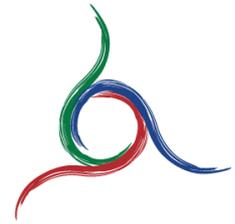


**IAMCR 2018**



## **Political Communication Research Section**

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

**IAMCR**

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<sup>1</sup> These are the abstracts of the papers accepted by IAMCR section or working group named above for presentation at the 2018 annual conference. This publication will be updated prior to the conference to include the papers that will actually be presented at the conference.

**Id:** 17185

**Title:** Lula and the Prosecutors: Political Communication and Collective Emotions

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

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**Abstract:** The most serious political scandal in Brazilian history profoundly undermined the reputation of Lula, a popular leader who until recently enjoyed great esteem in the country and internationally. The police investigation revealed how he and countless dignitaries of his party enjoyed illegal advantages due to the power they concentrated in their hands. This study analyzes the speeches of Lula and the Federal Prosecutors through Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count software. In this way, the main emotions involved in the confrontation between the parties as a result of the denunciations against the former Brazilian president are identified. Empirical data show the characteristics of the rhetorical strategies used in the controversy.

**Id:** 17278

**Title:** News Frames on Pro-immigrant Attitude Promotion: A Comparison Among Threatening, Empathetic, and Neutral Emotional Appeals

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** It is common for political elites and media campaigns to utilize emotional appeals to influence public attitudes toward political candidates as well as political issues. While threat has been shown to elicit opposition to immigration, studies have found empathy with asylum seekers to promote support toward immigrant policies. Even though the literature has suggested how emotional frames can impact political attitudes across a diversity of issues, few have examined and compared different emotional news frames in terms of their effectiveness to impact public opinion and policy decisions (i.e., persuasiveness and perceived message credibility).

To compare the effectiveness of the different emotional appeals (threat vs. empathy vs. neutral), this study created three versions of a news story about undocumented immigrants being victims in the United States. While the threatening story utilized emotional words to depict immigrants' fear, the empathetic story utilized emotional words and direct quotations to arouse compassion among news audiences. The neutral news story was written to depict a similar story but without any emotional words and direct quotations. These manipulations were then embedded in a web-based survey and were distributed to the US population through Amazon Mechanical Turk (N = 402).

The findings suggest that, anti-immigrant participants perceive the threatening story to be less fair than the neutral story as well as less credible than the empathetic story. In other words, if the goal is to promote positive attitudes toward immigrants among anti-immigrant participants, empathetic and neutral frames are both better choices when compared to the threatening story. On the other hand, pro-immigrant participants find the empathetic and threatening stories as more persuasive than the story written in neutral tone. Hence, if the aim is to mobilize pro-immigrant participants to engage in related activities such as signing a petition and attending a protest, both empathy and threat frames serve better candidates than neutral frame.

To conclude, this study contributes to the framing literature by comparing the effects of different emotional appeal (threat and empathy alongside with neutral frame) on persuasion and media perceptions. In addition, it speaks to how political elites and media practitioners can best persuade audiences to achieve their aims as campaign and promotional strategies, probably through the use of empathy.

**Id:** 17360

**Title:** Political Communication achievements of Emmanuel Macron's winning 2017 Presidential Campaign

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The 2016-2017 French Presidential Campaign has been full of surprises and led to the victory of Emmanuel Macron, a somewhat newcomer initially considered as an outsider in regard to his main competitors.

Indeed, Emmanuel Macron managed to win while he had none of the previous French Presidents assets: he had never been elected to any political position, just appointed, at first as a President's aide, then as Economy Minister; he was aged 39, therefore much younger than his elected predecessors; he was not benefiting from the help of an established political party (while singly building a fleet of supporters though Internet); he had had an unusual family life, as a childless husband of a woman more than two decades older than him, who he had initially met when he was only fifteen; and he should have been hindered by being a former favorite of the outgoing President François Hollande, the most unpopular of the French Fifth Republic.

This paper will show that if, of course, Emmanuel Macron was lucky to benefit from the mishaps or bad choices of several of his opponents, he proved to have an utmost knowledge of political marketing and modern campaigning tools:

- He decided on his candidacy and based it thanks to thorough field analysis led by some of the keenest French specialists of Big Data who have nothing to envy to NationBuilder designers and the like;
- He managed to device a clever storytelling about his longstanding relationship with his spouse while avoiding the dangers of excessive peopolisation, getting rid of dangerous paparazzi or TV shows which might have harmed him;
- He put to use Internet and Social Networks in a grand and efficient way;
- He skillfully drove Marine Le Pen, his final opponent, out of the road during the "decisive" debate with a deliberate well-organized an effective – if not quite elegant – tactics.

**Id:** 17361

**Title:** Information for Dummies: the effectiveness of counter messages in public affairs discussion

**Session Type:** Individual submission

**Authors:**

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**Abstract:** With the high penetration of smartphones, the notion of permanent campaigning has become a normal phenomenon in our daily lives regarding public affairs. Not only for politicians who aim to retain their positions, but also the public discussion of government policies exemplifies this notion. Permanent campaigning helps to explain why negative campaigning skills are employed in the discussion of public issues and why these kinds of negative messages circulate on the web sphere beyond the election period. Adopted from election campaigns, Taiwanese politicians and social movement advocates have transformed a specific type of information namely “information for dummies” (IFD) to counter negative campaigning. IFD usually refers to sets of messages to elucidate with facts to counter attack messages during election campaigns. Since the permanent campaigning has become the new norm, IFD is employed more and more often. However, the effectiveness of IFD is rarely discussed, especially beyond the election campaigning period of time. In the year of 2017 in Taiwan, the issues around the labour law amendment triggered arguments among different parties including government officials, business owners and labour workers, and consensus seemed unreachable. Attack messages and IFD have been widely used in the discussion of the labour law amendment and this provides an opportunity to examine the effectiveness of IFD beyond election campaigns. Hence, the research questions are “Is IFD effective to counter attack messages during government policy discussions?” and “what types of IFD are more effective in the discussion?”

The current study employs the advertising value model as the core theory and integrates with constructs such as persuasion and credibility to develop the theoretical framework. In order to answer the research questions, the design of research methods combines experimental elements and surveys, and it is deemed a semi-experimental method. The experimental part involves a 2X2 factorial experiment setting which is divided into two factors—positive messages vs. IFD and negative messages vs. IFD, and two levels—single page IFD and six-page IFD. Real labour law amendment messages and IFD were collected on the Internet and then employed as the stimulus for the experiment. The questionnaires attached with stimulus were distributed through social media and online forums between 22 Dec 2017 and 30 Dec 2017. The number of valid participants was 428 and each group had more than 100 participants.

The findings show that the level of IFD (either one or six pages) has a positive impact on the perception of persuasion and credibility whereas the original messages do not influence persuasion and credibility regardless of whether it is positive or negative. In addition, performing PLS\_SEM confirms that the constructs of entertainment and informativeness have a positive impact on persuasion and credibility. Irritation has a negative impact on credibility and credibility has a positive impact on persuasion. The findings indicate that IFD is effective in countering both positive and negative messages, especially IFD with sufficient information. The implication of the current

study helps governments to more effectively convey and persuade their citizens when facing controversial issues.

Keywords: policy discussion, advertising value model, information for dummies, persuasion, permanent campaigning

**Id:** 17407

**Title:** [Panel] The Transformation of Political Leadership in the digital Age [Presentation] Panel description

**Session Type:** Panel Submission

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**Abstract:** Moderator: Michael Keren, The Max Stern Academic College of Emek Yezreel, Israel michaelk@yvc.ac.il

Discussant: Joel Migdal, University of Washington, USA migdal@u.washington.edu

For the political leader to win a crowd, wrote Søren Kierkegaard in the 19th century, is not so great a trick. One only needs some talent, a certain dose of untruth and a little acquaintance with the human passions. In recent years, digital technology has made it even easier for political leaders possessing those three qualities to win the crowds in democratic societies. Digital media such as Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook have become invaluable in election campaigns, and media-savvy political leaders, or their media experts, have used them quite successfully in shaping and manipulating the image of the leaders and their political parties. This panel deals with the hypothesis that as the use of digital media becomes prevalent, major changes may be expected in democratic societies. The panelists look into four cases of online political communication involving, celebrity, civility, gender and social activism in an attempt to explore the changes they entailed in the nature of political leadership.

The Papers

Canadian Digital Politics Taking a Visual Turn: Instagram, Justin Trudeau, and Online Image-Making

The Political Leader as Online Brother: Israel's Naftali Bennett

The Mediated Assurances of Female Political Leaders: Hillary Clinton on the Campaign Trail

The Mediatization of Leadership: Grassroots Digital Facilitators as Organic Intellectuals

**Id:** 17408

**Title:** [Panel] The Transformation of Political Leadership in the digital Age [Presentation] The Political Leader as Online Brother: Israel's Naftali Bennett

**Session Type:** Panel Submission

**Authors:**

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**Abstract:** The common image of political leaders as their nations' "fathers" is changing in the digital age with media-savvy politicians seemingly becoming more accessible to their followers and turning into their "brothers". In this paper, I highlight this transformation in the narrative of leadership by a case study of a political leader, Israel's Naftali Bennett, who has successfully used digital media to construct his online image as "bro." A content analysis of Bennett's Facebook posts and responses throws light on the ways in which he encouraged a new sense of belonging that turned a civil community into an online brotherhood, a phenomenon of serious political consequences. I discuss these consequences in reference to Hanna Arendt's *The Human Condition*, in which she relates democratic politics to deliberative processes, in which people are related but also separated enough to avoid an illusionary brotherly bond, one that may lead to tyranny of the kind associated with the pre-political household.

**Id:** 17409

**Title:** [Panel] The Transformation of Political Leadership in the digital Age [Presentation]  
Canadian Digital Politics Taking a Visual Turn: Instagram, Justin Trudeau, and Online Image-Making

**Session Type:** Panel Submission

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**Abstract:** This paper explores dynamics of image management and its impact on leadership in a context of digital permanent campaigning and celebrity politics in Canada. Recent studies have shown that image plays a critical role when members of the public are evaluating politicians. This paper takes interest in Justin Trudeau's first year in office and the ways in which it was documented on his Instagram account (October 19, 2015 to October 19, 2016). Through a hybrid quantitative and qualitative approach, we examine how Trudeau and his party convey a specific image to voters in a context of non-stop and increasingly personalized campaigning. This analysis sheds light on the effects and implications of image-management in Canada. More generally, it offers a much needed look at image-based e-politicking and contributes to the academic literature on social media permanent campaigning, as well as celebrity and politics in Canada.

**Id:** 17410

**Title:** [Panel] The Transformation of Political Leadership in the digital Age [Presentation] The Mediated Assurances of Female Political Leaders: Hillary Clinton on the Campaign Trail

**Session Type:** Panel Submission

**Authors:**

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**Abstract:** A well-established maxim within the political leadership literature holds that most leaders, most of the time, seek to assure citizens in their public communications (Popkin, 1994; Burns, 1978). The provision of such certainty is thought to be integral to the exercise of leadership: uncertain citizens seek advice and reassurance, and so they turn to political leaders who can provide such goods (Downs, 1957). This understanding has been studied empirically mainly with respect to male leaders (de Clercy, 2005). This study asks: in modern election campaigns, do female political leader also communicate certainty to citizens and, if so, how may such messages compare with those of male leaders? As well, does the medium of the messaging matter? Some analysts find gender does structure leadership communications (e.g. Canary and Hause, 2009). The core hypothesis tested here proposes gender does not influence the mediated communication of certainty. The study focuses on Hillary Clinton, the first woman to campaign for the American presidency. The hypothesis is evaluated by analysing the content of Clinton's three televised 2016 presidential debate performances, along with a sample of her campaign speeches, using Atlas.ti (a qualitative content analysis program). These findings are compared with the same speech sets for her opponent, Donald Trump. Then, these values are compared with similar data for a sample of four other male national political leaders (Carter; Ford; Obama; and G.W. Bush). These studies are replicated then with respect to her social media communications to test whether the medium of communication (e.g. traditional campaign speeches versus social media tweets) matters. Overall, and despite some small differences, the study finds there is no systematic, significant difference in how she communicated assurances to citizens in comparison with her colleagues. The findings suggest that at least in terms of supplying certainty, digital mediums and gender does not seem to influence national political leaders' communications in the USA.

**Id:** 17411

**Title:** [Panel] The Transformation of Political Leadership in the Digital age [Presentation] The Mediatization of Leadership: Grassroots Digital Facilitators as Organic Intellectuals

**Session Type:** Panel Submission

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**Abstract:** Scholars of both resource mobilization theory and new social movement theory recognize leadership as integral to traditional social movements. Following global protest movements of 2011, some now characterize movements relying on social media as horizontal and leaderless. Whether due to an organizational shift to networks over bureaucracies or due to a change in values, many social movements in the present protest cycle do not designate visible leadership. Does leadership in social media activism indeed disappear or does it take on new forms? This paper undertakes an in-depth analysis of data obtained through interviews, event observations and analysis of media content related to three Canadian cases of civic mobilization of different scale, all of which strategically employed social media. The paper proposes a conceptual framework for understanding the role of these mobilizations' organizers as organic intellectuals, sociometric stars and caretakers. By looking closely at the three cases through the lenses offered by these concepts, we identify the specific styles that characterize mediatized civic leadership.

**Id:** 17419

**Title:** Chinese social media as Public diplomacy platform: An empirical analysis on foreign embassies in China

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Much has been made of the opportunities and challenges for social media as a tool for diplomacy between governments and foreign publics. Yet, researchers argue that: the public diplomacy literature lacks theory; empirical research focuses primarily on U.S. public diplomacy, while ignoring other countries; and the role of social media in meeting diplomacy objectives has failed to be established.

As Chinese largest social medium, Sina Weibo has been using as digital public diplomacy tool by foreign embassies in China. This study examines 3 embassy Sina Weibo accounts: America, Japan and Britain, researching how different countries are using embassy Sina Weibo accounts to regularly engage in public diplomacy and public relations communicative activities.

