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Title: Relaciones políticas durante elecciones en las redes sociales digitales

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: Esta ponencia sale como resultado de la publicación de mi tesis: Colombia a un tuit de la democracia, con la que obtuve el título de doctora en ciencias de la información y la comunicación en la Universidad París 2 Panthéon- Assas.

La pregunta inicial de este trabajo es ¿cómo se comunicaron los candidatos a la elección presidencial colombiana 2014 a través de la plataforma de comunicación Twitter y quién impuso las agendas políticas y mediáticas? Para ello se partió de la construcción del objetivo de conocer el uso que los candidatos a la elección presidencial colombiana, 2014, hicieron de la plataforma de comunicación Twitter.

Desde allí se configuraron tres objetivos específicos: 1. Conocer el tipo de relaciones que los candidatos a la elección presidencial colombiana 2014 hicieron de Twitter; 2. Explicitar los temas sobre los que hablaron y 3. Establecer quién impuso las agendas políticas y mediáticas. Y se partió de la hipótesis de que los candidatos a la elección presidencial colombiana 2014 (primera y segunda vuelta), se comunicaron de forma unidireccional a través de la plataforma de comunicación Twitter, y que las agendas se siguen construyendo desde el gobierno, los líderes de opinión y los medios con poca o ninguna participación de los ciudadanos.

Esta ponencia, en particular, girará en torno a los temas sobre los cuales hablaron los candidatos a la elección presidencial colombiana 2014 y sobre qué temas lo hicieron los 21 columnistas que según el panel de opinión (encuesta realizada por Cifras & Conceptos) son los más leídos por los colombianos. Esto con el fin de conocer quién y cómo se imponen las agendas mediáticas y políticas en Colombia.

Este trabajo se realizó a través de una metodología que se ubica en el paradigma cualitativo de la investigación social, cuyo tipo de investigación es aplicada con un alcance descriptivo-interpretativo usando como método la ciberetnografía.

Al final del trabajo de investigación, la hipótesis inicial fue corroborada y se ve como los ciudadanos no han logrado hacerse escuchar por los gobiernos, los líderes de opinión y los medios a través de las redes sociales. En realidad siguen siendo los dos primeros los que imponen las agendas.

Palabras clave: comunicación política, elección, política, opinión pública, democracia, poder

Political relations in social networks

This paper comes as a result of the publication of my thesis: Colombia to a tweet of democracy, with I obtained a doctorate degree in information science and communication at the University Paris 2 Panthéon- Assas.

The trigger question of this Thesis is: ¿How did the Colombian presidential candidates in 2014th, communicate through Twitter, and who did imposed an agenda on it?

In order to answer that, it was assumed as a starting point, the necessity to find out how the Colombian presidential candidates in 2014th, used the communication platform Twitter. From that on, there were defined three main objectives: 1) To determinate the kind of relationships that the candidates built up; 2) To make explicit the subjects which they talked about and 3) To established who did imposed the informative agenda.

This paper will focus on the issues spoken by Colombian candidates and editorialist during the presidential election on 2014. This in order to know who and how media and political agendas are imposed in Colombia.

The assumption that the Colombian presidential candidates in 2014th (first and second round), communicate themselves on a unidirectional way through the communication platform Twitter, and the agendas remain been established by the government, the public opinion makers and the media with little or none citizens participation; it's been taken as a starting point.

Through a methodology within the qualitative paradigm from the social investigation, which type of investigation is applied with a descriptive-interpretative coverage, using as a method the Cyber-ethnography?

At the end of the research Project, the initial assumption was uphold and it is clear how the citizens hadn't been heard by the government, the public opinion makers and the media though the social networks. As a matter of fact, these three last ones are the ones that remain imposing the agendas.

Keywords: political communication, election, politics, public opinion, democracy, power

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Title: The Effect of Procedural Justice on Citizen Support: An Empirical Test

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: Perceived procedural justice is an important mechanism to resolve political conflicts and promote cooperative behavior in democratic states. Procedural justice can be understood as citizen beliefs in the government's decision-making process as fair and just. This justice assessment involves citizens' subjective judgment of the procedure through which political decisions are made. Extant political communication research suggests that perceived procedural justice can be associated with a number of affective and behavioral outcomes, such as positive attitudes toward the political decisions, willingness to engage in voluntary cooperative behavior, political efficacy, and commitment to the authority. In this article we utilize Jürgen Habermas's theory of communicative action to guide our examination of perceived procedural justice and its political outcomes in a Singapore context. We argue that Habermas's conceptualization of validity claims and speech conditions can be used to measure procedural justice and that perceived procedural justice can have a direct effect on political legitimacy and an indirect effect on citizen support for specific policies.

Habermas's action theory identifies two sets of normative conditions under which actors evaluate and grant the rightfulness of a political order. Validity conditions refer to actors' assessments of the validity claims of each other's speech acts. Speech conditions refer to the rules of argumentation that shape actors' capacity to engage in uncoerced dialogue. Habermas's treatment of speech conditions provides a theoretical foundation for examining the structural settings of policy discourse in Singapore. The conception of validity conditions, on the other hand, offers analytical frames useful for scrutinizing citizen recognition of the government's propositions during policymaking. By focusing on citizen interpretations of the speech conditions and government validity claims, the action theory allows for an investigation of both discursive and non-discursive dimensions of procedural justice in a political system whose political norms and cultures are distinctively different from the Western sense of representative democracy.

The applied setting involves citizen assessments of the Singapore government's smoking policymaking process. A national telephone survey (N = 2,081) was conducted to examine Singapore citizens' assessments of the government's claims to comprehensibility, truth,

appropriateness, and sincerity, their perceptions of the speech conditions, their legitimacy appraisals, and their specific support for the government's anti-smoking measures. Results of path analysis (CFI = .985; NFI = .972; RMSEA = .05, RMSEA CI = .033-.081) indicate that both the discursive and non-discursive dimensions of perceived procedural justice were positively associated with legitimacy appraisals (R2 = .54, p < .001). Legitimacy appraisals were able to account for a significant amount of variance in specific support (B = .13, p < .05). Findings from this study support the hypothesized relationships among perceived procedural justice, political legitimacy, and specific support and offer implications for future research.

Title: From Invisibility to Visibility' China's Government's Media Strategies in Popular Protest

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: China overall is tied with Burma at 187th of 197 countries on a scale of press freedom (Freedom House 2012). It's widely believed that the Chinese government has put much attention and efforts to censor and control the news media to maintain regime stability(Lorentzen, 2014). Abundant literatures have studied government's censor behavior and find that the Chinese censorship effort is still the largest in the world(King, Pan, and Roberts, 2013). However, in recent years, news media coverage on popular protest, which is thought to be the death knell of authoritarian regime, has been rising dramatically(Steinhardt, 2015a). How to make sense of the governments' seemly contradicting behavior? Several theories have been developed to address this puzzle. The dominant argument is that the Chinese government has abandoned the previous suppressive approach and adopted a more proactive one in response to the increasingly unimpeded information flow as well as the urgent need to rein in the local government officials (Steinhardt, 2015b). Nevertheless, the existing theory is quite elusive in terms of the meaning of proactive approach, i.e. what's the specific "proactive" strategies adopted by Chinese governments. This paper complements and extends previous research by two sides. Firstly, we explicitly discuss the strategies adopted by the governments under the assumption of proactive approach as well as the logic behind. Secondly, we offer the first large-sample-based empirical evidence to test the theory mentioned above. We collected the complete news coverage on Wukan incident—an epochmaking and landmark popular protest incident in China and set up our original database by content analysis.

We collected the news coverage and set up our original database by content analysis. We find that different level governments take various strategies to control the media proactively at four stages. Suppression approach will be taken by the local officials first. If the suppression of information and media coverage failed, the rumor refutal approach, actively guide approach, propaganda approach will continue to be adopted by the higher-level government, even the central government. This research contributes the understanding of the government's media censor/control behavior in China, also sheds lights to the current debate over the transformational ways of governance. We believe that this research not only contributes the scholarly understanding of the government's media censor/control behavior in China, but also sheds lights to the current debate over the transformation of ways of governance.

Key Reference:

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Title: Digital media and political citizenship: Facebook and politics in South Africa

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: The role of the Internet in positively affecting political participation has been widely debated in scholarly research. The growth of participatory web technologies has been accompanied by a rise in online activism, raising new possibilities for online political discussion and debate between politicians and citizens. This highlights the potential role of the Internet to contribute toward public sphere debates. While challenges related to the digital divide mean that ICT and Internet penetration is still comparatively low for Africa, the rise of mobile telephony has created new possibilities for online access and digital activism. Social networking sites have been flagged for their potential role in creating networked publics, providing citizens with political information and creating spaces for debate and deliberative dialogue. Facebook has been listed as one SNS that can improve citizen's political knowledge, build and maintain social capital, and activate online political discussions, which can lead to political engagement.

The proposed paper explores digital media and political citizenship in South Africa, specifically exploring the social media presence of South African politicians and political parties, exploring their degree and type of engagement in political conversations with citizens, with a specific focus on Facebook. Using social network analysis methods and tools, the chapter maps the Facebook conversations, paying close attention to strategic narratives, citizens' participatory repertoires, and the role of social media in the construction of various architectures of citizenship. The chapter draws on quantitative digital methods tools to conduct a Facebook 'page like' network analysis, together with qualitative discourse analysis of page content.

Theoretically the chapter draws on theories of listening in relation to deliberative democracy, following Susan Bickford's notion of 'pathbuilding', through explorations of speaking and listening, voice and hearing, and interpretation/deconstruction. The chapter also explores the nature and role of emotion in social media political dialogue, to understand how citizens make sense of the political landscape.

Title: Social Media and Public Diplomacy: A Comparative Study of Microblog Feeds of EU

Member States' Embassies in China

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: Social Media and Public Diplomacy: A Comparative Study of Microblog Feeds of EU

Member States' Embassies in China

Lingwei Shao, PhD Candidate Qiang Long, PhD Candidate

Public diplomacy has long been defined as a means of promoting a country's soft power. With the advent of social media, governments and embassies around the world have created accounts on social media platforms to distribute information and to influence public opinion in foreign societies. So far, more than 30 authenticated official accounts of foreign embassies were set up on Sina Weibo, one of the most visited microblogging websites in China, and have attracted millions of followers, turning it into an ideal venue for conducting public diplomacy.

This study explores how EU member states' embassies employ Sina Weibo for public diplomacy at the national, transnational and supranational levels. Hallin and Mancini have identified three models of media systems, namely the Polarized Pluralist, Democratic Corporatist and Liberal model, which serve as an operational gateway to the study of media and politics. Based on Hallin and Mancini's categorization, this study chooses six EU countries (France, Portugal, Germany, Denmark, Britain and Ireland), two from each model, and tries to answer the following research questions: What are the similarities and differences in the use of Weibo among these embassies? Do differences in media systems contribute to the differences in countries' presentations on Weibo? Does the EU play a role when its member state practices public diplomacy on Weibo?

A content analysis was conducted to examine a total of 401 Weibo entries of six units of analysis collected from 1 June to 31 July 2016. This period was marked by the EU referendum in the UK on 23 June. The findings indicate that posting on Weibo has become a regular activity for six embassies, among which the embassy of Portugal is the most active user, followed by the British embassy. Aware of the soft power of its traditions and cultures, the embassies have focused their diplomatic efforts on cultural aspects. The majority of the posts are promoting the nation's culture such as literature, travel, and education. The findings also suggest slight differences among the embassies. For example, the German embassy maintains an authoritative stance and provides news on bilateral trade, the Chancellor's visit to China. The British account is more service-oriented. It disseminates relevant online and offline events organized by relevant organizations, and broadcast

live on its Weibo, so that it can better attract and engage with the public. These differences partly support Hallin and Mancini's notion of three media systems. The posts of the German embassy, belonging to the Democratic Corporatist Model, reveals a relatively strong role of the state, while the Liberal system (Ireland and the UK) is characterized by market dominance and tries to appeal to larger audiences. As Weibo is a platform to interact with Chinese audiences, all the accounts do not indicate a strong tie with the EU in general, but express their regret and respect to UK's decision to leave the EU.

Title: Metodología para evaluar la transparencia de las webs de las alcaldías en Colombia

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: Las webs de las alcaldías, en demasiadas ocasiones, parecen más un espacio de publirreportajes para la administración de turno que un espacio para que el ciudadano se entere de la gestión que desarrollan sus representantes políticos.

El grupo de investigación LPCCP de la Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona (España) ha generado una metodología que lleva por nombre Infoparticipa (http://www.mapainfoparticipa.com/index/home/2), cuyo propósito es mejorar la transparencia y la calidad de las informaciones que publican las webs de las administraciones locales, mediante un procedimiento de evaluación, comunicación y asesoramiento.

Antes de desarrollar el Mapa Infoparticipa se habían gestado otras propuestas como el Decálogo de Buenas Prácticas de la Comunicación Local Pública (2003) y en 2012 se activó el Mapa de las Buenas Prácticas de la Comunicación Pública Local de Cataluña. Con esa plataforma se logró evaluar las webs de 947 ayuntamientos de Cataluña utilizando un catálogo de indicadores de transparencia. Esa experiencia sirvió para conocer las fortalezas y debilidades del proyecto, de forma que se pudieron aplicar modificaciones para el desarrollo de la plataforma actual, con las que se están evaluando y publicando los resultados de las webs de administraciones públicas de toda España.

El éxito de la metodología Infoparticipa en España permite extenderla a otros casos, como en Colombia. Para esto, se hizo necesario entender la Administración Político Administrativa Municipal tanto de España como de Colombia y para ello se revisaron las leyes 136 de 1994 y 617 de 2000, así como la 1551 de 2012, que corresponden al Régimen Municipal de Colombia. También se revisó la Ley 1617 del 5 de febrero de 2013 (Ley de Distritos) y la 768 de 2002 (Ley de Distritos del Caribe). Por supuesto, se tuvo en cuenta la Ley 1712 del 6 de marzo de 2014 (Transparencia y del Derecho de acceso a la Información Pública Nacional).

