social que se reinventan vertiginosamente de acuerdo a la experiencia comunicacional que genera cada plataforma web. A diferencia de los modos legibles de acción política del siglo XX, hoy se vuelve cada vez más complejo el registro de las formas con las que los ciudadanos se vuelven parte de la cosa pública, interviniendo en las decisiones de los gobiernos nacionales y locales, vigilando las acciones la clase política y legitimando a otros grupos e identidades sociales. Sin embargo, en este escenario que va dejando la extrañeza de la novedad, existen grietas que, aunque muy imperceptibles, dejan ver, con un sentido más bien crítico, las ficciones alrededor de la conversación, la participación y la democracia en las sociedades móviles, nómadas, e-tópicas y por ende todavía ilegibles en el campo de la acción política.

En esta búsqueda de certezas, la investigación se propone explorar los conceptos de participación, democracia y ciudadanía 2.0, desde sujetos políticamente activos en Twitter y que interactuaron con el ex presidente de Ecuador, Rafael Correa ¿Cómo pensar la participación política, la conversación y la democracia 2.0, y cuáles son las características para que éstas sean llamadas como tal? son las preguntas que guían este trabajo.

En este sentido la investigación presenta una propuesta para la utilización de etnografía virtual, como base teórica-metodológica, para el análisis del ejercicio político de los seguidores Rafael Correa a través de Twitter, sus motivaciones y sus formas de comprender su rol como ciudadanos políticamente activos que operan desde la red. Entre el 01 de mayo y el 31 de septiembre de 2015 se obtuvieron 1065 tuits que fueron estudiados a partir de las categorías: participación, conversación y discurso. Se privilegió la observación no participante, entrevistas en profundidad (online y offline), de acuerdo a un diseño muestral no probabilístico, y el análisis hermenéutico para la comprensión de los mensajes políticos, con principal atención en los sentidos, figuraciones y motivaciones de quienes interactuaron con el ex mandatario en el periodo descrito.

Los resultados de la investigación revelaron que los sujetos políticamente activos establecen su marco enunciativo desde de los intereses políticos que persiguen y la ideología política a la que se adscriben. Esto hace que la ciudadanía 2.0 se comprenda como un campo en construcción permanente, distinta a la categoría de ciudadanía registrada desde el offline que se ampara en un marco legal a partir derechos y responsabilidades. De allí la sensación de opacidad permanente, porque el ejercicio político en y desde la virtualidad no solo apela a una modernidad en crisis, sino

que pone en evidencia que los ciudadanos 2.0 actúan desde marcos referenciales disímiles y casi siempre a partir de la satisfacción de sus emociones y de sus necesidades cubiertas a través de diferentes tecnologías.

Id: 23384

Title: Participación política y movilizaciones juveniles en México en el escenario posterior al #YoSoy132

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Maricela Portillo

Email: maricela.portillo@ibero.mx

Country: MX (Mexico)

Affiliation: Universidad Iberoamericana

Abstract: En este trabajo presentamos los resultados de una investigación más amplia que analiza la repercusión que el movimiento #YoSoy132 tuvo entre los jóvenes mexicanos que han sido marcados generacionalmente, ya sea porque tuvieron su primera experiencia de participación política en ese momento (Primavera de 2012) o porque se fueron involucrando posteriormente en las distintas movilizaciones que se dieron en México en los siguientes años. Modonessi (2017) caracteriza al periodo entre 2012 y 2014 en México, como un ciclo de movilización juvenil y estudiantil que fue sedimentándose a nivel experiencial en una camada de activistas y militantes y dio luz a formas específicas de politización generacional. Las derivas de este movimiento formarían parte de un mismo proceso sociopolítico (González Contreras, 2017). El recorrido que estos jóvenes activistas han seguido durante este ciclo de movilizaciones que inició en 2012 nos permite afirmar que el #YoSoy132 tuvo un fuerte impacto generacional en términos de la cultura política juvenil mexicana (Portillo, 2015, 2018). Compartimos la perspectiva teórica de Reguillo (2017) sobre la incomodidad interpretativa que más que definiciones de las expresiones políticas juveniles intenta avanzar en su comprensión. Así pues en este trabajo, nos cuestionamos específicamente por 1) las acciones colectivas juveniles posteriores al #YoSoy132 y 2) la articulación con las formas de participación política de los miembros más jóvenes de esta generación. Asumimos que “las generaciones no son estructuras compactas, sino sólo referentes simbólicos que identifican vagamente a los agentes socializados en unas mismas coordenadas temporales” (Portillo, et. al., 2012). Así pues, nuestro estudio incorporó un diseño metodológico cualitativo que nos permitió adentrarnos en la dimensión subjetiva de los sujetos (Orozco y González, 2011). Para ello, se llevaron a cabo 20 entrevistas a profundidad con jóvenes mexicanos que participaron en diversas acciones colectivas ocurridas durante 2015-2017 para explorar la conexión generacional (Mannheim, 1993) en relación al ciclo de movilizaciones juveniles previas (2012- 2014). Asimismo realizamos 240 entrevistas semiestructuradas durante los meses abril-mayo de 2018 entre jóvenes de entre 18 y 24 años en la Ciudad de México para identificar interés por la política expresado en sus temas de interés, conversaciones y formas de participación. Los resultados confirman nuestra hipótesis respecto de una reconfiguración de las formas de organización y participación de esta generación de jóvenes mexicanos que ocurre a partir del movimiento #YoSoy132 y que apuesta por nuevas formas de nombrar, ejercer y relacionarse con la política.

