

# Crisis, Security and Conflict Communication Working Group

Abstracts of papers accepted for presentation at the annual conference of the  
**International Association for Media and Communication Research<sup>1</sup>**

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**Id:** 19506

**Title:** Surgical Strikes: How Indian mainstream media and Kashmir's local media reported the border conflict

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** India and Pakistan have been in a geopolitical tussle since independence from the British in 1947. One of the biggest issue of contention since the beginning has been the territorial dispute regarding Kashmir. This has led to multiple wars, agreements and pacts, and has constantly been raised at the United Nations. The rise of militancy since 1989 has led to many acts of cross-border violence. The most notable of these in the recent times are the 2016 Uri attacks perpetrated by Pakistan-based militant factions, and the subsequent retaliatory surgical strikes by India in Pakistan-Occupied Kashmir. This paper aims to study and compare the reporting trends by the Indian national media and Kashmir's local media in reporting the September 2016 surgical strikes. As media is the mirror of the public beliefs and also has the power to build opinions, the study will serve as an attempt to better understand the differences between the general public opinion of the State of Kashmir and that of the rest of India through a study of media consumed by the people of the region. This study is based on the Agenda setting theory (McCombs & Shaw, 1972), and Bernard Cohen's observation that the press "may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about. The world will look different to different people depending on the map that is drawn for them by writers, editors, and publishers of the paper they read." This will also help us comprehend how this territorial dispute affects the local populace of the region. This research will study the reporting styles of Greater Kashmir (Kashmir's most widely circulated local newspaper), and Times of India (India's most widely circulated national newspaper) in a comparative perspective.

The study uses quantitative and qualitative data analysis for comparison. Quantitative analysis of the news stories involves recording down the number of Front page stories, Inner page stories and editorials that are carried out by both the newspapers and tabulating the results.

Qualitative research here involves data analysis through constant comparative analysis technique, which was first articulated by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and has subsequently been refined (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Keywords: Surgical strikes, conflict communication, crisis reporting, Kashmir, agenda setting

**Id:** 19802

**Title:** Mediatization of Conflict in the Social Media Era - A Case Study of Sino-Indian Border Crisis in 2017

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Please note that this article is currently under review at an academic journal for publication. Do not disseminate.

Inspired by the concepts of Arrested War and ANT (Actor-Network Theory), this study has traced and analyzed three main actors in the wars and conflicts in the social media age: social media platform, the mainstream news organizations and online users. These three human and non-human actors associate, interact and negotiate with each other in the social media network surrounding specific issues. The central argument is that social media is playing an enabling and constraining roles in contemporary wars and conflicts. Both professional media outlets and web users employ the functionalities of social media platforms to set, counter-set or expand the public agenda. Social media platform embodies a web of technological and human complexities with different actors, factors, interests, and power relations. These three actors and the macro social-political context are influential in the mediatization of conflict in the social media era.

In recent years, there have been growing researches and literatures that adopt the concept of mediatization of conflicts/wars. Cottle (2006: 8-9) emphasized the complex ways in which media are implicated within conflicts. McQuail (2006) pointed out that the historical conditions for war have changed. Hoskins & O'Loughlin (2015) argued that the process of mediatization is uneven and they divided the process into three phases: Broadcast War, Diffused War and Arrested War.

Arrested War is ‘characterized by the appropriation and control of previously chaotic dynamics by mainstream media and, at a slower pace, government and military policy-makers’ (*ibid*). However research on mediatized conflicts is still at an early stage, awaiting theoretical and conceptual development (Mortensen, et al, 2015). And most researches in media and conflict are confined to the western democracies. To fill in these research gaps, this study will address two research questions:

- RQ1. How do the professional media outlets frame the conflict/crisis on social media in China?  
RQ2. How do the different actors in relation to crisis negotiate, act and interact via social media?

This study adopts both quantitative and qualitative research approaches on the basis of case study, content analysis and textual analysis. The Sino-Indian border crisis in 2017 refers to the Sino-Indian standoff in the Doklam region of the Himalayas where the borders of China, India and Bhutan converge. The target research subject is Global Times’ (GT) news posts and users’ comments on Weibo. Unit of analysis is each post/comment. The sampling time period was set for two months from 26 June to 28 August 2017. A total of 71 GT posts and 1,409 users’ comments were collected.

This research has significant implications for the study of mediatization of conflict. Theoretically this project has proposed and tested a new analytical model by integrating mediatization of conflict concepts with ANT. It also provides up-to-date empirical evidence through non-Western lens.

**Id:** 19900

**Title:** Eye tracking study of participant attention in Simulated Virtual Intergroup Contact as predictor of change in emotions, perceptions and positions toward the outgroup

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** One of the most influential theories in the field of intergroup relations is the Contact Hypothesis, according to which interaction between individuals of conflicted groups can reduce stereotypes, cultivate mutual understanding and lead to change in emotions, perceptions and even political attitudes (Allport, 1954; Dovidio, Gaertner & Kawakami, 2003; Jolly & DiGiusto, 2014; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). However, geographic, cultural and social segregation often set obstacles to coordinating positive physical contact sessions (Amir, 1969; Ellis & Maoz, 2007; Maoz, 2009; McKenna, Samuel-Azran & Sutton-Balaban, 2009). Recently, a new methodology was developed-Simulated Virtual Contact (SVC) (Author), in which participants watch prerecorded video messages by an outgroup member in a closed Q&A structure. SVC enables participation anytime, from anywhere, narrows psychological barriers preventing individuals from participating in a face-to-face contact and helps overcome complexities of gathering participants to a contact session, offline or online.

The study employed this methodology in an eye-tracking experiment, to measure participants' attention during the session. Previous research demonstrates that the eyes are drawn to informative areas in a scene and that cognitive processes influence and are influenced by ocular behavior (Boyer, Maouene & Sethuraman, 2017; Hoffman & Subramaniam, 1995; Rayner, 2009, Richardson & Dale, 2005; author, 2016; Velichkovsky, 1995). This has led researchers to study eye movements as a measurable marker of attention (Marquart, Matthes & Rapp, 2016; Williams, 2013).

89 Israeli students were requested to watch several video recordings of a Palestinian sharing his life story. Participants' eye movements were recorded throughout the experiment. 14-10 days prior to the experiment, and again after the experiment, participants filled a questionnaire measuring emotional and perceptual attitudes toward Palestinians and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Several significant differences were found in participants' pre and post-session positions toward Palestinians: Negative emotions and lack of trust in Palestinians decreased, belief in Palestinians' ability for change increased.

Participants' eye movements reflected prior attitudes toward acquiring new information on Palestinians and will to engage in contact: The more will participants expressed to engage and learn about Palestinians prior to the experiment- the more they focused their gaze directly on the character on screen.

Furthermore, important correlations between participants' ocular behavior and change in positions toward Palestinians were found: Participants who tended to look straight at the Palestinian character expressed increased positive change in attitudes toward Palestinians after the session in questions concerning belief in Palestinians' ability to change, acknowledgment in a shared identity between Israelis and Palestinians and empathy, and increase in willingness to compromise in the context of the Israeli- Palestinian conflict.

Finally, the more participants perceived the interaction as realistic and interesting, the more they focused their gaze directly on the character.

The paper discusses the effectiveness of SVC and what can be learned from participants' eye movements on their attitudes toward the outgroup and the session itself. This study is a pioneer in applying eye-tracking methodology to the field of conflict resolution, as a measurement of participants' attention and experience of the session, and as a possible predictor of session effect.

**Id:** 19999

**Title:** Sustaining Public Support in War on Terror: A Case Study of Pakistan's Military's Use of Social Media

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The 21st century offers an illustration of a landscape for a new battle of winning hearts and minds. Insurgents, terrorists, and nonstate actors are more competent and more active than ever before in creating a master narrative to challenge the state's strategic narrative, political credibility and legitimacy of a public war. Therefore, the state and military must uphold the widespread public support in their struggle against adversaries to counter their virulent propaganda against the state. Strategic military narratives presumably influence public perception of the causes and prospects of wars. Such perception plays a central role in attracting public support and in reining in hostile national segments.

This study examines Pakistan's military's strategic use of social media in encouraging and sustaining public support for the fight against terrorism in Pakistan. Twofold methodology is used: analysis of the contents of military Facebook posts and public engagement analysis to answer the research question: how are different strategic patterns (frames and formats) used on social media to engage the Pakistanis in their institutional efforts to counter the master narrative (a narrative of Islamic jihad against infidels that is deeply rooted in Islamic culture) of terrorists in Pakistan? Its findings indicate that Pakistan's military used significantly different types of strategic patterns in response to a fast-changing security situation in the country. Patterns (both frames and formats) are used strategically to facilitate public-military and people-to-people engagement. Motivational frames and video posts are the most dominant patterns of communication used to enhance public participation in and to generate dialogue between military and public in the war against terrorism in Pakistan. This study also indicates that different formats and frames used by Pakistan's military on social media significantly mediated the public-military engagement among different segments of society during the critical phases of Pakistan's ongoing war against terrorism.

**Keywords:** social media, strategic patterns, Facebook, public-military engagement, Inter-Services Public Relations, terrorism

**Id:** 20112

**Title:** The role of ICTs in Community Building and Reconciliation in post conflict Northern Uganda: A case of #Let'sTalkUganda

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**Abstract:** There are relatively few studies that examine the use of ICTs media as tools that can be used or have been used to bring about reconciliation in war torn or conflict prone regions in Africa. In particular Uganda, that has positioned itself as a lead troop contributor to the UN-AU Regional Task Force in different conflict management and reconciliation initiatives. The #Let'sTalkUganda was a 2016 initiative that aimed at engaging people of northern Uganda and Kampala in dialogue, with a focus on the youth, on issues faced by post-conflict societies in order to promote understanding and reconciliation, to further transitional justice process in Uganda. In this study, we examine how use of ICTs such as social media platform of twitter was and is being used in post conflict societies to contribute towards community building and reconciliation processes in once war ravaged northern Uganda. Started in 2016 during the trial of Dominic Ongwen trial at the International Criminal Court (ICC), #Let'sTalkUganda has enabled post conflict societies in northern Uganda to share different viewpoints and also contribute to how best the community can recover from suffered war atrocities. Using NodeXL a social media analysis application, data of 27 months (June 12, 2016-September 9, 2018) was extracted to analyze how social media platform of twitter was and is being used by reconcile and build a post conflict community of Northern Uganda. Findings from a semantic analysis evidence that from the 1625 users/nodes present in the data collected, the interconnectedness of users was 0.00103 and modularity evidencing the separation of clusters at 0.681. The interconnectedness and modularity evidence that the use of twitter platform in the #Let'sTalkUganda enabled communities in Northern Uganda to follow ICC proceedings in the trial of Ongwen and also contribute on issues of transitional justice and reconciliation in Northern Uganda

**Id:** 20116

**Title:** "Community of difference' in contemporary urban places: Tales of three areas in Seoul

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Contemporary metropolitan cities are built on differences. The capacity to understand and deal with differences has become even more critical for individual and collective well-being in metropolitan cities. The purpose of this study was to develop a communication perspective (termed community-of-difference perspective) that will guide our understanding of various ways in which metropolitan city residents experience and manage (or fail to manage) differences in their residential places. As more specific aims, we discuss (1) types of differences and conflicts urban residents have experienced; (2) communication strategies leveraged to solve problems related to various types of differences and conflicts in urban places; and (3) how to classify urban local communities based on the ways in which differences and conflicts were dealt with through communication.