Finalmente, se han definido los indicadores para hacer la revisión de las webs en Colombia, divididos en cuatro grandes grupos de cuestiones, siguiendo el procedimiento Infoparticipa: ¿quiénes son los representantes políticos?, ¿cómo se gestionan los recursos colectivos?, ¿qué información proporcionan sobre el municipio y la gestión de recursos colectivos? y ¿qué herramientas ofrecen para la participación ciudadana?

La metodología servirá para analizar cualquier entidad territorial que tenga la categoría de municipio o distrito en Colombia y servirá para que la ciudadanía tenga una participación más activa frente a la gestión de sus representantes políticos, fundamentada en el conocimiento de la información.

Title: Young People, Public Space and Active Citizenship: What Current Social and Political Conflictivity Do They Perceive'

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: This abstract is based on an European project focused on the problems of the young people's social participation and active citizenship, under the following core questions: What are the social and political issues, problems that young people feel relevant? How do young people feel about public space? What current urban/social conflictivity do they perceive? The research is being carried out in four European cities simultaneously: Madrid, Paris, Nottingham and Budapest. This comparative perspective is what enriches the project, along with the varied methodology that is explained below.

The first phase consisted of generating ideas through interactive methodology, the so called Ideas Marathon via Twitter. In the four cities were created hashtags and young people of the age between 18 and 28 years old, were invited to upload photos and leave comments about the urban space they inhabit. For example, in Madrid the hashtags was called #lasmilyunacarasdelaciudad. All the problems detected by the young people in the different European cities, helped us to develop the next stage of the research that consists of urban walks. Over the last years a small but growing number of social scientists have been using techniques where researchers walk with participants (for example, Anderson, 2004; Carpiano, 2009; Kusenbach, 2003; Reed, 2002). Studies vary from those where researchers simply wander ("walking together") through landscapes chatting with participants, to highly structured walks that are designed to approach problems to specific, predetermined places.

During the urban walks, we tried to gather potential issues for discussion, for example:

- What public spaces participants recognise as their? Belonging.
- Where participants feel excluded? What are the reasons?
- Where do they fell safe/unsafe?
- Possible structural and subtle issues of exclusion and discrimination locally.

These urban walks were followed by brief discussions where we focused on the following aspects: (re)discover citizenship, engage with communities, discuss issues of relevance to their daily-life. Finally, we tried to summarize our findings in conceptual maps: schemes or structures that links all the information in an area or subject, presenting it in an analogical or iconic way, t. m. reducing complexity and connecting elements in a panoramic view.

Finally, all materials are included in an online Ideas Bank which will be disseminated to a wide range of stakeholders. The scheme follows on from a similar call for ideas which asked citizens in different countries to submit proposals for how the political and social sphere should become more open and transparent. It helps to improve the ideation process, to create dynamic connections and to

increase interactivity. The process has been enriched through the use of recordings and short videos. Throughout this process, we detected that young people wanted to discuss and take part especially in the debate of problems that have to do with different axis of social inequality but also, with education, housing, urban planning, safety & crime, gender, racism, religion, sexual orientation.

Title: Political News Exposure and Trust in Government: Testing Mediator and Moderator Effects

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: Public trust in government is the very bedrock of regime legitimacy, without which a government cannot function well. There is a view that external news exposure (Johnson & Kaye, 2000; Moy & Scheufele, 2000; Chen & Shi, 2001; Avery, 2009; Ceron, 2015) has influence on public political trust, while another view is that public political trust are related to internal characteristics (Shi, 2001; Mondak & Jeffery, 2008; Klok & Rosema, 2009).

From both external and internal perspective, the purposes of this study are to compares the effects of state and non-state media political news exposure on internet users' trust in government, and exams the effects of mediator of subjective class identification and moderator of authoritarian personality on the relationship between political news exposure and trust in government. Three research questions and three hypotheses are posed.

The research questions are: 1) Do state and non-state media political news exposure differ in their influences on trust in government? 2) Does subjective class identification play a mediating role in the relationship between political news exposure and trust in government? 3) Does authoritarian personality play a moderating role in the relationship between political news exposure and trust in government? Specifically, is it possible that for users with high authoritarian personality, their trust in government is less likely to be influenced by political news exposure.

The research hypotheses are: 1) Both state media exposure and non-state media exposure have positive effects on user' subjective class identification. 2) Subjective class identification has positive effects on user' trust in government. 3) Authoritarian personality has positive effects on user' trust in government.

To answer the research questions and test the hypotheses, this study chooses an open secondary data named 2014 Chinese internet user' social consciousness on-line survey (N=4019). According to Hayes (2013), we performed a series of bootstrap analyses using 5000 samples and 95% biascorrected confidence intervals (CIs) in PROCESS Model 5.

The results of the data analysis show that state media political news exposure significantly enhances trust in government, while non-state media political news exposure significantly decreases trust in government. Therefore, state and non-state media political news exposure do exert different effects on trust in government.

Both state and non-state media political news exposure have positive effects on subjective class identification, and subjective class identification has positive effects on trust in government. The indirect effect of state and non-state media political news exposure on trust in government through subjective class identification are significant. Therefore, subjective class identification partially mediates the relationship between political news exposure and trust in government. Authoritarian personality has positive effects on trust in government. The interaction effect of both state and non-state media political news exposure and authoritarian personality on trust in government are significant. Therefore, authoritarian personality negatively moderates the relationship between political news exposure and trust in government. Keywords: Political News Exposure; State Media; Non-state Media; Subjective Class Identification; Authoritarian Personality; Trust in Government

Title: The political communication culture or the political ideology: What's explain the relationship between the press and the governments' Argentina, Chile and Uruguay 2010-2017

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: This research seeks to answer the following question: What and how focuses on the relationship between media and government: the culture of political communication (Pfetsch, 2004) and ideological orientation of governments? What and how stresses in the framing that make the media on a particular policy of the government: the ideological orientation or culture of political communication?

Following a quantitative (elite survey) and qualitative (focus group) methodology, our goal is describe and compare three cases: Argentina, Chile and Uruguay (2010-2017) and try to explain why the characteristic of the political system and the media system is most relevant that the ideological orientation of the government for understand the relationship between media and political actors.

Our research question:

- 1. What is the kind of culture of political communication (type of Pfetsch) prevailing over Argentina, Chile and Uruguay?
- 2. The relationship between the government and the media in Argentina, Chile and Uruguay followed the patterns of culture model of political communication or guided by ideological orientation of the government?

Specific research questions

Question 1 - The descriptive character in general:

- a. What model of culture media policy is recognized in each of the selected countries?
- b. What level of media concentration exists in cases and selected period?
- c. From the point of view of journalists, what relationship existed between the media and the government? What relationship existed between the media and the opposition? What was the level of public conflict between the media and government?
- d. From the point of view of the political actors, what relationship existed between the media and the government? What relationship existed between the media and the opposition? What was the level of public conflict between the media and government?

Question 2 - Communication government policy

- a. What are the links between media, economic groups and political elite in the past? What level of partisanship of the press?
- b. What has been the pattern of relationship between government and power groups in the media regarding the allocation of frequencies? What level of discretion have had in the past government decisions regarding communication?
- c. What is the level of paternalism media in each of the countries surveyed?
- d. What is the level of freedom of exercise of journalism in each of the countries surveyed?

e. What bonds are woven between the media and civil society? What is the level of confidence that the public opinion in the media?

Question 3 - Explaining:

- f. What is the relationship between the levels of conflict vs. government media and culture models of political communication?
- g. What is the relationship between the levels of conflict vs. government press and government ideology?

Title: The Portrayal of Brazilian Democracy in the Media: An Analysis of National and International Newspaper Coverage of Rousseff's Impeachment

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: In August 2016, the Brazilian president Dilma Rousseff was impeached after a process regarded by some as unfair, consequently often being referred to as a coup (e.g. Taub, 2016). Assuming that journalism might have had a central role in this political event (e.g. Bentes, 2016), this paper aims to analyse the press coverage about it from an international comparative perspective. With such an approach, different perspectives about the impeachment, interpretations about its impact on Brazilian politics, its implications in other countries and the representation of the biggest Latin American democracy can be assessed. This paper asks: 'How do national and international newspapers portray and evaluate the current state of Brazilian democracy?'. The research focused on online versions of three quality newspapers: a widely read Latin American publication in Spanish (El Clarín, Argentina), an 'international' publication in English (NYT, U.S.), and a national newspaper (Folha de São Paulo, Brazil). Both international outlets have correspondents in Brazil. The article selection was based on the topics presented in a timeline, published by Folha, in which ten important events in the process were highlighted. Hence, 10 articles were selected from each newspaper, resulting in a total of 30 articles. Then, the texts were coded based on a qualitative deductive/inductive process. The results show a similar perspective among all three newspapers: Brazilian democracy is currently unstable. El Clarín's correspondent demonstrates surprise with regard to the outcome of the impeachment. She uses long quotes of Rousseff's defence, accounts for the impeachment's impact on Argentina, and portrays Brazilian democracy as weakened. The NYT's correspondent also refers to Rousseff calling the process a coup. It highlights the misuse of power and claims that Brazilian democracy has taken a step backwards, exemplifying it with the appointment of an all male and white cabinet by Rousseff's successor. Folha does not question whether or not the process was undemocratic. It presents pro and against arguments for the impeachment and points out that a power struggle has caused political instability and made politics fragile in the country, thus agreeing with the other two newspapers that the political situation is volatile. To conclude, all newspapers focus on the negative aspects of the impeachment and suggest that it was a form of retaliation and a struggle for power. A main difference is that the international correspondents are more explicit about their opinions, whilst the national newspaper gets 'straight to the facts'. This is perhaps due to international media outlets

needing to contextualise foreign news for their readers, something national publications do not have to do. This paper has concentrated on the coverage of the political events that culminated in the impeachment. Ultimately, it was not possible to confirm that the Brazilian newspaper assumed an open pro-impeachment coverage. A further research could be centred on the coverage of protests and other popular events in order to assess whether or not the coverage was any different.

Title: Using big data approach to analysis candidates campaign and crowd discussion on facebook --- A case study of the 2014 Taipei mayoral election

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: With the technological and social change, the culture of elections, campaign tactics and methods of operation also changed, the phenomenon of laymen participating in election campaigns began to rise, making E- campaigns became a viable method of election. This study attempts to take big data approach analysis supported by content analysis to observed the 2014 Taipei mayoral election, using facebook crawler - Netvizz to extract a total of 452 posts, 928,600 user's data and 6,657,707 times user's interaction data in Ko Wen-je's fan page, 309 posts, 253312 user's data and 2525869 times user's interaction data in Lian Sheng-wen's fan page. In this study, data would use to confirm the literature of campaign strategies and the soft & hard information, so after crawling data, this study divided the information that candidates release into several categories in accordance with the literature review. Also, I sampling the first two hundred discussions from the mass and divided them into two types according to focusing on the topic or simply express their views. The study found that the easier to read, the more intuitive understanding of the post, the higher participation it gets. The more specific and with personal characteristic, the more enthusiastic masses react. Soft information gets higher interaction. The masses on Ko Wen-je's fan page react more relatively to soft information, the masses on Lian Sheng-wen's fan page react more relatively to hard information. The masses on both sides of the fan page for topics discussed are weak, most of them just simply express their views, rather than discuss the pros and cons. If take a closer look, we can see people on the fan page of who they like tend not discussed in depth, on the contrary, on the fan page of who they don't like are more likely to arouse positive and negative discussion. Overall, the negative impact which web campaign brought is slightly greater than positive meaning it brought for the elections because people prefer personal soft information and information candidates released are difficult to arouse people debating on the subject.

Title: ¿Desintermediación' Una nueva cultura de comunicación política en las redes. El Big Data y los casos de #UnidosPodemos y #BlackLivesMatter

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: Los expertos en Política e Internet han generado un extenso debate sobre en qué medida las tecnologías digitales, en general, y las redes sociales, en particular, están generando efectos sustantivos y medibles sobre la comunicación política. En este contexto, cobra especial fuerza el concepto de "desintermediación".

Según este punto de vista, los ciudadanos pueden, gracias a las redes sociales digitales, comunicarse y coordinarse al margen de las organizaciones tradicionales del espacio público que, como los medios de comunicación o los partidos políticos, mediaban entre ellos y los ámbitos de poder. Esto permite que, los ciudadanos "no profesionales" de la política, puedan jugar un papel destacado en los debates públicos sobre temas relevantes.

No obstante, la desintermediación es un proceso complejo ya que requiere una transformación profunda en las estructuras sociopolíticas de las democracias liberales. Una versión más realista de los efectos de Internet sobre la política ha sido denominada "normalización". Esto es, un proceso por el que Internet estaría ayudando a profundizar en los mecanismos de comunicación clásicos de las democracias liberales, pero no generando nuevos escenarios de comunicación política o nuevos roles entre los ciudadanos.

Este trabajo pretende enfrentar estos dos conceptos. Así, buscamos comprender hasta qué punto la web 2.0 genera mayor independencia de los ciudadanos respecto a las organizaciones que median en el espacio público o si estas organizaciones continúan jugando un papel preponderante en dicho espacio.

Para este trabajo se tomaron como referencia dos casos de estudio. El primero, representativo del contexto de participación convencional (en el marco de un proceso electoral), es el caso del debate en Twitter en torno a la propuesta política de Unidos Podemos para las elecciones nacionales españolas de 2016. El segundo, específico de la participación no convencional (acción colectiva de los ciudadanos), es el caso de #BlackLivesMatter en Estados Unidos entre 2014 y 2015. Se recopilaron datos para ambos casos a través de Twitter. Gracias a ello, generamos un elevado volumen de información. Dicha información fue procesada a través de aplicaciones comerciales descriptivas y con herramientas de Big Data que permitieron analizar la estructura de las redes, las comunidades generadas en ambos casos, así como el rol y características de los mediadores entre dichas comunidades.