Id: 23397

Title: Crafting Political Images on Facebook and Twitter: Analysis of Public Relations Strategy of Pakistani Politicians

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Savera Shami

Email: saverashami@gmail.com

Country: PK (Pakistan)

Affiliation: Institute of Communication Studies, University of the Punjab, Lahore.

Abstract: Social media has become an “integral part of public discourse and communication in the contemporary society” (Muntean, 2015, p. 6) and present an entirely new perspective at how people engage with each other. It is argued that advancement in new information and communication technologies has restructured the current political communication strategies (Kurt & Karaduman, 2012). Moreover, the significance of social media has been mainly established in politics due to the use of social networking sites (Facebook) and micro-blogging services (Twitter) which are believed to have the potential of positively influencing the political participation, as quoted by Stieglitz and Dang-Xuan (2012). Most political actors actively use social media to develop their public relations and project and promote their political ideology and preferences. In fact, social media has provided new opportunities to politicians, such as personalized communication and commodification of self, politicians shape and dictate the content, they create their own identity, cultivate their relationship with their audience and manage their reputation on their own without depending on any public relation expert. Social media provides complete freedom of expression, the politicians are now the producers of their own content, they produce information and citizens consume that information. Ideally, it should be done in a positive and respectful manner but it has been observed that the prevailing situation is quite opposite, social media is being used more as a propaganda tool to defame and insult others, in a struggle to prove themselves (politicians) right and others wrong, they completely overlook the basic social norms and values. The negativity being spread by politicians through social media can weaken democracy, which would destroy the society.

In this scenario, it is imperative to see how strategically and effectively politicians are using Facebook and Twitter for political communication and managing their reputation.

Therefore, this study is intended to explore the public relations strategy of the politicians of Pakistan that what kind of language style do the politicians employ in their posts and tweets and which tactic do they use more for building their image on Facebook and Twitter? In this research, the quantitative content analysis method was used. The data from Facebook pages and Twitter handle of 34 politicians was collected. The total number of Facebook posts and tweets examined was 3243.

According to the findings the politicians were busy in praising themselves and criticizing their opponent on Facebook and Twitter. They were using appreciative language for themselves and critical language for their opponent. The use of insulting language at both the platforms was almost the same. Interestingly, they were using Facebook to promote their positive image whereas Twitter was used more to build negative image of their opponent. On the basis of the results, it could be established that though the political actors are using social media to achieve their political agendas but they are ignoring the quality of relationship they are cultivating with the audience.

Keywords: Politicians, Social Media, Image building, Public Relations, Pakistan

Id: 23404

Title: Rumores y falsas noticias en Venezuela: "¡Están reclutando a nuestros niños!"

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Maria Fernanda Madriz

Email: madrizmf@gmail.com

Country: VE (Venezuela)

Affiliation: Universidad Central de Venezuela, Instituto de Investigaciones de la Comunicación.