A content analysis of 600 postings brought together relevant literature from public diplomacy and public relations scholarship. A significant association was found between the diplomatic approaches and public relations message strategies, thus identifying a relationship between disciplines that are frequently considered separately. With regard to public diplomacy approaches, American embassy engaged primarily in advocacy and tactical listening, whereas Japan embassy engaged primarily in cultural diplomacy. Strategic listening was the least likely approach to be taken by all embassy accounts. With regard to public relations strategies, British and Japanese embassy accounts primarily engaged in message strategies aimed at persuasive, while American embassy engaged in information sharing.

Overall, analyses indicated that embassy Sina Weibo accounts primarily engaged in approaches that may lack strategy, despite their purpose being diplomatic communication. This research provides a basis for predictive, best practices research and recommendations that merge disciplines.

**Id:** 17420

**Title:** Digital Campaign' The use of Facebook and Twitter in Presidential campaign in Kenya's 2017 Elections

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Kenya has been considered a leading nation in the region when it comes to innovations in mobile technologies. Several innovations such as the popular mobile money transfer M-pesa and the crisis mapping application, Ushahidi originated from Kenya and are now used in several nations worldwide. Indeed, Kenya is considered the Silicon Savannah. Coupled with other factors, the government has over the years provided conducive environment for the growth of ICT (Information Communication Technology). As a result of all these, the use of technology and especially social media has been rising exponentially. The use of social media in political communication has been well embraced within the last few years particularly during elections period. Today, political figures hold some of the biggest social media accounts. President Uhuru Kenyatta's twitter account, for instance, remains the most followed account amongst all presidents in Africa with a total of 2.8 Million followers. This paper aims at investigating the use of digital campaigns in 2017 Kenyan elections. Particularly, I will examine how two presidential candidates (Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga) used their social media accounts (Facebook and Twitter) in their campaigns particularly to examine their style of persuasion. Persuasion in this research will be conceptualized as a communication designed to influence the autonomous judgement and actions of others. With these, I will hope to interrogate the following questions: a) How was Twitter and Facebook used by presidential candidate in the 2017 elections campaigns in Kenya? b) What was the style of persuasion used by @UKenyatta and @RailaOdinga during the 2017 elections campaigns in Kenya? Social media as a communication tool in elections campaign in recent times has been a preferred because of its ability to send targeted messages which rarely make it on mainstream media (Carlson & Strandberg, 2008). The aim of digital campaigns during elections is to enable people form public opinion and also persuade them to vote for certain candidates. Persuasion plays an important role in any campaign. By comparing persuasion styles of presidential candidates, this study will contribute to studies on persuasion during elections campaigns in the digital era. Persuasion theories will be used to explain the different persuasion styles of different presidential candidates. There are a number of studies related to media and democracy in Africa but very little of it examines the role of social media in political campaigns. Therefore, this paper will aim at contributing to literature on digital campaigns during elections. In this research, I will adopt a qualitative research method. Data will be generated from two Twitter and two Facebook accounts Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga who were the main presidential contenders in the 2017 general elections in Kenya. The tweets and the Facebook posts to be examined will be purposively sampled from the official campaign period (1st May and 5th August 2017 and also between 2nd September and 24th October 2017). The data generated will be coded using NVIVO and the codes generated from the data will be used to present the findings thematically.

**Id:** 17449

**Title:** Is it change of political power or chaotic take-off' The 2017 Presidential Election, media coverage, discourses, and political implications in the Korean society: A Semiotic and discourse analysis on televised news coverage about the election

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The purpose of this study was to investigate coverage patterns of Korean media on the 2017 Presidential Election, figure out their frames and discourses, and discuss its political and ideological implications in Korea. It was a rapid change of political power and hegemony because of the impeachment of former President Park. It happened to occur several months earlier than be expected. Any political parties did not prepare for it. The ruling party was chaotic because her leaders did not cope with this disastrous situation, while oppositional parties sought for a good chance of holding new presidential leadership and changing the established political power.

For this purpose, six news media – two terrestrial TVs, two CATVs, and two newspapers – were selected as research objects, KBS-1 TV and SBS TV of terrestrial TVs, YTN and Jtbc of CATVs, and Chosun ILbo and Hankyerae Shinmun were chosen by its own ideological stance. KBS-1 TV, YTN, and Chosun Ilbo were classified as ‘conservative media’, while SBS TV, jtbs, and Hankyerae Shinmun were reputed as ‘progressive ones’. News items from these media were collected from April, 1, 2017 over May 9, 2017 (the voting day) to June 30, 2017. They were divided into headlines and main news stories, and each of them was analyzed by semiotic analyses, especially, categorical analysis, paradigmatic analysis, and pre-supposition analysis. It also analyzed by discourse analyses including Critical Discourse Analysis of Fairclough’s and Discursive Structure Analysis of Baek’s.

As results of this study, it was firstly found that there were clear differences between the conservative media and the progressive ones in terms of its own preference for candidates and parties. The whole of progressive media tended to support the candidate of the major oppositional party, while the conservative media did not express their preferences for candidates and/or parties. Secondly, they tended to pay more attention to how much votes the candidate of the major oppositional party could get, especially whether to get over 50% of votes or how much gaps he could get ahead over the runner-up. It must be a horse-racial journalism. Thirdly, the former had a tendency of focusing on the impeachment of former President Park, candlelight pretest movements,

fallacy of the former governmental policies, deep-rooted corruptions of the ruling party, etc., while the latter paid more attention to chaotic political circumstances such as ‘uncertain presidential leadership’, ‘non-sustainability of governmental policies’, ‘questionable capability of handling urgent serious issues, especially, North Korea’s nuclear bomb threats, THADD disposition, change of Korea-U.S. IMF trade’, etc. Fourthly, they produced different discourses according to their political and ideological stances. The progressive media tended to produce ‘justice’, ‘hatred against the old corrupted power’, ‘peace talk with North Korea’, ‘newly re-building Korea’, discourses etc., while the conservative ones created ‘chaotic political phenomenon’, ‘populism’, ‘amateurism’, ‘disregard by neighboring countries’ discourses, etc.

In addition, it discussed many other crucial issues regarding ‘competition of candidates’, ‘five televised debates’, ‘landslide victory of the oppositional party’, ‘rapid change of political power’, ‘political implications in the Korean society’, etc.

**Id:** 17614

**Title:** Talk scandals: the power of mediated talk

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The paper introduces "Talk scandal" as a concept and discusses existing and future research significant to understand the dynamics of such scandals in different media contexts and political cultures. Talk scandal refers to the particular form of political scandal in which the scandalous act is a speech act that transgresses the norms of what a politician should say in public (Ekström and Johansson, 2008).

The centrality of mediated performances (news interviews, broadcast debates and social media) in contemporary political culture, as well as the frequent collapses of back-stage and front-stage utterances in the media, has made utterances a major form of potential wrongdoing. A well-known example of the latter is President Trump's talk about how he approaches women, recorded and published during the presidential campaign in 2016, and defended by himself as "looker-room talk".

In this paper we discuss the dynamics of Talk scandals in relation to three central aspects: (1) the performances and reconstruction of the original transgression; (2) the mediated reactions and the related articulations and negotiations of norms and moral standards; (3) potential consequences and political implications.

We focus especially on how digital and social media transform these dynamics, and challenge the central role of journalism in staging political scandals, define moral standards and doing accountability work. Further, the dynamics of Talk scandals are intrinsically related to the political cultures in which they occur. Research for example shows how political populism destabilizes the norms of political conduct and the traditional relationships between journalism, politicians and the citizens, with implications for how "bad manners" are treated in public.

Focusing on these aspects we develop the conceptualization of Talk scandal with references to previous research and a few empirical examples. Finally, the paper suggests directions for future research.

**Id:** 17657

**Title:** China's education diplomacy: an examination of collaborative public diplomacy through Confucius Institutes in Thailand

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** In the communication field, culture is integrated and used to communicate between nations and foreign publics as public diplomacy tool of government. Public diplomacy (PD) is an important tool to frame soft power and combine global connectivity and cultural diversity together (Zaharna, 2007: 2010). Moreover, PD is also a form of international politics which is utilized as a tool to build a good relationship among states, people, and to improve the country image through cultural relations between countries (Buckle, 2012).

Zaharna (2013) has developed the collaborative PD concept that focuses on knowledge application of PD to examine collaboration of international organizations using network communication approach. This approach consists of three elements: 1) network structure: a process of international networking of organizations, 2) network synergy: a noticeable collaboration between two organizations, and 3) network strategy: knowledge provision, activity preparation, or co-creation depending on local organizational context.

Likewise, Chinese language and culture have become more influential to economy, trade, investment and international collaboration in Thailand, due to a long history of relationship between Thailand and China since 1946. These are certain examples of critical reasons why Thai people should learn Chinese language and culture to catch up with a changing world (Tungkeunkunt, 2016). For which reason, Chinese government realized the importance of non-profit public institutions establishment and founded first Thailand's Confucius Institute in 2006. Its objectives are to promote Chinese language and cultural learning in other countries through the collaborative establishment in foreign partner universities (Yang, 2010).

This paper aims to study the collaborative PD strategies and the concordance of network communication approaches through Confucius Institutes in Thailand, which is the country that has the most Confucius Institutes in Southeast Asia to answer the following research questions: What Confucius Institutes' collaborative PD strategies have been used in Thailand? and Do these strategies conform to the concepts of Zaharna's network communication approach?.

In the overview, a content analysis in the Thai online newspapers was conducted to examine a total of 49 samples and in-depth interview with the Director of Maritime Silk Road Confucius Institute have been used to analyze networking and the collaboration of Confucius Institutes in Thailand. The data had been collected from March 2013 to February 2017 since Xi Jinping, the President of China took on the office.

The findings show that the relationship of Confucius Institutes in Thailand is very closely up to the local community through network construction. Network synergy is prominent in building good relationships with external organizations. A strategy for networking, by providing scholarships to students and government officials, is an outstanding way to promote the Confucius Institutes awareness of Thai people. The information of Confucius Institutes was largely published on the website of China Radio International (Thai) which was another strategy of the PD to use other agencies to promote Confucius Institutes in Thailand. The Confucius Institutes also creates benefits and goodwill between countries through the promotion of Chinese language and culture, the cooperative relations, and also portrays a good image of China in Thailand.

**Id:** 17675

**Title:** IMPACT OF POLITICAL ADVERTISING IN NIGERIA'S 2015 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** ABSTRACT

Impact of Political Advertising in Nigeria's 2015 Presidential Election

BY

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In today's Nigeria, political advertising has become a big business and a veritable means of making the electorates aware of candidates and manifestoes of political parties. Nigerians today are so expectant of political advertising messages to the extent that not seeing it is equivalent to unseriousness on the part of politicians and political parties. Advertising has become an inseparable part of politics in Nigeria such that it will be difficult to divorce advertising successfully from politics. According to Ezeagwu and Ezeagwu [2014], political advertising has become ingrained in Nigeria's political terrain that it has led to the idea that political socialization and mobilization are achieved through effective political advertising. In the words of Richard, M. Nixon [former President of the United States of America], "political advertising is to politics what bumper stickers are to philosophy". This assertion no doubt is applicable to modern day Nigeria.

Two of the prominent promotional mix elements used in political advertising in Nigeria are advertising and public relations. Samaila (2003 in Sunny Udeze and Nwem Akpan, 2013), stated that advertising and public relations occupy the centre stage of promotion of political candidates and parties in Nigeria. Supporting the aforesaid, Ansolabere and Iyenga (1995) argued that political advertising has become a veritable tool for selling candidates of political parties during election campaigns. Similarly, Kaid (1999) stressed that advertising messages do influence public perception of candidates. It will be recalled that Sandman et al. (1976) had noted earlier that for many people the main source of news about political candidates is not the news at all, it is political advertising, especially television advertising.

This study, 'impact of political advertising in Nigeria's 2015 presidential election' examines the role political advertising played in the 2015 Presidential Election in Nigeria. The study adopted survey method and it was conducted in Lagos state. Lagos state was used because the state is a melting

point of all ethnic groups in Nigeria; in addition to being Nigeria's most populated state. Again, Lagos state was used because it is the economic base of the nation. The state has 20 federally recognised Local Government Areas [LGAs] and 37 Local Community Development Areas [LCDAs] which were created by the state. Data were gathered from five out of the 20 LGAs. The five LGAs were selected via simple probability sample. The objectives of the study include: [1] to examine the awareness of the electorates of political advertising in the 2015 presidential election, [2] to ascertain the knowledge of the electorates of political advertising in the 2015 presidential election, [3] to establish the role political advertising played in the choice of candidates in the 2015 presidential election. Information Processing Theory of Williams. J. McGuire was used as the theoretical framework. This was because the study studied impact of persuasive message [political advertising] on electorates.

**Id:** 17764

**Title:** Voices, violence, and visuals in a mediatised world: How television news reported South Africa's five general elections.

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** With the spotlight shining so brightly on the Trump-era of electioneering and political journalism, one tends to forget that mediatisation and neoliberal reporting exists in non-Western election coverage too. This research paper investigates how five South African general elections (1994, 1999, 2004, 2009, and 2014) were reported on television news, from within the country and on international broadcasters. The paper aims to shed light on the type of mediatised reporting in a non-Western country, with particular focus on the visual and discourse narratives. While online news challenges our traditional understanding of newsgathering and dissemination, television news is still a powerful political tool, especially in developing democracies and particularly in South Africa – the base of this research.

This paper evaluates three variables across the five elections years: who speaks when reporting the elections and what they have to say; the visual representation of violence and the discourse of that violence; and finally how neoliberal mythologies work to promote a Western understanding about an African democracy. In sum, these three variables show that mediatised reporting – that is, a thrust towards populist political journalism, soft news, game frames, and punditry – has increased over the five election periods.

While the local and international broadcasters voice citizens, protesters, and community leaders in earlier election years (particularly in 1994), the number and quality of voices sharply deteriorates in 2009 and 2014 where financial reporters or political analysts take precedence. The televisual intrigue of Jacob Zuma, South Africa's controversial third president, correlates with the increase of mediatised reporting. Most pundits speak about Zuma, rather than to him or any other party member.