El objetivo de este trabajo era comprobar si, en ambos casos, los ciudadanos crearon contenidos políticos y enriquecieron el debate global de forma paralela o alternativa a las organizaciones mediáticas estructuradas. Gracias a nuestro estudio sabemos que la desintermediación se produce en mayor medida en los procesos de comunicación en entornos de participación no convencionales. No

obstante, también observamos, aunque en menor medida, la presencia de no profesionales con roles destacados en el caso de estudio de Unidos Podemos, es decir, en el caso representativo de la participación política convencional.

Title: THE MEDIA IMAGE OF POLITICAL POPULISM IN BULGARIA

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: Populism as a political position and rhetorical style is nowadays an object of comprehensive research and multi-faceted social discussions. The strong critical attitude of populists towards the status quo, towards what they regard as the chimera of democracy, is generally intertwined with the function of the media as a corrective factor with regard to government authorities.

The challenges of the economic crisis, as well as the migration processes are strengthening the position of Euro-skeptics and revitalize the development of populism.

The present text is focused on the developments of political populism in Bulgaria. The political environment in the country is characterized by almost permanent merge of political entities, which gradually escalates the use of populist approaches, styles and rhetoric. Research attention to this political phenomenon is determined by the success of some newly formed populist parties during the new century, gradually winning considerable numbers of seats in the parliament.

There is no consensus in academic circles regarding the types of populism present in society. In resting upon the four types of types of populism (complete, excluding, anti-elitist, and empty populism) outlined by Jagers & Walgrave (2007), and on the indicators for them, it may be concluded that these types exist in Bulgaria, although they have not been classified in the terminology used by these two authors.

Nearly all parties in Bulgaria display some populist manners and flirt, to a greater or lesser degree, with the people, speculating on popular expectations and hopes.

Populism in Bulgaria is visible in several variants of classification:

- Classical, social, specifically "pro-European" populism;
- Hard vs. soft populism;
- Right-wing vs. left-wing populism.

The use of populist phraseology is evident among all political parties in the country, whether left or right-oriented. Bulgarian political actors of a populist trend – including political leaders and parties – have mixed, oftentimes changing, characteristics. This populist phraseology is transmitted to audiences mainly through media. It has to be noted that the dynamics of the pre-election campaigns during the period of democratization since 1989 has been developing alongside demonopolization, liberalization and transformation of the media system. Deregulation of the radio- and TV broadcasting sector dragged on, giving way to the development of two mutually bound processes – politicization of media and mediatization of politics.

The paper is structured in three methodologically interconnected parts, presenting: an overview of the process of politicization of the media and the mediatization of politics in Bulgaria; an analysis

of the political populist trends in the country; a discussion on the connections between populism and the media, based on a content analysis study of some mainstream media outlets during the presidential election of 2016 and the vote for Parliament in 2017.

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Jagers J., Walgrave S. (2007). Populism as Political Communication Style: An Empirical Study of Political Parties' Discourse in Belgium. European Journal of Political Research, No 46, 319–345, doi: 10.1111/j.1475-6765.2006.00690.x

Keywords: media, political populism, mediatization, politicization, content analysis, Bulgaria

Title: Strategic Political Communication in Social Media or Digital Political Labour

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: Both scholarly and popular discourse on social media is overflown with ways of describing how social media can facilitate audience involvement, engagement and dialogue in political communication (Baumgartner et al., 2010; Druckman, Kifer, & Parkin, 2007; Graham, 2014; Kruikemeier, van Noort, Vliegenthart, & de Vreese, 2013; Tedesco, 2004). Digital and especially social media such as Facebook is regarded as enabling interactive communication between political parties and citizens. However, numerous studies clearly conclude that the engagement, dialogic and social affordances of social media has not yet been realized (Druckman, Kifer, & Parkin, 2014; Stromer- Galley, 2000; Sweetser & Lariscy, 2008; Taylor & Kent, 2004). An active public political discussion is considered to be of utmost importance for deliberative democracies (Habermas, 2006). The engagement affordances of social media have often been assessed as the online interaction between political parties or political candidates and citizens (Blumler & Gurevitch, 2001; Werder, 2015) but research indicates that parties to a large extent leave citizens to communicate amongst themselves without any interaction (Karlsson, Clerwall, & Buskqvist, 2013; Murchison, 2015). Overall, social media is mainly used in strategic political communication to amplify or advertise political issues to a wider audience rather than engaging with the audience.

Albeit the top down oriented strategic political communication in social media and the focus on the message reach, each official Facebook post of a political party can also be conceived in relation to the attached commentary field. People commenting are co-creators of meaning, regardless of the direct interaction with the political party. The comments following an official posting can reinforce, alter or defy the political message in the original posting. In that sense and despite the lack of direct interaction, active audiences are, by their own actions in social media, taking part in what this study posits as digital political labour (DPL) since audiences do not only receive political messages but also contribute significantly with their own user-generated content. This paper analyses the nature of DPL by investigating the theoretical foundations of this notion (Caraway, 2011, 2015; Fuchs, 2010, 2012a, 2012b; Smythe, 1977) in a strategic political communication context in social media. The empirical material in this study consists of the content created by both parties and users on the official Facebook pages of the political parties in the Swedish 2014 election campaign as well as interviews with all the parties. Against this background, the purpose of this study is to explore the applicability of the concept of DPL in order to understand the significance and implications of strategic political communication taking place in social media.

The results show that most of the communications work is actually performed by the audiences, and not by the parties themselves. This study highlight two important dimensions of DPL where users constitute targets and carriers of advertising as well as audiences whose free labour generates political campaign content.

Title: Online Political Election Markets as Platforms of Participation and Orientation. User Attributes as Determinants of Forecast Quality

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: Based on the observation that choices oriented toward opinion polls are increasingly discussed in debates surrounding models of voting decisions, the contributions of online political stock markets represent an avenue for orientation. These online political stock markets followed the logic of market theory: the convergence of participants leads to a fair and realistic price of parties. In the example of the market of the german newspaper "Handelsblatt" for the 2013 national election, the piece demonstrates what determines forecasting quality. So the study focuses on two research questions: Who were the participants in the Handelsblatt's market for the 2013 national election? What expectations did participants in the market have on the election outcome shortly before the 2013 national election? In order to learn more than in previous studies on participants that generate forecasts through their activities, an online questionnaire was submitted to two days before the national election. The market had 1,860 registered participants, of which only those who had traded a share at least once during the exchange's run were presented with the questionnaire. On the micro level, we asked who the participants were and what expectations they had of the election outcome. The results of the individual characteristics nurture explanatory potential for the forecasting quality of the political stock exchange on the macro level. Depending on the questions, a sample range of between 335 and 465 respondents was obtained, corresponding to a response rate between 46 and 64 percent. The study's results show the potentials and pitfalls of online political stock markets: participants informed themselves primarily through the internet, were politicallyinvolved above average and 54 percent of respondents said they would choose the AfD (right wing party) on the following election. In the meantime, this had the result that the AfD was forecasted at 14.4 percent (election result 4.7 percent). Although this clear overvaluation loosened towards the closing price, there appears to be a determinant for market failure in the electoral exchange here. So it became clear that the latent biases in participants' party preferences can lead to a market failure, in which specifically targeted party values are appraised too highly, others recognizably too low. Possible explanatory approaches can be seen in the contextual conditions. (1) The AfD was a party that stepped onto the field shortly before the election, whose performance remained very uncertain; or perhaps there was too little information on the market. (2) Another explanation might be that we are dealing with a looking-glass-effect. One's own voting choices are projected onto others. (3) One could also explain this in the dismantling and segmentation of electoral groups. Not all of the information is taken into account. (4) There was a recruitment bias. There is much to be said on this: participants' party preference, the recruitment of participants on the business-minded Handelsblatt and the request by some AfD officials via social media for participation in this political stock exchange.

Title: Short term reciprocal effects between political knowledge and media use. Evidence from the last German Election.

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: That we mostly learn about politics from media seems to be trivial. Yet, an informed electorate is a key feature of democracy. Numerous cross-sectional studies of knowledge and media use usually produce a significant correlation between the two measures. But a correlation between knowledge and media use might also reflect a higher news consumption among the more political knowledgeable respondents.

Apart from experimental designs, studies that use panel data offer the possibility to test causality. For instance, Eveland et al. (2005) ascertained a stronger influence of news consumption on political knowledge. Shehata et al. (2015) find that even politically uninterested Swedish voters accidently learn from public broadcast news. Moeller and de Vreese (2015) in a three-way panel among Dutch adolescence came to the opposite conclusion, finding a stronger, lagged influence of political knowledge on news consumption. These studies differ in many ways, but they all measure news consumption on a single additive scale. We assume, that this plays a key role explaining the different results. Since not all media provide the same amount and the same quality of political information, we argue that media use cannot be measured on a one-dimensional scale.

The current paper studies the relationship between different patterns of news consumption and political knowledge in the context of the last general election in Germany in 2013 based on a sevenwave panel from GLES. Each wave includes manifold measures of political media use and several waves provide measures of political knowledge. A confirmatory factor analysis on the news consumption measures supports the hypothesized multidimensionality of media use. Three distinct media use patterns can be extracted and replicated in each wave. We operationalize political knowledge through the identification of the most important parties issue positions and the recognition of their top candidates. The items allow to differentiate between subjective knowledge (what respondents think they know) and objective factual knowledge (what they know). The two measures of political knowledge and the three patterns of media use are entered into a structural equation models to estimate the reciprocal influences over three waves of the panel. We test for lagged and simultaneous reciprocal effects. The results do not support a general assertion on the relationship between news consumption and political knowledge. Moreover, they prove that there are distinct differences in the different media use patterns: while one media use pattern promotes subjective knowledge, others bolster objective knowledge. Adding to that the effects change over the course of the campaign. While overall effects between T1 and T2 are rather small, they increase

from T2 to T3 (shortly before Election Day). At the same time campaign coverage increases as well as the interest in the election among the voters.

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Title: Political Image Building in the Digital Age: An analysis of the Twitter communication of Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: In India, the growing use of social media for political communication has democratized the political discourse in the country impacting the public sphere and enabling greater political participation among the young citizens in the largest democracy in the world. Politicians and political parties in India have come around to realize the political dividend of securing social media presence. India is today witnessing a social media revolution with over 160 million active social media users from over 500 million active Internet users in India today, and these numbers are only growing at a rate of 90 per cent while the global average stands at just 19 per cent. This social media revolution in the country is fuelled by a young demography as 76 per cent of the 160 million social media users are in the age group of 18-34 years. Social media, particularly Twitter, has emerged as the new public sphere in India and political actors are increasingly using the microblogging site for image building and to interact more efficiently with their support base without being interrupted by journalists and beyond the institutional and bureaucratic rigors. It comes as no surprise that in the last few years several politicians have integrated Twitter into their political campaigns. From general awareness to understanding people's mindset and dissemination of political agenda through tweets, politicians have made prolific use of Twitter. Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi has the highest number of twitter followers among Indian politicians. Before the 2014 general elections in India, Prime Minister Narendra Modi's Twitter account--xyznarendramodi had millions following him. Since opening his account in 2009, he has over 26 million Twitter users following him as on January 2017. Through Adaptive Structuration Theory and Advocacy Coalition Framework, the present study will look to gain an insight into how Narendra Modi cultivated Twitter for reaching out to the electorates as he prepared for the 2014 general elections. This paper examines Narendra Modi's Twitter communication, for a one-year period before and one-year period after he became the prime minister of India to compare and contrast his communication style through a content analysis of his tweets to delve into unique characteristics of his messaging and to unravel the linguistic, semantic and syntactic aspects of the messages posted. Through a 'personalization of politics' framework, the researchers also explore the ways employed by Narendra Modi in his Twitter communication that apparently personalizes his political messages and politicizes his personal messages, in the social media space.

Title: Functions, Topics and Types of Appeals of 2016 American Televised Presidential Advertising

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: Scandals and fake news characterized the 2016 US Presidential Election. Although Trump emerged victorious due to his proficient use of social media, televised advertising remains an important platform for candidates to disseminate information, attack opponents, and build images. Previous studies mainly focused on the functions (acclaim/attack) and topics (policy/character) of televised presidential advertising. These studies find that before 2008, candidates used more acclaims than attacks. However, since 2008, candidates issued more attacks as a means of raising funds in the context of declining federal campaign funding. Previous studies also argue that incumbent/challenger, party, gender, voter psychology and other elements could impact the uses of functions and topics in political advertising.

This study utilized content analysis to examine the functions, topics and types of appeals of 78 presidential advertisements from Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton in 2016 US presidential election. Both candidates used more attacks than acclaims (Clinton: 56.9%; Trump: 70%). In negative advertisements, Clinton issued more attacks on character; Trump issued more attacks on policy content. Overall, Clinton tended to emphasize character (65.5%) and focused on social issues such as female rights, education and racial equality than political and economic issues. Trump tended to emphasize policy (75%) and focused on social issues and political issues equally. Finally, both candidates used more logical appeals overall. However, Clinton used more emotional appeals than Trump.

My findings suggest four implications. First, in addition to reduced federal campaign funding, candidate identity and personality, as well as voter uncertainty about the candidates, contributed to the use of negative advertisements. Second, the frequency of scandals associated with both candidates contributed to the fact that there were more attacks on character. Third, partisan priorities and social environment affect the issues being discussed in the advertisement. Fourth, the framing of gender is less important than the framing of partisan division or the framing of incumbent/ challenger.

Title: Personalization, de-ideologization, and negative campaigning as strategies of professionalized political communication' A longitudinal analysis of campaign posters for German Bundestag elections, 1949'2013

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: Political parties have professionalized their communication (Holtz-Bacha, 2002) due to the fundamental social and political changes of partisan dealignment (Dalton, 1984, 2000) and mediatization (Strömbäck, 2008) – even more since the Web 2.0 emerged (Vergeer, Hermans, & Sams, 2013). With regard to political campaigning, this professionalization is manifested in the strategies of personalization (Balmas, Rahat, Sheafer, & Shenhav, 2014), de-ideologization (Holtz-Bacha, 2002), and negative campaigning (Walter & Vliegenthart, 2010). Still characteristically for political campaigning, traditional political posters remain one of the major visual campaigning tools (Dumitrescu, 2010), complemented by the new phenomenon of online political posters (Lee & Campbell, 2016). However, recent studies focus on either traditional or online political posters. Furthermore, longitudinal analyses that are based on a large empirical database are rare (Vliegenthart, 2012).