For this study, we conducted in-depth personal interviews ( $n = 30$ ) and 12 focus group interviews ( $n = 96$ ) between December 2018 and March 2019 from three study areas in Seoul—Sungmi-san, Haebang-chon, and Daerim-dong—as places experiencing unique issues related to differences.

Key findings:

- 1) Differences in urban local communities can be categorized into at least four types: identity-based (who they are and where they belong), value-based (what they believe), action-based (whether and how they participate), and socio-spatial (where and how long they have been in a place) differences.
- 2) Two types of conflict exist in urban local communities: (1) difference-reduction conflicts produced to reduce, avoid, or eliminate differences ultimately for one's own benefit; and (2) difference-management conflicts arising from concerns about how to find ways to live with and manage differences.

- 3) We can conceptualize two different types of communication for dealing with conflicts: (1) difference-reducing communication (communication among those sharing identities, values, and action plans as resources to find and strengthen in-group connectedness while reducing, avoiding, or eliminating differences between groups); and (2) difference-managing communication (communication among those with differences that does not avoid, reduce, or ignore differences among local residents).
- 4) Four different types of communities were determined that correspond to the ways in which differences were addressed by various types of communication strategies: (1) denial (top-down, repressive relationship between powerful and weak groups); (2) agonistic (competitive relations among different groups); (3) cohabitation (safe distance from different others for survival); and (4) coexistence (preserving singularities while recognizing the other's differences). The differences relate to perception, relation, behavior, and communication. Each type was not predetermined or fixed but constantly experiencing dynamic, complicated processes of changing, overlapping, and transitioning. These processes depended on the forms, functions, and contexts of the communicative activities taking place among different community groups and their capacity to utilize communication infrastructure to identify and solve problems arising from differences.

**Id:** 20189

**Title:** Information disorder and Political Polarisation in a deeply divided society: The case of post-conflict Northern Ireland

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Much of the research on ‘fake news’ to date has focussed on how elections and referenda between 2015 and 2017 were affected by disinformation manufactured in ‘fake news factories’ in countries such as Macedonia, amplified by bots on social media in order to sow confusion and disunity (Shao et al, 2017; Woolley and Howard, 2017). In contrast, there has been relatively little discussion of the impact of mis-and disinformation within deeply divided societies. This paper deploys Wardle’s theoretical framework of information disorder, rather than the unhelpful term ‘fake news’, in order to examine these issues within the context of post-conflict Northern Ireland. Two decades after the Good Friday Agreement, there remains a ‘negative peace’ in the contested polity; while there has been an overall reduction in intercommunal violence, little progress has been made on the resolution of conflict legacy issues, with zero-sum perceptions of politics and space held by Catholic and Protestant communities largely undisturbed. In this context, moral panic discourses about social media have emerged after information flows on Facebook and Twitter were linked to the intercommunal violence seen during contentious episodes, such as the street protests that erupted in December 2012 after Belfast City Council voted to alter its protocol on the flying of the union flag over City Hall. Yet, there remains very little empirical or theoretical investigation of these information flows, or the contextual factors that explain why disinformation propagators use these platforms to inflame sectarian tensions during such incidents. This paper sets out to address this gap in the literature by exploring the distinctive characteristics of dis-and misinformation within the Northern Irish information ecosystem. Drawing on the key findings of a qualitative study of the role of Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube in the union flag protests and the Ardoyne parade dispute (2012-2015), it explores how these platforms were used to share mis-and disinformation that had the potential to increase the likelihood of violence surrounding such incidents. The contributions of so-called ‘Shinnerbots,’ volunteers mobilised on Twitter to drown out criticism of Sinn Fein, and parody accounts such as Loyalists Against Democracy (aka LADFLEG) to these partisan political debates will also be examined. Finally, the paper will analyse public opinion data, such as the Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey, to explore whether information disorder is a symptom of the decline in public confidence in both the news media and the dysfunctional power-sharing institutions in Northern Ireland. Results indicate that online information flows relating to mis-and disinformation have a very short lifespan due to the factchecking of citizens and professional journalists. While there have been few incidents of sectarian violence thus far attributed to false information shared online, the contestation of contentious political issues on social media is typically antagonistic and sectarian in nature. The high levels of political polarisation that persist in the deeply divided society mean that information disorder is likely to remain an ingredient of these contentious episodes for the foreseeable future.

**Id:** 20241

**Title:** Social Identity, Social Influence and Social Network: Understanding Radicalization Communication on Twitter

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The dissemination of radical ideologies via the digital network is a serious global challenge especially with the rise of terrorist activities committed by terrorist groups and ‘lone wolves’. The world has witnessed ISIS’ online propaganda, which was not only effective in recruiting foreign fighters from non-Muslim countries but also successfully attracted local fighters from the Islamic region. Lack of research on understanding the strategies used by terrorist organizations to disseminated Islamic radicalized ideology to Arab Muslim audience makes counter-radicalization and counter-extremism efforts more challenging. Therefore, this research focused on radicalization communication on social media in the Arabic context and how such ideologies penetrated and influence the public. Grounded in Social Identity Theory and Social Identity Model of Deindividuation Effects (SIDE), the study conducted social network analysis of radicalized accounts on social media to understand their communication strategies, community formation, and information flow. It also explored key factors that contribute to the influence of radicalized accounts and their messages.

The study identified 144 radicalized seed accounts on Twitter according to UAE’s Lists of Designated Terrorist Organizations and Groups from 2014 to 2018. Data were mined including accounts’ information, following accounts, tweets content and engagements (number of like, reply, and retweet). A directed social network was constructed according to the following relationship among seed accounts. Two communities were identified as well as an important bridge between them. The node was followed by many users from his own community, yet was following many

accounts in the other community (Figure 1). This seed account is identified as Hamid Rezq, a media analyst in Al Masirah TV in Yemen, who is affiliated to the terrorist organization of the Houthi Movement (AKA: Ansar Allah). His social identity explains why he is a bridge node in the social network. Figure 2 showed the size change of five nodes on the left of the line when the index of nodes was changed from in-degree to out-degree, while the size of the node on the right remains similar. It turned out that the one on the right is a political leader -- a different identity than the other five who are all religious scholars. Social network analysis provided revealing information in understanding radicalization communication on Twitter.

By collecting the tweets attributes of all seed accounts, we also developed regression models to identify what factors affect account influence, measured by number of followers and tweets' engagement. The results showed that account identity of religious scholars, number of tweets, account age, sentiment of tweets, and number of hashtags are significant predictors of account influence. Further, nonparametric tests on each seed account' tweets showed tweets that were released on religious holidays, containing images, links, and retweets, had more engagement. The study found that social identity, specifically represented by religion in Arab and Islamic culture, have significant social influence on social network.

**Id:** 20300

**Title:** Personal and Social Risk-Taking as Survival Tactics: Conceptualizing Risk and Risk-taking Among Koreans

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Generations that lived through the Korean War still dwell, not forgetting the horrors they were exposed to, while the new generations live in fear of being secretly filmed by strangers. Young or old, financial difficulty is still one of the risks feared by most people. There is no doubt that historical, cultural and social factors play significant roles in building perceptions of risk among Koreans. Not only that, these factors would be the key elements used to differentiate comprehension of ‘risk’ by people from other cultures, which is why definition of ‘risk’ can only be subjective. Therefore, finding out how Koreans perceive risk is meaningful academically, as it will contribute in development of risk communication.

Despite Koreans’ vulnerability of being exposed to various types of risks with repeated occurrence of risk-related fatalities, there are still lack of sensitivity on risks among Koreans. A phenomenon called ‘safety frigidity’ describes Koreans’ numbness to danger or risks near them. In other words, Koreans response to risks is poor. Safety frigidity is one of the few words the Korean media use when describing the Korean society. Such phenomenon can affect people’s risk-taking behaviors, as insensitivity in acknowledging risks could encourage people to take dangerous activities. These tendencies have been studied extensively in the scholarly area of risk-taking and edge-work.

There is an extensive literature done about Western people’s perceptions of risk by Western experts, yet little empirical study has attempted to investigate how risk is perceived by Koreans. Definition of risk is dependent on cultural and social environments. Understanding people’s perception on risk is a key element in comprehending individuals’ risk-taking behavior. This study has two research goals. First, investigating Koreans’ perceptions on risks, and second, based on the findings, examining why Koreans continue to take the risks that could possibly lead to life-threatening consequences.

In this paper we present findings from our qualitative investigation on a group of Koreans’ risk and risk-taking knowledge and experiences using in-depth interviews. Interview content analysis to find out the roles played by risk epistemology in participants’ daily lives following the open-ended coding is conducted using descriptive thematic analysis. Qualitative interpretations allow to understand components shaping concepts of risk by people. The analysis focuses on key

themes, narratives, definitions, discourses, rhetorical, expressive devices and personal histories, emerging from the transcribed interviews.

By doing so, we explore how Koreans define risk and the views used to express ideas about risk-taking. To find out perceptions on risk among Koreans, we tentatively conceptualized three major aspects of risk: physical, financial and social. Based on these aspects we tentatively found four dominant ideas on risk-taking in our interviewees' accounts: to be an in-group, to save face, to boost self-efficacy and for their livelihood. We then assessed how these lead to survival tactics as a consequence. Theoretical ramifications and practical applications will be discussed further based on the interview results.

**Id:** 20306

**Title:** Victims or Intruders' A Comparative Analysis of Refugee Portrayals in the News in Turkey, Bulgaria, and the UK

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** As one of the worst humanitarian crises in modern history affecting millions, the Syrian refugee crisis has been studied by scholars from various disciplines. This qualitative study adopts “a social perspective in the cross-cultural study of media texts” (Shirazi, 2013 p. 36), and utilizes Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine the discursive representation of refugees by newspapers in three countries, the UK, Bulgaria and Turkey between the years 2011-2014 to uncover and compare discourses within national contexts. The authors believe that such a qualitative study will help to gain a deeper understanding of the discursive media representations and coverage of Syrian refugees within a human rights perspective. The escalation of the numbers of migrants and refugees due to political pressures and conflicts poses new challenges for the representation and mediation of migrants and refugees' rights and human dignity. Thus, how journalism and communication can empower individuals to reinforce their rights, challenge stereotypes and discrimination, and foster acceptance of migrants and refugees needs to be studied extensively. Study of language is important to understand the representation of refugees by the media as language does not merely describe but in fact constructs versions of identities and social groups (McKinlay & McVittie, 2011).

The study covers the years 2011 to 2014, starting with the stories that cover the beginning of the civil war in Syria and include the most active first three years of the crisis. Two popular and highly reputable daily newspapers from Turkey (*Hurriyet* and *Cumhuriyet*), Bulgaria (*Dneven Trud* and *Standard*), and the UK (*The British Guardian*) were analyzed qualitatively to reveal the discursive representation of refugees and compare the major discourses utilized by media in the three countries. Van Leeuwen's (2008) discourse as social practice discursive categories were used in the analysis, which may be listed as collectivization vs. individualization, spatialization, nomination, relational identification, and classification. In addition, van Leeuwen's (2008) recontextualization of social

practice categories were used to further study the news stories about refugees, which included: substitution, rearrangement, deletion, and lastly addition. A total of 205 news stories (83 from Bulgaria and 65 from Turkey, 57 from the UK) have been analyzed.