Abstract: En esta ponencia se exponen y discuten los resultados de una investigación sobre modalidades, plataformas, ciclos y formatos de difusión de rumores y falsas noticias en Venezuela; su impacto sobre el clima de agitación, violencia e incertidumbre política que vive el país, así como su influencia sobre la toma de decisiones de los ciudadanos a propósito de los asuntos públicos.

Sus objetivos fueron:

1. Monitorear, identificar, acopiar, registrar, seleccionar y analizar el corpus de mensajes sospechosos que circuló a través de los medios sociales venezolanos (Whatsapp, Twitter y Facebook), entre el 28 de enero y el 2 de febrero de 2019.
2. Establecer, luego del análisis crítico del discurso aplicado a los mensajes seleccionados, si éstos correspondían a información verificable o si, por el contrario, eran fake news.
3. Con base en la evidencia lingüística y de discurso encontrada, establecer si los mensajes identificados como fakes formaban parte de campañas de desinformación diseñadas por equipos profesionales.

La metodología utilizada corresponde a un diseño propio (Madriz 2017, 2018) que acoge los principios de la "Red Internacional de Verificación de Información (IFCN)" del Instituto Poynter y suma los aportes de varias ONG's dedicadas a la verificación y chequeo del discurso público y de mensajes informativos propagados a través de medios sociales (Chequeamos Argentina, 2018; Verificado México, 2018; El poder de Elegir Colombia, 2018).

La metodología se aplicó al corpus de mensajes propagados por 53 chats de whatsapp entre el 28 de enero y el 2 de febrero, y al corpus de mensajes publicados en el mismo lapso en Twitter y Facebook referidos a los temas identificados como relevantes en los chats.

Realizado el análisis, pudo constatarse que:

1. Se identificaron dos ciclos de propagación de mensajes sospechosos que resultaron ser fake news, especialmente, archivos de audio o voces.
2. El primero cubrió el lapso entre el 28 y el 31 de enero y viralizó el tema sobre el reclutamiento forzoso de menores de edad.
2. El segundo cubrió el lapso entre el 30 de enero y el 31 de febrero y viralizó el tema sobre la inminente intervención militar en territorio venezolano, de una fuerza multinacional dirigida por los Estados Unidos desde la frontera con Colombia.
3. Ambos ciclos correspondieron a campañas diseñadas profesionalmente y lograron impactos sobre el pathos colectivo. El primero, inhibió la asistencia de jóvenes a una actividad de calle convocada por la oposición para el 30 de enero, ante el temor de resultar enlistados. La segunda, generó frustración en un sector representativo de la población que esperó un desenlace definitivo a la crisis venezolana la noche del domingo 2 de febrero.

4. La investigación no permitió establecer el origen de las campañas pero, el diseño discursivo de los mensajes y el impacto de la propagación sobre la ciudadanía opositora, sugieren autoría de equipos vinculados al régimen político en el poder.

Id: 23425

Title: How real is the perceived media bias' Selective exposure of audience to partisan media.

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Fawad Baig

Email: fawadbaig123@yahoo.com

Country: DE (Germany)

Affiliation: Technical University of Dresden, Germany.

Name: Sehrish Mushtaq

Email: mushtaqsehrish@yahoo.com

Country: DE (Germany)

Affiliation: Technical University of Dresden, Germany.

Abstract: Literature about partisan media content and selective exposure among the audience is abundant; yet inconclusive about the direction of their association. Many studies in Western context do confirm selective exposure of the media audiences based on their political affinity (Stroud, 2011, 2017; Van Kempen, 2007). Partisan audience perceive their selected news media less biased than the general media (Barnidge et al., 2017). In this study, the relationship between political leanings of newspaper readers and their selection of specific newspapers is determined. It mainly aims to find association of selective exposure to any newspaper with its real and perceived media bias. For this purpose, multi-method approach involving content analysis and survey is adopted. Content analysis of news stories and editorials published in three national dailies of Pakistan including Jang, Nawaiwaqt and Dawn is being done to determine the real bias in their coverage to three mainstream political parties Pakistan Muslim League - Nawaz (PML-N), Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) and Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP). Thirty-six most important political events were selected which happened from January 01, 2011 to December 31, 2017. All news items related to PPP, PML-N and PTI were collected which were published on the front pages of three national dailies on the same and the next day of the happening of each political event. Relevant editorials of these days were also selected. A survey of the readers (N = 802) of three national newspapers was also conducted about their voting preference in the 2018 general elections, frequency of newspaper reading, and perceived bias of their preferred newspapers. Survey results showed a statistically significant but weak association between the political affinity of the participants and their selection of newspapers. Choices of newspaper readers in Pakistan seem hybrid, as results of our survey both confirmed and rejected the selective exposure. Supporters of PTI and PPP prefer reading daily Jang, even though they reported the coverage of Jang to their respective parties as unfavorable, while the supporters of PML-N read newspapers either favorable or neutral toward their party. Based on the results of both survey and content analysis, we will not compare real and perceived media bias but also attempt to give possible explanations for the hybrid selectivity of newspaper readers.