Against this background, this study aims at analyzing changes in political campaigning over time by focusing on the case of German Bundestag elections. Particularly, we address two research questions: (1) How did campaign posters for German Bundestag elections change between 1949 and 2013? (2) Did personalization, de-ideologization, and negative campaigning increase over time? In order to fill this gap in research, we analyze the campaign posters for the nationwide elections in the Federal Republic of Germany regarding to these three indicators of professionalized political communication strategies. Empirically, our study relies on a quantitative content analysis of both textual and visual elements of campaign posters (N = 4.565). We hereby rely on a sample of all campaign posters that were spread nationwide by parties represented in the German Bundestag following the respective election. In order to account for ways of online communication, we complement our sample with online political posters for the past two German Bundestag elections in 2009 and 2013. For the analysis of the data, we will conduct logistic regression analyses to demonstrate whether personalization, de-ideologization, and negative campaigning increased over time. The coding is still ongoing and will be completed until the conference.

By means of this systematic and comprehensive analysis, we aim at providing empirical evidence for the professionalization of political communication. Thus, this study aims at differentiating theoretical models describing the change of political campaigning. The analysis provides possible links to future research in further contexts such as different countries, periods of time, or comparisons between parties' own communication channels and media coverage.

Title: Constructing Metanarrative in Red China: Framing the Mukden Incident on People's Daily from 1946 to 2016

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: This study attempts to explore the role and strategy of news media in constructing the metanarrative by the Communist Party of China (CPC), and the collective memory shaping in Red China from 1946 to 2016 through the perspective of the Framing Theory. We have chosen the articles with the topic of the Mukden Incident published by People's Daily during 70 years as samples to conduct a content analysis with SPSS basing on framing theory in order to examine how CPC influenced Chinese public opinion, constructed the metanarrative and collective memory of Red China, as well as reinforced their reign legitimation with the discourse about the Mukden Incident. In addition, a discourse analysis with historical circumstances was also applied to reveal the changes of metanarrative with different time and backgrounds. As the start of Anti-Japanese War, the Mukden Incident was an event committed by Japanese military personnel as a pretext for the Japanese invasion to China in 1931. The Western-dominated international political discourse system leads to a much less important position for the Mukden Incident than the events taking place in Europe during World War II. Moreover, the discourse about the incident was also in a constant state of flux due to the ever-changing environment and policy in China from 1940s to the present. The Mukden Incident was usually utilized as a "propaganda tool", and even sometimes disappeared among public discourse during a long time as required. The incident was gradually brought back to public discourse from 1980s as a strategy responding to the Japanese government manipulating the content about China-Japan Relations in history text book. Since the Mukden Incident History Museum was opened in 1991, the incident finally got an exclusive memorial place, and gradually became to be as a vital part of collective memory of Chinese people. As the official newspaper of the Central Committee of CPC, People's Daily is the most authoritative media mouthpiece of the Chinese authorities, playing the role of a "spokesperson" on behalf of the official attitude towards the public agendas. This study aims to show the images of the Mukden Incident in Chinese mainstream discourse and track its changing path through systematic analysis in order to explore the following questions: (1) How CPC presented the images of different social groups with specific labels to influence Chinese public opinion? (2) What was the changing path in the metanarrative with different time and international situations? It can be found that the discourse about the Mukden Incident was much more utilized as a tool for the Chinese authorities to meet the needs of ideology and national interest during the 70 years, including Anti-KMT, Anti-USA, reinforcing reign legitimation, supporting "World Revolution", uniting cohesion of different races, competing with Japan in diplomacy, and inspiring patriotism spirit of Chinese people.

Keywords: Mukden Incident; the Communist Party of China; Framing Theory; Metanarrative; Collective Memory

Title: Voting with their heads and their hearts: The EU referendum through letters to the editor

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: The referendum on Britain's membership of the European Union (EU) was one of the most significant political occasions in the recent history of the UK. Framed by David Cameron as 'the most important decision...in our lifetime', the referendum was meant to give citizens a say in deciding whether the UK should remain a member of the EU, or leave the union to which it had belonged since 1973. Seen by significant sections of the population as remote, elitist, and intrusive, Britain's membership of the EU has constituted a dividing line that crosses social classes, traditional political cleavages, and political parties.

Advocates of leave, together with the (ferociously anti-EU) popular press, constructed the referendum as an opportunity to restore sovereignty to the British national parliament, control immigration, and free the country from EU regulations, as well as from the jurisdiction of the European Court of Justice. The referendum was also constructed as an occasion for 'the quiet people of Britain' to rise 'up against an arrogant, out-of-touch political class and a contemptuous Brussels elite' (Daily Mail, 25 June 2016). The remain campaign was accused of using scare tactics, attempting to instil fear amongst the population. Accusations of lying, or distorting reality were exchanged between both campaigns, before and after the referendum. The referendum campaign left the country profoundly divided, and the political differences between remainers and brexiters seem difficult to reconcile months after the referendum.

In an attempt to examine how the public made sense of the referendum and its consequences, this study analyses all the letters to the editor specifically discussing Brexit or the referendum published in British national newspapers two months before the referendum, and one month after that day. Through a content analysis, we examine the themes that dominated the sample of over one thousand letters, capturing the main concerns, criticisms, and political aims and aspirations expressed by citizens in their letters. The study offers a unique insight into how British citizens —both advocating to leave or remain— conceived what Britain would be like after the referendum. Our analysis reveals the extent to which citizens discussed the campaigns, their events, and the politicians in charge of them, as opposed to discussing the pros and cons of leaving or remaining. This study also explores the differences and similarities in the construction of these public fora by the newspapers in our sample, either as arenas for debate, or as partisan echo-chambers.

Title: Understanding politics as an embodied experience from the perspective of political impressionists

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: This paper aims to understand the role of politicians' personal performances in the construction of democratic representativeness. Based on an ethnographic approach to the production process of a satirical impersonation TV show, it argues that politicians' performances can be fruitfully understood through embodied experience. The data are based on the preliminary results of a PhD research project entitled 'How are performances and ideas related in politics?' The paper aims to understand the potential of personal performance to foster political representation. I try to unveil the process whereby a social actor might become powerful insofar as a given number of people perceive her to be the one that will stand for them. It draws theoretically upon Weber's elaboration on charismatic authority as the result of the interplay of leaders' performances and social context; Erving Goffman's seminal definition of personal performance; and Jeffrey Alexander's model of cultural pragmatics and the re-fusion of actor, cultural background and audiences.

Methodologically, the paper takes an ethnographic approach to explaining the production process of the satirical TV show, Polonia, which has been broadcast in Catalonia since 2006. Polonia is the most watched TV show in Catalonia and consists of the impersonation of politicians both from Spain and Catalonia. It is broadcast by the public network, TV3. I have conducted interviews with the production staff, such as actresses, actors, scriptwriters and directors. I have also conducted participant observation of rehearsals and recordings in the film studio in December 2015 and December 2016. Also, I have analysed scripts of the shows produced from September 2015 to January 2015.

In terms of findings, the paper argues that Jeffrey Alexander's concepts of 'celebrity-icon' and 'iconic consciousness' are useful for understanding the ways in which political impressionists approach politicians when crafting their characters. They can be said to be working to disentangle the interplay between surface and depth that structures the celebrity-icon. So understood, these data suggests a different way of understating how the persona of the politician is constructed with a view to producing representativeness. Alexander's idea of icon suggests that the sensuous surface of a person or object, fabricated or not, connects to deeper meanings. To an important extent, the impersonations devised by Polònia support this idea, but at the same time add an important feature: the critical role played by personal style in establishing this connection. Impersonators also describe the examination of politicians in terms of experiencing feelings and sensations rather than acquiring a given knowledge about the politician which fits into Alexander's concept of 'iconic consciousness'.

Title: Movilización para las campañas electorales a través de las redes sociales. Elecciones generales españolas de 2015 (20D)

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: Objetivos:

- Detectar, analizar y describir la intensidad de la movilización para la campaña electoral que aplicaron los partidos políticos que se presentaron a las elecciones generales del 20 de diciembre de 2015 en España.
- Comprobar la repercusión de la comunicación logística-movilizadora sobre la involucración (engagement) de los usuarios de las redes sociales.
- Describir la asociación de los mensajes movilizadores con otras características del mensaje (formales, de contenido, discursivas, etc.).

Marco teórico

Las redes sociales son uno de los puntos fuertes de las estrategias de comunicación política por sus grandes capacidades para establecer flujos de comunicación entre el electorado y los gobernantes. Entre todas ellas destaca Facebook por la capacidad de diálogo que ofrece entre los usuarios (Fernandes et al., 2010), mientras que Twitter se caracteriza por ser una red abierta en la que cualquier ciudadano puede entablar conversación con otro sin necesidad de ser "amigos" (Gamir, 2016). Es esta función de diálogo es la principal ventaja que encuentran muchos autores respecto a otras herramientas de la campaña electoral (Xue, 2014; Fernandes et al, 2010). El empleo de herramientas online ha ayudado a los partidos políticos a movilizar a votantes y voluntarios de un modo más específico y potencialmente exitoso .

Metodología

Se utilizó una metodología cuantitativa mediante el análisis estadístico mediante SPSS de todos los posts publicados en los perfiles de Facebook de candidatos y partidos políticos durante las elecciones generales del 20 de diciembre 2015 en España. La investigación incluyó a los seis principales partidos y a sus respectivos candidatos a presidente del Gobierno. En cuanto al período de análisis, se tomaron dos semanas, por un lado, entre el 16 y el 22 de noviembre de 2015, a un mes de la celebración de las elecciones, y por otro, la semana inmediatamente anterior a la cita electoral, entre el 14 y el 20 de diciembre de 2015.

Resultados

Los partidos políticos españoles siguen generando mayoritariamente, en torno al 90%, de mensajes despersonalizados y no localizados geográficamente, y que buscan movilizar para la acción a su electorado en algo menos del 6% de ocasiones. Junto a ello, se ha podido concluir que los mensajes con mayor impacto en los públicos no son los más frecuentes, y que los más frecuentes no son los que tienen mayor índice de impacto. Todo ello, junto con la escasa calidad del diálogo y contribución al conocimiento, debe ser asunto de reflexión por parte de las formaciones políticas si

tienen como objetivo tanto aumentar la eficacia de s la calidad de la democracia gracias a una mejor con	sus campañas electorales online, como mejorar nunicación con los ciudadanos.

Title: The growing influence of social media in the 2015 national elections in Trinidad and Tobago

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: In 2015, the coalition government of Trinidad and Tobago, the Peoples Partnership (PP) lost the national election to the Peoples National Movement (PNM), the longest serving government since its Independence in 1962, by a narrow margin of less than five percent. This paper examines the growing influence of online technologies such as social media in political campaigns in Trinidad and Tobago, during the 2015 general elections. It demonstrates how the two main political parties, the PNM and the United National Congress, the main partner in the coalition PP, used social media especially Facebook to campaign directly with the electorate, to consolidate and mobilize their political base, while discrediting their opponents, in the lead up to the national election. Further, it seeks to determine whether online campaigning by political parties did have an effect on voter turnout and ultimately the outcome of the general elections.

The theoretical framework, though not exclusive was based on the network society (Castell 1996) in terms of its influences on the political communication process and balance of power in small societies such as Trinidad and Tobago. While the public sphere theory (Habemas 1991) demonstrated how communities have been formed online specifically to discuss political issues in the lead up to the general election and how influential these groups were in influencing the political dialogue. Further, it drew from framing theory (Goffman 1974) to demonstrate how political parties framed their party's point of view so as to positively affect their chances during the election. A combined methodology of internet research together with online content analysis was used to study a number of social media sites by both governing and opposition parties, during the 2015 national election.

The paper demonstrates that in close elections, the use of online technologies, to campaign directly to the electorate can frame a political party positively so as to give them an edge over its competitor, while positioning certain parties negatively in the minds of voters, leading to a loss in elections and changed governments.

Title: Tensiones entre medios y democracia en procesos electorales, un recorrido por el caso Colombiano.

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: De la mano de la Misión de Observación Electoral – MOE, se consolidó una plataforma de universidades que conformaron el Observatorio de Medios de Comunicación y Democracia, en el que se realizaron dos seguimientos en Colombia frente al cubrimiento que los medios de comunicación hicieron en procesos electorales y que sirvieron como antecedentes a la presente ponencia:

- a) El proceso electoral de autoridades locales, senado y presidencia en los años 2014 y 2015 por parte de 18 universidades de 14 departamentos del país, que tuvo como producto dos publicaciones sobre la calidad de la información que a través de los medios de comunicación recibieron los ciudadanos.
- b) En el 2016-2017 se desarrolló una investigación, en la que se analizaron 41 medios de comunicación a través de medición cuantitativa y cualitativa del comportamiento de la radio, la prensa-digital e impresa- y la televisión, a la hora de cubrir el proceso de paz en Colombia y mediante el cual se refrendaron los acuerdos de La Habana.

La presente ponencia busca entonces centrar la mirada en el papel de los medios de comunicación en procesos electorales, que como bien lo plantea María Holgado González, ejercen una notable influencia sobre la ciudadanía, que no desprecian los partidos políticos durante cualquier campaña electoral. Los medios han venido adquiriendo con el paso del tiempo un importante papel al determinar agendas políticas, fijando temas de interés público, que obligan a los partidos y candidatos a seguir esas agendas, muchas veces en contradicción a sus propios intereses. De ahí que el rol de los medios ha pasado a ser en la práctica, como un poder real dentro de cualquier proceso electoral.