Results reveal that although the discursive strategies used in the coverage of the Syrian refugees varied across the three countries from more positive and accepting to more negative and polarizing discourses, the significance of media's role for facilitating communication-related rights such as the right to voice and visibility and to have one's experiences and ideas fairly represented is paramount for protecting basic human rights and ensuring universal equality, dignity and mutual respect.

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**Id:** 20400

**Title:** FRAMING THE CONFLICT NARRATIVES: UNCOVERING THE VISUAL SEMIOTICS IN MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF KASHMIR'S UNREST

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Kashmir based media generally perceives oft-repeated civil resistance in the Indian side Kashmir region as a political expression of Kashmiris for their self-determination. While, Indian mass media reports the same as an issue of national security, integrity, foreign policy, insurgency and cross border terrorism. However, every cycle of street protests in the Kashmir valley since the beginning of the present century precipitates/advances certain semiotic markers that remain to be powerful symbols of the season. They reflect the deep-rooted anger and long standing aspirations of Kashmiris. Images and slogans are the cultural paraphernalia and are integral part in any mass/social movement. In the given context, this paper attempted to delineate how agonising are the media images of pellet-bullet ridden faces/bodies of civilians vis-à-vis how print media visuals of the year 2016 unrest have come to symbolise as cultural artefacts in the region. It aimed to trace how regional and national print media, particularly the way the photojournalists embedded the journalistic and authorial intentions while framing the pellet victims of the season. With the help of Frame Analysis this paper explored to understand how different visual techniques of photojournalism signified the images of pellet victims and how such techniques have been instrumental in constituting such images as iconic, indexical and symbolic representations of collective suffering/expression of Kashmiris. This paper concluded by outlining how (photo) journalistic practices of signifying and signification of images authoring the dichotomous media narratives of both India and Kashmir on Kashmir conflict. In the context of dearth of literature on semiotic meaning of Kashmir conflict, this study finds its relevance in understanding the visual semiotic significance of both Medias' Agenda Setting and Medias' Framing of conflict.

Keywords: Pellet victims, Media, Kashmir, Conflict, Semiotics, Framing, Agenda setting, Authorial intentions

**Id:** 20499

**Title:** Examining Selected Newspapers' Framing of the Renewed Biafran Agitation in Nigeria (2016 - 2017)

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The renewed Biafran agitation headed by Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) and partly other groups, such as Biafra Independent Movement and Biafra Restoration Citizens, have been in the news since 2016. This is surprising when one considers the fact that the Nigerian-Biafran war was fought over 50 years ago with no victor and no vanquished stance. This research examines how selected newspapers (Punch and Daily Trust) frame the Biafran agitation from January 2016 to December, 2017 – a period which recorded a spike in the activities of Biafran agitators who called for a referendum to carve out the Republic of Biafra. Framing theory will be employed as the theoretical frame work for this research. Two hundred issues of selected newspapers will be sampled through Critical Case sampling technique. Frame analysis will be employed in analysing the issues of selected newspapers. Findings of this research will show how selected newspapers frame the Biafran agitation from political, economic, separatist, human right and conflict frames. The frame sources will also be examined. This study will highlight how concerned media perceive the Biafran agitation and how such media try to serve a conciliatory role or create more division in the face of reporting the crisis. The way the media frame the Biafran struggle, which has led to the loss of several lives, maiming of agitators and destruction of properties, has strong implications on the right and dignity of the agitators and an ethical judgment for the Nigerian government.

Keywords: Biafra, Activism, Framing, Nigeria, Agitation, Secession

**Id:** 20508

**Title:** Beyond organization and reputation: A case study of government responses and resulting online word-of-mouth by multiple stakeholders to post-Fukushima food imports

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** We examine the formation of thematic patterns embedded in online governmental crisis response strategies and the resulting online word-of-mouth over food imports after the Fukushima nuclear disaster. We ask: How did major themes embedded in each strategy and online word-of-mouth form, evolve, and reach closure? What are the semantic characteristics of the online word-of-mouth across social media publics, online news media, and search engines? Following Hallin and Mancini (2004), we compare results from Hong Kong, a “democratic corporatist” society, with those from Mainland China, a “polarized political” society, and Taiwan, a “liberal model.”

Using a mixed-method case study, we identified 1) themes underlying governmental crisis response strategies using thematic analysis; and 2) the network of associations between concepts expressed in texts online word-of-mouth through computer-assisted semantic network analysis focused on debates on online news, search-based contents and social media messaging among different stakeholder groups over imports of Japanese food. We compiled an organizational corpus which included 17 Centre for Food Safety press releases from Hong Kong, 21 from Mainland China’s National Center for Food Safety Risk Assessment, and 20 Taiwan Food and Drug Administration press releases. The word-of-mouth corpus included more than 10,000 online comments from each region.

By following Braun and Clarke (2014)'s guidelines to thematic analysis in health risk and well-being research based on grounded theory tradition (2006; p.87), we 1) transcribed and re-read data for initial ideas; 2) generated codes to identify key features; 3) searched for themes by collating into potential categories; 4) reviewed themes to align coded data with themes; and 5) defined and named themes. Semantic network analysis (SNA) is a form of content analysis that identifies the network of associations between concepts expressed in texts. By taking advantages of network analysis software UCINET and Gephi, SNA was conducted to provide a representational framework to identify the relational structure of specific associations between the expressed language.

This study extends SCCT (Coombs, 2007; 2016) to interpret constructions of meaning in crisis response strategies and by incorporating a multi-stakeholder perspective and suggesting SCCT outcome variables beyond reputation.

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**Id:** 20532

**Title:** Conflict Resolution through Media: Critical Evaluation of Media Strategies during Zarb E Azab

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Abstract:

In the wake of the destruction wrought by over two decades of violence, bombings causing loss of thousands of civilian lives and displacement of tens of thousands of people, damages to billions of national government infrastructure and installations in Pakistan, the central government decided talks with the Taliban, in order to resolve the conflict. These peace talks were important that their failure could lead inevitably to long-lasting war. As the national elite press fared with their front pages coverage, the purpose of the research was to analyze the engagement of the press during peace talks and to see how far print media played their role in bringing peace or instigating war. John Galtung's theory of Peace Journalism was applied with the intentions that how far media were prepared for the peace process? Analyzing the contents of four elite national English and Urdu dailies; Dawn, the Nation, Jang, and Express, for their respective media representation, the study concluded that the mainstream press portrayed the peace talks with a considerable difference throughout the duration of peace talks which had undermined the peace talks' approach of the present government. Within the news stories, mixed expressions are seen towards both peace and war but the overall stances remain as war oriented coverage. The uniqueness of the research was that to fill in the gaps in the existing repository of Peace Journalism, which has not been applied to peace talks, so far. In all, flagship English press fails to deliver not only the talks and have failed to their peaceful and logical outcome. Resultantly, the start of the military operation called 'Zarb e Azab' and then

Key Words: Peace Talks, Tehrik e Taliban Pakistan (TTP), Terrorism, Peace Journalism, conflict resolution, Muhammad Nawaz Sharif's Political Government, Elite national English, military operation/Zarb e Azab.

**Id:** 20659

**Title:** The role of Facebook as a catalyst for fear in Rio de Janeiro

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The discussion article is about a fan page on Facebook "Onde tem Tiroteio (OTT- RJ) - (Where there is a shooting), created by residents of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, that aims to follow the changes in the city, to offer or not to the public an experience of the virtual fear for the physical world. The interface is between the cyberspace and the urban space, a page about the issue re-signifies an experience of the subject, one of the ways to express the city of Rio, a capital with the most violent international theme in Latin America.

The article will also discuss the role of digital social networks, which are important as they exhibit criminality, causing an effect of circulation of fear with the almost simultaneity of the event, making the reality of violence become part of the day to of those who have never directly confronted it as an experience of a lived process.

The technological conditions available on Facebook are marked by instantaneity, interactivity and georeferencing, as ways of giving visibility to the material posted on the page and which represent indications of the places where violence is most present, according to the users' notifications. These resources point to the impossibility of speaking in areas of conflict in the city, since crime and the perception of violence are shifting and spreading to various places at any time. In discussing the effects and role of the media in the growth of violence, we discuss whether it exposes and allows to share what happens in social networks almost immediately. By treating violence in Rio de Janeiro as a daily experience, page followers would not be spreading and further enhancing the fear that is seen daily on the Internet, creating an insecurity promoted by communication technologies. By covering violence pictures, Facebook would become a catalyst for fear, as it would gather information about crimes in the city almost in real time and allow followers to interact, enjoy and comment on content posted on OTT RJ.

Taking advantage of cyberspace as a research source, ethnography will be carried out on the internet (Fragoso, Recuero and Amaral, 2011; Konizets, 2002) as a methodological contribution. Using an interpretive and investigative method, we will verify if the OTT RJ fan page allows us to re-meaning the individual's experience of the city, based on the experience of fear. For this, an analysis of the posts in the fan page was done. In this context, we will take into account the concepts of Haesbaert (2014, 2004), Bauman (2001), Lefebvre (2014) and Recuero (2009).

**Id:** 20694

**Title:** Framing medical disputes: Attribution of responsibilities in Chinese print media, 2012-2017

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** China have witnessed a sharp increase in medical disputes during the last decade. As a result, citizens' debates around this problem is growing nationwide. At the heart of these debates is the question of who is responsible for causing and fixing the problem. Identifying responsibility is crucial as it shapes individuals' responses and policy-making efforts in terms of what changes should be applied (Salmon, 1989). As the primary information source for the public, news media play a significant role in the identification of a social problem. Although Chinese news media have been widely criticized for its biased responsibility framing of medical disputes, this topic has not yet been fully addressed in previous research. The current study therefore is conducted to examine how Chinese print media have presented the responsibility attribution of medical disputes.

### 1. Theoretical Framework and Research Questions

The responsibility attribution of a social problem has two dimensions: causal responsibility and solution responsibility (Iyengar, 1991). Therefore, we ask: How have Chinese newspapers presented the causes (RQ1) and solutions for medical disputes (RQ2)? Also, the episodic/thematic framing approach is often adopted to understand media discourses of responsibility attributions (Iyengar, 1991). Episodic framing portrays a topic in a personalized perspective, and thereby may mislead the audience to concentrate on individualized causes and solutions. Thematic framing tends to place an issue in the societal contexts and encourages public support for collective actions. Hence, we ask: which frame (thematic or episodic) has been addressed more frequently in Chinese news coverage of medical disputes (RQ3)? Lastly, Chinese Newspaper industry has diversified into three different modules - government-controlled party press, market-oriented city press, and professional newspapers specializing in certain fields (Zhang, Jin, & Tang, 2012). Then, we want to know: are there any differences in causal responsibility (RQ4), solution responsibility (RQ5), and episodic/thematic (RQ6) framing of medical disputes among these newspapers?

### 2. Method

To answer research questions, we collected 490 news articles discussing medical disputes published in three quality Chinese nationwide newspapers: People's Daily (party press), Health News (professional newspaper), and Southern Metropolis Daily (city press) between 2012 and 2017. Using a quantitative content analysis, we identified various personal causes/solutions and societal causes/solutions, as well as the thematic/episodic frames adopted in each article.