Political journalists also increasingly frame violence – community protest action, police clashing with protestors, and so forth – as a threat to neoliberal concerns (property damage, investor confidence, and a threat to tourism) while the viewer is frequently kept apart from the action through camera proxemics. Despite some outstanding long-form journalism covering the bloodshed in 1994, there is little “in the thick of it” reporting that deals with the widespread community protests or political unrest in later election years.

The increase of punditry at the expense of voicing party members directly and framing violence as a threat to South Africa's economic stability suggests that broadcasters would rather take a neoliberal stance at reporting the elections rather than gather “on the ground” or grassroots information. This

follows the trend of international political reporting in the era of mediatisation where fragmented news and the “thirst to be first” tends to damage the media’s role in furthering democracy. This paper ends with recommendations for broadcasters to increase grassroots voices and avoid fragmented, neoliberal depictions of developing democracies where a strong link between journalists and political candidates is crucial.

**Id:** 17773

**Title:** A repertoire-oriented approach to cross-platform media use and its political implications: The case of China

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** This article aims to advance our understanding of how social media usage is related to political engagement by taking a user-centric repertoire-oriented approach. The focus is on the case of China; a country with a state-controlled media system, in which during the past decades a highly diversified media ecology of social media platforms has emerged. We extend previous research on media repertoires by investigating how Chinese youth combine traditional media and specific social media platforms. Thus, our first research question is: how do young adults combine traditional media and some specific social media and in doing so, how do they create their respective cross-media repertoires? We use original data from an online survey in China among more than 1000 young adults (18 to 40-year-old). Repertoires are inductively found by conducting Latent Class Analysis. Then, we examine the relationship between the media repertoires young Chinese have, as found in the first part of the analysis, and their political engagement. Using the recently developed statistical application Step2 within LatentGold, we then conduct explanatory analyses in which we examine how repertoires are explained by interpersonal trust, perceived media credibility, and demographics. The second research questions reads: how do socio-demographic, interpersonal trust and medium credibility predict young adults' cross-media repertoires? Finally, we use the distal outcome option in LatentGold to estimate the effect of repertoires on three types of political engagement, while controlling for other characteristics. Our third research question is: how do distinct media patterns predict three political variables: political trust, political interest, and political engagement online?

Firstly, we used the cluster option in LatentGold to estimate and compare various models. These four distinctive media repertoires can be labelled as follows: "All-round Omnivores", "Minimal Users", "Focused Omnivores", and "Heavy Social Media Users". Secondly, the analysis shows that respondents in these four repertoires have distinct characteristics. The class membership is most clearly explained by age, education, the size of the current place of residence, and credibility of political information on social media. Gender, communist party membership, and credibility of political information on traditional media also appear to predict membership, but just fail to reach significance. Finally, results reveal that media repertoires predict political engagement in all distinguished forms. These results are controlled for demographics, degree of interpersonal trust, and the perceived media credibility. In other words, regardless how credible someone finds the information on social media or traditional media, having a specific media repertoire appears to shape political engagement. Yet, these impacts differ per indicator. Young adults with all-round omnivores have higher levels of political trust, political interest, and show higher political participation online than individuals with the other repertoires.

This study takes a media repertoire approach across traditional and social media outlets to deepen our understanding of media repertoires in this complex and fragmented media environment. The finding contributes to the literature of repertoire-oriented by examining how young adults in a non-Western context shape their media repertoires and what political implications we may observe. This article also argues that, more than in Western countries, in China, the rise of social media is redefining the competitive relations between traditional and new perspectives on political engagement, as well as between state-controlled and free-flowing information.

**Id:** 17822

**Title:** The Giant is threatened: narratives of hatred and radicalism in Brazil 2018

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** While heading to the next presidential election, in October 2018, this study aims on Brazilian political polarization to show how the political discourses spread through the new media environment helped to promote the intolerance and political hatred that, under the circumstances of an already politically divided society, have contributed to the strengthening of radicalism, the lack of confidence on institutions and the mobilization of social movements, raising the risk of the eruption of violent social conflicts.

In 2013, a building polarization climate featured, for the first time, demonstrations in opposition to the Brazilian government that was ruled since 2003 by the Worker's Party (PT). Aiming on political corruption, some of the government acts and policies, millions of people went to the streets calling for changes, in a move that generated an immediate response called by PT government supporting parties, institutions and social movements - like PSol, PC do B, CUT and MST, that lead by their turn, demonstrators to the streets in support of Dilma Rousseff's government. Since then, the polarization climate has been growing and spreading, transcending the political sphere and reaching institutions as the Federal Police, the Judicial Chamber, and media groups, that have been accounted for some of the late outcomes of the Brazilian political crisis - as the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff and the conviction for corruption and money laundry of the former Brazilian president and actual leader in the presidential race pools, Luís Inácio Lula da Silva. These events have been seen as the raise of an antidemocratic tide, and some of the most prominent political and social movements leaders have called their supporters for civil disobedience in order to defend Brazilian democracy.

In three steps, the study provides an understanding for the actual delicate situation of Brazilian democracy and proves the existence of a raising risk of eruption of violent conflicts. Through content analysis, the study looks to supporters, opponents and media discourses that was uttered right after the four major political events happened in Brazil since 2013 - the presidential election in 2014; the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff (2015); and the conviction of the former president Lula in first (2017) and second instances (2018) - featuring pros and cons most common narratives, as well as the frequency with which they were used. With the help of political communication, political psychology, media and conflict and social movement's literature (mostly Vaccari, 2013; Popkin, 1994; Hamelink, 2011; Tilly & Tarrow, 2015; and others), the article shows how these discourses have helped to strength the climate of political and social cleavage, generating intolerance and building polarization. Finally, based on previous studies on conflict (Harff, 2011; Benesch, 2012), the article relates Brazilian social, political, economic and cultural contexts to events where violence erupted, pointing out which elements are missing and which are present in order to justify at least the existence of risk of a violent political clash.

**Id:** 17893

**Title:** [Panel] Politics, spaces and cultures of conflict: The case of Cyprus [Presentation] Panel description

**Session Type:** Panel Submission

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**Abstract:** Conflict, while complex and multidimensional, is also always contextualized: its realization in specific settings and environments produces particular material and discursive outcomes. This panel is grounded in the idea that conflict needs to be studied in its environment, to allow for the incorporation of sufficient detail to do justice to its complexity and specificity. Thus, this panel brings together scholars who have been studying different dimensions and aspects of (nationalist) conflict in (relation to) a particular setting, Cyprus. Cyprus, an island of enduring political, military and, more recently, economic conflict, serves here as a locus for the examination and analysis of material, discursive and cultural aspects, dimensions and practices of (mediated) conflict. Special attention is paid to the intertwining of ethnicity, nationalism and conflict, and the role of nationalism in the division of Cyprus, but also to the cultural dimension of conflict, and the ways in which the culture of conflict impacts on identities, signifying and material (bodily) practices, politics, civic engagement and everyday life.

More in detail, Nico Carpentier, using the example of commemorative public art, explores, through a visual essay, the ways in which commemoration sites and statues in the Republic of Cyprus support a hegemonic nationalist order, aiming to articulate an exclusionary unidimensional ethnic-national identity for Greek-Cypriots, but also how the material practices of everyday life might undermine these nationalist articulations. Adopting a 'media ecological' framework, Susan J Drucker and Gary Gumpert, examine three types of bridges in Cyprus; through their analysis the authors show how these bridges create possibilities for new spaces of communication and simultaneously highlight the constraints in, and sometimes the impossibility of, bridging the conflict and the divide. Beybin Kejanlioglu and Serhat Güney study, through discourse analysis, how the media of a third party with direct involvement in the Cypriot history – Turkey- cover the event of two football matches between a Turkish and a Greek-Cypriot team, to support, in alignment with their audience reactions, a banal nationalism of Turkishness. Finally, Vaia Doudaki, drawing on a number of examples from the Cypriot reality, discusses how the culture of conflict, which has been nurtured through the years of nationalist confrontation, outlasts the physical confrontation and impacts on the Cypriot society, feeding antagonistic and non-conciliatory attitudes and practices in social life.

\* The papers of this panel are part of a collective publication effort (Cyprus and its Conflicts. Representations, Materialities and Cultures, edited by Vaia Doudaki and Nico Carpentier, New York: Berghahn Books, 2018).

**Id:** 17895

**Title:** [Panel] Politics, spaces and cultures of conflict: The case of Cyprus [Presentation] Cultures of conflict: Lessons learnt from Cyprus

**Session Type:** Panel Submission

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**Abstract:** Nationalist-related conflict has many implications and repercussions for the lives of the communities in which it is manifested. While the broad range of repercussions at the political, economic and broader social levels, are often addressed by scholars and analysts, the cultural dimension of conflict (Carpentier 2015) is not given equal attention. Still, in regions and countries ridden by long-lasting, nationalist conflict, indigenous cultures of conflict are often developed, expanding far beyond military or ethnic clashes to become embedded in the social tissue, impacting on identities and social practices (Alexander et al. 2004). This study discusses and analyses examples from the Cypriot reality, which manifest that the results of nationalist conflict tend to outlast the physical confrontation, continuing to feed antagonistic and unconciliatory attitudes of social relations, expressed through lack of solidarity, intolerance, and practices of eradicating difference and dehumanizing the opponent (Nordstrom and Martin 1992).

**Id:** 17896

**Title:** [Panel] Politics, spaces and cultures of conflict: The case of Cyprus [Presentation]  
Iconoclastic Controversy in Cyprus. The Problematic Rethinking of a Conflicted Past

**Session Type:** Panel Submission

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**Abstract:** This visual essay analyses the political-material presence of commemoration sites and statues in the southern part of Cyprus, and their articulation with a hegemonic nationalist discourse. In order to contextualize the analysis, the study starts with a brief account of the history of Cyprus. The analysis then focuses on the material commemoration of two 20th century violent conflicts, the independence war (1955-1959) and the Turkish invasion. While most commemoration sites and statues support a hegemonic nationalist order, the study also shows how the material practices of everyday life undermine the sanctity of these memorials, and how the Cypriot landscape has a number of memorials that communicate counter-hegemonic and resistant positions. These are permanent reminders of the political struggle over the memorialization of the Cypriot past.

**Id:** 17897

**Title:** [Panel] Politics, spaces and cultures of conflict: The case of Cyprus [Presentation] Bridge over troubled'

**Session Type:** Panel Submission

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**Abstract:** Using ethnographic research methods, this study examines three examples of bridges in Cyprus from a communication perspective: The communication/media bridges, the Blue Bridge, built in 2006 over the Green Line, and the Bridge of Eleftheria Square, in the centre of Nicosia. Adopting a 'media ecological' framework, these bridges are conceived of as 'information environments', as media whose physical attributes can structure the communicative interaction. Through the examples of these bridges, this study examines the practices and conditions under which communicative environments can create opportunities for interaction and communication in conflict-ridden societies, or reversely, support the maintenance of (political) division that cannot be bridged.

**Id:** 17899

**Title:** [Panel] Politics, spaces and cultures of conflict: The case of Cyprus [Presentation] Whose Flags Are These' Apollon Limassol v. Trabzonspor Football Matches in Turkish Online News and User Comments as a Case of 'Banal Nationalism'

**Session Type:** Panel Submission

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**Abstract:** This study examines the Turkish online news coverage of, and the user comments on, the two football matches between a Greek-Cypriot team, Apollon Limassol, and a Turkish team, Trabzonspor, in the UEFA Europa League 2013/14, and their surrounding events, framed as 'flag crises'. Using discourse analysis, it is examined how Billig's 'banal nationalism' is articulated by the media and their audiences. The study also profits from Carpentier's 'ideological model of war' to investigate not only the discourses on the history of the Turkish-Greek relations and the Cyprus conflict, but also the various expressions of the conflicts within Turkey, on Turkishness.

**Id:** 17916

**Title:** Perfidy or abuse of ubuntu in the (mis)management of ZANU PF succession politics' A dialectical analysis of Grace Mugabe's political rhetor and struggle for power

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** This article critically examines the commonly supposed reading of the offensive political rhetor by the former Zimbabwean First Lady Grace Mugabe during the 2017 Youth Interface Rallies where she publicly influenced the subsequent dismissal of Emmerson Mnangagwa, the then co-Vice President of Zimbabwe and perceived opponent to her would-be Jiang Qingian bid to succeed her husband Robert Mugabe's presidency. The objective is to address two key questions: what accounts for the miscarriage of Grace Mugabe's political ambitions? Is William Benoit's functional theory of political communication adequate to make sense of her speeches and subsequent fall? Benoit suggests that in their struggle for power, political rhetors use attacks, defenses and self-acclaims to foster a positive impression and distinguish themselves. Viewed from this perspective, Grace Mugabe's offensive political campaign was indeed futile. However, if her campaign is read from a traditional African political culture, Benoit's theoretical ruminations could be less insightful. Here, the meaningful way to understand her campaign would be to first make sense of the then political culture in ZANU (PF) leadership perception and exercise, a key attribute of which was a long power distance between Robert Mugabe and everyone else. While Grace Mugabe's fall could be attributed to her mordant attacks without acclaims, it might as well owe to the perfidy of the principles of solidarity and respect for elders, which are inherent in the traditional African political culture. By parity of reasoning, it might as well owe to abuse of the same principles (which are inherent in ubuntu) in ways that are at odds with modern democratic principles governing struggles for power in a changing world.

**Id:** 17957

**Title:** Communication and Media Research in a Changing World [Presentation] First Voters New Media Use In Iranian Presidential Election Campaign of 2017

**Session Type:** Panel Submission

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**Abstract:** This paper deals with the extent and the way of using and gratifying of the first voters from the new media in Iran's presidential election campaign is of 2017 among the college students in Tehran. In this article, the role and function of the new media were assessed to see the process of decision making among the youth whether or not to participate in the 12th presidential election in Iran and how was their communication behavior in using the new media.

The statistical population of this study was students aged 18-22 living or studying in Tehran, and a sample of 400 people was questioned. The rate of usage and satisfaction of the media and the type of new media among the first voters during the campaign period were the main questions of this analysis. The survey found that more than 90 percent of the sample used at least one sort of new media in such period of time. Their share of media use was 4 to 1, compared to the old/mass media. The findings of this study also showed that the political information gained in cyberspace has had a significant influence on first voters decision-making and their political choice. According to two thirds of users, virtual activists and peer groups have played a major role in social networking. Based on this survey, there were significant differences among the users and non-users of new media in their election choices.