Para hablar entonces del papel de los medios en proceso electorales, es imposible hacerlo si no se tienen en cuenta como éstos se relacionan con la democracia y la normatividad que los regula. En tal sentido, la ponencia se enmarca como un mecanismo que pretende dar cuenta del cubrimiento que dan éstos a los procesos electorales, en un escenario en el cual cada vez más se contempla el nivel de impacto de los mismos sobre la decisión de los ciudadanos al momento de hacer uso del voto.

La ponencia en primera instancia mostrará los hallazgos del seguimiento realizado durante el 2014 y 2015, desde categorías como el tiempo, espacio, género, temáticas, entre otros, a partir de la información que se emitió en prensa, radio y televisión.

Por otro lado, se mostrarán los principales hallazgos del proceso de observación con relación al cubrimiento de los medios en el plebiscito por la paz, en el que fue evidente que Colombia se enfrentó a una de sus decisiones más trascendentales en su historia.

Finalmente, se enfatizará en recomendaciones frente al papel de los medios, que permitan evaluar en términos cualitativos la calidad de la información política y la forma en la que éstos cubren los hechos político-electorales, y así dar una retroalimentación para colaborar en el mejoramiento de la calidad de la producción informativa.

Title: Whiteness and the Media: How Liberalism and Vertical Integration promote Racism in the

News

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: The paper explores the problem with liberalism as it applies to the legal philosophy of race as well as in the news media tenants. Little is understood about how liberalism's failure as a political philosophy to address systemic racism relates to the news media as a liberal project of democracy. Since the news media is inherently liberal, it fails to address systemic racism for the same reason liberalism fails to address societal racism because both are "colorblind" and thus help perpetuate racism by ignoring its everyday and structural existence. First, the problem of liberalism is analyzed in relation to race. Critical Race theorists analyze the failure of liberalism to address racial harms. They point out that liberalism's universal appeal to see individual's as atomistic entities with inherent rights and capacities ignores inherent differences in social categories that adversely affect the individual and treats such differences as naturally random. Liberalism treats such programs like affirmative action and minority voting districts as a necessary evil but an "evil" nevertheless in an attempt to bring equality. This "colorblindness" is a form of race neutral racism that denies race as it furthers racism. Liberalism also affects how the news media reports on important events. The notion of news media objectivity and neutrality are analyzed against liberal philosophy in relation to news media tenants like fairness, balance, and neutrality. The result is that the news media reports in a distorted, "framed" manner. Since news is a social institution in that it imparts a public character to daily occurrences and it is an ally to legitimated institutions like centralized sources, politicians, and bureaucrats, then news is an ideological entity that limits access to ideas through institutional and organizational framing. Exacerbating these problems are 1) the concentration of media ownership 2) lack of independent and minority press 3) a class divide between journalists and the public 4) and a race divide. In addition to the liberal problem with race and media, the vertical integration of media companies by the FCC has created an oligarchy of news media companies. The concentration of news media ownership that has been allowed to take place by the market and the FCC, limit the plurality of voices that could be expressed more freely. The end result is an elite, white perspective in media coverage that erodes democratic principles of plurality and diversity. It also makes reporters and editors beholden to corporate interests rather than democratic ideals and community interests in the reporting practices. The outcome is the perpetuation of racism while minimizing it. Given the rise of the Trump and his "alt-right," white supremacist supporters, a more critical analysis of race and the media is urgently needed to stem the racist tide that is swelling in the USA that refused to acknowledge systemic racism.

Title: The Rise of Populism in Croatia: The Curious Case of Most (The Bridge)

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: In 2015 parliamentary election in Croatia the newly established populist party Most (The Bridge) unexpectedly won 19 parliamentary seats. Since neither of the two major parties (Social Democratic Party – SDP, nor Croatian Democratic Union – HDZ) won the necessary majority to form the government, Most used its newly acquired blackmailing potential to side with the conservative HDZ and decide the winner of the election. The goal of this paper is to examine how the populist discourse of Most has been constructed and what are its main features. We combine classic content analysis and computer aided text analysis to examine statements and interviews of the leaders of Most that appeared in the leading Croatian newspapers, on the most popular news websites and on the major political talk-shows during election campaign. We apply set of categories to examine their populism on two levels – as a thin-centered political ideology and as a political communication style. Populism as ideology is examined through the presence of positive references to the people, resentment towards political elites and references to 'dangerous others'. The presence of populist style is examined through politicians' positive mentioning of the people, politicians' attempts of displaying proximity to the people and their use of 'empty signifiers'. We are particularly interested to examine the use of the word 'reform' which seemed to have been one of the most prominent empty signifiers that successfully attracted voters from both left and right. We are also interested to establish how the leaders of Most used empty signifiers pertaining to 'moral' to construct what we have conditionally labeled a 'moralizing populism'. Finally, given that Croatia is on the Balkan refugee route and that the election was held during the climax of the refugee crises, we are interested to establish to which extent – if at all – Most referred to immigrants as to 'dangerous others'.

Title: Horse Race and Issues in the US 2016 Presidential Election Campaign

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: The press plays an important role in election campaigns as a critical carrier of vital information on the contestants, their supporters, party positions and platforms, public perceptions of candidates and their chances, and the results of public polls. The media are believed to have enormous consequences on elections such that candidates who are not taken seriously by the media are often neglected by the public. The 2016 US presidential election contest was unusual in many respects, not the least of which were two unusual contestants with alarmingly low approval ratings. US presidential campaigns are taken very seriously because they lead to the election of the most powerful person, the President of the United States (POTUS). However, many of these campaigns are often characterized by excessive name calling and general lack of the expected attention to serious issues and policies. The press tends to see campaigns more as sports events, hence the now familiar reference to "horse race" reporting by which is meant that journalists often emphasize spectacles, thereby reinforcing the image of elections as sporting events (Broh 1988). This aspect of election coverage has been given considerable research attention (Littlewood 1998; Brady & Johnston 1987; Serini, Powers & Johnson 1998). The 2016 presidential campaign presents the archetypal horse race and issues scenario. In normal circumstances, coverage of horse race tends to take precedence over serious issues. How did the US and foreign press cover the 2016 presidential election with respect to issues and horse race? This is the main question of this presentation.

Methods: We employed qualitative and quantitative content analysis to examine how four US elite newspapers (The New York Times, Wall Street Journal, Washington Post, and USA Today) and four foreign newspapers (China Daily, The Japan Times, The Times of India, and The Guardian) covered the campaign paying particular attention to their framing of the reportage as horse race and issues. Sampling was achieved by selecting seven key political events, namely the Democratic Party Convention, the Republican Party Convention, the three presidential debates, the vice-presidential debate, and the election-day coverage proper. The unit of analysis is the individual election story which was abstracted from the eight newspapers using Lexis Nexis and/or ProQuest Newsstand for three days before and three days after the specific event. Sixteen content categories captured such aspects of the stories as subject matter, direction, political party, horse race or issues, framing approach, and rhetorical strategies. A total of 8,116 stories were extracted and used to answer three critical questions: How did the newspapers frame their coverage with respect to horse race and issues? Did the foreign newspapers frame the stories differently? What lessons do the results portend for politics and political reporting? The full results will be ready shortly to provide answers to these and other important questions, which will add to our growing body of work in political communication research and theory building. [480 words]

Title: Caracterizando el uso de twitter en campañas locales. Un estudio sobre las elecciones municipales chilenas del 2016

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: Nuestro paper se interroga sobre las variables sociales y políticas que inciden en el uso de twitter en campañas electorales. La evidencia que describe los sistemas híbridos (Edwards, 2013) en Norteamérica y Europa es amplia. En este contexto, la plataforma de micro-blogging Twitter se ha transformado en una de las herramientas de comunicación más utilizadas para realizar campañas políticas (Jungherr, 2016). Sin embargo, conocemos poco aún del uso político de este medio en otras latitudes, en especial en América Latina. Por esta razón, nuestro paper se centra en un caso de estudio: las últimas elecciones municipales chilenas del 23 de octubre del 2016. La selección de este caso se fundamenta en las características particulares de este tipo de elecciones, que las hacen diferentes de las votaciones parlamentarias y presidenciales (Navia & Morales, 2012). El rol de la incumbencia, la postulación por pactos y la alta heterogeneidad de los candidatos justifican un abordaje particular para este tipo de eventos políticos. Por otro lado, la fuerte penetración de internet (Subtel, 2016) y del masivo uso de redes sociales entre el personal político hacen más relevante el estudio de sus cuentas de campaña, pues todo hace pensar que estuvieron al servicio de sus estrategias de posicionamiento.

Para estudiar el uso de twitter en los candidatos, hemos construido una base de datos con la información de los candidatos a alcaldes de la Región Metropolitana (n=104). Mediante un análisis de cluster hemos identificado cuatro perfiles, basándonos en sus características sociales y políticas. En seguida, hemos recolectado toda la actividad realizada desde sus cuentas (n=65616), durante el período oficial de campaña. Cruzando estos datos, intentamos en primer lugar describir cuáles son las características que reúnen aquellos candidatos que usan twitter de forma más intensa. Con ello, se busca comprender de mejor forma cómo usan twitter los candidatos para hacer campaña y cuáles son sus principales estrategias de posicionamiento.

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Title: Between Peace and Hate: Framing the 2014 Colombian Presidential Election on Twitter

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: Víctor García-Perdomo Doctoral Candidate -UT Austin

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This paper examines how both the 100 most-followed Colombian journalists and social media users framed differently the 2014 Colombian presidential election on Twitter. Using a social media analysis platform that applies supervised-machine-learning algorithms, this study collected and analyzed all tweets posted by these two groups during the 2014 election from May 15 to June 20. The report follows Van Gorp's methodology (2010) to conduct a framing analysis that utilizes inductive and deductive reasoning. This research examines the frames employed by journalists and users to interpret the democratic process. Results of the deductive analysis show that journalists used the issue frame intensively while the publics utilized the conflict frame. Inductively, however, journalists adopted the hate frame, whereas the public followed the peace frame. Results contribute to understand how the peace process between the Colombian government and the FARC guerrillas dominated political discussions on Twitter. This research also compares journalists and users' framing devices on social media to interpret the democratic process.

1. Theory

The theoretical foundation of this study is Framing. Reese (2011) defines comprehensively frames as "organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world" (p. 11), and explains how journalists actively participate in their construction (Reese, 2010). Journalists often use certain framing devices to make sense of political campaigns and engage their audience (Paterson, 1993; Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) such as the Conflict frame (Semetko Valkenburg, 2000), the Game frame (Lawrence, 2010), and the Issue frame (Paterson, 1993; Jamieson & Cappella, 1997). However, the interception between users and journalists in social media, and how both groups frame differently political elections remain unclear and deserve more attention.

2. Methodology

This research project follows Van Gorp's methodology (2010) to conduct a framing analysis that utilizes inductive and deductive reasoning. Frist, the research went through an inductive phase in which a frame matrix was built based on computerize analysis of the data. Inductively, different concepts were finally collapsed into two main frames: Peace and Hate – the most common organizing principles that emerged from the data. Then, the study conducted a deductive analysis based on previous theory. Three frames were used in this part of the analysis following prior findings in political coverage: the Conflict frame (open confrontation between groups or individuals), the Game frame (covering politics much like a sport), and the Issue frame (consequences and proposals for the problems). Data were finally content-analyzed using all these categories and a social media analysis platform that applied supervised-machine-learning algorithms.

3. Research questions

RQ1: What deductive frame (conflict, game and issue) will be more commonly used in the Twitter coverage of the 2014 Colombian presidential election for a) journalists and b) users?

RQ2: What inductive frames (peace and hate) will be more common in the Twitter coverage?

RQ3: What are the main differences between journalists and users when framing the 2104 election?

Title: De lo escrito a lo divulgado: los retos de la comunicación de la política pública de gestión del riesgo de desastres en Colombia

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: Los fenómenos climáticos en Colombia desde el 2010 hasta la fecha han dejado millones de damnificados y pérdidas económicas que, sólo para el sector de agua potable y saneamiento básico, superan los \$175 millones de USD, así como el desabastecimiento de agua en por lo menos 280 municipios. Teniendo en cuenta que el país cuenta con uno de los documentos de política pública más avanzados en América Latina, resulta del mayor interés revisar los procesos de comunicación existentes entre el gobierno, los medios de comunicación y la comunidad, con el objeto de que dicha política pueda divulgarse de manera eficiente. Lo anterior, para que se puedan prevenir y manejar los riesgos de desastres de manera más adecuada. Se plantea entonces la necesidad de analizar la forma como los gobiernos comunican sus políticas públicas para que puedan entregar la información necesaria que requieren los medios de comunicación en la construcción de sus agendas, así como en la generación de una opinión pública informada y educada frente a problemas sociales que requieren de su participación. Dado que el gobierno es una fuente informativa natural de los periodistas y que dentro de su quehacer, la divulgación de las políticas públicas debería responder a un proceso constante de relación con los medios de comunicación, este estudio analizó los comunicados de prensa del gobierno nacional en el sector de agua potable y saneamiento básico relacionados con la gestión del riesgo de desastres, entre 2012 y 2016. Esto, para identificar si la información oficial divulgada contenía los temas centrales de la política como el conocimiento, reducción y manejo del riesgo de interés no sólo para las entidades del orden local si no también para la comunidad en general. A partir de un análisis temático de 147 comunicados de prensa del Ministerio de Vivienda, Ciudad y Territorio, se encontró que la comunicación de gobierno no ofrece un marco de referencia que permita comprender lo que representa la gestión del riesgo como concepto, proceso o como política, más allá de información pertinente sobre la atención específica de los desastres. Asimismo, los comunicados de prensa privilegiaron la atención de desastres por encima de medidas de prevención y conocimiento de amenazas y vulnerabilidad de los sistemas de acueducto y alcantarillado, lo cual se aleja de las recomendaciones de las agencias internacionales y organismos especializados sobre la materia. De igual forma la comunicación del gobierno se centró en el reporte minucioso de la gestión del Ministro, por encima de la comunicación de los objetivos de la política pública.