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Id: 23453

Title: Analyzing Twitter Discourse Among Publics and Pro-Democracy Movements to Locate Novel Political Communication Structures in the Democratic Republic of Congo

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: NAKIA MATTHIAS

Email: nmatthia@ramapo.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: Ramapo College of New Jersey

Abstract: Anticipation of the run-up to the Democratic Republic of Congo's (DRC) 2018 presidential election was fraught with a history of public distrust, resistance, and international calls for regime change evidenced via news reports and social media activity. In support of democratic elections Congolese nationals and local pro-democracy movements took to the streets and Web 2.0 platforms to circumvent the censorship and repression of the Congolese government. Actors harnessed traditional media and computer-mediated communication to publicize experiences, facilitate information, counter misinformation, and wage political discourse with the aim of securing the country's long awaited presidential election.

Given the dearth of academic research on interactions among human communication, traditional media, and new media in the DRC's democratic processes there is a need for inquiry that explores how Congolese publics and political movements coalesce media and communication in service of progressing political participation, supporting informational legitimacy, and curating the social artifacts of political change.

This study examines Twitter communication among the DRC's resident nationals and diasporas relative to the 'Kabila Must Go', 'La Lucha', and 'Lamuka Coalition' pro-democracy political movements. Chadwick's (2013) Hybrid Media System and Adaptive Structuration Theory (DeSanctis & Poole, 1994) are drawn on as means to identify how traditional and new media facilitate communicative acts expressed via Twitter, as well as how such acts comprise a novel communication structure among pro-democracy political movements and Congolese publics.

Grounded Theory Ethnography provides the framework for observing and articulating the mediated communicative structure that Congolese Twitter interactants use and reproduce in their efforts to progress a democratic presidential vote in the DRC. Netlytic text and social networks analyzer facilitates the collection of hashtag-specific twitter content, while Atlas. Ti aids the inspection of meaning structures in Twitter discourse associated with the DRC's 'Kabila Must Go', 'La Lucha', and 'Lamuka' hashtags.

Findings indicate that tweet contents represent a communicative structure for: (1) Negotiating local political solutions and grievances, (2) projecting corporeal, verbal, and textual acts of resistance (3) signifying co-presence and active participation (4) legitimizing pro-democracy issues, processes, and information, (5) managing misinformation and fake news proliferation, (6) and

internationalization of presidential politics among Congolese and non-Congolese actors beyond the country's territorial domain.

This study bears implications for engaging and developing citizen-driven communication in support of democratic political processes, as well as informing journalistic and newsmaking practice in politically fragile states during regime change. It also offers a view to the enduring efficacy of human communication and traditional media within social media initiatives that support political transformation.

Finally, this inquiry addresses knowledge gaps in the study of the nexus between public protest, political communication, and social media in the DRC.

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Id: 23465

Title: Lógica mediática en la prensa mexicana. Análisis longitudinal 1994-2018

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Martin Echeverria

Email: echevemartin@yahoo.com.mx

Country: MX (Mexico)

Affiliation: Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla

Name: Carlos Ahuactzin

Email: carlos_ahua@hotmail.com

Country: MX (Mexico)