### 3. Results

RQ1: Personal causes (50.8%) were mentioned more frequently ( $t = -10.744$ ,  $p = .000$ ) than societal causes (25.1%). The malpractice of physicians or hospitals (33.1%) was most often mentioned as the main cause.

RQ2: The media assigned solution responsibilities predominantly ( $t = 7.871$ ,  $p = .000$ ) to the society (76.3%) than individuals (50.4%).

RQ3: The media rely more on thematic framing ( $t = 14.119$ ,  $df = 489$ ,  $p = .000$ ).

RQ4: Mentions of causal information do not have any significant difference across the three newspapers ( $\chi^2 = 0.480$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $p = .787$ ).

RQ5: People's Daily and Health News mentioned solutions more often ( $\chi^2 = 15.530$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $p = .019$ ).

RQ6: Southern Metropolis Daily used thematic framing less often ( $F = 32.1980$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $p = .000$ ).

#### 4. Conclusion

This study provides an insightful look at the media environment within which Chinese people's perceptions toward medical disputes are formed. It confirms an unbalanced responsibility attribution as well as a lack of media's self-attribution of responsibility in Chinese news coverage of medical disputes. In particular, we identify a problematic causal link between physicians and medical disputes in the sample. It perhaps explains why medical violence against medical workers is so prevalent in Mainland China.

**Id:** 20763

**Title:** Humanitarian crisis and public opinion. Treatment of immigration in the Spanish media

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Even when the right to free movement of persons is included In the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, many States do not guarantee their full recognition. In the context of the current humanitarian crisis, this research is focused in how Spanish media frame immigration in the Mediterranean Sea, and how it shapes public opinion on the subject.

According to several authors (Entman, 1993, Goffman, 1986, Gitlin, 1980, Snow et al. al, 1986; De Vreese and Claes, 2005; Reese, 2007; Scheufele, 1999) framing is a process of generation of emphasis on a certain piece of information in news. For the theory of Framing (Entman, 2003) sources of information are a key element in the construction of the frame. Thus, the analysis deals preferentially with the presence of institutional and social actors who appear in the news and the values they appeal (Allen and Blinder, 2018).

Through a mixed method of content analysis in more than 2000 news a comparison is made between the last five months of the administration of former President Rajoy and five months of current President Sanchez's. From an inductive type approach we look for the frames which propose the selected media and the average treatment for the generation -or not- of a debate on public policies that seek face the alarming situation (Dekker and Scholten, 2017).

The results indicate that in the most read media in Spain the frame of the coverage changes between both Administrations. In addition, the topics are focus more on the information aspect of irregular immigration than in the political, economic and / or humanitarian conditions of migrants. The political actors present in the news are mostly governmental institutions or NGOs, and the presence of the voice of the protagonists is low. The framing on immigration as a problematic issue is hegemonic, and the potential benefits of the processes of circulation of people lack of presence in the media object of study. It is concluded that the role of the media in the construction of these minorities is detrimental to the responsibility of the systems media to ensure social integration and the recognition of immigrants.

**Id:** 20857

**Title:** The role of audiovisual media versus social media for communications on catastrophe. A lesson for experts, authorities, and journalists.

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** At the time of this abstract, the Chilean people are facing floods in the north and fires in the south of the country. It has become a trend, as experts suggest (Altay and Green, 2006; Bouwer, 2011; Coumou and Rahmstorf, 2012), in the nation. It became in 2010 when an 8,8 Mw earthquake and tsunami shocked the population. Since then, these events challenge the authorities, experts, and journalists (Puente, Pellegrini, Grassau, 2013 a, b). This paper presents some of the main conclusions related to media consumption, primarily social and audiovisual, and points the importance of considering the people attached to the information given by journalism (Valenzuela, Puente, Flores, 2017). The results can be related to what Nicholls, Sykes, and Camilleri, (2010) after the Canberra fires at 2003, who point that the data from the press is not innocuous for the communities. Even the audiences may show psychological effects (Holman, Garfin, and Silver, 2014, Sugimoto et al., 2013, Nogami and Yoshida, 2014).

The data presented is part of the results of a census survey of 1621 people who live in the Chilean regions that suffered the 2010 and 2014 earthquake and tsunami and the 2014 fires. The universe was 166 experts and disaster managers, 254 journalists and 1501 audiences and done between 2015 and 2017. Most of the people surveyed had experienced the 1985 earthquake (53, 8%), the 2010 earthquake, and tsunami (81,2%) and the 2017 fires (34,9). On the question asked upon the media used for information during a disaster the answer was the audiovisual media (radio during the first moments and then television) with a 67,1 percent versus the responses on social media with 22 percent. The less valuable was the institutional sites (6,5%) and the newspapers (3,6%).

This result puts significant pressure on authorities and journalists. The official sources to value the importance of their communication through the audiovisual media represented by their journalists and journalists and authorities to realize that, even though social media can be a vital tool to have a voice, the message should have an intermediately call journalist from radio and television. For these

reasons, leaders should consider journalists to show their preparedness for the crisis and this way may contribute to the safety, health, and well-being of those affected by a disaster (Francis, 2015)

**Id:** 20887

**Title:** Journalistic restructure in the wake of critical incidents

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** According to researchers, crises often pave the way for growth at both the organisational and individual levels (Deverell 2009). According to Roux-Dufort, a crisis brings with it a ‘wave of meaning’ for organisations seeking to improve their work (Roux-Dufort, 2007:110). This is in line with Barbie Zelizer’s (1993) observation that critical incidents can force journalists to reconsider their practices and values. According to Zelizer (1992, p. 67) critical incidents are crucial for the development of journalistic practices since they pose journalists to critically and innovative reflect on their practices. Though these events could be said to be the lifeblood of journalism, we know relatively little about how they transform it as a practice and as an institution. Instead, there has been a persistent tendency to portray journalism as rigid and conservative (Ryfe 2010).  
This article argues that structural changes to journalism have led to journalists’s implication in critical incidents, and even to their targeting, as was the case in the killing of Maltese journalist/blogger Daphne Caruana Galiza ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daphne\\_Caruana\\_Galizia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daphne_Caruana_Galizia)). Her murder sparked outrage among her international investigative journalist-colleagues. It also inspired the establishment of a new platform which aims to network journalists who are otherwise silenced by the authorities, following up on their stories and disseminating their messages.  
The platform is called the Forbidden Stories (<https://forbiddenstories.org>). The article is based upon 9 semi structured qualitative interviews with main participators and founders of the platform.  
This article asks whether structural changes in journalism, such as digital platforms and communications, afford professionals the ability to more proactively participate in each other’s work and thereby extend the impact of journalism in general.

Keywords: Critical incidents, new structures, digital technology, proactive journalism, impact.

**Id:** 21166

**Title:** Between Telling the Story and Publicizing the Terror: Ethics, Media and the 2019 Riverside Terror attack in Kenya

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** This paper examines the ethical challenges journalists often face as they strive to professionally break the terror story and avoid publicizing the terrorists' agenda. Kenya has been a victim of acts of terror and violent extremism in recent years. The killings of hundreds of innocent people and destruction of property at Westgate in 2013, Mpeketoni in 2014, Garissa University in 2015 and now the January 15th, 2019 attack in Riverside, Nairobi are some of the most recent examples. Acts of terror attract extensive media attention and coverage locally and internationally. Terror provokes fear and anxiety and the public expect the media to give timely information as the terror story unfolds. But terrorism also relies on the same media coverage to gain publicity for their heinous acts. There is always therefore an inherent tension between the journalist's search for the story and the terrorist's search for publicity to instill more fear in the midst of media coverage. There have been concerns and allegations that in the process of covering and reporting terror events, journalists often become the terrorists 'best friend' by giving them the much needed publicity thereby instilling more fear among members of the public. Maintaining professional ethics in such times is often difficult as journalists try to balance between sensational reporting, accurate reporting, respect for victims and breaking the story.

The advent of social media platforms has compounded these ethical challenges for journalists further. Terror attack news now breaks on social media. The public is then bombarded with all sorts of information on the terror attack some of which is fake and false engineered by the terrorists themselves. This puts more pressure on journalists to get their facts right from such sea of facts and fiction. This paper examines the ethical challenges that journalists face as they cover terror attacks in the era of social media using the January, 2019 Riverside attack as a case study. Data will be collected through a textual analysis of some of the visual and textual messages circulated on Twitter, Facebook and WhatsApp to establish the narratives spread through social media. The front pages of the leading daily newspapers for the three days following the attack will also be analyzed to establish how these papers framed the story. I will also conduct Semi structured interviews with journalists in Kenya to get their insights on the ethical challenges they face. The Key research questions are: What are the key ethical challenges that journalists face as they cover and report on terror attacks in Kenya? How has social media impacted on journalists' coverage on acts of terror?

Key words: Terrorism, social media, Kenya, ethics, journalists

**Id:** 21443

**Title:** Defining NDT-communication: between risk and crisis

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Study of public authority's crisis communication in cases of natural disasters has become especially important in recent decades due to a number of factors. Firstly, because of the unfaltering growth of natural disasters as a consequence of the climate change. Secondly, because modern media landscape has constructed the conditions, in which victims and stakeholders are more likely to provoke political crises via social media. Thirdly, new communication technologies made media landscape more transparent: today every event is available on the net and well seen for the public. Consequently, practical urgency of the paper is defined by necessity of working out effective communication technologies for preventing a transition of a natural disaster into crisis for the government or public authorities.

Although there is a wide range of studies focusing on crisis communication, a significant part of the research is devoted to organizational crises solely. Among the classics here it is necessary to mention Coombs, Holladay, Heath, Fink, Benoit, Sturges, Fearn-Banks. The problems of public authority's crisis communication are less examined. Nevertheless, these subjects are studied by Ulmer, Sellnow, Seeger, Martin, Boyntone, etc. Crisis communication during natural disasters is analyzed in works of Quarantelli, Bazerman, Watkins. Theoretical insights concerning governmental communication in case of disasters are presented by Littlejohn, Stromback, Nord, Quenette, Cohen, etc. However the majority of up-to-date studies concerning governmental crisis communication are based on theories and models designed for organizational sphere. Our presentation is aimed to delete the gap and develop a public authorities' crisis communication model in natural disasters.

Basing on the approaches of Coombs and Quarantelli, the authors suggest new approach and the new term – NDT communication. It is based on the distinction and still similarities between classical crisis communication and disaster communication. In this regard a new designation of a natural disaster communication is proposed - NDT-communication (from "Natural DisasTer"). In the majority of theoretical publications these terms are often used as synonyms, while a firm differentiation would provide a basis for the improvement of theoretical schemes as well as the advance in solving real cases. Every natural disaster has a strong potential to trigger crises, but not all crises are instigated by natural disasters. Key point in the transformation of a natural disaster into a crisis is the upraise of critique and accusations against the government from political opponents, opposition or even media, functioning in public sphere.

SCCT theory and classical 3-staged approach to crisis management process were taken as a foundation of suggested NDT-communication model. SCCT model was modified and adopted to a political sphere by diversifying clusters of crisis communication strategies, adding such parameter as a duration of a natural disaster (dividing disasters into long-ripening and fast-developing types) and specification of a situational subtype «challenge» with a variant «government illegal activities». The authors are going to present based on our model empirical study of the Russian Federal Government communication strategies in case of the disastrous flood in Krasnodar region in 2012. Methods of the empirical analysis include content and frame analysis.