Title: Influences of Opinion Contexts on Opinion Expression

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: Noelle-Neumann's Spiral of Silence theory suggests that individuals tend to refrain from expressing opinion when they perceive that their opinions are different from the majority opinions portrayed in the opinion climate, which is constructed mainly from mainstream mass media. This theory undeniably provides an influential theoretical insight to look into how one's willingness to take political actions is related to his/her perceived opinion context. Based upon the theoretical concerns addressed in Noelle-Newmann's model, this paper employs the political psychology perspective to examine the correlation between willingness to political action and another two dimensions of opinion context— (i) perceived hostility of opinion environment and (ii) perceived future opinion trend. Based on both dimensions, it is argued that individuals are more willing to express their opinions if they perceive their own opinions are more welcomed by others in the opinion context (such as discussion forum) and if they perceive their opinions can contribute to changes of the discussed issues in future. Furthermore, this paper will investigate how the above relationship is moderated by one's personal standpoint on the issue. That means, the degree of willingness to express opinions due to the perceive opinion context varies with the level of agreement of individuals on the discussed issues—one is more willing to express in case he/she disagrees with the issues. This study will also investigate the difference between willingness in offline and online opinion expression. Findings, which come from a representative survey with nearly 1,000 valid cases, depict that individuals are more willing to express if (1) they are facing a more hostile opinion environment, and (2) they found their opinion can direct the discussion in future. Moreover, personal standpoint on the discussed issue as a moderator is significantly useful to explain the above correlations. individuals are more willing to express opinion online, compared to offline opinion expression. Implications of level of media consumption as well as the differences of online and offline opinion expressions under the above model will be thoroughly discussed.

Title: Environment as politics: Framing the Cerattepe protest in Twitter

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: Environmental issues are socially constructed claims which are defined through collective processes (Taylor, 2000). There are a wide range of issues concerning the environment that motivate the mobilization of a protest, but their priority is fundamentally the environment itself. The literature on environmental movements explains the dynamics of these protests in line with the emphasis on the environment, and relates to the concept of environmental justice, which has emerged as a prominent aspect of the environmental discourse. Environmental justice has an extensive coverage as it was built around a notion of rights constructed in part by the actions and rhetoric of previous social justice movements (Čapek, 1993). However, laying all the references of a particular protest within this concept can be challenging as these protests are also closely related with the political decisions, economic policies, social justice, and distribution of power. Therefore, outlining the environmental protests solely based on their specific interest in the environment would be overlooking the versatile atmosphere where they flourish.

There has been a rise in number of environmental protests in Turkey during the past decade as a result of prioritizing economic development and national interests over environmental concerns. These protests appear to be bounded by ecological concerns, but they are also embedded in the sociopolitical setting subordinate to governmental policies. Particularly the Gezi movement clearly revealed the intricate relationship between the state, capital, and the environment making the people become aware of the fact that environmental problems are actually situated within the larger structural and political system (Özkaynak et al., 2015). It has inspired many protests including the one in Cerattepe as it was based on environmental concerns. This study elaborates on the framing practices of the players involved in the Cerattepe protest network in order to see if their motivations transcended the environmental concerns. The research is designed in line with this aim to explore the players of the protest by using network analysis, and to illustrate the propagation of the two frames, namely environmental justice and the political economy, in the Twitter network of the protest.

Methodologically, the research is designed firstly to introduce the players of the protest network in Twitter. Network analysis will be conducted to identify and position the players as network-analytic approaches enable researchers to see beyond the official stories and representations of movements and their activists (Krinsky & Crossley, 2014). The findings from network analysis will be complemented and supported with framing of the dialogues that emerged during the protest, thus a combination of quantitative and qualitative methodologies will be employed in this study. Quantitative methods will be basically used to map and identify the positioning of players in the network, while qualitative methods will help reveal their frames. Findings from this research are expected to deliver important evidence related to the sociopolitical grounds of the recent environmental protests in Turkey.

Keywords: environmental justice, protest	political economy,	framing, network ar	nalysis, Twitter, Cerattepe

Title: It's Not All Fake News and Filter Bubbles: Personalised News Consumption and Collective Exposure on Social Media

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: Brexit and the recent election of Donald Trump have raised concerns over the conditions of news consumption on social media. The debates that surround the influence of fake news emerge from a fear of selective exposure, resulting in harmful audience fragmentation. As citizens have increasing control over the information contained on their news feeds, fears exist that a lack of agreement about what constitutes public issues may threaten societal bonds that are essential to a democracy. Despite this, this paper argues that individual media habits are considerably more complex—and potentially less damaging—than first feared.

By drawing on a mixed-methods research design, in which evidence of citizen behaviour on Facebook and Twitter is contextualised with interviews and reflective weekly diary entries collected over three months, this paper explores how 29 participants use social media within their day-to-day lives. This methodology provides an opportunity to observe the spaces—online and offline—in which citizens consume and make sense of political information. These findings are compared with a database of cover stories from the front pages of four British newspapers (the Sun, the Daily Mail, The Times and the Guardian), to examine the relative prominence of news items in the press with those reported by participants.

The findings show that media habits at the individual level are personalised. Participants use a range of media to shape the information they receive around issues that they have a longstanding interest in. Despite this, there was no evidence of selective exposure leading to harmful audience fragmentation. The comparison between the diaries and newspaper coverage illustrates that this personalisation was balanced by four moments of collective exposure, as citizens focused their attention on public issues. Therefore, while the dynamics of media consumption have irreversibly changed, citizens still participate in democratically beneficial shared experiences.

Furthermore, even amongst the most active users, no diarist relied exclusively on social media for their political information. Participants refer to professional news media and other trusted citizens to contextualise and process the information they are exposed to. This hybridisation of media consumption habits poses important questions for future research on media literacy.

Title: Political communication in an African post-colony: The case of election campaign messaging in Zimbabwe

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: Much of the available literature on political communication is rooted in a predominantly liberal Western democratic set-up characterised by, among other things, a vibrant, pervasive and 'free' mass media which shapes the terms of political debate, an active and informed citizenry with access to both legacy and new media, and political parties and politicians whose 'common' goal seems to be to attain/retain power for a given term within the same liberal-democratic context (see, McNair, 2003; Maarek, 2011). In Southern Africa, political communication as a discipline is somewhat under-researched and emerging. The aim of this paper is to contribute to research on the subject in an African context, specifically focusing on the dynamics of political messaging in postindependent Zimbabwe. A former British colony until 1980, Zimbabwe's post-independence election campaigns have always been characterised by contested renditions of anti-colonial struggle memories, and by threats of violence and return to war as key political messages. While the mainstream media have provided critical platforms for political communication at election time, political parties have also engaged different forms of 'nano media'—such as posters, clothing and other branded political paraphernalia, 'star' rallies, song and dance, traditional village mobilisation structures and others—as strategies of communication and mobilisation. In an environment where the mainstream media reaches less than half of the population, their role and influence tends to be limited largely to urban areas, which constitute only about 30 percent of Zimbabwe. Through a combination of archival research, in-depth interviews and qualitative content analysis, this paper investigates the key elements of political communication in Zimbabwe across three historical phases; the 1980-1990 first decade of independence, the 1990-1999 phase of economic structural adjustment, and the period between 2000-2003, characterised by political and economic crisis as well as heightened authoritarianism. The results show that in a post-colonial African context, political communication is characterised by, among other things, messaging around memory (and counter-memory) of struggle, a strong resort to 'nano media' strategies of mobilisation, comparatively limited role for the mainstream media (especially in rural areas), and the deployment of traditional structures (e/g., traditional leaders with social and coercive capital) by some political parties.

Title: The Role of Election Polls in Newsmaking in the 2014 Brazilian Presidential Elections

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: This paper seeks to analyse the different framings (Entman, 1993) of election polls in print news published by O Globo during the presidential elections in Brazil in 2014 (between the months of August and October). The study draws from a content analysis and its sample includes news which either disseminate or simply mention the results of election polls. I have chosen to focus on the newspaper O Globo because this represents one of the largest and most powerful private media corporations in the country. The aim of this paper to understand the ways in which this particular newspaper and its journalists make use of election polls to construct a political narrative, questioning to what extent such uses might be consistent with the role of journalism in a democratic society. Indeed, here, I delve into some of these debates by examining what makes opinion polls newsworthy (Traquina, 2013) in this context and by offering insights on the current nature of journalistic work and on how the latter can shape journalists' uses of numbers in the process of news construction. In order to analyse this, I have also conducted in-depth interviews with political journalists who work for O Globo and other news outlets. Based on this combination of framing analysis and interviews, my research suggests that the uses of election polls in newsmaking have contributed to an over simplification of the political debate during the 2014 Presidential Elections. By emphasising some of the horse racing aspects of the electoral dispute, O Globo's journalism has neglected some of the complexities of the political scenario, such as Marina Silva's (one of the candidates) failure to form a solid party coalition, and some of the mainstream media's ideological components which prompted journalists to (perhaps artificially) portray Marina as a third-way candidate who could bring about all the changes that the Brazilian voters desired.

Title: Más allá de la tentación populista. El giro estratégico en la comunicación de gobierno en

Ecuador

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: La influencia de la profesionalización como rasgo de la evolución de la comunicación política (Holtz-Bacha, 2007; Negrine, 2007) ha sido patente en el ejercicio de la comunicación de gobierno (Canel & Sanders, 2010). Sanders y Canel (2013), comparan las experiencias en el ejercicio de la comunicación gubernamental en 15 diferentes países, y las clasifican en una matriz, que toma en consideración la orientación estratégica o táctica de la comunicación gubernamental y su inclinación hacia una comunicación ya sea partidista o ciudadana.

Aunque el trabajo incluye países latinoamericanos como Chile y México, es indispensable evaluar el contexto latinoamericano desde una perspectiva política recurrente en la región como es el populismo (De la Torre & Arson, 2013). Sobre todo si, como se reconoce en la literatura, el populismo tiene entre sus pilares el recurso de la comunicación (Waisbord, 2014; Kitzberger, 2009). Esta investigación aplica la matriz propuesta por Sanders y Canel para analizar la comunicación de gobierno del presidente ecuatoriano, Rafael Correa. El hallazgo principal es que, más allá del encanto, el carisma y la invocación al pueblo como elementos de investidura radical y reafirmación popular (Laclau, 2005), la gestión de comunicación de gobierno es altamente estratégica y profesionalizada.

Ecuador, a diferencia de otros países con indicadores similares como México, Singapur y Zimbawe, se encuentra entre los cuatro países con mayor tendencia a una gestión estratégica de comunicación. Por otro lado, en el eje sobre la orientación de la comunicación, Ecuador coincide con Francia y España y seguido de cerca por Chile y México. Esta evaluación se sustenta a partir de un amplio estudio del marco jurídico, la estructura y los procesos de comunicación de gobierno en la Secretaría de Comunicación ecuatoriana, SECOM.

Una de las conclusiones que Sanders y Canel (2013) hacen, con la salvedad de las limitaciones que todo modelo puede tener, es que los países cuyas libertades se ven comprometidas (por ejemplo la libertad de prensa), serían menos estratégicos que los países con mayores libertades. Este comportamiento no se cumple del todo con el caso ecuatoriano, que está ubicado entre los más estratégicos y altamente profesionalizado.

Title: Enmarcando la reforma energética mexicana: discursos de think-tanks, partidos políticos y periódicos de la Ciudad de México.

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: Tras asumir la presidencia de México en septiembre de 2012, Enrique Peña Nieto anunció que en los meses siguientes se discutiría una nueva reforma energética, con lo que dos visiones sobre la energía nacional volvieron a confrontarse: la apertura a la iniciativa privada contra la preservación de la exclusividad del Estado en el manejo del sector. ¿Qué visiones y recomendaciones hicieron los think-tanks sobre la reforma, y cómo se insertaron en los proyectos de cambios constitucionales del presidente y el Partido Acción Nacional, principales fuerzas políticas promotoras de la apertura? ¿Cómo fluyeron estos marcos de interpretación a través de la prensa escrita? El objetivo del presente artículo es presentar los hallazgos obtenidos del análisis de los discursos de tres think-tanks mexicanos y las iniciativas de reformas constitucionales presentadas por el presidente y por el Partido Acción Nacional, así como del flujo de noticias y opinión publicados en cuatro diarios de la Ciudad de México tras la presentación de los discursos, para identificar:

- -Las grandes narrativas sobre el tema y los marcos de interpretación que la integran;
- -El descenso socialmente estratificado de las narrativas y los marcos de interpretación;
- -La utilización de mitos y significantes flotantes para la construcción de nuevos significados.

Desde una perspectiva cualitativa, y siguiendo la teoría del framing propuesta por Robert Entmanintegrando su modelo de activación en cascada con el desarrollado por Karl Deutsch-, junto a
conceptos de la teoría discursiva planteada por Ernesto Laclau y Chantal Mouffe, analizaré, por un
lado, la construcción de formaciones discursivas, es decir, conjuntos de discursos aparentemente
dispersos pero unidos por marcos de interpretación y narrativas comunes; por otro, la creación de
significados que en estas se dan y, finalmente, describiré la articulación entre discursos de élites
socioeconómicas, élites políticas y medios de comunicación, para promover visiones homogéneas
sobre un asunto clave en la política mexicana. Con lo anterior, mostraré la construcción de
hegemonía, es decir, la fijación de significados desde una posición particular, en este caso, sobre el
sector energético mexicano desde la perspectiva del neoliberalismo.

Title: De-legitimization by legitimacy: An attempt of Beijing against localism in Hong Kong

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: In 8 Feb 2016, localism protesters occupied the streets in Hong Kong. These protesters were more willing to adopt violent means, eventually forced a policeman to fire gunshots. Many condemned violence of the protesters but it did not stop Edward Leung, leader of the protest, to win 15% of the vote in a by-election 20 days later, proving a big boost of localism in the city. Chinese government since then tried to de-legitimize this result and launched attacks against Leung and his supporters.