Affiliation: Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla

Abstract: Como una gramática que estructura los contenidos periodísticos bajo rasgos de simplificación, dramatización, espectacularización y personalización, entre otros, la lógica mediática ha ido colonizando los espacios de periodismo político y desplazando a la lógica política de sus contenidos, por lo menos en los últimos 20 años (Altheide, 2004; Esser & Strömbäck, 2009; Esser, 2013). Ello ocurre a medida que la política misma se mediatiza, y las presiones de rentabilidad de las industrias mediáticas, bajo un modelo conducido por el mercado, agudizan la mercantilización de los productos informativos (Cohen, 2002; Iyengar, Norpoth, & Hahn, 2004; Nord & Strömbäck, 2014; Takens, van Atteveldt, van Hoof, & Kleinnijenhuis, 2013b). Puesto que ambas condiciones se presentan en México, particularmente a partir de la transición democrática (García, 2013; Hernández, 2010), elaboramos un análisis de contenido para detectar las distintas dimensiones que indican la presencia, en mayor o menor medida, de dicha lógica: encuadre estratégico, encuadre episódico, negatividad, personalización, simplificación e interpretación abierta (de Vreese, Esser & Hoppman, 2017). Éstas fueron analizadas en los periodos de campaña presidencial de los años 1994, 2000, 2006, 2012 y 2018, momentos en donde se pone de relieve dichos fenómenos, en cinco periódicos de referencia (N=1,348). Los resultados muestran un escenario mixto en donde la lógica política fue desplazada por la mediática fuertemente a partir del año 2000, pero prácticamente se ha mantenido estable a partir de dicha fecha, como lo muestran las distintas dimensiones medidas. Tan sólo hay fluctuaciones mínimas en la negatividad, específicamente en las variables de tonalidad, competencia (aguda en 2006) y conflictividad (incrementada en 2012). Explicamos este hallazgo por la naturaleza de la prensa de referencia en México, híbrida en igual medida respecto a su modelo cívico y sus imperativos mercantiles (Hugues, 2006; Márquez, 2014).

Id: 23530

Title: Actores de la discusión política colombiana en Twitter, acercamiento empírico

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Lida Tabares Higueta

Email: ximena.tabares@upb.edu.co

Country: CO (Colombia)

Affiliation: PhD student in Political and Social Sciences at the National Autonomous University of Mexico. Mexico. Professor at the Faculty of Social Communication - Journalism at the Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana, Medellín - Colombia

Abstract: El rol de convocatoria de Twitter en movimientos como Occupy Wall Street, la revolución de los jóvenes en Egipto en 2011 y las protestas en Turquía en 2013 señalados por Tufekci (2017), son una muestra del poder de los usuarios en esa red para llamar la atención sobre problemas políticos que los afectan y que de otra forma no estarían en la agenda informativa de los medios. Colombia no es ajena a ese proceso. En este país suramericano publicaciones en Twitter que han sido viralizadas han generado el despido o renuncia de funcionarios del gobierno y empresas privadas, y han exigido la revisión de posturas del Congreso y de varios políticos frente a temas de interés nacional.

Entender esas dinámicas de interacción y ver si contribuyen a la continuidad del conflicto en el país es el propósito de la tesis “Discurso político en Twitter en Colombia como factor alimentador del conflicto”, adelantada por la autora en el Doctorado en Ciencias Políticas y Sociales de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. El primer paso para cumplir ese propósito era la identificación de los actores de la discusión política en Twitter en Colombia, para lo que se efectuó un análisis empírico empleando Twitonomy y Gephi, cuyos resultados se presentan en esta ponencia.

Para ello se partió de la observación inicial de 81 cuentas emisoras de los mensajes más controvertidos en Twitter durante los meses de junio, julio y agosto de 2018, que fueron revisadas en la aplicación Twitonomy para identificar los 10 usuarios a los que cada cuenta más retuitea, a los que más les responde y a los que más mencionan.

El cruce de estos datos en todos los actores permitió identificar otras 75 cuentas recurrentes, que son clave en la discusión política colombiana en Twitter. Entre ellos resaltan políticos, medios de comunicación, periodistas, columnistas, sociedad civil, entidades del Estado, entidades no gubernamentales y ciudadanos.

Para identificar más claramente las conexiones entre las cuentas, los datos de interacción de los 156 actores fueron revisados en dos procesos: 1) usando el sistema de análisis de redes Gephi y 2) a través de una base de datos creada en Microsoft Excel.

El cruce de la información permitió observar los distintos sectores políticos presentes en la discusión; como algunos tienen prácticas endogámicas en su interacción y que la mayoría de los actores asumen un papel de emisores, pues tienen bajos índices de respuesta a los usuarios.