**Id:** 21493

**Title:** Dominating the information sphere through violence and scrutiny in the 2014 Gaza war

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The 2014 Gaza war was a contest between Israel and Hamas militarily and in the media. The military outcome of the war was one-sided, as was evident by the devastation and death the IDF (Israeli Defence Forces) inflicted on Gaza. In contrast Israel suffered far fewer casualties and little damage to its civilian infrastructure. I argue that this military asymmetry extends to the information sphere. The sophistication of the Israeli government's communications apparatus has been documented in research on media coverage of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict (Philo and Berry 2011). During the war in 2014 this was evident as well. This was relayed to me by media professionals I interviewed for my research on the coverage of the war by select news organisations in Britain and South Africa. I am also using multimodal critical discourse analysis to analyse the news coverage produced during the war. The preliminary findings show extensive use of Israeli official sources, and images which depict the IDF largely as passive actors. Palestinian official sources are less pronounced, while the suffering of the civilians in Gaza is foregrounded.

Efforts by the Israeli government to control the flow of information about the war transcended all levels of society. Officials availed themselves at all times to the media organisations covering the conflict. Official statements were also communicated to the media by email and text messages. The IDF permitted extensive media access to its military operations in Israel. The Israeli government was also highly attuned to the English language coverage of the war. If coverage was deemed to transgress military censorship laws, media organisations faced the possibility of being sanctioned. Supporters of Israel have also established organisations which scrutinise the coverage of the conflict. Journalists producing coverage judged as unfavourable to Israel are targeted by these groups through email, blog posts and on social media. Those reporting on the conflict view this scrutiny as helpful at times. In other instances they see it as time consuming and a distraction. What I argue is that it deflects attention from some of the core issues of the conflict, which include Israel's occupation of Palestinian land and its blockade of Gaza. Israel's sophisticated media apparatus has been able to successfully sideline the Palestinian perspective in the mainstream media. What has emerged is what I refer to as an asymmetrical information context. The Israeli narrative thus dominates media coverage at most levels. The Internet and social media has to an extent disrupted the Israeli narrative. However, it has by no means provided an equal platform for the Palestinians to contest the media narrative projected by Israel. Furthermore, Israel has demonstrated its willingness to use violence to enforce its domination of the information sphere. During the war it targeted the Hamas leadership, and they thus had limited means to present their perspective to the news media. I argue, therefore, that technology in this context largely threatens communication processes.

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**Id:** 21657

**Title:** Power to Pronounce: Multivocality and contestation in television news representations of crime and policing in Australia

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The power of police to unilaterally pronounce local security problems and prescribe their remedies, if ever it truly existed, is now facing a moment of significant and unprecedented disruption. In the context of the 'media manifold' (Couldry & Hepp, 2016) and hypertextual television news, the police voice, once the authoritative source in journalistic representations of crime and criminality (Mawby, 2003), now must reckon with the voices of others as it seeks to exercise its historical power of pronouncement (Loader, 1997): among them, that of the technologically-equipped citizen journalist, the Twitter-savvy politician, the Facebook-using criminalised Other, and journalists and editors themselves who, in the context of a renewed culture of public distrust of institutions (and particularly of the press), are struggling to discursively reposition themselves as 'of and for the people.'

Using multivocality (Bakhtin, 1983) as an analytical entry point, this paper interrogates recent television news media representations of 'Sudanese gang violence' in Melbourne, Australia, as sites of discursive struggle at which competing and often agonistic (in)security claims encounter one another and are dialogised into conflictual yet seemingly coherent accounts of (in)security 'truth'. Through application of audio-visual CDA, this paper unpacks how competing voices of security are both hypertextually and interdiscursively called together in television news narratives of criminal threat, with particular attentiveness to how the police voice struggles to retain legitimacy over others seeking to pronounce the 'reality' of (in)security in Melbourne.

This paper enriches our understanding of the role that mediated communication, and particularly multi-vocal television news narratives, play in the construction and reproduction of dominant (in)security knowledges in two key ways. First, it tempers more optimistic accounts of the 'new visibility' of crime and policing (for example, Goldsmith, 2010) by revealing how, within the confines of the television news genre, competing (in)security accounts – and in particular those articulated by criminalised Others – are limited in their capacity to meaningfully disrupt dominant institutional claims about the 'reality' of threats (as diagnosed by the press) and the necessity of police intervention (as prescribed by the police). Secondly, the paper excavates new tensions in the historically ambivalent relationship between the police and the press; specifically, an institutional contest for public trust fought through discursive struggles over the power to legitimately pronounce (in)security realities which, in the case of the so-called Sudanese gang 'threat' in Melbourne, presents in surprisingly zero-sum terms.

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**Id:** 21669

**Title:** Politicisation of the "quota-debate" in Hungary

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The aim of this paper is to shed some light on the characteristics of politicization of the public debate in Hungary surrounding the EU quota of refugees. We showcase the results of an empirical study that we have conducted using various methods. We look at two episodes of contention (the ‘quota debate’ of 2015 and the ‘quota referendum’ of 2016) in two major public fora: the media and parliament, and analyse data on public opinion during these years. We use the combination of in-depth analysis and secondary statistical analysis to examine the particularities of the issue.

Our findings suggest that in Hungary the quota debate has been captured by politics. Politicians are the main actors in the media; the main frames used are embedded in and serve the political interests of the government; the framing of the problem and the solutions offered all revolve around power struggles and are based on deploying the moral panic button. The quota is rarely discussed in relation to what is really happening with regard to migration in Hungary: the topic has a life of its own. With some exceptions, the quota debate gets detached from other, concrete issues and experiences in Hungary, and is discussed in the context of the government’s interests in local and European politics.

We can conclude that even though the issue of migration – and the relocation quota in particular – has reached a high level of salience in Hungary, because of the uniquely strong role of the government, the theoretically crucial element of the politicization process – i.e. the ‘competitive representative claims-making in the public sphere’ (de Wilde, 2011: 572) – is missing.

The research was produced in the framework of the “Evaluation of the Common European Asylum System” project, funded by the European Union’s Horizon 2020 programme.

**Id:** 21953

**Title:** Crisis Communication by Paid Professional Trolls through Memes: Disinformation and History Revisionism of the Ukrainian Famine (1932-1933) in the Context of the Ukraine-Russia Conflict (2013-2019)

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** This paper looks at crisis communication made by paid professional trolls for the sake of disinformation and confusion. It uses an example of the Ukraine-Russia conflict since 2013 and how the context of this conflict enabled history revisionism of the Ukrainian famine of 1932-1933. The focus is on visual crisis communication; that is, image-memes created, distributed, and engaged with by trolls in the Russian Internet (RuNet) to reinterpret the contested historical crisis (i.e., famine) in the context of the current crisis (i.e., conflict).

The empirical material consists of 98 memes selected from the comments section on posts (i.e., the habitat of trolls) from the Russian information website rusvesna.su between 25-30 November during 2015-2018. The analysis of memes is three-fold and focuses on cross-platform links created between memes on RuNet, user (troll) interaction when memes are posted on rusvesna.su, and common themes that memes convey.

The paper shows that by visually and discursively playing with the theme of hunger in memes, paid professional trolls have created a narrative that the “real” Ukrainian famine was not in 1932-1933, but is happening today, after the 2013 Maidan revolution, and that the West and the Ukrainian politicians are responsible for it. This narrative was created by posting humorous memes and memes imitating science. Memes imitating science correlated hunger to the population decline in Ukraine using pseudo-scientific tables, figures, maps, and infographics without sources of reference. Humorous memes linked hunger to the policies on welfare reduction in Ukraine by the European Union, International Monetary Fund, and Ukrainian politicians, as well as to hypocrisy and immorality of the Ukrainian people in demanding recognition of the famine and its commemoration.

The paper argues that disinformation and history revisionism created by paid professional trolls through memes represent the phenomena of subverted visuality (understood as an imperial country’s resistance to de-imperialisation of the subordinate state; Mirzoeff, 2013), subverted critique (defined as an antipode of critique in participatory culture used against the structures of power and domination; Bennett and Segerberg, 2013), and post-truth soft power (implied as an exercise of power in the cyberspace rather than on the battlefield; Surowiec, 2017).

Theoretically, the paper combines the studies from media and communication on memes (Milner, 2013; Miltner, 2018; Shifman, 2013) with research on disinformation and propaganda (DiResa et al., 2018; Marwick and Lewis, 2017; Paul and Mathews, 2016). It aims to bring a novel way of looking

at crisis communication by focusing on the problem of trolls and disinformation and the role of the visual (I.e., memes) in rewriting historical crisis.

**Id:** 22119

**Title:** Sourcing political debates about war: A comparative analysis of information sources used in five European Parliaments when discussing violent conflicts

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** As central political institutions in Western democracies, parliaments have gained importance concerning foreign affairs issues in recent years. Specifically, parliaments have become key institutions with respect to wars and violent conflicts, given their increasing role as moral tribunes and discussion forums on conflict prevention and resolution and also, on democracy and human rights. Empirical research has proved that media's agenda has an impact on parliamentary agenda. However, particularly in wars and conflict situations, where traditional media usually have difficulties to develop their work on the ground, NGOs and other actors via social media play an important role in providing information to Members of Parliaments (MPs) and in shaping the parliamentary agenda, debates and resolutions.

This research identifies the sources of information used by MPs from five European parliaments when discussing violent conflicts in Africa, a very relevant question especially when information gathering is not an easy task for members of Parliament, as it happens when addressing peripheral international violent conflicts. Specifically, we study two specific cases: the post-conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (between 2012 and 2015) and in Burundi (between 2010 and 2015). Given its unobtrusiveness, foreign affairs issues are a knowledge field where there is an obvious need for external sources of information. However, this need is particularly marked in the cases of Burundi and DRC's post-conflicts, situations which usually remain outside the public, media and political agenda.

Only very few researches have studied the information needs of parliamentarians from specific developing countries or from cases different from the European Parliament and the House of Commons. Much of this literature is interested in the role of parliamentary libraries, the sources MPs consult, or the information needs and services available to them. However, the research on the sources of information MPs actually use during the debates and questions to Government and its quality have not been enough addressed. This issue is crucial in the post-truth age where misinformation reigns in politics. Neither there are comparative studies available as the one we present.

For this research, we created a multilingual dictionary in five languages and we content-analysed all the debates from the European, British, French, German and Spanish Parliament including topics related to the post-conflict situation affecting the DRC and Burundi in the studied period. We carried out a computer assisted quantitative content analysis of 450 Parliamentary debates.

Preliminary results show that NGOs and media are used as information sources in parliamentary debates in a similar level, and both of them are quoted more often than social media. Specifically, NGOs and media appear as more significant sources of information in EU Parliament's debates, compared with all the other four parliaments. Moreover, African media appear more often as a source of information than international media. However, with respect to NGOs, the presence of international NGOs is higher than African ones. In particular, Human Rights and Women NGOs are the most used sources of information.