Key words: first voters, presidential election campaign, Iran, new media, uses and gratification

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**Id:** 17959

**Title:** Testimonial Tweets: The Long Tail of mediactivism

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** This research is part of the PhD thesis centered on the concept of testimonial user-generated content (which I call tUGC) in the context of street protests, using as a case study two demonstrations in the aftermath of Dilma Rousseff's impeachment in Brazil in August, 2016. In a context of 'digital ubiquity' (Ganesh & Stohl, 2013), propelled by economic, social, cultural and legal triggers (Wunsch-Vincent & Vickery, 2007), 'ordinary citizens' (Chouliaraki, 2010) perform a 'social and significant appropriation of ICT' (Proulx, Lecomte & Rueff, 2007) to create politically charged content, circulated through individual channels, that have the potential to produce impact in the result of the public perception of an event such as a street demonstration - specially in countries like Brazil where the media system is 'captured' by political or economic actors (Guerrero & Márquez-Ramirez, 2014) and their coverage of social movements is knowingly biased, usually criminalizing or omitting at all its existence.

I obtained the Twitter data from two different protests united by the main hashtag during the whole national political crisis, #ForaTemer (#OutTemer, Brazilian current president): August 31, the day of the parliamentary vote that ratified the impeachment; and September 4, the first big protest, planned ahead, on a weekend. It was then performed a computer-assisted screening process for 115.701 tweets (4 hours each day), and then content analysis to (i) classify content as testimonial and (ii) to assign attributes to those that were positively identified as such.

A total of 1.223 tweets fitted the criteria and were coded, analyzed and matched back on the whole data to estimate their impact. Individual impact seems minor for ordinary users at a first glance (2.4 retweets per tweet in average, as alternative media had almost 100), reinforcing the perception that ordinary users don't have much say in media conversations, even on social media. Nevertheless, their presence is much more massive than other users (58%), generating a relatively relevant impact on the set of testimonial tweets.

A second analysis adds up the number of followers of users who retweeted the ordinary users and considers journalists and photographers in their role as ordinary citizen -instead of media professional, as corroborated by in-depth interviews- resulting in a sort of "2-step Reach", which could be interpreted as the potential audience for the ordinary users' testimonial tweets.

The accumulated amount of ordinary testimonial tweets circulated through their individual channels (tUGC) reach almost 9 million people and end up as the third most important group of tweets behind Alternative Media and Political Associations, overcoming even Public Figures. This points to a potential 'long tail' (Anderson, 2004, 2008) effect: plenty of ordinary users with very little power of diffusion may add up as a very visible mosaic of testimonial tweets that may act as a reversed Benthamian panoptic (Foucault, 1990) documenting from the bottom-up high impact events.

**Id:** 17975

**Title:** The impact of exposure to the political Visual Contents on social networks sites on the attitudes of Egyptian youth towards Government Efficacy

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The Social networking sites are the most popular on the Internet, for the characteristics that distinguish them from websites, which encouraged Internet surfers from all over the world to use them increasingly, while the demand for websites was declined. Despite the severe criticisms to social networks, especially Facebook, which says that it has a negative and direct impact on the family, and contribute to the family disintegration and collapse, there are those who see it as an important mean of development and cohesion between communities, the convergence of concepts and visions with the other, and learn about the cultures of the different peoples, in addition to its active and distinguished role as a mean of effective communication in the donations and public uprisings. In the end, it can be said that social networking sites have a significant role in influencing public opinion clearly.

1- what's the problem with the study?

The social networking sites are the tools of networking and communication Youth express their Opinions through SNSs freely and spend more time surfing on it. The idea of this study is to try to identify the extent of the impact of the political visual contents that are published on social networking sites, which contains the Egyptian reality and urge citizens to participate in political life in a positive manner taking into account the impact of some variables such as: levels of political competence, psychological empowerment, political interest, party affiliation, motives for using social networking sites, and demographic variables.

3- the purpose of the study

- To measure the effect of Youth exposure to SNSs Visual Content on youths perception of a Government Efficacy.
- To discover the role of SNS in forming the credibility of Egyptian Government.
- To know the extent to which young people are convinced of the truthfulness of the information and videos published by these sites on topics affecting the Egyptian society. ( visual content trust)
- To measure the manifestations of political tolerance and political catharsis among Egyptian youth.
- To examine the extent to which the Egyptian youth audience used these sites to express their views on current events and public opinion issues.
- To identify the extent to which Egyptian youth rely on the visual contents on SNS to obtain information about public opinion issues.

4- Methodology:

The researcher depends on the survey to young Egyptians aged 18 to 35 years and from various socio-economic, educational and other levels, and the sample type is a multi-stage contingent of 400 respondents.

**Id:** 17977

**Title:** Lots of blah blah, little content' How political parties and newspapers concretely communicate political positions on European issues

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** From a normative democratic viewpoint, in advance of political elections it would be desirable for citizens to be informed about the aims and plans of political parties, and as a result to make a rational election decision (e.g., Habermas 1981, Downs 1957). To inform citizens parties send press releases to the media to publicly disseminate ongoing events, to emphasize issues and to spread positions and plans. Citizens in turn receive most of their political information via the mass media (e. g., Schulz 2011; Maurer 2009).

However, most voters have relatively little knowledge about the plans and positions of political parties – especially when it comes to knowledge about EU policies (Hurrelmann, Gora & Wagner 2015, Maier 2009, Westle 2013) – and do not always make their voting decisions rational (e.g., Downs 1957; Kepplinger & Maurer 2005; Maurer 2009).

Reasons for this could be on the one hand with the voters themselves: Maybe they use political information only sparsely, selectively, process them incomplete and/or forget the received information. On the other hand, it could also be due to the sources that citizens use for political information: they could contain little information relevant to the election ('quantity') and/or little concrete information ('quality') (e.g., Maurer 2009; Maier 2009).

The focus of our presentation will be the following research questions dealing with the concreteness ('quality') of available information on EU policies in both mentioned sources of information (following Maurer 2009):

Concreteness of information:

1) How many concrete political positions do political parties communicate? Are there differences between types of parties?

2) How many concrete political positions are reported by the mass media? Are there differences between left- and right-leaning quality newspapers?

3) Is there a difference in the communication of concrete political positions between parties and the media (who informs citizens 'more specifically')?

Our analysis uses data from a quantitative content analysis conducted in seven European countries including all EU-related press releases of parties with a share of at least three percent and all EU-related articles from two quality newspapers per country that have been published twelve weeks prior to the 2014 European election. The coding was done at the statement level and showed

satisfactory reliability values (Holsti: 0,79-0,91; Krippendorff's Alpha: 0,77-0,87). Our results show that there is a difference in the communication of parties and the mass media: in sum, parties more often refer to concrete political positions. However, this difference can only be found in four countries, namely the Netherlands, Portugal, France and Germany. In addition, we find that the party type (e.g., in government vs. opposition) is not related to concrete political positions. However, the results indicate that the ideological position of the party plays a role; left-leaning media in Portugal and France and right-leaning media in Greece communicate more concrete. We will discuss possible explanations for these (cross-national) differences in the communication of concrete political positions between parties and the media.

**Id:** 17994

**Title:** A Study of Newspaper Advertisements during the 2015 Presidential Election in Nigeria

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The British protectorates of Southern and Northern Nigeria were amalgamated in 1914 into a single nation, later called “Nigeria”, by Sir Fredrick Lord Lugard, first Governor General of the country. The 1922 Clifford’s Constitution of Nigeria made possible, for the first time, the election of three (3) unofficial representatives (from Lagos Colony) and one (1) representative (from Calabar) into the British Legislative Council in 1923. The first political party in Nigeria, the Nigerian Democratic Party (NDP), was formed in 1922 by Herbert Macaulay in response to the need to contest the election slated for 1923. At that time, political communication was at an incipient stage; campaigns took place through political rallies, word-of-mouth, and engagement of the anti-colonial Press. Political communication rose in sophistication through the era of nationalists struggle for political independence; the post-independence era; during the Second Republic (1979-1983); through the aborted Third Republic; up until the current Fourth Republic that began in 1999 with Olusegun Obasanjo (1999-2007), late Umaru Yar’Adua (2007); Dr. Goodluck Jonathan (2007-2015). The 2015 presidential election in Nigeria was a straight contest between President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan (GEJ) of the PDP and his closest challenger, General Muhammadu Buhari (GMB) of the All Progressives Party (APC). In the contest between the PDP and APC, which type of political advertisements was more dominant - image boosting or image attenuating advertisements? How much of hate political messages are embedded in the political advertisements during the 2015

presidential election and from which sources? The method of investigation includes a combination of a qualitative, quantitative and interpretive content analysis. Five national newspapers (during the Presidential electioneering campaigns) were analysed for content: The Punch, The Guardian; Vanguard newspapers, This Day, The Nation, New Nigerian newspaper, and Daily Trust. A total of 292 newspaper advertisements (copies) were analysed. The study finds that: 67.5 percent were personality based; about 24 percent of the ads boosted the image of the presidential candidates; and 48 percent of the ads attacked the personality of the opponent during the 2015 presidential election. Also, 63.4 percent of the ads had negative tone, or hate language. The implications of these for political marketing are demonstrated.

Keywords: Newspaper advertisements; political campaigns; image boosting; image attenuation; hate speech; Nigeria election.

**Id:** 18022

**Title:** From Analogue to Digital Negativity ' Attacks and Counter-Attacks, Satire and Absurdism on Election Posters Offline and Online

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Negative campaigning is as old as political communication itself. When there has been political campaigning, there has been negativity. Negativity is mostly connected to negative advertising and in the literature seen as a strategy 'that implicitly or explicitly places the opposition in an inferior position' (Johnson-Cartee and Copeland 1994) and, in addition, 'a political ad hominem argument [...] that calls into question a given candidate's fitness for office – that is, his or her leadership ability' (Johnson-Cartee and Copeland 1994:20). To put it simply, negative campaigning focuses on shortcomings of the politics/ideology or the character of political opponent(s).

A great deal of research on negative campaigning has been dealing with political advertising on television and especially in the US. However, there are some studies of negative advertising on other campaign instruments such as press advertising (Kaid 1995) and election posters (Johansson 2014, Holtz-Bacha and Johansson 2017). The qualities of the channel, that is, the medium that carries the advertising, predetermine its possibilities and its format.

Posters are a visual medium. The specific challenges for their design are the need to achieve a long-range effect within just a few seconds. Pictures accomplish the task better than verbal messages because visual images are processed more quickly and are more memorable than words. They also play an important role in how political messages are perceived and interpreted (Barnhurst and Quinn 2012; Grabe and Bucy 2009; Schill 2012). Because of their specific conditions, negative campaigning through posters has developed its own "language" of negativity with direct and indirect attacks, fear appeals and often working with humour and satire.

Traditionally, the production and dissemination of posters lay in the hands of the campaigners. Posters appeared in the public space. If at all, the motifs were ridiculed by changes and comments hand painted on the posters themselves using simple and easily understood symbols such as the swastika or the Hitler moustache.

The new digital environment changed the conditions and provided new possibilities for the dissemination of posters. Posters now appear on the Internet and are spread via the social networks. Traditional posters have been equipped with QR-codes allowing passers-by to get additional information from the advertising party or candidate. Users can produce their own posters, change and disseminate them thus influencing their meaning and possibly even turning positive into negative advertising.

This paper will follow the development and specifics of negative advertising on traditional posters to the changes occurring with the crossover to the digital environment. More specific we discuss to what extent and in what way the on-line media environment has changed negative campaigning on posters.

Examples will be taken from election campaigns in Sweden and Germany during the last decades, which are two countries where posters have traditionally played a major role in campaigning.

**Id:** 18025

**Title:** Televised electoral debates beyond the USA: the attacking attitude of journalists in multiparty presidential systems in Chile

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Despite the increasing role of electoral debates in political campaigns around the world and the growing academic interest in them, much of the accumulated body of relevant literature remains focused on the United States' experience (cf. Birdsell, 2017). Frameworks of analysis based on the format of these debates, limited to two main candidates and a single moderator may ultimately mask significant variations in their development in other parts of the world, for example, in multi-party parliamentary systems (Anstead, 2016; Hrbková and Zagraban, 2014). It is therefore important to test whether the insights gained from the experiences of countries with debates between two candidates can also be applied to other cases, in which more than two candidates debate, and more than one journalist asks the questions. Chile is one such case and may be representative of other Latin American countries (cf. Ruiz and Alberro, 2012). A particular feature in Chile is that, on the one hand, it has a presidential system, as in the United States, but at the same time it has a more structured multiparty system, similar to several European countries (Moy, Mazzoleni and Rojas, 2012).

Our point of departure was to test the methodology developed by Benoit on the application of Functional Theory of Political Campaign Discourse to debates (e.g. Benoit and Cho, 2005). Our analysis covered the first presidential debates held in Chile to include all formally registered candidates (four, in 2005), breaking away from the traditional model of an incumbent and challenger. We partially rejected one of Benoit's typically upheld hypotheses: although it was found that candidates employed acclaims more than other functions (Benoit and Benoit-Bryan, 2014; Benoit and Choi, 2013), we found no evidence that attacks were more common than defenses. We also found that defenses increased significantly following a journalist's counter question. This was explained by the fact that candidates had to defend themselves more from attacks by journalists on the panel than those made by their opponents.

To confirm this, we devised a study that sought to analyze the type of questions put by journalists, as well as the content of candidates' responses. In this initial paper, we report on the content of direct attacks made by journalists in the televised electoral debates of Chile's two most recent presidential campaigns. There was a significant proportion of attacks (in 30 % of questions) though with considerable variations, depending on the type of debate (primary or presidential), on the candidate to which the questions were being addressed (i.e., with a greater or lesser chance of winning the election), and on the type of media represented by the journalist (public or private television channel or the printed press). The gender of journalists and candidates also played a minor role. Our interpretation of these results is based on the particularities of the debate model developed in Chile, which reflects the country's increasing mediatization of politics.