Id: 23542

Title: 'Fake news' and myth: How the British EU coverage undermined the democratic function of the news media.

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Imke Henkel

Email: ihenkel@lincoln.ac.uk

Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: University of Lincoln

Abstract: Lies by political actors, disinformation in news stories, as well as biased and misleading reporting had a significant impact on the Brexit vote in the 2016 British referendum on EU membership. For instance, an Ipsos Mori poll published on 16th June 2016 found that 78% of respondents had heard about the – false – claim that the British government sent £350m a week to the EU which could be better spent on the National Health Service; 42% believed this claim to be true although it had been disputed by the UK Statistics Authority. An Ipsos Mori poll published a week later on 22nd June 2016, just a day before the referendum, found that 9% of respondents named the NHS as the most important issue in the referendum campaign.

My paper argues that what has been described as “post-truth politics” (Higgins, 2016) – the persistence of lies despite their debunking and without condemnation – reflects the corruption of the public discourse to which the British EU coverage has contributed since decades. Since the late 1980s, the British press has been notoriously reporting a uniquely distorted image of European affairs and institutions (see e.g. Steele & Kettle, 2002). Stories such as the alleged ban of bent bananas have been documented and debunked as “Euromyths” by the European Commission between 1992 and 2017. However, the false stories proved immune against fact checking and eventually were revived by the Leave campaign (e.g., Johnson, 2016). Using Critical Discourse Analysis, I find that the “Euromyths” news stories (N=465) undermine critical fact-checking because they partake in two conflicting orders of discourse (Fairclough, 1992): the journalistic discourse is counteracted by a conversational discourse that implies a communality between the (British) reporter and the (British) audience against an elitist EU. This narrative structure can be read as myth in Roland Barthes’ sense: a “second-order semiological system” (1972, 223) which in this case constructs a populist myth (the pure British people against the corrupt EU elite [Mudde, 2004]) to undermine critical fact-checking.

In a second step I investigate how this populist myth of the plucky and witty British people standing up against an elite EU bully reappeared in “fake news” during the British EU referendum campaign. Drawing on Chadwick’s (2017) theory of the “hybrid media system” I analyse editorials, political speeches, and social media postings during the Brexit campaign.

Much of the growing literature on disinformation focuses either on what makes people believe in false information and lies (e.g. Jerit & Barabas, 2012; Flynn, Nyhan, & Reifler, 2017), or, on the other hand, how “fake news” spread on different media channels particularly online and through social media (e.g. Chadwick, Vaccari, & O’Loughlin, 2018; Vosoughi, Roy, & Aral, 2018). Instead, I argue that a linguistic analysis of news stories can help explain how disinformation achieves to be persuasive, and, importantly, continues to be persuasive even after the falsehoods have been exposed, and thus compromises the democratic function of the news media.

Id: 23579

Title: A battle of identities. Mass media and the rural-urban divide in American politics

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: David Coppini

Email: david.coppini@du.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: University of Denver (Assistant Professor)

Name: Daniel Estes

Email: daniel.estes@du.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: University of Denver (Graduate student)

Abstract: Americans are increasingly divided along the lines of significant social identities, such as party affiliation, race, ethnicity, and socio-economic status. Social identities become ways in which citizens organize themselves in in-groups and out-groups (Green, Palmquist & Schickler, 2004; Mason, 2015). Citizens increasingly tend to dislike people who hold different points of views (Iyengar & Westwood, 2015) and tend to live in politically and socially homogenous neighborhoods (Hill, 2005). An emerging divide in American politics is the one between urban and rural areas. Urban areas tend to be increasingly liberal and vote for Democratic candidates, while rural areas tend to be conservative and vote for Republican candidates (McKee, 2008). This divide was more evident than ever in the 2016 Presidential election. In this election, rural counties across the nation overwhelmingly supported the Republican candidate Donald Trump (Badger, Bui & Pierce, 2016). Existing research shows that citizens rely on social identities connected to place and local community to make political decisions (Cramer, 2016). In addition, citizens in rural and urban areas have strong misperceptions of each other. On one hand, people who live in rural areas are seen as poorly educated, extremely conservative, and intolerant (Baird, 2014; Massey, 2017). On the other hand, citizens who live in urban areas are often perceived as elitist and privileged (Cramer, 2016). Research is less clear on how individuals develop strong identities connected to their local community and on how these identities shape misperceptions toward Americans who live in different areas of the country. In particular, the role of mass media in these processes remains understudied.