**Id:** 22137

**Title:** The impact of digital media in disaster reportage of Manila-based television newsrooms in the Philippines

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The Philippines is one of the most vulnerable countries to disaster. Because of its location, it is highly vulnerable to typhoons, earthquakes, floods, and other natural hazards which is further exacerbated by internal armed conflict, high poverty rate, environmental degradation, and climate change. The emergence of new communication technologies particularly of digital media have brought tremendous change in how disasters are covered and reported in the media. Because of digital technology, newsrooms have also adopted various tools and even made use of non-traditional resources and sources in disaster reportage. Ordinary Filipinos can even participate in these coverages particularly during disasters and in responding to disasters through social media. “Hashtagging” typhoon or any disaster event has now become a usual practice online whenever a disaster occurs in an effort to report what’s happening in communities, call attention in case of disaster responses, or demand accountability from the government. This paper seeks to understand how digital media change disaster reporting and coverage of television newsrooms in the Philippines. This paper will concentrate on the policies of television newsrooms (Manila-based, commercial) in covering disasters specifically of disaster-stricken communities since these policies affect how news stories are chosen, reported, managed, and aired. These news stories create great impact in mediating images and perception of disaster-stricken communities which in turn are important considerations in prioritizing responses and assistance by aid agencies, government bodies, civil society groups, and private individuals and groups.

The policies of television newsrooms in covering disasters, post-Haiyan, will be the unit of analysis of this research. Documentary research, and interviews of reporters, researchers and writers, news desks and managers will be conducted. The experience of the country during Haiyan has resulted to significant changes not only in disaster reporting but in many aspects of disaster risk reduction and management. This paper would like to concentrate and account for the change and shift that happened after Haiyan.

**KEYWORDS:**

Disaster, disaster reportage, digital media, television newsrooms, communities

**Id:** 22149

**Title:** From "Sofa" to Frontline: The Digital Mediation and Domestication of Warfare

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Questions of dignity and human rights are particularly significant in times of military conflict. Information technologies can increase transparency around human rights violations, but they can also proliferate disinformation and engage people in warfare. So-called “sofa warfare” – an ironic description of Internet users who take a part in conflict without leaving their own sofas – became one of the major notions related to the role of the Internet during the recent Russia-Ukraine conflict. A literature concerning “remote warfare” (Crawford, 2015) highlights how digital mediation allows us to take part in conflict from a distant location. However, digital mediation not only increases the distance of participation. Laptops and mobile phones allow us to participate in warfare from our bedrooms or living rooms. The ways in which digital platforms can change the locations from which warfare is managed have so far remained almost outside the scope of discussion.

This paper explores the social and normative consequences of new digitally mediated forms of participation in warfare. The meaning of “sofa warfare” goes beyond an increase in the scope of participation in conflicts (Merrin, 2019). The paper offers an analysis of the notion of “sofa warfare” in the Russia-Ukraine conflict, presenting three datasets concerning: the representation of “sofa warfare” in online discussions, digitally mediated conflict-related practices, and semi-structured interviews with users who have participated in conflict-related activities online.

Relying on data analysis, the paper offers the notion of a “domestication of warfare”. This notion builds on the concept of domestication (Silverstone & Haddon, 1996), which discusses how technological artefacts transit from public to private spaces and have been appropriated within the home as a part of everyday routine. While the domestication concept is focused on the role of artefacts as physical objects and content providers, this paper highlights how domestication is related to what technology affords us from home (Bucher & Helmond, 2018) and how these affordances are realized through digitally mediated activity (Kaptelinin, 2014). In this light, domestication is related to the appropriation of various forms of activity mediated by an artefact in the user’s private space.

The phenomenon of “sofa warfare” also highlights the need for a more nuanced approach to private space. The concept of “mediated mobilism” (Hartmann, 2013) underlines the mobile nature of technological artefacts. Accordingly, the location of appropriation is not the household, but the “sofa” – a space that is commonly linked to relaxation and entertainment. Digital mediation allows the convergence of domestic environment and battlefield, through offering opportunities for participation in warfare without leaving everyday spaces and with minimal risk to participants.

The paper considers “sofa warfare” both as a discursive structure that offers a form of relationship between users and conflict, and as a set of digitally mediated domesticated practices that contribute to the convergence of everyday life and a conflict-related environment. It discusses

the moral implications of the digitally mediated militarization of domestic space, where warfare becomes a part of daily routines.

**Id:** 22159

**Title:** Digital Media, Television News, and News Reportage on Children Caught in the Wars in the Philippines

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Unless an occurrence is reported, it is never news.

Despite the advent of the new and emerging media, the stories of children who are caught in the middle of the prevailing wars in the Philippines remain to be imagined and unexplored. This paper seeks to present the fact that despite the many changes in the news production processes, structures and policies in news making and delivery in Philippine television mainly due to changes in technology, the components of framing the news remain the same – it is based on geographic space, time, search for facticity, search for legitimated sources, and search for dramatic visuals.

The paper will first present as survey of news materials aired in the top two television networks in the Philippines and their digital platforms from the siege of Marawi City (a city in a war-stricken Southern island in the Philippines) in 2016 to December 2018 to show the lack of news on the children survivors of the war. The paper will then proceed to discuss stories of children survivors of the war and their news values sourced from other internet sites and stories told by NGO workers.

Using a social constructivist approach, this paper will analyze how reporters tend to overlook the children survivors/victims of wars as they go about finding stories for the day's news. The researcher will present interview with reporters who have covered the wars in the Philippines to determine how they looked at children who were caught in the war and how they may or may not have considered the stories of these children as news worth delivering.

The presence or absence of news stories on children caught in the war and the reporters' perception of the stories on children survivors/victims of war will be the main units of analysis for the research

**KEYWORDS:**

Children, war in the Philippines, children in the news, television news, news reporters

**Id:** 22201

**Title:** 'You can't run away from the truth'- Journalistic self-reflection and memory towards healing and reconciliation in post-conflict Kenya

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** This study examines journalists' self-conscious and self-referential participation in the post-conflict process of truth telling, healing and reconciliation in Kenya following violence and bloodshed that followed the December 2007 presidential election. The post-conflict period presented a unique opportunity for journalists to turn the spotlight inward and reflect on their historical relationship with "official truth" verses their own versions of "truth". The truth-seeking process was a turning point for the media in Kenya to re-imagine and re-articulate their taken-for-granted identity as Kenyans, juxtaposed against their hegemonic role as culturally authoritative sources of information Through in-depth interviews with 18 journalists in Kenya and a critical discourse analysis of journalistic testimony before the Truth Commission, this study reveals that Kenyan journalists too — like thousands of other Kenyans — had endured years of repression within a path-dependent, hegemonic, structural and ideological injustice infrastructure since independence from British rule in 1963. The self-analysis indicates strong themes emanating from critical self-reflection of their journalistic roles. Journalists expressed themselves as victims, survivors, witnesses, and even co-conspirators in the reigning culture of human rights violation. These journalists also challenged their collective authenticity as an interpretive community by revealing contested memories and truths. For instance, one journalist narrated how some of his colleagues were "police-friendly" journalists who enjoyed "favors such as easy access to senior police officers, stories, and transport to scenes of crime, securing release for arrested relatives or friends". More importantly, journalists highlighted their agency in fighting back against State capture. Collective counter-strategies were deployed in some instances with mixed results. This study calls for a critical journalistic self-reflective framework as a form of meta-communication that can be used to conceptualize the scope, nature and role of journalists in post-conflict reconstruction.

**Id:** 22208

**Title:** Understanding War Reporting through Social Network Analysis

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** In this paper the aim is to demonstrate how social network analysis (SNA) can be used to undertake a historical analysis of war reporting. Networks are constructed of proxy relations between journalists to explain how reporting at the time of the cold war and the hot war of Vietnam a ‘constructed truth’ about a war of independence in the global south changed to report not what the state machinery intended but what actually happened. It is shown that reporting on the Bangladesh War of Independence, which was started on 25th of March 1971 and ended on 16th December 1971, began as a ‘communist inspired plot’ changed to a ‘heroic struggle for freedom’ in the US Television news media. To undertake analysis, reporting by in studio and in field journalists of three major US TV news media (ABC, CBS and NBS) is followed and social network analysis is applied to explain how reports changed from reporting the insurrection of people in East Pakistan to increasingly questioning the legitimacy of rule by West Pakistan. To understand the process of change, social network ties between journalists were constructed on a monthly basis. The input data was short video clips of the TV news coverage of the war. The ties between journalists were measured by the similarity of reporting content, taking multivariate measures of bias to one side or another, degree of blame for the insurgency (East Pakistan), degree of sensationalism and degree of humanity displayed in the report. The measures from daily clips were aggregated to give monthly reports. From these, monthly sociograms were generated using the NetDraw package, and key network measures of centrality, power and cohesion were computed using the UCINET software. The monthly reports were then used to conduct a longitudinal analysis of network change over the ten month period. In this analysis it became apparent that although initial reporting views were diverse, perhaps explained by institutional ownership, regardless of initial views and media ownership, as the war moved on, a consensus or similarity of reporting emerged. This was not expected and challenged notions of institutional resistance to change. This, we interpret, endorsed journalistic integrity. This historical analysis contributes to social network methods and demonstrates the added insights that SNA gives in explaining the changing visions that the media presented of distant political and societal strife.

**Id:** 22290

**Title:** What's Happening': The Effectiveness of Twitter as a News Disseminating Platform During The Super Typhoon Ompong in Baguio City

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** As communication on social media become a part of our daily lives, it plays a vital role in communication between communities here in the Philippines especially when there is an occurrence of disasters. Philippines is one of the countries in South-East Asia which is vulnerable to typhoons. The researchers of this study focus particularly on how useful and effective Twitter, a social networking site, is regarding news dissemination during disasters. The vital part of this research examines the effectiveness of Twitter as a news disseminating platform during the Super Typhoon Ompong in Baguio City which hit the Philippines in 2017, leaving a massive destruction in the said area. Moreover, the study seeks to assess the positive impacts Twitter has brought to the community of Baguio City, in terms of communication before, during, and after the disaster. Associating a quantitative approach, specifically, creating a structured survey questionnaire and interview guide questions to further understand the effectiveness. The researchers used Media Dependency Theory to evaluate the dissemination of information amongst the respondents. Gathering a total of 400 Baguio residents as respondents in this study, the proponents found out that Twitter was effective in giving out essential and informative information/updates during the typhoon, to its users. Therefore, the proponents believe that Twitter has the ability to be used as a legitimate news disseminating platform.

**Id:** 22651

**Title:** Funds, Flights, Affects: Conflict reporting in South Sudan

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** This paper explores the practices of journalists working in contexts of armed violence, via a case study of South Sudan, in order to develop various responses to existing understandings of how the work of conflict journalists is changing. Specifically, I argue that the existing literature on reporting war and armed conflict is deficient in at least three respects. In the first, to extend a more general critique by Hanitzsch (2019), I argue that the canonical history of conflict reporting is still largely an Anglo-American, male history in which the practices and motivations of conflict journalists from in-conflict countries have not as yet been sufficiently considered. Second, accounts of the structural shifts in contemporary conflict reporting, such as those which emphasise the decline in funding for full-time conflict reporters and the role of technology in democratising access to conflict spaces bear further analysis in terms of actual cases. Research from South Sudan suggests that the effects of these shifts in practice may be different, and differently felt, to what may be conventionally expected. Third, the study of conflict reporting has not yet developed an account of the role of affect in structuring practices in conflict contexts. Without such an account, research on the work of journalists in dangerous environments risk 'looking past' one of the features of the social environment which most immediately affects both the work of conflict journalism and processes of forming an identity as a conflict journalist. I argue that Wright's (2016; 2018) moral-economic approach can be productively adapted to take into account affective dimensions of life in 'Aidland' in order to more usefully theorise the experiences of journalists working in it.