**Id:** 18028

**Title:** Social media use, political trust, social trust and particularistic trust among university students in China and Hong Kong: Examine the mediation roles of public affairs discussion and internal efficacy

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Currently social life and political life have been mediated to a new level that every practice of social interaction and political governance is influenced by media. Media, especially social media disseminates information that affect trust in acquaintance, general others and the government. Nevertheless, the implications of social media use for social trust, political trust and particularistic trust are far from clear cut. Applying the O-S-R-O-R model (Orientations - Stimulus - Reasoning - Orientations - Response) in China and Hong Kong, this study examines the indirect relationships from information seeking via social media to the three forms of trust through online public affairs communication and internal efficacy.

As a deliberative process reflexively constructing political attitudes and behaviors, online discussion is encouraged by informational seeking through social media. Previous studies have found that online discussion reduced political trust but increased social trust in China. Media use or political discussion generates internal efficacy, it then transfers the influence to political attitudes and behaviors. Grounded in these empirical findings, this study investigates the mediation role of online public affairs communication and internal efficacy.

Third, there are two theoretical traditions explained the relationships between social trust and political trust. Cultural theories propose that social trust is the prerequisite for political trust, whereas institutional theories suggests political trust carries on influence on social trust. Based on the structural equation model, this study suggests that perspective of institutional theories is more fit to explain the interrelationships of forms of trusts in the authoritarian China and semi authoritarian Hong Kong.

At last, besides social trust and political trust, particularistic trust is embedded into the model as a complement of social trust. As Chinese culture emphasizes Renqing (favoritism), trust in acquaintances also relates to trust in others and trust in the government.

The impacts of information seeking on political trust and social trust are mediated by online discussion in the two contexts, and the mediation role of internal efficacy for the three types of trust is also ascertained. Moreover, political trust significantly and positively predicts social trust, whereas political trust predicts particularistic trust positively in China but negatively in Hong Kong. The implications of the findings are discussed.

**Id:** 18029

**Title:** The Janus face of internetization: New modes of publicness and privateness and democratic engagement

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Internetization represents one of the greatest transformations in communication technology and its social implications since the invention of the alphabet and writing, comprising both changes in the communication infrastructure and technologically mediated (communication) processes and relationships. A major feature of internetization is the liquefaction of the boundary between publicness and privateness.

The neologism ‘internetisation’ denotes the evolving dynamics of digital interconnectivity powered by the internet, which affects, on global scale, all aspects of human life, from the workplace to education, leisure and politics – with consequences that affect online and offline universes, private and public environments, to weave them inextricably together in the “liquid-modern society” (Bauman 2015). The internet has reduced the time-space distance between places linked into it to zero and decreased the amount of time required to conduct social exchanges. Moreover, it is completely integrated with the pre-internet modes of activities and penetrated so deeply into our daily life that the sense of its distinction from the ways we traditionally get things done has almost completely disappeared. Algorithmic communication tools, the internet of things, smart TV and phones, and other smart connected products are colonizing our daily lives and even smudging the distinction between human and computer capacities and operations.

With the unprecedented growth of public, private and hybrid modes of communication in the internet-based integrated public-private communication networks (IPPCN), the relation between privateness and publicness has moved, for the first time in history, from the conceptual to the material: the IPPCN links publicness and privateness together directly, within a single technological platform. In a platform for both private and public interactions, the difference is now diffused through the production of hybrid public-private forms of communicative actions, situations, actors, and digital intermediaries. Not only is not regarded private anymore what used to be called the private sphere. Formerly clearly-demarcated boundaries between private and public discussion of personal and collective concerns in hierarchically-organized political communication are now porous; the human needs and rights to privacy and free public expression (to act publicly) coalesce into each other, as for example in the ‘right of publicity’, and the democratic project, once limited to a clearly delineated public sphere, cannot be categorized as public or non-public, political or non-political.

The paper will discuss new modes of relationship developed in the integrated public-private communication networks (IPPCN), such as ‘privacy’ and ‘publicity’, new avenues for the IPPCN-based publics, and their social and political consequences: How the communicative potential of the internet can be used to support public opinion that is generated by publics capable of effective acting beyond short-term mobilization, and protected against autonomy and privacy threats? Is the

internet's emancipatory potential strong enough to enhance new democratic platforms cultivating reflexive publicity, the Kantian "public use of reason?" Or has internetization blended publicness and privateness in a way that not only would not allow us to reach "the final stage of democracy," but may also seriously compromise our rights and freedoms?

**Id:** 18080

**Title:** Media exposure and Corruption Perception: The Mediating Effect of Political Trust

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Frame theory points out that news media coverage shapes mass opinion and attitude and behavior (Scheufele, 1999; Chong & Druckman, 2007). In the age of mediated society (Jackson, Nielsen & Hsu, 2011), people gain information on political information, such as corruption from media exposure rather than from direct personal experiences, media exposure can affect the perceptions of how corruption is spread (McCombs & Shaw, 1972; Kaye & Johnson, 2002; Bauhr & Oscarsson, 2011).

The purpose of this study is to compare the impact of political news exposure through official and unofficial media on Chinese netizen's corruption perception, and exam the effects of mediator of political trust on the relationship between media exposure and corruption perception. Three hypotheses are posed. The research questions are: Official media exposure has negative effect on corruption perception (H1a), while unofficial media exposure has positive effect on corruption perception (H1b). Official media exposure has positive effect on political trust (H2a), while unofficial media exposure has negative effect on political trust (H2b). Political trust negatively correlates with corruption perception (H3). Does political trust play a mediating role in the relationship between media exposure and corruption perception (RQ1.)?

According to Haye (2013)'s suggestion, we test the direct effect of media exposure on corruption perception and the indirect effect of media exposure through political trust on corruption perception. The results of the data analysis show that official media exposure decreases corruption perception ( $\beta = -0.020$ ,  $CI = [-0.026, -0.015]$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), while unofficial media exposure increases corruption perception ( $\beta = 0.011$ ,  $CI = [0.003, 0.018]$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), H1a and H1b are proved. This implies that the different types of media exposure make a difference in Chinese netizen's corruption perception. Official media exposure has positive effect on political trust ( $\beta = 0.101$ ,  $CI = [0.052, 0.151]$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), and political trust negatively correlates with corruption perception ( $\beta = -0.251$ ,  $CI = [-0.286, -0.217]$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), H2a and H3 are proved; Unofficial media exposure has negative effect on political trust ( $\beta = -0.013$ ,  $CI = [-0.023, -0.003]$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), and political trust negatively correlates with corruption perception ( $\beta = -0.319$ ,  $CI = [-0.349, -0.289]$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), H2b and H3 are proved. Political trust plays a negatively mediating role in the relationship between official media exposure and corruption perception ( $\beta = -0.021$ ,  $CI = [-0.024, -0.017]$ ), and a positively negatively mediating role in the relationship between unofficial media exposure and corruption perception ( $\beta = 0.004$ ,  $CI = [0.004, 0.008]$ ), RQ1 is answered. In addition, based on both Model 1

and 2, gender, family income, internal political efficacy and unfair experience exert positive effect on corruption perception, while political capital, external political efficacy and social trust exert negative effect on corruption perception.

Keywords: Media Exposure; Corruption Perception; Political Trust; Official Media; Unofficial Media

**Id:** 18104

**Title:** The Impact of Social Media on Political Stance

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The study examines the impact of social media on people's stances in political values and social issues. Social media, as a subaltern public sphere (Fraser, 1990), has a democratic function in providing an alternative platform for minorities and marginalized. They include activists, dissidents and insurgents who make use of the subaltern public spheres to defy mainstream discourses in the public sphere. But social media may help to accelerate the ascendancy of a "post-truth" era in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief. A study on political polarization, however, showed that selective exposure and avoidance in social media are weak indicators of polarization (Johnson, Kaye, & Lee, 2017).

The authors considered that although social media have some influence on the polarized stance in different values and issues, their influence is small compared with the influence of other factors, including demographics, political orientation and mass media use. Based on survey data obtained in 2017, the study tested two hypotheses:

H1: Social media use predicts a democratic stance in political values and social issues; H2: Political orientation is a stronger predictor than social media use in one's stance in political values and social issues.

The results supported both hypotheses. Social media has some effects on people's stance in political values and social issues, but when compared with other factors, their influence is limited. Through hierarchical regressions, political orientation, partisan mass media, and some demographic factors were found to have greater impact than social media on people's political stance in political values and social issues.

Although the echo chamber effect of social media may reinforce people's original stance, it contributes very little to the formation of it. Other factors, particularly, political orientation and traditional mass media, play a more important role in affecting people's stances and polarization. The claim that the echo chamber effect will destroy democracy by reinforcing divided views among people may be misguided. Our study has shown that social media only minimally predicts people's stance on political values and social issues. The sources for divided opinions, polarization of stance and resistance to rational discourse are to be sought elsewhere.

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(417 words)

**Id:** 18158

**Title:** Explaining political apathy of the youth: Influences on political expression in social media

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Political apathy is a globally emerging social problem. Different from that in the Western democratic societies, political apathy of the youth in China's authoritarian society has its unique political, cultural, and social factors.

Previous studies prove that some social factors cause political apathy in the social media environment. What is more unique about the social media environment, is that it enhances the social loafing effect, namely, the tendency of an individual to exert less effort when he or she works collectively with others than when working alone (Latané, Williams, & Harkins, 1979). Researchers found that social loafing occurs because individuals' inputs can hardly be identified and evaluated in the collective condition (Harkins, 1987; Harkins & Szymanski, 1989). Thus we supposed H1: Social loafing has negative effect on political expression.

Political efficacy has been argued as an important determinant of political participation, because without beliefs that one's actions are consequential, one has little incentive to participate in politics (Abramson & Aldrich, 1982). An individual tends to feel insignificant, powerless and incompetent when "political representatives pay no attention to him or political machines run things just as they please" (Rosenberg, 1954, p. 355). Thus, we propose H2: Low political efficacy has negative effect on online political expression.

Scholars have suggested that in China's "networked authoritarian society," human rights protection has never been guaranteed fully by the state (Mackinnon, 2011) although Internet users enjoy more freedom of speech than they ever had before. Therefore, under the circumstance of Internet censorship, the following can be reasonably expected H3: Fear of censorship inhibits political expression in social media.

Cultural influence also plays an important role in shaping the social norms of communication. The traditional Chinese Confucian culture and the Zhongyong (doctrine of the mean) culture holds that it is a virtue to be able to live in obscurity and be submerged in the mass. These ideas encourage prudence, caution, and most important, modesty and moderation. (Tu, 1976). As a result, Chinese people grow up believing that moral self-control or self-regulation are more in line with social

expectations than self-promotion and boast (Yau, 1988). Therefore, we propose H4: The modesty of zhongyong culture negatively influence political expression.

This study explores and analyzes the factors that cause political silence among the youth through a survey among college students. We conduct a hierarchical regression to test the hypothesis by controlling demographics, social media use and political interest. Findings show that political apathy among the Chinese youth is caused by a more complicated combination of social, political and cultural factors. In particular, social loafing, low political efficacy and the modesty of zhongyong culture has, respectively, a significant inhibitory effect on the political expression in social media. Fear of censorship, instead, does not seem to have a significant impact on political expression. In addition, individual's political interest moderates the effect of social loafing and modesty of zhongyong culture on political expression. The apathy of the youth in cyberspace and its implication to the political ecology are also discussed.

**Id:** 18234

**Title:** Conditioned Impact of Negative Economic News on Presidential Popularity through Economic Reality: A Time-Series Analysis of Economic Communication in South Korea, 1998-2017

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**Abstract:** This study examines the Korean media's negative coverage of economic news, the nation's objective economic indicators and popular perceptions of economic reality and the relationship of each to the presidential approval rate. For this purpose, we divided our timeframe into four periods: the presidential administrations of Kim Dae-joong (1998-2002), Roh Moo-hyun (2003-2007), Lee Myung-bak (2008-2012), and Park Geun-hye (2013-2017). Kim and Roh were liberal; Lee and Park were conservative. Methodologically, we applied one of the econometric methods of the autoregressive model to variate the time series of our data. Through the Granger causality test, we found that Korean media's negative coverage of economic news adversely impacted public perception of national economic forecasts. That is, the negative news tone on the nation's domestic economy tended to adversely affect popular subjective perceptions of future economic conditions, even when presidential approval ratings were controlled. In addition, we analyzed the relationships among four variables in the model by separating periods of economic downturn from those of economic recovery. We found that, during economic downturns, negative economic news played an important role in shaping popular perceptions of economic forecasts. However, negative economic news during periods of economic recovery did not play any important role in shaping public perception of future economic conditions. Interestingly, positive economic news during these periods tended to heighten the public's evaluation of future economic performance. In addition, the general public's subjective economic reality did not relate to presidential popularity during economic downturns. In contrast, optimistic perception of future economic trends related positively to presidential popularity in periods of economic recovery. From these findings, we conclude that media reports did not relate directly to the presidential approval rate in South Korea, especially during the Kim and Roh administrations. Nevertheless, news reports, whether negative or positive, impacted public subjective perceptions of economic conditions and thus indirectly to the presidential approval rate, especially in periods of economic recovery, through the general public's optimistic expectation of the nation's economic future. We discuss the implications of this study's findings in the political context of South Korea.

**Id:** 18266

**Title:** Organisational Actors' Framing of Climate Change: A Comparative Perspective on China, the US and South Africa

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The ratification of the Paris Accord heralded a new chapter of international cooperation on climate change. However, familiar events followed. In the US, Democrats and Republicans took opposite sides in the 2016 presidential debates. The rift peaked in June 2017, when President Trump declared his intent to exit the Paris Accord (Shepardson, 2017). A non-partisan coalition of American businesses, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and politicians joined California's governor in signing a climate agreement with China.

Evident from this example is that international agreement does not equate to a national consensus. As organisational actors' ability to influence political and public discourse grows alongside the pressure for them to partake in climate change solutions, an improved is needed. The study proposes to investigate organisations' positions towards climate change and prospective solutions. The study also considers what differences occur across nations, by comparing the political and socio-economically different nations of China, South Africa and the United States. Two research questions are proposed:

1. How do national organisational actors frame their positions on climate change?
2. What differences, if any, are visible amongst organisational actors' framing across different socio-political settings?