To address these gaps in the literature, the first section of the study focuses on the following research questions: RQ1: How do American mass media cover people who live in rural and urban areas?

This section uses a content analysis to analyze media coverage of rural and urban citizens. The analysis focuses on ten publications chosen to represent different outlets across the political spectrum (NYT, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, CNN, FOX News, MSNBC, Huffington Post, Breitbart, ABC News, USA Today), with eighteen articles considered for each publication, from 2016 to 2018. Themes that emerge for representations of rural Americans are: dislike towards urban elites, feeling of abandonment and despair, anger about income gaps, dislike towards immigrants and minority groups. Themes than emerge for representations of urban Americans are:

distrust of people who live in rural areas, more educated, lifestyle of drinking and leisure, discontent for hierarchical social structure and no place for middle and lower classes.

The second section of the study focuses on the following research question:

RQ2: How do mass media representations of urban and rural Americans influence attitudes towards these two groups?

This section uses an adult sample of the American population (N=700), with quotas for gender, age, education, income and geographical location. Results focus on how mass media representations of urban and rural Americans influence perceptions that individuals have of these two groups, reinforcing and exacerbating stereotypes towards members of these groups.

Id: 23613

Title: Entre el debido proceso y la depuración de responsabilidades. Encuadres predominantes en la cobertura noticiosa de escándalos políticos en la prensa nacional y regional chilena (2014-2016)

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: René Jara

Email: rene.jara@usach.cl

Country: CL (Chile)

Affiliation: Universidad de Santiago de Chile

Abstract: La cobertura informativa de escándalos políticos forma parte de la agenda principal de los medios de comunicación en los más variados sistemas políticos. Desde hace algunas décadas, la cobertura de noticias sobre escándalos políticos se ha incrementado significativamente (Allern y Sikorski, 2018: 3014). Casos de este tipo han sucedido en Europa, Asia y Norteamérica, afectando con ello a sistemas políticos de diversa manera. En este marco, nuestra propuesta analiza la cobertura informativa de los escándalos políticos recientes para el caso chileno, por medio del estudio de los encuadres informativos asistido por software informáticos (Wordstat). Tomando en cuenta el contexto y la evidencia teórica, nos planteamos las siguientes preguntas: ¿Cómo han cubierto la prensa chilena los diferentes escándalos políticos que han sucedido entre el 2014 y el 2016? ¿Qué tipo de casos reciben mayor o menor frecuencia de cobertura? ¿Qué tan diferente es la cobertura que dan los diferentes medios de prensa a los escándalos políticos, según su orientación y vecindad con respecto a cada uno de estos casos? Para responder a estas interrogantes, realizamos un análisis de los encuadres genéricos y particulares que predominaron en la cobertura de la prensa chilena en el periodo, para una muestra significativa de medios de prensa de circulación nacional y regional (N=10.011). Los resultados muestran una fuerte presencia de dos encuadres predominantes en todos los tipos de medios de comunicación y en los diferentes casos. Las posibles implicancias políticas de este tipo de cobertura son discutidas hacia el final de la propuesta.

Id: 23645

Title: Los pilares discursivos de AMLO: una estrategia eficaz de comunicación política. Análisis de su discurso político- ideológico en las elecciones presidenciales de 2006, 2012 y 2018.

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Floriberta Faustino Reyes

Email: jade_faro@hotmail.com

Country: MX (Mexico)

Affiliation: Universidad Iberoamericana

Name: Floriberta Faustino Reyes

Email: jade_faro@hotmail.com

Country: MX (Mexico)