This paper is based on a combination of 48 semi-structured interviews with journalists covering the conflict in South Sudan who were based in Juba, Kampala and Nairobi, as well as ethnographic fieldwork observing the everyday activities of South Sudanese and foreign journalists in Juba and accompanying journalists to the Malakal protection of civilians site in Upper Nile state as they completed a project documenting potential war crimes by the South Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA). I explore structural constraints on the work of journalists that include the economics of the profession (and differences between South Sudanese and 'foreign' journalists), travel infrastructure, risk, and state regimes of control including the country's National Security Service (NSS) and Media Authority.

Theoretically, this critique is derived from empirical work exploring the material and discursive factors that enable and constrain the work of reporting on the suffering of others in the social context of South Sudan's 'AidLand' (Mosse, 2011; Autesserre, 2014a; Roth, 2015) and related

spaces. Additionally, I draw on a mix of work on the micro-sociology of humanitarianism and conflict management (Autesserre, 2014b; Roth, 2015) as well as work on moral economies in journalism (Wright, 2018, 2016) and affect theory (Massumi, 2002; Mazzarella, 2009) in an attempt to understand the material factors enabling and constraining the work of conflict journalists and the interactions of such structures with the affective experiences of those reporting from conflict environments.

**Id:** 22864

**Title:** '(Re)think before Acting': Designing a Research Project that Tackles Violent Extremism

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** This proposal gives a panoramic view of the ongoing 'Re(think) Before Acting – Alternative Narratives to Violent Extremism' research project, financed by the H2020 Civil Society Empowerment Programme of the European Commission (CSEP - ISFP-2017-AG-CSEP) (November 2018-November 2020). The project aims to carry out seven social media campaigns to dissuade communities vulnerable either to Jihadi Extremism or to the Far Right from violent action. As regards the experimental design of the social media campaigns to be created within our project, this project will attempt to construct film narratives that visually and discursively cater to the profile of the imagined audience (Nielsen 2009: 24) of extremist website contents. This is in synchrony with Tokar's suggestion that one ought to analyse the content of websites so as to understand who is being targeted (2007: 111), a particularly important objective taking into account the difficulty in carrying out ethnography in the context of violent and secretive groups (Eijkman & Schuurman 2013: 1). In this respect, we posit that the preferred encoded meanings of extremist website contents enable us to understand how recruiters try to impart their message to certain cohorts, thus shedding light on visual and verbal discursive strategies that cater to specific audiences.

The concept of valence frame – how any particular aspect is emphasized in a positive or negative light (Boomgaarden & De Vreese 2003: 362) – is important for the production of the film narratives and complements Moral Foundations theory (Wolsko, Ariceaga & Seiden 2016: 7), which is used in Social Psychology to understand how framing any particular issue in ideological and moral terms is of greater import to message persuasiveness than the issue itself. In this perspective, frames tend to cater either to an individualising frame of morality, associated with liberal values (harm/care, fairness/reciprocity) or to a binding frame of morality, associated with a conservative (ingroup/loyalty, authority/respect, purity/sanctity) values.

An interesting aspect that should be foregrounded is that despite emphasis on fairness and justice (both of which figure high among liberal values) by both Jihadi Extremist and Far Right groups, either group does so within a context of binding morality, reinforcing the ingroup loyalty which characterises a conservative outlook. This means that the emphasis on justice is framed as a need to seek atonement for past wrongs committed against the group, and not so much against any particular individual. Among the commonalities that were observed in the website contents of the two groups, the following stand out: righteous appeals for the restoration of a natural order, a 'chosen' people or community, as well as the legitimization of authority in the form of a greater force. While we propose to analyse the valence frames of these themes, we will simultaneously explore a conspicuous difference among these two Extremist groups: while the Far Right heavily privileges the Nation-State, Jihadism emphasises the importance of a supranational Ummah, or community of believers, which surpasses national borders, the latter being regarded as an invention of the 1916 Sykes-Picot agreement to divide the Muslim community.

**Id:** 22896

**Title:** A Critical Discourse Analysis of 'Youth Radicalisation': A Case of the Daily Nation Kenya Online Newspaper

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The purpose of this study is to critique 'radicalisation' and more particularly 'youth radicalisation' by exploring how it is used in online newspapers. 'Radicalisation' and 'extremism' have become the most common terms in terrorism studies since the 9/11 attacks. Regardless of the geographic location, when the word terrorism is used the terms 'radicalisation' and 'extremism' always follow to attempt to explore the journey of the perpetrators towards violence. Notably, 'radicalisation' and 'extremism' have been closely conflated with the term youth to form 'youth radicalisation' to refer to a discourse of 'youth at risk'. These terms have come to represent a discourse of dominantly pejorative traits often used to describe spaces, groups, and processes identified as problematic. Even though ambiguously defined the terms feature widely in government documents, political statements, newspapers, academic research, social media platforms, religious gatherings, and public discussions. This study is timely in the Kenyan context where there has been a proliferation of academic and expert research on 'youth radicalisation' (used as a neutral label) without considering the political, cultural and socio-historical contexts that inform this label. To fully understand these nuances this study focusses on a corpus of 283 Kenyan online newspaper by The Daily Nation between 2015 and 2018. The study employs a genealogical approach that historicises and deconstructs 'youth radicalisation'; then, uses NVivo software to analyse labels, narratives, assumptions and stereotypes deployed and the theoretical and political narratives they draw upon. Subsequently, the findings were subjected to a Critical Discourse Analysis which proceeded in two stages. The first-order critique focused on identifying inconsistencies, and internal-contradictions and used these to critique the discourse itself and identify perspectives the discourse fails to acknowledge with an aim to expose the political nature of the discourse. The second-order critique used the concept of representation to assess the political, ideological and lived consequences of the dominant perspectives. This study reveals that the use of 'youth radicalisation' as a discursive strategy disproportionately affects young people especially those from cultural/ethnic/religious minority groups. Also, the ambiguous use of 'radicalisation' and 'youth radicalisation' by the media reinforces the discourse of 'youth at-risk' which has become the major framework underpinning Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) interventions. Similarly, the findings indicate that the uncritical use of 'youth radicalisation' has served political interests; and has become an instrument of policing young people, thus contributing to their cultural shaping. From this, it is evident that the media could thwart rather than assist CVE efforts. By exposing the political nature of the three terms through evidence-based research, this study offers recommendations on how critical reflective reporting by the media could help to make CVE more nuanced.

**Keywords**— Discourse, Extremism, Media, Radicalisation, Terrorism, Youth.

**Id:** 23013

**Title:** Communicative acts of citizenship: Contesting Europe's border in and through the media

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Situated at the intersection of media and communication and critical citizenship studies, this paper explores how refugees assert themselves as political subjects through "communicative acts of citizenship" – everyday forms of resistance against the EU border regime enacted and circulated through diverse media networks. How are refugees' communicative practices of claims-making mediated or silenced, online and offline, and to what effect? How are the possibilities of performing acts of resistance shaped by the shifting micro-politics of securitized humanitarian care at Europe's border? To what extent do these acts of resistance, and in particular those enacted within digital media spaces, carry the potential for interrupting dominant media and humanitarian discourses?

Empirically, the paper draws on 42 interviews with refugees and volunteers conducted on the Greek island of Chios between March 2016 and July 2018, as well as 12 weeks of participant observation during which I joined volunteer teams that play an integral role in the provision of humanitarian care. Taking part in daily activities such as shore patrols, sorting donations in the warehouse, and distributions in refugee camps facilitated a wide array of encounters and informal conversations with multiple actors on the ground. Furthermore, I was able to overcome some of the barriers to access which typically reinforce refugees' "invisibility" in academic research.

Conceptually, the paper takes Chouliaraki and Georgiou's (2017) work as the starting point of analysis, yet suggests that by neglecting the agency of refugees their framework effectively empties the "communicative architecture of the border" of a major source of political contestation. In response, the paper seeks to bring to the fore the ways in which social media in particular create spaces for claims-making and allow some refugees to circumvent the mechanisms of erasure or outright vilification whereby they are denied political voice.

The paper concludes, firstly, that despite their limited legal or policy effects, taking refugees' communicative acts of citizenship seriously is methodologically, analytically and politically imperative if we wish to avoid inadvertently reifying the figure of refugees as mute victims so deeply embedded in the humanitarian imaginary. Secondly, the findings pose a challenge to communications research which excludes the voices of refugees by methodological design.

**Id:** 23081

**Title:** A Transatlantic Exploratory Online Media Analysis on the European Migration Crisis between 2013 to 2015

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** European media discourses, perceptions and interpretations on migration during the so-called 2015 refugee crisis remained largely the same as before (Krzyżanowski, Triandafyllidou and Wodak 2018) and media coverage moved from an emphasis to humanitarianism, that is measures to help the refugees, to an emphasis of securitization, that is measures to protect us (Chouliaraki, Georgiou, Zaborowski, and Oomen 2017). All in all, migrants appeared as a largely de-humanized outgroup (Chouliaraki and Zaborowski 2017). While the literature vividly demonstrated migration othering in European media, it did not delve into the representations of the actors of the crisis or the ideological role of the seemingly pro-migrant content and did not pay attention to media content outside Europe. The study presented aims to contribute to the literature on the media/refugee nexus taking a transatlantic view and exploring how powerful media in the liberal spectra in the US and the UK represented the so-called European refugee crisis. Then it will elaborate on preliminary findings on how the readership read and subsequently reacted to these representations online. A transatlantic media analysis to the issues under consideration is important because international migration is de facto a global issue related to the world system, capitalist expansion and the power of coloniality (Rodriguez 2018). Additionally, the liberal media's ideological role in the meaning-making processes around migration, especially of those media with an international, transatlantic online readership, needs to be properly problematized because, unlike the often-self-evident role of the populist and extreme right-wing media, their role could go unseen in diffusing information content and shaping ideologies on global migration that could sustain existing world inequalities. After presenting a thematic analysis with reference to the empirical data under examination, the presentation will conclude with a discussion of a liberal media aporia of why Europe did not abide with human rights and democratic values and a subsequent nostalgia for a European past of democracy and human rights and transnational unity that never really existed. The argument made is that this media aporia although sympathetic towards migrants, it helped reproduce the existing repressive, restrictive global migration regime exactly because it did not see the summer of 2015 as a continuation of its coloniality but as an unfortunate rupture.

**Id:** 23214

**Title:** Disputed Rights and Contested Truths regarding Refugees: Refugee Crisis in American and Pakistani Mainstream Newspapers

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The conflicts in countries like Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia, and South Sudan and most recently in Syria have caused millions of people to flee from their homelands. Now 22 million people are refugees out of the total 65.6 million of world population (UNHCR, 2017).