The theoretical framework draws from the constructivist approach to framing analysis. The study defines framing as a process through which frame sponsors vie for the acceptance of their respective interpretive frame package, which links implicitly to an existing cultural stock of frames (Boesman, Berbers, d'Haenens, & Van Gorp, 2017; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; van Gorp, 2007, 2010). Through the literature review, the study identifies four probable frames, namely the public accountability and governance frame, the conflict frame, the social progress and runaway science frame, and the economic development and competitiveness frame (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; McCright & Dunlap, 2003, 2011; Nisbet, 2009).

The study then applies quantitative content analysis to identify the manifest framing and reasoning devices of the potential frames. The analysis is performed on a random sample of 384 organisational actors that are drawn from a researcher-compiled population of 2908 corporations, eNGOs and political parties. The tolerated error is limited to about 5% at a 95% confidence interval. The unit of analysis is defined as those personal communications published by the organisation on a dedicated webpage, like the corporate governance page. A 10% subsample will be used to establish intercoder reliability using Cohen's Kappa for each code category. Data analysis will employ a combination of descriptive and inferential statistics to graph and tabulate any trends and identify the statistical significance of any differences. Finding will then be interpreted within the respective socio-political environments.

**Id:** 18379

**Title:** Government and Media: Who Rules' Media vs. politics logic in mediatization age. Argentina, Chile and Uruguay 2010-2017

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** This thesis explore relationship between media system and political communication culture with the aim of better understanding how is the relationship between journalists and political elites in the frame of mediatization process of politics. On the basis of an institutionalist understanding of mediatization processes, this thesis uses a qualitative research strategy to identify the main drivers of the mediatization among Argentinian, Chilean and Uruguayan political elites, the operational logics structuring politicians´ and journalist´s interactions, and the dynamics of autonomy-control in the relationship between political and media actors.

Findings are derived from analysis of qualitative interviews with politicians and journalists with experience covering politics in national media outlets, former cabinet ministers, parliamentarians, political party leaders, press officers working with politicians, and journalist with experience covering politics in national media outlets.

This thesis identifies core elements of different political communication cultures as an outcome of the level of autonomy-control between media and political actors, the path dependence variable of the origins of media system, considering besides the role of the political ideology of government and media.

Overall, this study puts forward the idea that while the political ideology of a government doesn´t explain the relationship between media and political actors. Conversely, there a combination of institutional framework, drivers of a political communication culture in a long term and policy of regulation of media system, those that work like explanation of relationship between media and political actors.

**Id:** 18507

**Title:** Issue Engagement during Election Campaigns: Which Factors shape Political Parties' Issue Agendas' (Caroline Dalmus, doctoral student; Regula Hänggli, professor; Laurent Bernhard, postdoctoral fellow)

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** During election campaigns the media's impact on parties' issue agendas is said to be low or even absent (Brandenburg, 2002, 2004; Dalton et al., 1998; Just et al., 1996; Norris et al., 1999; Walgrave & Van Aelst, 2006, pp. 95-98). Instead, the theory offers a variety of other factors that are said to influence the issue choices of parties during a campaign. On the one hand, party specific aspects such as issue ownership and the ideal agenda each actor sets prior to an election campaign are named as dominant explanatory factors (e.g. Budge & Farlie, 1983; XXX, 2017; Dolezal et al., 2014; Norris et al., 1999 ; Tresch et al., 2017). On the other hand, external factors such as the opponents' issue agendas (e.g. Jones & Baumgartner, 2005; Vliegenthart et al., 2011), the public agenda (Druckman, 2014; Ansolabehere & Iyengar, 1994) or shocks like crisis or catastrophes (e.g. Brettschneider, 2004; XXX, 2017; Kepplinger & Habermeier, 1995) are introduced. The paper systemizes these different, partly conflictive theoretical considerations and analyzes the influence of the named explanatory factors on parties' issue agendas in press releases and advertisement during the Swiss elections in 2011 and 2015.

Press releases (2011: n=177, 2015: n=142) , newspaper advertisement (2011: n=1'219, 2015: n=1'197), newspaper articles (2011: n=688, 2015: n=169) and election manifestos (2011: n=7, 2015: n=7) published during eight weeks prior to Election Day were content analyzed. The results show that both party specific factors (issue ownership and the ideal agenda) do have a significant effect on the issue engagement in press releases and advertisement, whereas the external factors (opponents' agenda, public agenda and shocks) do not affect the parties' issue choices. However, there is an interaction effect with regard to issue ownership and shocks: the results show that crisis or catastrophes do have an influence, if they address a specific issue and if a party exerts issue ownership over this issue. Additionally, shocks influence the party agendas indirectly via the media. The results indicate that the attention parties pay to crises or catastrophes in their campaign material is a consequence of increased attention to those events in the news. The following can be summarized: first, parties are rather self-centered during election campaigns and mainly focus on their preferred issues. Second, opponents' issues are therefore perceived as unattractive and rather get ignored. Third, shocks like crises or catastrophes have the power to attract attention predominantly by parties who own the respective issue, but do also influence other actors' agendas if the media attention for the issue is high.

**Id:** 18588

**Title:** Struggle for Occupation in New Democratic Country (Online News Media Strategy in Cultural Reproduction of Political Communication)

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The media (press) is losing its monopoly over the dissemination of information between public and political actors in political communication as communication become more personal (Chaffee and Metzger, 2001). Therefore, in the new democratic country of Indonesia, mainstream media is less influential in constructing public opinion, especially in determining public agenda through the news. The media is forced to compete for occupation with other parties who produce information that does not necessarily adhere to strict journalism professional standards. This phenomenon invites debate whether the media will be dead because of losing its function as the mass communication (Chaffee and Metzger, 2001) or it is just business as usual (Weimann et al, 2014). This paper adopts Bourdieu's cultural reproduction theory, the social theory of journalism and agenda-setting theory to understand the "struggle" of legacy media in maintaining its position in mass communication. The central aim of our research is to investigate cultural reproduction process of online news media as the influencer of public opinion in the transitional democratic country. In order to achieve this aim, we plan to explore the following research questions: (1) Who set the news agenda in the reporting of the February 2017 general election in Indonesia (2) What new and old news making practices did the journalists use to continue to influence the news agenda? The data to be analysed will be drawn from an ethnographical study of the news making practices and interview of about 30 journalists working in three local online news media outlets. This paper will be looking at quantitative data of the news content during February 2017 general election coverage followed by constructivism perspective of Bourdieu's cultural reproduction theory coupled with the social theory of journalism that taken from the interview. This paper is expected to fill the research gap on the cultural reproduction of mass political communication in the context of a new democratic country.

**Keywords;** political communication, journalistic field, Indonesian journalism, cultural reproduction, media struggle, social theory of journalism, agenda-setting theory, transitional democracy

**Id:** 18601

**Title:** Modi's Social Media and India's Corporate Media: Analysis of Indian Elections in 2014

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**Abstract:** Introduction

Mr. Narendra Modi, the prime ministerial candidate of the right-wing Bharatiya Janata Party, won with a majority of constituencies in the Parliament during the General Elections of India in 2014. No party has been able to acquire a mandate of over 30% votes since 1991, marking this victory historic (Chhibber & Verma, 2014). Observers attribute this phenomenon to Modi's social media campaign. Modi's Facebook page had over two lakh likes, around nine million people followed him on Twitter, and thousands subscribed to his YouTube channel (Peer, 2014), quadrupling his outreach to the public. This quantitative research investigates the role of social media in facilitating Modi's win as the 16th Prime Minister of India.

Literature Review

Modi's presence on social media was ubiquitous and unprecedented, transcending his problematic image to a fatherly figure (Pal, Chandra, & Vydiswaran, 2016). Mehta (2015) argues that the coverage in Indian corporate newspapers took the form of cheerleading hagiography, rather than actual reporting. Kapur (2014) agrees that leveraging social media and influencing corporate newspapers impacted election results. Modi was the driving factor of the huge mandate BJP acquired (Kapur, 2014).

Theory

A media outlet emphasizes on an object (figure or issue) through salience (more coverage and/or higher placement). Salient objects are deemed important among the public (Lopez-Escobar, Llamas, McCombs, & Lennon, 1998). Objects mentioned in media content have attributes. As saliences of objects vary, saliences of attributes also vary (McCombs, 2011). First and second levels of agenda-setting deal with objects and attributes, respectively, as discrete points, with their saliences transferring linearly between agendas. Objects and attributes in third-level agenda-setting are interconnected in rank order bundles. The transfer of their saliences between agendas is network-like (Guo, Vu, & McCombs, 2012).

Research Question

What are first-level, second-level, and third-level intermedia agenda-setting effects, from Modi's social media to Indian corporate newspapers, during the campaign of the Indian elections in 2014?

### Method

The study relies on content analysis as method. The analysis timeframe, from September 13, 2013 to May 10, 2014, is pertinent as Modi's candidacy was announced on the former and his campaign ended on the latter. Our sample, collected through systematic sampling, came from Modi's social media (Facebook page, Twitter account, and YouTube channel), in both Hindi and English, and websites of widely-circulated Indian corporate newspapers, in Hindi (NavBharat Times, Dainik Jagran, and Amar Ujala) and English (The Hindu, Tribune, and The Telegraph). Collectively, we built a dataset of media content, consisting of 14,211 texts. Two coders independently coded a smaller sample of 1,300 texts to establish intercoder reliability. We established intercoder reliability, ran descriptive statistics, and tested correlations.

### Results

The early findings of this ongoing study show that Modi's social media are likely to set the agendas of Indian corporate newspapers.

**Id:** 18655

**Title:** Print Media and Politics: The 2013 General Elections in Pakistan and Comparative Study of Three Leading Political Parties in Pakistani Print Media

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** This study focuses on the relationship between the print media and political parties in Pakistan. The basic purpose of this study is to examine that how the Pakistani newspapers portray three of Pakistan's parliamentary parties in their contents during the General Elections of 2013. Media has a great significance during the elections process because of its ability to frame the image of political parties and leadership and influence the public opinion. So the media and politics relationship becomes more complex during the elections. Media depends on political parties for news while political parties depend upon media for publicity. A good number of studies have been conducted to analyze the role of media during elections, which indicates the importance of media during this process. Pakistan had its general elections to elect its 14th National assembly on 11 May, 2013. This study is an exertion to analyze the relationship between political parties and print media in Pakistan during the General Elections 2013. It has examined that how the print media in Pakistan treated political parties during the General Elections 2013. The researcher has discussed this fragile relationship by examining coverage of leading political parties (PML-N, PPP, and PTI) in Pakistani print media (Jang, Nawa-e-Waqt, Dawn and the News) by employing qualitative and quantitative content analysis method. The frequency, placement and tilt of news stories regarding political parties published on the front page of the selected newspapers from 11 April 2013 to 11 June 2013 is studied, and editorials of the selected newspapers were qualitatively analyzed through framing. The researcher has studied contents of the selected newspapers one month before and one month after the General Elections 2013 were held. Two English and two Urdu (local language) newspapers have been selected for the purpose of this study. The agenda setting theory was used to explore media's role in framing of political parties. Findings of the study indicate that Pakistani Print Media and political relationship is not based on an even pattern and it varies with situations. Sometimes media tries to dominate political groups and political parties try to influence media simultaneously. Framing of a political party depends upon the policy, political affiliation and preferences of a newspaper.

Key terms: Coverage, Political parties, elections, Framing, Jang, Nawa-e-Waqt, the News, Dawn.

**Id:** 18670

**Title:** Netizens' Responses to posts of Presidential Communications Facebook Page on War against Drugs in the Philippines

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Social media become an essential part of online news consumption. Sites such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and alike allow people to connect, communicate and share content. As it continuously emerges, it provides venue for people to engage themselves in discussions and debate of issues happening around the globe. Moreover, it has become significant for institutions such as the Presidential Communications Operations Office for they used it as a platform in disseminating news, and engaging citizens to participate in any public discourse on social media. With this, the present administration came up with the drug war campaigns that will help combat drugs. To bolster it, the administration used Facebook to interact with the public and create awareness about it. With the previous researches, this study is about knowing netizens responses on war against drugs posts. However, comments of netizens on issues do not always establish a positive outcome. Stuart Hall's Audience Reception Theory served as the foundation of the study. It focuses in identifying the audiences' interests, beliefs, and attitudes towards a certain topic. Often used as tool in characterizing the pulse or reaction of audiences within communication and cultural aspects. Through thematic analysis technique, the researchers conducted the data by choosing fifteen news articles on PCOO's Facebook page, reviewing the screenshots of comment threads, filtering the first twenty comments related on each article, and encoding each of it on the researchers coding sheets. After the comments were gathered and analyzed, the researchers found out which articles has the pre-dominant number of comments, total likes, shares, and reactions (like, love, haha, sad, wow, angry). Furthermore, the researchers identified the themes that were evident

from all the comments. These themes derived were anger, love, happy, neutral, approval, sarcasm, suggesting, informing, and sad. The aforementioned themes were all present in the chosen comments. In addition, the result showed that most of the netizens agreed or supported what the article was all about and were satisfied about the current administration, especially on the campaign against illegal drugs in the country. On the other hand, some netizens who voiced out their sentiments on the comment threads of each article did not agree on how the administration took part in preventing illegal drugs, at the same time those comments contained harsh and uncivil words. Moreover, the researchers discovered that Facebook enable the netizens to become well-informed about war against drugs, thus creating eagerness to stop the spread of illegal drugs. It is good that people could participate on online discussions concerning public issues, especially war on drugs. Whereas, the researchers learned that social media, specifically Facebook, could greatly influence the netizens on their beliefs, attitudes, and perspective. In this case, the researchers came up with the recommendation on PCOO to manage and regulate the comments in the comment fields for the netizens to further understand and share each other's opinions, avoid hostility, incivility and establish a peaceful online discussion.