Affiliation: Universidad Iberoamericana Ciudad de México

Abstract: Este trabajo de investigación analiza el discurso político-ideológico de Andrés Manuel López Obrador (AMLO), primero como candidato presidencial en México por el PRD en las elecciones de 2006 y 2012, y posteriormente como candidato presidencial por MORENA en julio de 2018 debido a la importancia que reviste para los estudios sobre comunicación política para explicar la manera en que López Obrador fue configurando su estrategia de comunicación política-electoral. Ello con el objetivo de construir insumos empíricos que nos permitan dilucidar los escenarios simbólicos de continuidad y quiebre en su discurso que, en tanto variables que inciden – entre otras- en la construcción de las creencias y cosmovisiones políticas en la sociedad mexicana actual, pueden configurar a su vez un margen de análisis para explicar en lo posible, y con sus limitaciones, el triunfo de AMLO en las justas presidenciales de 2018 en México. De esta manera, se pone como meta responder la pregunta de investigación siguiente: ¿Cuáles son las continuidades y/o rupturas que configuran la propuesta política-ideológica de Andrés Manuel López Obrador a lo largo de sus tres campañas presidenciales (2006, 2012 y 2018) y cómo ello puede contribuir a explicar, desde la dimensión comunicativa del fenómeno, su triunfo como candidato presidencial en la justa electoral de julio de 2018 en nuestro país?.

Para ello partimos de categorías conceptuales principalmente derivados del campo de la comunicación política a fin de articular tres conceptos: discurso-ideología-política La estrategia metodológica que nos permite responder nuestra pregunta de investigación contempla una análisis de contenido de 18 spots que serán elegidos al azar con el objetivo de ubicar los tópicos en los cuales AMLO ha organizado su discurso político-ideológico a lo largo de sus tres campañas presidenciales (2006, 2012 y 2018) y de ahí escogemos un spot representativo de cada campaña en función de que se correspondan con estos tres núcleos temáticos y a esos les aplicaremos el análisis crítico del discurso político-ideológico. Parte de lo que revela el trabajo de investigación es que las continuidades en la oferta electoral de AMLO han estado centradas alrededor del foco de la transformación. Pero estas continuidades no parecen formar parte de un solo bloque estratégico, sino que éste ha devenido en tal en la medida en que ha sabido adaptarse a las coyunturas políticas del país, sin que ello pueda autorizarnos decir que ha habido rupturas propiamente dichas. El discurso de AMLO en sus tres campañas electorales no puede representarse bajo el signo de la

ruptura, aunque haya diferencias entre ellas. Hay más bien una continuidad estratégica que, vinculadas a las condiciones políticas del país, terminaron por gestar su triunfo el 2 de julio de 2018.

Id: 23688

Title: Political Elites and the Discourse of Fake News

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Scott Wright

Email: scott.wright@unimelb.edu.au

Country: AU (Australia)

Affiliation: University of Melbourne

Name: Andrea Carson

Email: a.carson@latrobe.edu.au

Country: AU (Australia)

Affiliation: La Trobe University

Name: Kate Farhall

Email: katherine.farhall@rmit.edu.au

Country: AU (Australia)

Affiliation: RMIT University

Name: Andrew Gibbons

Email: agibbons@austin.utexas.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: University of Texas at Austin

Name: William Lukamto

Email: w.lukamto@student.unimelb.edu.au

Country: AU (Australia)

Affiliation: University of Melbourne

Abstract: In the immediate aftermath of the 2016 US Federal Election, and with allegations that the circulation of fake news stories online may have influenced the result (Allcot & Gentzkow, 2017; Silverman and Singer-Vine, 2016), President Trump appropriated and weaponized what we describe as a ‘discourse of fake news’. The discourse of fake news was initially used to undermine the concerns about fake news during the campaign, and then to attack and discredit news media and political rivals. President Trump’s first Tweet to specifically mention ‘fake news’ was sent in December 2016, and he used the phrase over 160 times in the next 12 months. This was exemplified in Trump’s first press conference as president-elect in January 2017 when he famously shouted “you are fake news!” at a CNN reporter, from whom he refused to take questions. Wardle & Derakhshan (2017, p. 5) argue that the discourse of fake news has been “appropriated by politicians around the world”. However, there has been a surprisingly limited amount of research on whether and how politicians have adopted a discourse of fake news.

This article addresses this gap by investigating whether Australian politicians adopt fake news discourse to delegitimize opponents. Data are gathered from five political communications fora

over the six-month period after Trump's election: parliamentary debates, Facebook, Twitter, press, and politicians' websites. We find fake news discourse is predominantly the domain of conservatives. Frequent users employ fake news discourse to delegitimize the media first, and their political opponents second. Politicians' use of fake news discourse is repeated and amplified by news media. Worryingly, its premise is rarely contested. We argue this has negative consequences for public debate and trust in Australia's media and political institutions.

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