The concept of legitimacy from the institutional theory provides an explanation of how social arrangements and cultural factors allow (or prevent) innovative ideas to diffuse or facilitate in the society, and consists of a few foundations: regulatory, normative and cultural-cognitive. An idea cannot be widely acceptable without legitimation, and this is the case of localism in Hong Kong: this idea long existed, but it had not been widely accepted until Beijing tightening the grip in the city thus gives it legitimacy. To stop such idea from spreading (i.e. delegitimize), the advocates of Beijing can either attack Leung directly (mainly by humiliation or Mythopoesis) or defend the current system by using the foundations mentioned above.

This study argues that de-legitimation can be direct (against innovation) and indirect (justify the current system). The focus of this study is to examine the methods the pro-government advocates used to de-legitimize the proven support (15% of the votes) of localism on social media. Are there certain types of legitimacy often used to support the current system and thus resist change? What are the cultural and social factors behind?

2000 comments in 2 dominating pro-government Facebook page were content analyzed, Kappa=.668 (95% CI, .614 to .759), p smaller than 0.001. Over 60% of the comments falls into the direct category (48.9% humiliation and 15.8% Mythopoesis) while 35.2% of the comments falls into indirect category (19.6% regulatory legitimation; 13.7% cultural-cognitive and 1.9% normative). Regulatory legitimation is often emphasized as the supporters of the government are often those with vested interest and reluctant to change; i.e. those believed in stable and worked-well system. Cultural-cognitive legitimation reflected many still hold on to traditional Chinese values to judge the younger generation of Hong Kong. The fact that less than 2% of these comments are normative legitimacy reflected the reality of Hong Kong: Leung and his supporters were fighting for the core values of the city, and were often hard to refute their arguments by normative legitimacy.

Title: The Significance of New Media in the Promotion of Democracy through Citizen

Participation

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: The role of communication, according to Scott (2014), should be not to disseminate information in order to change individual behaviors, but to facilitate the inclusive expression of communities' needs. Such a process, Scott asserts, involves communication that is horizontal and dialogic, rather than vertical and monologic. In other words, communication that is participatory and involving in nature. Drawing from democracy and its meaning, communication should provide a platform for political participation. In the past, new media and ICT have been used for protest movements (in North Africa in 2011), humanitarian responses (in Haiti, 2010), and elections (in Senegal, 2012; and Kenya, 2013)(Scott, 2014). McNair (2011) stipulates five functions of the communication media in 'ideal-type' democratic societies: to inform citizens of what is happening around them (the surveillance and monitoring functions of the media), to educate the people as to the meaning and significance of the 'facts', to provide a platform for public political discourse, facilitating the formation of 'public opinion', and feeding that opinion back to the public from whence it came, to give publicity to governmental and political institutions – the 'watchdog' role of journalism, and, lastly, the media in democratic societies serve as a channel for the advocacy of political viewpoints. McNair stresses that on this point, when some media endorse a party during elections for example, this advocacy function may be viewed as one of persuasion. The purpose of this study is to determine the significance of New Media and ICTs in promoting democracy and enhancing citizen participation in politics. The objective is to identify the new media and ICTs used by the people, determine the extent to which citizens use these new media and ICTs to participate in politics, and establish how the usage of these new media and ICTs has improved citizen participation. The study will also seek to establish how these citizens have benefitted from using new media. Using questionnaires, the study will use descriptive research design to explore the information, describe characteristics as well as predict the characteristics of the entire population. It will involve a target population of 200 randomly selected citizens, divided into significant age groups. Both probability sampling and non-probability sampling designs will be used. Everett Rogers' (1986) technological determinism will provide a theoretical background for the study, whereby technological determinism is the degree to which a technology is the main cause of social changes in a society.

Title: Trump-Clinton tweets and its effects on public and media perceptions in the 2016 U.S Presidential Campaigns.

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: This article discusses the effect of social media networks in particular twitter in shaping citizen's perceptions of presidential aspirants in the 2016 U.S elections. In this study, the researcher investigates whether media attributes of a candidate shape the way the public retweets or likes a given tweet of an aspiring presidential candidate as advocated by proponents of the agenda setting theory. Ranging from the scholarly views of McCombs and Shaw in explaining how people rank and think about different issues, this study upholds the assumption that the new technological communicative features of social networks in particular twitter create a direct link between a source of a tweet which shapes the public's ability to retweet or like than being influenced by the media attributes. In carrying out the study, two research questions were investigated of a) do tweets directly from Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton have a stronger impact on public perceptions of the candidates than news media attributes and b) The news media will have a stronger second-level agenda setting impact on the public than will the candidates. This was observed through how often citizens retweeted and liked a candidate's tweet despite the varying newspaper positive, negative and neutral attributes towards a political aspirant on a given studied day. The study was carried out after the second U.S Presidential debate and lasted for two weeks starting with October 10, 2016. The day of the Presidential debate and the day of elections are excluded. The study considered the remaining 28 days to the general elections to select the 14 days to be used for collecting data for study. A systematic random sampling technique, using an interval of 2 was used with tenth of the month as the starting point of the dates under study. The dates studied were October 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 28, 30 and November 1, 3 and 5. A similar sampling technique was also applied in selecting the tweets and newspapers under study. On each day, the researcher systematically selected 20 tweets from a source's day tweets. The first 10 tweets were at the start of the day whereas the last 10 tweets were those posted before midnight of the day under study. Two newspapers were used for data collection in the period of 14 days; The Wall Street Journal and The New York Times. The latent meaning in news coverage of the sources based on eight issues: transparency; sexual scandals or sexist, Lying, corruption, health issues, taxation, Foreign trade and immigration will be used to affectively attribute the candidates as positive, negative and neutral in the 2016 U.S Presidential campaigns. The media issues are used as a yard stick in measuring how media perceives and portrays the candidates to the publics. Findings show that candidates had a greater impact on public perceptions as observed in retweets and likes whereas media attributes had less impact on the way public perceived candidates.

Title: PANEL: Perils and Possibilities: The Media in Post-Peace Accord Colombia

Session Type: Panel Submission

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Abstract: Perils and Possibilities: The Media in Post-Peace Accord Colombia

Peligros y Posibilidades: Los Medios en Colombia Pos-Acuerdo de Paz

Although the 310-page peace agreement between the Colombian government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, or FARC, barely dedicates two pages (36-37; 93) to the democratization of the media as a peace building strategy, the accord will have long lasting effects on the reconfiguration of the country's highly mediated public sphere. Alternative, community-level, progressive, and left-oriented media initiatives in Colombia are poised to receive oxygen in the post-conflict period, a change that promises to bring long-stifled voices to the fore. At the same time, illegal economies continue to flourish, right-wing armed groups loom over regional politics, and divisive disinformation campaigns have sewn great skepticism about a peace agreement whose legitimacy was weakened by its initial defeat in a plebiscite on October 2, 2016.

This panel is an invitation to think through the media politics of Colombia's impending political transformation. How might the performative dimensions of Colombia's experimental transitional justice policies be mediated to place the voices of victims and perpetrators in a wider social field? To what extent will emergent media assemblages diversify the country's highly concentrated media system? How might the peace accord provide an opening to forge a more participative democracy

where ideological debate can flourish without recourse to arms? How do transformations in the broader media ecology layer onto these Colombia-specific questions? This panel brings together Colombian and international scholars to wrestle with these issues at a moment of unfolding possibility and peril for the Andean nation.

Participants:

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Title: By elimination' Negative campaigning in the 2016 Cape Verdean presidential elections

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: As political campaigns get more and more personalized in a media-centered era, discrediting an opponent has become a more popular technique. In fact, attack strategies have become more predominant in recent elections worldwide. Scholars have amassed a huge wealth of research on negative campaigning, and amongst the causes which may affect the tendency to "go negative", feature structural and performance-related factors, such as incumbency, ideology, partisanship, campaign resources, performance in the polls, closeness of a race, candidate gender (Lau and Pomper 2004; Lau and Rovner 2009).

Against this background, this paper deals with the structural factors impinging on a presidential campaign in a 'third wave democracy' country previously ignored in the literature. Indeed, the 2016 campaign in Cape Verde was marked by an unprecedented attack campaign by the insurgent candidate.

Based upon a content analysis of the daily TV political advertising of the presidential campaign in Cape Verde, combined with ethnographic participation, it concludes that besides the nature of the election, the unmatched negative campaigning was the result of a juxtaposition of two different factors or circumstances. On the one hand, the late decision to run (in view of the tabu of the expected and predictable candidate and former Prime Minister), alongside the lack of resources (for the absence of official support from the main opposition party) which prevented access to the candidate throughout the entire campaign. On the other hand, the need to replace the media role as fact-checker of the spinning and propaganda apparatus of the incumbent candidate. Indeed, contrasting with the incumbent partisan position to persuade the people of a particular perspective, the insurgent resorted to a sort of counter- spin, aggressive and confrontational style typical of the press - known as 'hyperadversarialism' - so as to actively seeking to expose and deconstruct the former.

Title: "I know words, I have the best words': Political satire, follow-up communication and (political) participation

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: With the rise of social media and its ever new upcoming memes, the possibility for the users to easily (re)produce and distribute satirical content, and an increasing focus on political entertainment, studies of political satire have become a relevant field for reconstructing and understanding political discourses as well as individual political participation (see Holbert, 2013). In times of polarizing political events such as the election of US president Donald Trump or the Brexit, the role of satire as socio-critical authority (Behrmann, 2002; Simpson, 2003) is repeatedly emphasized, and satirists are even considered 'opinion leaders' in political discourse (Crittenden et al., 2011). Holbert (2014, p. 28) defines "[p]olitical satire . . . [as] a pre-generic form of political discourse containing multiple humor elements that are utilized to attack and judge the flawed nature of human political activities". Comprising humor, attacks against the satirized object, and a reference to existing norms (Brummack, 1971), political satire not only enables and fosters political protest (Faina, 2013), but has also been shown to, on a lower level, initiate political follow-up communication (Porzelt, 2013). Follow-up communication itself is considered to serve a deliberative function in societal and political discourses, comprising both interpersonal and massmediated forms of communication, and including different types of actions (such as sharing or discussing) through different channels after the reception of media content (Ziegele, 2016). Even though satire's potency to instigate political discussion seems obvious, little is known about the content, nature, and specific forms of communication initiated by the use of politic-related satirical media content. This abstract thus addresses the question, in how far (and how) political satirical media content can evoke follow-up communication, in which forms the follow-up communication might occur and how it is moulded by the specific surrounding conditions, in which it takes place. In an explorative study with 21 semi-structured qualitative interviews, participants (ages 18 to 62) years; diverse political interest and affinity towards satire) were asked about engagement in followup communication in connection with politics-related satirical media content. Results show that follow-up communication initiated by satirical content reaches from mere sharing of the content to (semi-)publicly displayed communication in social media, and private interpersonal communication; it either refers to the satirical content itself, the satirist, or the related political topic. Satirical content prompts engagement in political discourse, and sometimes even functions as a door-opener for political conversations between conflicting parties, seemingly fostering deliberative discourse in pluralistic societies. However, which satirical content is shared and discussed with whom highly depends on the type of satirical content, the nature of the interpersonal relationships, and the motivation of the individual. These conditions also appears to impact the channel that is chosen for follow-up communication. In lights of the delineated study results, I will discuss the relation of political satire to engagement in (critical) political discussion and civic participation, as well as the connected societal and democratic implications.

Title: Online Campaigns in Ecuador Presidential Elections: Information, Interactivity, Engagement and Mobilization.

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: Recent research indicates that campaigns on the web are replacing the use of mass media in electoral processes in Latin America. However, few studies in the region provide systematic analysis of dimensions, strategies and functions of presidential campaigns that may yield to cross-countries comparisons as it has been conducted for online campaigns in Europe (Koc-Michalska, Lilleker, Smith & Weissmann, 2016; Lilleker, Tenscher & Štětka, 2015).

Our study aims to identify how information, interactivity, engagement and mobilization are used in order to advance electoral campaigns (Howard, 2006; McMillan & Downes, 2000). For this purpose, we developed indexes of information, interactivity, engagement and mobilization features on candidates' websites, as well as in their Facebook and Twitter profiles. These indexes help to measure the performance of online campaigns of each presidential candidate in the Ecuador presidential campaign. As control variables the study incorporates Internet penetration, percentage of users of social web, political ideology of the candidates and election results. In addition, the mapping of Twitter communities of the main presidential candidates is performed. Using measures of social network analysis (degree centrality, closeness centrality, betweenness, and eigenvector centrality), the different types of influencers in each of the communities and their roles in their respective election campaigns will be identified (Puyosa, forthcoming).

The research team aim to follow-up with similar studies for Chile's national elections (2017), and Colombia's national elections (2018). The data will allow us to understand the dynamics of election campaigns on the web in each country. Additionally, we expect to undertake a comparative analysis between the three countries. The instruments developed for measurement may also be used for the monitoring and evaluation of future election campaigns at an international level.

Title: The Portuguese Far Right on Facebook 'What' Does it even exist'

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: Portugal is very often portrayed as a solid European democracy where extremist Right wing politics is almost non-existent. This particular trait is in fact used regularly both by national and international political figures in virtuosity framed discourses. Despite being a residual electoral force the Far Right nationalist movement is however very active in social networks and observing and mapping its activities can give us useful insights into the workings of an apparently dormant political force and it can also contribute to any broader cross national reading on the formation and dissemination of extremist politics via the web.

As such, we have mapped the online network on Facebook having created a clique of over 1400 pages. Data was collected between January and October 2016 using three methods: a snowball approach to include all pages with like/share linkages, the platform's 'suggested pages' algorithm, and extraction via netvizz.

We have subsequently performed a structural analysis testing several measures of centrality in order to understand how actors organize and behave in the network. This analysis has produced some observations which might indicate the presence of a deliberate growth strategy: the Portuguese Far Right movement actively seeks to enhance its relevance by engaging with similar European organisations (high levels of betweenness); it also builds strong links with pages relating to Portuguese History contents (monuments, past political figures, monuments, museums); it produces contents vilifying the media (accusations of censorship, boycott, bullying) whilst promoting a crusade in the name of true information; and it is committed to support campaigns to help military personnel, fire brigades, or even local teachers ('the real Portugal').