**Id:** 18729

**Title:** Casual Effect of the Internet Access on Government Trust: Based on Instrumental Variable Regression

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** At a surprisingly rate, the Internet has become a widespread phenomenon around the world and penetrated every corners of our daily life. It is widely acknowledged that Internet is an important way of political socialization for the majority of us, and the impact of people's Internet access on their trust in government is more and more related to the legitimacy of the ruling party. The current research aims to investigate casual effect of the Internet access on government trust. Based on 2010 China General Social Survey (CGSS 2010), a nation-wide survey in China, we employ the propensity score matching (PSM) method to address the self- and sample-selection bias. Also, we use the instrumental variable (IV) regression method to avoid the potential simultaneity bias. After identifying and solving the problems of endogeneity, we compare the results of Ordinary Least Square (OLS) regression and matched sample with IV Two Stage Least Square (2SLS) estimates. The study shows some important and interesting findings as follows:

Firstly, comparing with two traditional factors, i.e., institution and culture, in explaining people's government trust, the factor of Internet access has a better explanatory power accounting for that; in other words, Internet provides us with a better understanding of the source of government trust.

Secondly, the results confirmed the endogeneity problem of estimating casual effect between Internet access and government trust, and also showed "media malaise" of Internet on government trust. More specifically, the Internet access has a significantly negative effect (-0,152) on government trust when we use IV-2SLS regression; however, that effect has been underestimated nearly 3 times (the effect is only -0.039) when using OLS estimation.

Thirdly, we found an "inhibitory reciprocal causation" relation between Internet access and people's trust in government. Specifically, people who access to the Internet more frequently, he or she would become more distrust in government; meanwhile, the low level of government trust would restrain people's access to the Internet.

In general, the study reminds us the importance of Internet access on government trust; besides, we should pay more attention on endogeneity problems when we estimate the net effect of the Internet.

**Keywords**

Internet access; Government trust; Casual effect; Endogeneity; Instrumental variable

**Id:** 18848

**Title:** Reimagining or Sustaining the Narrative' Media Representations of West African Female Politicians.

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The media have come under severe criticism in recent years for their gendered coverage of female politicians. Several studies (e.g. Ross, 2017; Meeks, 2012; Anderson et al, 2011) point to systematic media discrimination against female politicians. These manifest in mainly issue-based coverage for male politicians, while female politicians have to contend with near invisibility, negative coverage and trivialization of their political achievements. Thus, for female politicians, gender becomes the lens through which they are portrayed and not the fact that they are equally capable political actors. It has been argued that such reportage implicitly positions female politicians as non-viable political candidates, which in turn has implications for their electoral success.

This paper presents some of the key results from a project which investigates media representations of West African female politicians, with a focus on Ghana and Nigeria. The analysis consists of print and radio news, complemented by interviews of journalists and politicians. Using feminist media theory and Stuart Hall's concept of representation, the paper explores the interplay of political socialization, patriarchy and imagined sense of power (or the lack of it) between media workers and (female) politicians. It seeks to understand the extent to which female politicians in the two countries are visible in their national media, the degree of gendered coverage if present, the ways in which the 'gendering' presents itself, and why.

The methodological framework underlying the analysis of data is multimodal critical discourse analysis (MCDA). This offers useful insights as it goes beyond the usual linguistic analysis of media texts prevalent in the field of political communication, by looking at other semiotic resources such as images, and asking why things are the way they are in media texts. It emphasises the value of including the context of production in analysis of media representations of female politicians. Drawing on the MCDA framework and elite interviews, the study reveals the complex nature of the relationship between political news production and media representations of female politicians in West Africa, something that would not be possible through an analysis of media texts alone.

Findings suggest a level of marginalisation and lack of agency in both linguistic and visual portrayals of female politicians in Ghana and Nigeria consistent with available literature. However, instances of trivialization are noticeably not as prominent as previous, largely western-based contexts indicate. Analysis of the context of production point to variations in linguistic and visual representations of female politicians in the two countries as a result of differences in political climate. While the media still remain complicit in reproducing gender stereotypes, the study also

suggests that female politicians share similar understandings of their political identity and lack of agency, thereby reinforcing stereotypical beliefs through their actions and inactions. This paper therefore aims to open up discussions on the conceptualization of female politicians' media representation by offering new considerations which can usefully contribute to the debate.

**Id:** 18858

**Title:** Partisan Media and Polarized views: Framing analysis of political discussion programs in Pakistan

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Partisan media and polarized views among the public about the political parties and respective political issues have been observed as an emerging phenomenon in recent years after the general elections 2013 in Pakistan. Privatized TV news channels are seemingly taking very clear one-sided position on the political issue, corresponding with respective political parties. Historically, in Pakistan the same surge was observed in general elections 1970 when there was print media monopoly on the political scene. Since last decade, TV News Channels have undermined this monopoly. Elections 2013 were unique in Pakistan with reference to political scene. After the elections, series of opposition movements against the sitting government were seen on pervasive TV channels. Partisan narratives and counter narratives have been witnessed on different TV channels, in last few years. These mediated events seem very important to study as the country is approaching towards elections 2018. This endeavour is an attempt to capture the framing of the parties, issues in the partisan media culture and framing effects on the polarized viewers. Data for this research come from two data sets. Content analysis of selected representative talks shows broadcast on mainstream news channels provide an assessment of the framing while quantitative survey of the discussion program's viewers from Lahore city provide an evidence of framing effects. Regression results help us to argue that the highly partisan shows are strong predictors of polarized views among the audience. Study also grasps the attention of scholars towards the implications of this phenomena in Pakistan.

**Id:** 18905

**Title:** Digital Civic Interaction: a concept

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Technology facilitates interaction between government institutions and publics in a variety of novel ways, including online policy consultations, social media campaigning, citizen reporting on public services and government-hosted all night hackathons. Drawing on relevant literature and policy data from 61 governments, this article proposes the concept of digital civic interaction to identify and assess the communicative processes underpinning such phenomena. It suggests a particular role for political communications scholars to advance and validate that concept.

A review of literature in the various disciplines concerned with instances of digital civic interaction reveals a highly fragmented research landscape, in which disciplines are defined by specific types of civic interaction, and an uneven distribution of methodological approaches. While research silos are nothing new, the dramatic proliferation of digital civic interaction in government practice and contemporary policy debate makes this fragmentation particularly problematic. In addition to opportunity costs generally associated with disciplinary silos, it inhibits rigorous exploration of the specific effects digital tools may have on different modalities of civic interaction, and across different contexts. Effects on citizen trust in government and political efficacy are particularly pressing, and not readily pursued in the current research landscape.

To address this, the article constructs a three-level-concept for digital civic interaction according to Goertz's (2012) model for social science concepts. This model forces the explicit conceptualization of theory-level concepts, their constitutive components, and empirical phenomena, as well as the ontological and causal relationships that bind them. The structure of this model is particularly well suited to building conceptual bridges between disciplines, and its balance of analytic rigor and abstraction is particularly well suited to the type of causal analysis and typological theorizing demanded by contemporary policy debates.

The article concludes by noting the particular relevance of this three level concept to political communication studies, and the role that scholars in this field can and should play in advancing a more rigorous cross-disciplinary study of digital civic interaction in contemporary politics.

**Id:** 18954

**Title:** Towards a Holistic Approach to Critical Digital Literacy in relation to Civic, Political Engagement

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Western liberal democracy has remained affected over the decades by political economy constraints, deregulated global capital flows undermining the power of nation states, the inability of institutions and media to represent citizens' voices, and a democratic participation deficit aggravated by citizens' low civic interest and political efficacy. Insofar as the Internet has been championed for facilitating citizens' civic, political engagement, this paper begins by interrogating its potential. Digital media have been advocated for contributing, for instance, to deliberative democracy, diversified political content, power decentralisation and marginalised groups' civic, political participation. Their democratising potential, however, remains constrained by issues, among others, of elitism, economic and government surveillance, content fragmentation, polarisation and, as the fake news phenomenon epitomises, unreliability. Focusing on the notion of digital literacy and its critical connotation, this paper looks into its relevance to democracy and citizens' civic, political engagement - an area which remains under-researched. Whereas functional digital literacy is often about practical skills necessary to engaging online, it will be proposed that critical digital literacy should be conceptualised not only as revolving around users' ability to evaluate content in relation to bias, trustworthiness and misrepresentation. By drawing on a doctoral project's theoretical framework, it will be argued that critical digital literacy should incorporate, more holistically, understandings of Internet-related production/consumption processes and civic, political potentials and limitations. Discussing the different meanings of critical digital literacy entangled within the literature, this paper will critically review what has been achieved, and with what limitations, by research on the interrelation of critical digital literacy and civic, political engagement. In doing so, it will look at different strands of research inspired, for instance, by critical pedagogy and the New Literacy Studies tradition. While acknowledging their relevance to discussions, among others, on practices of activism and resistance, alternative media and participatory culture, this paper will emphasise the importance of taking a more holistic approach to critical digital literacy. It will do so by arguing that understanding the Internet as embedded in power structures has the potential to contribute to informed, critically autonomous and active citizens engaging in both institutional and non-institutional civic, political practices mediated by digital media. Along these lines, it will be emphasised that a holistic approach to critical digital literacy can only be analytically fruitful as long as it does not collapse critical digital literacy into normative expectations of civic, political engagement.

**Id:** 19001

**Title:** Agenda Setting in DACA Coverage by Online Newspapers

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) is an American immigration policy that allowed individuals, who entered the United States as minors and lived in the country illegally, a renewable two-year protection against deportation and eligibility to receive a work permit. Individuals who benefited from this policy came to be known as Dreamers. DACA was signed into law in June 2012 by the Obama Administration and was rescinded by the Trump Administration in September 2017.

The USA Today, Breitbart, and Huffington Post, are online media outlets that provided coverage on the policy at all points in its existence. Content analysis is used to examine the coverage of these three media outlets on DACA between August 28 and September 11, 2017. Fifty articles were collected from each media outlet, totaling in a sample of 150 articles. The research objective is to determine how these media outlets go about expressing their leanings on the issue to their audience.

First and second level agenda setting provide the framework for this study to answer the research questions: Which DACA/Dreamers characteristics gained prominence in the coverage by Breitbart compared to USA Today, and Huffington Post? What level of prominence is given to DACA by Breitbart, USA Today, and Huffington Post? I hypothesized that Breitbart will largely be for rescinding the policy, with the Huffington Post siding with the Dreamers and the USA Today more or less being in the middle.

Agenda setting can be defined as the transfer of salience from the media agenda to the public agenda - the media set the agenda of the public by creating prominence for an object (1st level) or attribute (2nd level); effectively telling the audience what to think about and how to think about it. Coding is used to operationalize attribute frequencies and the frequencies are used in determining the prominence of the issue and attributes, providing insight into how each of three media outlets differed in coverage, and how they told their audience what issues and attributes of DACA were important. The prominence of articles covering DACA on each media site demonstrates the level of importance given to DACA by each media site.

In the current climate of human right and immigration issues, research on how the media affects the public on policy related issues & sets the agenda for the public on how to think of these issues and the objects involved.

Analysis of the data collected indicates that, on the day of the repeal, September 5th, 2017, Breitbart published twice as many articles as the other two outlets (20/10). In relation to DACA attributes, Breitbart used the term "illegals" or "Illegal aliens" to describe DACA recipients, while USA Today and the Huffington Post opted to using "undocumented immigrants" or "dreamers." It can be deduced that Breitbart's agenda when it came to DACA was to vilify the policy and its recipients

while USA Today & Huffington Post set out to humanize the recipients and highlight the negative effects of rescinding the policy.

**Id:** 19022

**Title:** Content Preference as a Predictor of Political Knowledge and Voter Turnout in the Social Media Age

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The growth of social media use raises significant questions related to political information and its effect on political knowledge and participation. One issue is whether social media delivers news and political information in a similar manner to traditional media by contributing to political knowledge, which is linked to voter turnout. A significant contribution to the understanding of media, political knowledge, and voter participation is the work of Markus Prior. Prior (2005, 2007) argues that the increasing number of options in the media environment allows people to self-select out of news and only consume entertainment. This self-selection leads to lower political knowledge and voter turnout for those preferring entertainment. Prior's study, however, was completed before the explosive growth of social media. This research paper examines whether his contention remains true in the age of social media and increased Internet access. Based on Prior's findings, we should expect content preferences to continue to be a predictor of voter turnout and political knowledge.

This research project replicates Prior's study using 2016 data from ANES to see if Relative Entertainment Preference (REP) remains a predictor of political knowledge and voter turnout. REP is the ratio of the respondent's total entertainment viewing divided by the sum of their entertainment viewing and news viewing. To measure REP, I utilize responses to questions about whether respondents had viewed certain shows over the past month. Compared to Prior's original study, the inclusion of more TV shows in the 2016 ANES survey may improve the measurement of REP. Political knowledge was measured as the sum of correct answers on seven questions, and voter turnout was self-reported in a post-election follow-up. Both political knowledge and voter turnout are regressed on access to the Internet at home, use of social media, and the interaction between REP and each of these two.

Results from this study do not support Prior's original contention. For political knowledge, the results for REP alone and its interactions with social media use as well as with Internet access were in the direction predicted but were not significant. Access to the Internet at home was the only variable of interest that was significant, with a positive effect on political knowledge. For voter turnout, REP and its interactions with social media use and access to the Internet were also not significant. Internet access at home was significant, though not in the direction predicted. It had a negative effect on voter turnout. The paper concludes with a discussion of the implications of these findings and suggestions for future research.

**Id:** 19023

**Title:** From nothing to nothing: The trajectory of media and political transformations in Egypt post- the 2011 revolution.

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** After the 2011 revolution, several structural political and media consequences have inflicted on the Egyptian society, which eventually pulled the country back to the pre-revolution era circumstances. In the last seven years, political power has transferred several times, and the attitudes of media toward pro- and anti- regime actors have also changed concurrently and consequently, creating a considerable uncertainty about the trajectory of the political and media reform. This paper investigates the mutual effects of political actors and media (newspapers and SNS specifically) on each other after the revolution. The empirical data were collected from 15 pilot and semi-structured interviews applied on Egyptian political activists and journalists, who have been involved in, and well informed about, media and political activities. Based on the Straussian grounded theory, the analysis proposes a model explaining the interactions between political actors and media occurred under revolutionary circumstances. This model includes a set of interrelated processes (political change, media change, political conflict, political turmoil and political apathy), which interprets the transitional trajectories of Egypt's post-revolution new order. The proposed model is structured in four propositions or arguments: the incomplete political change inflicted by the revolution, along with media politicization, produced a political conflict between political actors; the conflict created a political turmoil; the turmoil, fueled by pro- and anti-regime media channels, produced a large-scale political apathy between people; the apathy is expected to lead to a new phase of revolutionary changes in political authority.