More than 86% of the refugees are being hosted by the developing countries. Turkey being at the top of the list hosts about 3.1 million refugees followed by Pakistan with 1.4 million refugees, Lebanon 1 million, Iran 987,000, Ethiopia 742,700, Jordan 691,800, Kenya 523,500, Uganda 512,600, Germany 478,600 and Chad 386,100 (UNHCR, 2017).

As the refugee crisis goes on with no end in sight here comes the global responsibility of taking refugees in across the borders. Socio-economic pressures continue to increase in neighboring countries; acceptance of refugees has started to give rise to many problems for the host countries. (Farasin, 2017).

This research work focuses on the portrayal of refugee crisis in American and Pakistani mainstream newspapers; New York Times, Washington Post, Dawn and the News International during one year from May , 2017 to April 2018, while keeping in view importance of the refugee crisis at both national and international scenario and impact of media in this regard. The purpose behind considering American press is the fact that America being a key player in international socio-political and media markets, can make or break the story through its information handling techniques regarding an issue in hand. The way refugees are being portrayed through media across the world has a lot to do with their treatment in American press. Likewise purpose of considering Pakistani newspapers is the fact the country serves to be the second largest host of refugees in the world. It is to be explored that how Pakistani mainstream press portray refugees under this ranking. The main objectives behind this study is to analyze the accounts of refugee crisis being constructed by Pakistani and American newspapers as well as to examine how the human rights violations faced by refugees are being portrayed in American and Pakistani mainstream newspapers while keeping in view the UN and UNHCR agenda. Moreover the study also focuses the settlement issues (with regards to their settlement in host countries as well as to their home lands) of refugees being portrayed in American and Pakistani newspapers accessing the comparative study of American and Pakistani mainstream newspaper regarding portrayal of refugee crisis. Under the theoretical realm of theory of framing and Anthony Down's theory of issue attention cycle content of newspapers

have been analyzed. Hypothesis for the study includes; American and Pakistani newspapers under-represent refugee crisis and Refugees are framed as “others” in Pakistani and American mainstream newspapers. The findings of content analysis and discourse analysis revealed that American and Pakistani newspapers’ under representation and event driven coverage has marginalized this issue of grave concern as well as the selected newspapers represented refugees as “others” which has marred refugee crisis.

**Id:** 23249

**Title:** Psychological Effects of Terrorism on Media Persons in Peshawar (Pakistan)

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Pakistan ranks as the deadliest state in the world for reporters and journalists (IFJ, 2016). The security in the contention influenced territories, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), are the most heinous. Here journalists confront promulgation, dangers, intimidation, and focused on killings. In the year from May 2007 to May 2008 fifteen journalists were killed, 357 were arrested, 123 sustained injuries in physical assaults, 154 were harassed while there were 18 cases of attacks and ransacking of media properties and 88 cases of various gag orders issued by the government. In 2008 twelve journalists were killed, and at least 74 journalists sustained serious or minor injuries in 41 cases of assault or injury (Intermedia, 2008).

This study intends to investigate the psychological effects of terrorism on working journalists of Peshawar KPK, Pakistan. Researcher took a sample of 200 working journalists from Peshawar and conducted a survey to collect desired information. Data was collected through survey using a well-defined questionnaire. After that researcher analyse the collected data with the help of SPSS software. Theoretical framework developed from cultivation theory. Results of this study indicates that terrorism directly effects the mental health of the working journalists of Peshawar KPK. Journalists of Peshawar also have effects on professional skills as well as mental health. Majority of the Working Journalists suffered psychological problems such as, Post-traumatic Stress Disorder, Tension, Anxiety disorder, Depression, Mental disorder, Fear, Insecurity, Sleeping Problem, Flash back, Acute Stress Reaction. Study also reveals that dominant part of the respondents suffered fear of death threats. After having psychological effect journalists remains in mentally absent during work.

**Id:** 23381

**Title:** Social Media and Politics of Representation: migrants and refugees in Libya

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** In August 2018, dozens of Ethiopian and Eritrean asylum seekers and refugees commenced a rare protest in a detention center, 20 kilometres away from Tripoli, Libya. Trapped in a country devastated by civil war, at daily risk of human trafficking, they asked for help to get out of Libya, as their requests to UNHCR were unheeded. Among them there was a 21 year old boy who was kidnapped, sold and exploited before ending up in detention after escaping from traffickers. The group posted photos and videos of the protest on Facebook on Sunday, August 12, with the hope that they would be shared widely. They articulated their message using UNHCR vocabulary: “human right”, “refugees”, “assistance”, “protection”, “justice”. In a few hours, their post reached activists and journalists around the world. A few days later they were transferred. For refugees and migrants in Libyan detention centres or in the main cities across the country, a phone marks the difference between life and death. This article explores the possibilities of interaction and connectivity among migrants and refugees in Libya and the new forms of ‘digital existence’ currently emerging through digitally supported processes of narrative. Theoretically, the article draws on concepts such as hybrid media, affective publics, networked framing, and voice. Little is known about the transnational communication used among those who are stranded or outside the European fortress. Digital media provide the means to recognise migrants and refugees in new ways as active narrators of their individual lives and struggles. Today a “narrative authority” is shifting the border of self-representation of migrant and refugees in digital platforms (Chouliaraki and & Zaborowski 2017) and there is great need to explore these boundaries of connectivity and explain how new technologies enhance new forms of connectivity between the countries of origins and destination, but also across diasporas, in the context of the Libyan refugee crisis.

**Id:** 23393

**Title:** Framing a tax reform: the case of the Colombian Financing Law

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** During the second half of 2019, the Colombian government announced details of what would be the government tax reform also known as the Financing Law, which was built on the following bases: to cover the deficit of 14 trillion pesos (\$4.37 billion) “to generate more competitiveness between the enterprises and companies, to have more progressivity in terms of taxes, to reactive the national economy and to create more jobs within the country” (Colombian Congress, 2018).

The tax reform brought considerable criticism for many reasons. On the one hand, the bill proposed by the National Government and approved by the National Congress proposed higher taxed both on the middle class and lower duties business. On the other hand, Colombia faced a significant political change on its national administration, major corruption scandals such as Odebrecht were more visibly discussed, and many public figures were held accountable for misappropriation of public funds. In that sense, the tax reform came in a crucial moment for the national debate scenario and it was rejected by the public opinion.

Colombian media has historically prioritized issues regarding the armed country. Nonetheless, since the end of the conflict with the guerrilla group FARC-EP the focus has transitioned from it to social justice matters as well as other forms of violence such as cultural and structural (Galtung, 1989; Osorio Matorel, 2017; 2018). The public rejection of this tax reform was expected on this scenario, so the National government made some changes from the moment they present it to congress to the moment where it was approved

What were the main generic frames used by those media outlets? How different was the coverage between native digital and migrated media? Could the media have had impact on people's perception of the financing law? Is it possible to assume that socioeconomic issues are becoming a central conflict in the post-conflict Colombia?

This research paper aims at analysing the media coverage of the news about the Financing law published by seven national media outlets that were created in different regions of the country, have political views, and work of distinct platforms. To explore it, the paper draws from Framing Theory (Entman, 1993, 2007; Vreese, 2005); focusing only on the framing-building process. Generic frames which were defined by Vreese (2002) as frames that transcend thematic limitations and can be identified in relation to different topics, time and cultural context. Semetko & Valkenburg (2000) proposed the following typology to study them: a) attribution of responsibility, b) human interest, c)

conflict, d) moral, and e) economic consequences. In that sense, this theory is chosen because it allows to see the news-building process.

The paper is an important contribution to the understanding of the various socio-political and economic conflicts in the post-conflict Colombia.

Keywords: Colombia, media frames, post-conflict Colombia, economic conflicts.

**Id:** 23396

**Title:** The conversation about the earthquake of September 19, 2017, one year after the event.

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Events around the world, such as the earthquake of September 19, 2017 in Mexico City that strongly affected the population, have shown us that sociodigital networks can be means of relief and rescue of people.

The Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction, signed at the Third United Nations World Conference in Sendai, Miyagi (Japan) in 2015, states that the media have an active and inclusive role, which should be in close collaboration with the authorities, in order to support early warning systems and protection and rescue measures.

This study presents an overview of the conversations on Twitter during 2018 in commemoration of the 1985 and 2017 earthquakes. Such an analysis will allow us to see how we look at these events in the past, and the guidelines that must be taken to achieve a full return to a state of normality of stability.

For this purpose, an analysis of semantic networks through the free software Pajek, and visualization of networks through VOS Viewer in order to determine the most used words during the commemoration of September 19, 2018. In Mexico we still lack guidelines for emergency management through the Internet. Literature in these particular contexts is still limited, especially in the Latin American context. Ulrich Beck, theoretician of the "Risk Society", maintains that the society in which we live requires a new frame of reference to understand the dynamics of the second modernity. Risk is "the modern approach to forecasting and controlling the unintended consequences of radicalized modernization," and it is not only national but global. It is intimately related to the administrative and decision-making process, and has invalidated the fixed rules of calculability of means and ends, or causes and effects.

This natural disaster generated innumerable hands of citizen help, but also issues of corruption and generalized panic. One year after the earthquake, where sociodigital networks were protagonists in collaborative action, what have we learned, what are we talking about and what actors are interacting? How do we look at the past and reflect on what happened? And what guidelines do we use to incorporate into the Framework or other routes of action in emergency or catastrophe situations?

**Id:** 23435

**Title:** A laboratory of censorship ' filtering of online media in Russia and Crimea during the 2018 presidential elections

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** In March 2018, Russians went to the polls to elect a president. This event can be classified as nothing less than "significant" as its outcomes traditionally influence affairs on national, regional and global levels. As previous research has shown, critical political events tend to influence information control operations, by increasing the amount of Internet censorship and changing the practices of traffic control and regulation (Deibert, Rohozinski, 2010). The elections provide an opportunity to study if battles on the political field will influence the "battle for cyberspace" (Deibert, 2013) by limiting the freedom of access to critical content online, and whether strategically important territories, such as Crimea, would be subject to different patterns in terms of information control operations, as compared to the Russian mainland.

Our interdisciplinary study on the intersections of STS, political science and network measurements, aims at investigating if and how Russian presidential elections affected Internet freedom in the country, and the territory of Crimea annexed in 2014. The following questions guided our research: is blocking of critical platforms in Russia and Crimea consistent or exclusive across the board? If there are differences in the filtering approaches, what factors account for them? How Internet filtering studied remotely is different from the actual experience of people on the ground?

To answer these questions, we conducted a comparative study of the Internet filtering in Russia and Crimea during the elections. To determine the quality of access to select critical platforms, we carried out extensive Internet network measurements in the region with the help of OONI Probes, developed by the OONI Project. Our goal was to collect measurements on a daily basis before, during and after the elections (February to April, 2018). In March alone, more than 200,000 measurements were collected. A secondary method was used to validate or contest our hypotheses, and get more details about experiences of censorship on the ground. For that we have used qualitative ethnographic method, in-depth semi-guided interviews with journalists, activists and IT experts working in or with Crimea. 45 interviews were conducted over the period between December 2017 and May 2018. These interviews, coupled with other qualitative methods, such as media analysis and web-ethnography (analysis of forums and chats where communities actively discussing Internet censorship are gathering) helped us, on one hand, to improve our test list of

URLs for measurements, and on the other hand, to obtain more detailed information about the actual application and experience of censorship.