**Id:** 19026

**Title:** A Functional Analysis of Political Television Advertisements of the 2016 U.S. Presidential Elections

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Television advertising is one of the primary ways that modern political campaigns communicate with potential voters. Use of such advertising has been on the rise for years in each campaign cycle. One study, compiled by media tracking company Borrell Associates, found that political campaign spending in the 2016 election cycle totaled a staggering \$9.8 billion, which was slightly less than anticipated. While majority of this money went to broadcast and cable television channels, digital advertising for the first time broke a billion-dollar mark.

The 2016 presidential election was unique because of Donald Trump, a non-traditional candidate who defeated a seasoned politician, Hillary Clinton. Defying all the odds and predictions of political operatives and campaign communicators, President Trump got elected to the highest office in the United States arguably by employing one of the most negative and divisive campaigns in modern U.S. history. In this backdrop, the current study analyzed the political television advertisements of the 2016 elections.

A vast majority of scholarly studies on political advertisements employed agenda-setting and framing theories. Departing from the traditional approach, I applied the “Functional Theory of Political Campaign Discourse,” proposed by noted communication scholar William Benoit, to understand the nature and content of television spots of the 2016 elections. The Functional Theory argues that “campaign messages are functional, designed to persuade voters that one candidate is preferable to opponents. Only three utterances can show preferability: acclaims, attacks, and defenses. These three functions can occur on two topics: policy (issues) and character (image). Policy utterances can address past deeds, future plans, or general goals. Character comments can address personal qualities, leadership ability, or ideals.”

Employing this relatively new but widely accepted theory, I conducted a quantitative content analysis of the 2016 political TV spots. The ads were collected from different sources including the Political Communication Lab at Stanford University. With the help of graduate students, I also monitored campaign websites of the Democratic National Committee (DNC), the Republican National Committee (RNC), major political actions committees (PACs), and individual candidates to create a comprehensive archive of the 2016 political television advertisements. Those spots were transcribed for quantitative content analysis using different statistical tests.

While the results of this study are still being finalized, preliminary findings suggest that both Trump and Clinton commercials used attack more than acclaims and defense. The data reveals that Clinton

used the acclaim function noticeably more frequently than Trump, and attacked less than her opponent. Trump was relatively more negative than Clinton. A chi-square goodness-of-fit test reveals that these forms occurred with different frequencies. Once the study is completed, I believe, this will offer a unique insight of the 2016 presidential elections and contribute to the existing literature on campaign communication.

**Id:** 19166

**Title:** Political Celebrities: Does Celebrity Endorsement Affect Political Attitudes of the Young Adults

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Politics has become an enjoyable and entertaining phenomenon in the recent decades. Entertainment and politics have converged, and many politicians associate themselves with the entertainment stars to attract young voters and create a positive image. Different scholars have criticized the increasing intervention of entertainment in politics and termed the recent celebrity-politician nexus as the trivialization of politics (Postman, 2006; Street 2002). In the United States, both parties have relied on the power of the Hollywood narratives and stars for popularizing presidential candidates. Movies are released during election years with an intention to sway voters' preferences, especially young voters who are an integral part of the celebrity culture. It is now expected of serious candidates for high elective office to submit to interviews by the likes of David Letterman, Jay Leno, and Jon Stewart on their late-night talk shows. Finally, actors and musicians are endorsing and campaigning for candidates in increasing numbers and making political statements with the obvious goal of influencing the opinions and behaviors of their fans. Extant literature also suggests that there is a relationship between exposures to the visual coverage of politicians and increased levels of positive political attitudes among voters (Wolbrecht & Campbell, 2007). A few scholars also argue that it is difficult to establish a causal relationship between viewing celebrity politicians on television and political behavior in real life (Zoonen, 2005). However, there is another stream of research suggesting that viewing competitive politicians through audiovisual content primes viewers to act more politically. Thus, exposure to political role models through media influences potential voters, and celebrities are attractive role models that promote political ideologies and candidates (Austin et al., 2008). This study, therefore, examines the effects of celebrity endorsement on the political attitudes of young voters during elections through a survey conducted at a large Southern university in the United States. Since extant research considered media an important factor in the construction of political realities that subsequently affected political attitudes of the audiences, sizeable scholarly literature on the effects of celebrity endorsement was reviewed to highlight the relevance of the celebrity endorsement during presidential elections, and a change in the attitudes of young adults was measured and analyzed in this article by applying structural equation modeling.

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**Id:** 19191

**Title:** Political Advertising and presidential debates in the 2017 Presidential Elections in Kenya

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Kenya's politics has been predominantly influenced by ethnicity. The support base for most political parties is mainly ethnic and regional in nature and therefore campaigns often appeal to the irrational-emotional psyche of the ethnic groups, especially those of the presidential candidates. The 2017 general elections were not the exception although the level of polarization was the highest ever. However, the role of the media was critical in shaping the country's politics and possibly provide information to the electorate that would neutralize ethnic-based politics and political mobilization. During the 2017 campaigns, the main protagonists, the Jubilee party and the National Super Alliance (NASA) were expected to carry out free and fair campaigns that would oscillate around issues, informative to the electorate on national agenda and challenges. One of the ways to make this possible was to engage in presidential campaign debates. However, the Jubilee party and their candidate, the incumbent president opted out in favor of political advertising, with the intention of evading criticism and media scrutiny.

Political advertising is "the communication process by which a source ... purchases the opportunity to expose receivers through mass channels to political messages with the intended effect of influencing their political attitudes, beliefs, and/or behaviors" (Kaid, 1981: 280, cited Kaid 2004). This could be promoted by print and television, which could include issue advertising or advocacy advertising. This is a way of controlling the message presented as opposed to news analysis or presidential debates, speeches in campaign trail which are subject to interpretation or filtering by news media or other participants.

The democratic theory of the media will underpin this paper. It evaluates "the extent to which debates contribute to a more enlightened and rational electorate, better equipped to make an informed voting decision" (McKinney and Carlin 2004: 205). Campaign debates often enhance democracy. In a democracy leaders seek the consent of the governed (Kraus and Davis 19981). They seek the general will and it is through face-to-face televised debates that this consent is most directly sought and such debates are "much more policy-oriented than either news coverage or spot advertisements (Kaid 2004: 205). Complementing the democratic theory is the argumentation and debate theory, which posits that the comparative nature of debate dialogue prompted candidates "to devote more time to giving statements of position, offering evidence for their positions, and giving reasoned arguments to support them" (Ellsworth, 1965: 82). Greater use of evidence in presidential campaign debates also clarify candidates' responses and facilitate comprehension of meaning (Samovar 1965, cited in McKinney and Carlin 2004: 210).

The purpose of this paper is to determine the motivations of political leaders to prefer political advertising to presidential campaign debates. Likewise, the paper seeks to unearth the gains made since 2007 on the impact of presidential campaign debates on electoral process and voters' civic awareness and participation in Kenya. Do the televised presidential debates matter? How do they

compare or contrast with political advertising? In what ways do they affect electoral outcomes in Kenya?

**Id:** 19195

**Title:** Political Communication and the 2017 General Elections in Kenya

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The media is a central component of a democratic society and has a critical role to play in electoral process, especially the campaigns. The Kenyan Constitution 2010 and laws protect the media against interference by the state, providing safeguards for the media as a neutral instrument to enhance the process for free, fair and credible elections. The media ought to allow candidates fair access and coverage and creating conditions that provide balance, impartiality, and adequate coverage of an election to ensure that Kenyan citizens have the necessary information to make informed choices during voting (Ward and Lange, 2004).

The core functions of media in a democracy are fourfold: informing citizens about what is going around them; educate the public by providing a platform for political discourse; give publicity to government and political institutions; and act as channels of advocacy of political viewpoints. Parties require an outlet for the articulation of their policies and programmes to a mass audience, and thus the media must be open to them (McNair 2003: 21).

Despite having a relatively vibrant media during 2017 elections in Kenya, Kenyan citizenry was polarized during and after the campaign period to the extent of threatening to tear the country apart. Ethnic mobilization and regional alliances were at the center-stage of political campaigns, the use of security agents to intimidate the electorate in opposition areas was common, and yet the media were rarely critical of these issues. The media were also accused of biases in coverage of the major parties, questioning the effectiveness of the media in the political process. The incumbent used both public and private media to threaten the opposition and amplify the government's 'achievements' to perpetuate their stay in power by aggressively attempting to control "who says what to whom in what channel and with what effect" (Harold Lasswell 1927) as they continued wielding grip on "who gets what when and how" (Harold Lasswell 1936). The democratic theory will underpin our analysis in this paper.

This paper seeks to interrogate the role of the media during the 2017 elections, especially during the campaign period, and how it enhanced effective political communication to the citizenry. Did the media provide fair and nondiscriminatory access and sufficient coverage dedicated to elections? Why were the media polarized in their reporting? Were the media critical enough? Did the media provide an effective platform for discussion, representation and debate on the critical issues facing

the country such as corruption, impunity, rigging of elections, ethics and values, police brutality, tribalism, national cohesion, historical injustices, intolerance and violence? To what extent did media coverage promote public interest as opposed to private political interests?

This paper will rely on both secondary and primary data. Primary data would be collected through a sample survey on respondents from media companies, leaders of civil society organizations, including elections observer groups, journalists, political leaders, scholars and the public. Secondary data would be obtained from elections observers' published reports, newspapers, electronic media records, journal articles, among other extant sources.

**Id:** 19202

**Title:** Believing fake news and discounting the actual news: The role of message expectancy in information processing

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Citizens generally distrust the news media and, in particular, certain outlets. This skepticism is often rooted in perceptions of deception. Journalists are frequently accused of trying to report the news in a biased manner (D’Allesio & Allen, 2000). And there are plenty of examples for which those accusations hold true. Yet, that is not telling the whole story (Baum & Gussin, 2007). Just because a news outlet may report false information—either mistakenly or on purpose—doesn’t mean that people are correctly identifying the misinformation as such (Nyhan & Reifler, 2010).

That is because many citizens—armed with motivated skepticism and other types of cognitive biases—will find ways to denounce (and in their mind: debunk) information that is different from their beliefs, yet can find supporting evidence for parts of information supporting their beliefs. For instance, self-identified Democrats, generally, argued that unemployment increased under Ronald Reagan while the opposite was true. Similar processes have been witnessed during Barack Obama’s tenure in the White House when people opposing him counter argued the low unemployment figure with "evidence" that would undermine that number.

Therefore, as citizens are bombarded with news and gossip through numerous channels each day, it may be more than ever than citizens require fundamental information-literacy skills to decipher fact from fiction by recognizing deliberative deception. When such deception is not recognized, this could lead to a misinformed electorate (Kuklinski et al., 2000).

Traditionally, people with varying ideologies and partisanship assessed the believability of individual political claims—some of which were pure fabrication and propaganda. Yet, each time, that still involved one piece of information that people either liked or hated based on their personal leanings. However, nowadays, with parallel “truths” through “alternative facts,” citizens not only have the ability to support one claim, but also fully denounce another, which could lead to more antagonism and stronger partisan divide through information processing influenced by cognitive biases.

This presentation will explore why people believe information that is false (alternative facts) and reject information that is true (the actual facts), and in particular will demonstrate how people’s own cognitive biases lead to misinterpretation of information.

This includes data from four experiments in which 3,500 participants were exposed to a news headline for which the news source was manipulated and/or the content of the headline as well. As anticipated by research grounded in Kelley’s (1972) attribution analysis of persuasion framework, the results indicated that believability of news content was primarily related to an interaction between news source trust and message expectancy (see also: Hovland & Weis, 1952; Kelly, 1972;

Petty et al., 2001). Consequently, it is plausible that distrusted sources are highly believable with unexpected content, and vice versa.

Focusing on such expectancy violations and their influence on information processing provides opportunities to create more effective media literacy training that allows people to process information by taking their own cognitive biases into account.

**Id:** 19238

**Title:** From Scandal to Primetime Drama - What effect did 2016 presidential debate have on the voter clarity'

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** To win elections, candidates need to win over voters, and Benoit (2014) suggests that voters are looking at policy and the character of candidates. Looking back at the 2016 US President election cycle, the campaign trail was clutter with scandal and highly emotional. As such it was hard to determine voter's likelihood in support based on traditional schemas as postulated by political scientists. For example, Converse (1964) suggests that voters hold distinct ideological values that influence voting decision based on issues stances of candidates. This would require an understanding of candidate's positions, but these were unclear throughout the election cycle.

The purpose of this study is examine the underlying relationship factors in voter's assessment of candidates. For this, I use the platform of the 2016 US Presidential debates, which provide candidates the opportunity to present issue and policy stance. Examining voter's stance on policy and the character of both party-nominated candidates, Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton, this study examines the relationship between issue relevance, character perception and potential voting effect on the study participant, and others (third-person effect).

I used a combination of a cross-sectional and longitudinal design to examine participants' emotional responses and attitudes about the presidential candidates by assessing and comparing responses following each of the three presidential debates. Data was collected from a panel of participants following each debate (N=300). Following the second debate, an additional participants (N= 300) were recruited and asked to respond to survey questions following both the second debate and the third debate. A third group of participants will be recruited after the third debate (N = 150). This study has approximately 750 participants.

Participants were asked to view a series of short clips (8-10) video clips of the presidential debates showing candidates' statements. After viewing each clip, participants were asked to rate their emotional responses, perceived effects of the statement on self and others, and likelihood of engaging in political action.

This study is a major component of my Ph.D. dissertation, of which preliminary findings suggested that issues stance and character traits were definitive by participants. Participants had a clear understanding of issues, but were hesitant to action. Moreover, support was found for Campbell et al (1960) in that issue doesn't not matter, and that emotions were strong.

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