Title: PANEL: Perils and Possibilities: The Media in Post-Peace Accord Colombia

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Jairo Darío Velásquez Espinosa Email: jairod.velasquez-xyz-gmail.com

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Affiliation: Universidad del Rosario

Abstract: Paper title: Media frames about the coverage of the peace plebiscite between the Colombian government and the FARC guerrilla

This paper will analyse media frames. Specifically those used by four colombian to news shows broadcast between September 1st and October 1st, 2016, during the campaign for the plebiscite to prove or reject the peace agreements between the Colombian government and the group known as FARC. It will follow the methodology proposed by Holli Semetko, Patti Valkenburg and Carlos Muñis.

The frames are media constructions, through which they build conceptual shortcuts that allows their audiences to relate to a specific part of reality. They become very effective tools to boost specific agendas into the public opinion. Specially in times of political campaigns.

This works have been interested in knowing, some more than others, the three phases of the frame process: the production (which is the less researched), the presence in informative products and the effects that the frame can have over the audiences. This research will focus in the second part. The decision was taken because it was easy to access to the materials that will be analysed and for the possibility to compare frames between different media products from dissimilar trends.

Four tv News Shows were studied. All of them in the 7 pm time slot, from Monday to Friday. The media studied were broadcast in either a national private channel, Noticias Caracol; a national public channel, CM&; a regional broadcaster, Tele 5, and one from a cable channel, Red+ Noticias.

These news products were studied to determinate if they made a coverage of the plebiscite using strategic frames, exploring events or pronouncements, leaving aside details and deep explanations of topics dealt during the news coverage. Beside this, taking advantage of the differences between the media sample, the differences in the frame process of the information were assessed. And, at last, we tried to identified the media's position about the political process in question.

At the end, we find that almost haf of the news analyse were presented in the headlines, demonstrating that the information about the plebiscite was of great interest for the newscast. Also, the numbers show presence of all the frames' categories studied. At this point, its relevant to highlight that most of the news were focus on the political campaign in favor to approve the peace agreements and the conflict between the parts.

• Semetko, H. & Valkenburg, P. (2000). Framing european politics (content analysis). Journal of Communication, Spring 2000. Páginas 93-109.

• Muñiz, C. (2015). La política como debate temático o estratégico. Nueva Época, No. 23. Páginas 67-95.

Title: "PANEL:" Social Media versus Mainstream Media: Analyses of the 2016 U.S. Presidential

Election

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

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Affiliation: East Carolina University

Abstract: Panel: Social Media versus Mainstream Media: Analyses of the 2016 U.S. Presidential

Election

Panel Description:

This panel focuses on the interplay between the media and politics. Specifically, the panelists from Africa, the Middle East, and the United States will examine the polarity and salience of social media and mainstream media during the 2016 presidential election in the United States of America. The panelists will treat the dynamics of political campaign, propaganda, advertisement, publicity, media and political actors, which unequivocally pitched both print and electronic media into two major camps: social media and mainstream media. Not only were the social media and mainstream media complementary to each other but were also contradictory. The cultural dissonance and dichotomy in professionalism led to ethical and unethical practices and questions about gathering and disseminating the news. Truth and post-truth as well as fake news and factual news were in competition for discerning and gullible audiences. Also clashing at the same time were political theories and communication theories. The panelists used both qualitative and quantitative methods in their studies. This panel discourse is significant to the future of the press and politics in an emerging cyber civilization. The discourse is about changes in the media landscape and the necessary construction of an objective information and communication superstructure.

Panelists:

Professor Festus Eribo, School of Communication, East Carolina University, USA, Chair and moderator of the panel.

Professor Imafidon Olaye, Communication Department, William Patterson University, New Jersey, USA

Panel: Title: Accounting for the Uncountable: Alternative Agenda and other Peripheral Factors in the 2016 US Presidential Election Campaign.

Professor May Abdallah, Lebanese University, Lebanon, and president of Arab Association for Research and Communication Sciences. Panel: Title: Traditional and Social Media Coverage of the US 2016 Presidential Election Campaign in the Middle East.

Professor Bernard Emenyeonu, Communication Studies Department, Nizwa College of Applied Sciences, Oman.

Panel: Title: What Happens to a Dance Step When the Music Changes? A Content Analysis of Print Media Coverage of the 2016 US Presidential Election Campaign in Oman

Title: Posverdad en 140 caracteres: análisis de las visiones sobre el Proceso de paz en Colombia.

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: El análisis que presenta esta ponencia tiene el objetivo de identificar las características que definen la posverdad, en las publicaciones de Twitter realizadas por parte del Gobierno colombiano, las Farc y la oposición durante algunos de los momentos más importantes de la firma de los acuerdos de paz en La Habana y su refrendación a través del plebiscito.

El referente para el desarrollo metodológico de esta propuesta es el concepto de 'posverdad' - elegida palabra del año 2016 por el Diccionario Oxford-, que da cuenta de la condición emotiva del mensaje y la manipulación de la información, según unos intereses específicos de cada parte interesada.

Keyes (2004) afirma que la posverdad alude al hecho de que se crean razones para manipular la verdad y, así, disimular la culpa o liberarse de ella. Si bien esto puede interpretarse como una mentira, también es posible aducir que cuando el lenguaje se guía por las emociones se crea una ambigüedad acompañada de una falsedad subyacente.

Para este trabajo se partió del análisis de los tuits aparecidos en la etapa final de las negociaciones de paz, con un corpus que reúne los mensajes publicados por tres miembros del Gobierno, tres de las Farc y tres representantes de la oposición. Los dos periodos seleccionados representan momentos álgidos del proceso: del 22 al 27 de agosto del 2016, cuando se hicieron evidentes las discrepancias generadas por la firma del acuerdo tras la culminación de las negociaciones, y del 26 de septiembre al 3 de octubre del mismo año, cuando se hizo evidente la polarización generada para la votación del plebiscito refrendatorio, cuyos resultados llevaron a modificar lo pactado inicialmente.

Los hechos presentados ocasionaron un profunda brecha en la opinión pública colombiana; no obstante, esta se evidencia más claramente en las declaraciones de quienes representan a cada uno de los sectores de la sociedad y, en esa medida, se han convertido en legitimadores para la construcción de esa opinión pública. Lo anterior justifica el planteamiento de este estudio, que pretende evidenciar cómo aquellos que se constituyen en actores políticos, ya sean del Gobierno, las Farc o la oposición, han usado Twitter como medio de difusión de sus 'verdades' y, en virtud de la libertad que otorga este medio, han configurado un discurso basado más en las emociones que en la argumentación de las ideas.

El análisis permite concluir, de forma preliminar, que las publicaciones realizadas cumplen con las características del concepto de posverdad, ya que se realizaron a partir de las emociones que generaba el proceso más que de hechos concretos. Así, en las redes se legitimó como información una interpretación de cada actor frente a un contexto y sus circunstancias, lo que permite atenuar o matizar la manipulación de los hechos según las posturas o intereses políticos de cada uno de ellos.

Title: Building Bridges with Breitbart: A Topic Model Analysis of Online Media Coverage During the US Presidential Election 2016

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: Right-wing populist parties and movements are gaining in popularity in the Western world and are slowly but steadily filling the gap between right-wing extremism and the political mainstream (Wodak, 2015). The election of Donald Trump as US President is therefore in line with Brexit and the success of the German right-wing populist party AfD (Inglehart & Norris, 2016). Based on prior research the US right-wing is here understood as a counterpublic that is trying to bridge the gap to the political mainstream by establishing their topics in the US discourse (Downey & Fenton, 2003; Zhou et al., 2015). This paper's research question is whether the right-wing is successful in promoting their topics and if so with which.

To answer these questions a topic modeling analysis of over 1.4 million election-related news stories from over 25,000 online sources, which were written between May 2015 and November 2016, was conducted. By making use of the unsupervised machine learning algorithm LDA (Latent Dirichlet Allocation), the change of salient topics over time and the diffusion of topics can be identified. The results show that the election coverage was dominated by horse-race coverage (i.e. coverage about events, polls or debates), scandals (especially Hillary Clinton's) and less so about specific issues. Indeed, only Donald Trump was able to successfully establish the issue of immigration on the public agenda. In a more granular analysis of the US right-wing, it is shown that Breitbart holds a distinct position between far-right and conservative mainstream. On the one hand, it covers some of the topics that conspiracy theory sites such as Infowars or white nationalist sites such as VDARE or Daily Stormer cover (e.g. immigration, Islam or sexual allegations against Bill Clinton) but, at the same time, it also covers topics which are more similar to the conservative mainstream site FOX News (e.g. Clinton's emails or media criticism). Against this background and on the basis of time series analysis it is argued that Breitbart has a bridging function and that the site connects the right-wing counterpublic with the conservative political mainstream by translating topics such as Islamophobia in a more mainstream way. The consequence for the networked public sphere will be discussed.

Downey, J., & Fenton, N. (2003). New Media, Counter Publicity and the Public Sphere. New Media & Society, 5(2), 185-202. doi: 10.1177/1461444803005002003

Inglehart, R., & Norris, P. (2016) Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash. In Harvard John F. Kennedy School of Government (Series Ed.), HKS Faculty Research Working Paper Series: Vol. August 2016. Cambridge: Harvard John F. Kennedy School of Government,.

Wodak, R. (2015). The politics of fear: what right-wing populist discourses mean. London: Sage. Zhou, Y., Reid, E., Qin, J., & Chen, H. (2005). US Domestic Extremist Groups on the Web: Link and Content Analysis. IEEE Intelligent Systems, 20, 44-51.

Title: "PANEL:" Social Media versus Mainstream Media: Analyses of the 2016 U.S. Presidential

Election

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

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Abstract: Panel Description: Traditional and Social Media Coverage of the U.S. 2016 Presidential Election Campaign in the Middle East

The author of this study will discuss Arab Satellite media and use of traditional and social media during the U.S. presidential election. Additionally, she will treat media images of the two leading presidential candidates, Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. The author will analyze the discourse in the international media feed to the Middle East. The panelist will present some of the results of the study of original media users in Lebanon as well as discuss the use of social media during and after the November 2016 presidential election in the United States. The perspectives from the Middle East are significant to the understanding of cultural dynamics in the region. Similarly, this presentation is significant to our global understanding of the information and communication impacts in our digital age. The method used in this paper is a combination empirical analysis and theoretical interpretation.

Title: Newspapers and social network sites transformations in Egypt post the 2011 revolution: Politicizing media and mediatizing politics

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

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Affiliation: Roskilde University

Abstract: The rapid political transformations in Egypt have left deep marks on newspapers and social network sites since the 2011 revolution. Both newspapers and social networks have been considerably used by political actors and ordinary people for achieving political gains during and post the revolution. Based on the mediatization theory, this paper investigates the transformations of the political role of newspapers and social networks in Egypt, and how they together affected on and by the political power shift in the last six years. The empirical data were collected by a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods comprising of a survey of 527 Egyptian youth and semi-structured interviews of 12 political journalists and activists. The results found that newspapers played a negative role regarding political participation after the revolution, whereas social network sites played a positive role. In addition, both newspapers and social networks witnessed profound transformations associated with power relations of political actors. On one hand, the editorial policy of newspapers rabidly shifted several times affected mainly by the governmental control imposed on them. On the other hand, social networks transformed from being a mobilizational tool to a sarcasm tool and a human rights defender affected by the governmental repression practiced against political users of those sites. These transformations ultimately made newspapers a politicized tool in the hand of political actors, while social network sites, which were to a great extent out of political actors' control, remained a tool for mediatizing politics.

Title: 'PANEL:" Social Media versus Mainstream Media: Analyses of the 2016 U.S. Presidential

Election

Session Type: Panel Submission

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Affiliation: William Patterson University New Jersey

Abstract: Paper title: Accounting for the Unaccountable: Alternative Agenda and othe Peripheral Factors in the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election Campaign

This panelist will explore the turning points and critical factors that framed the socially constructed realities of the unprecedented election campaign in USA. In addition, the panelist will discuss the candidates and the political public opinion formation process. When political candidates avail themselves for vetting through traditional access points into the voting public's mind, election results are often predictable. However, the surprises or perceived anomalies of the results of November 8, 2016 presidential election in the United States of America have unleashed new probes into the effectiveness of polls, media analyses, political public opinion formation and a host of other factors emanating from social media and traditional or mainstream media. This paper uses qualitative analytical method in addition to data analysis. The study is significant because it contributes to our understanding of the social and political changes in contemporary society and the cultural dynamics at play during an election in the age of the Internet.

Title: AMBIGUOUS EFFECTS OF PERCEIVED ALGORITHMIC BUBBLES ON POLITICAL RECOGNITION: EVIDENCE FROM THE BRAZILIAN POLITICAL CRISIS

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

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Abstract: While much has been said about whether social media create "algorithmic bubbles", allegedly eroding diversity of expression and boosting polarization, there is little evidence on how the perception of these bubbles affect the construction of citizens' political identity. This paper addresses this problem by analysing more than 40 interviews with Brazilian "ordinary" individuals (i.e., neither politicians nor activists) who started, or intensified, their political activity on social media during the current political crisis in that country, initiated in 2013. My data indicate that the perception of political bubbles is rather common and has an ambiguous effect on a key element of their political identity: their feeling of political recognition. Using Axel Honneth's theory on recognition as an analytical framework, I argue that while many people think that their political voice is not respected because they feel unable to reach and convince people that are outside their bubbles, other people think of their bubbles as networks of political solidarity and love in an environment full of hatred towards the "other". Not rarely, the same ambivalent feelings are reported by an individual. My findings at the same time contradict and enrich what is known about these bubbles. First, because they point to how algorithmic bubbles might produce normatively positive political effects. Second, because they indicate that people might have a relatively good comprehension about these bubbles – and then resent the limitations imposed by them.

Title: "PANEL:" Social Media versus Mainstream Media: Analyses of the 2016 U.S. Presidential

Election

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Bernard Emenyeonu Email: bnnamdi-xyz-gmail.com

Country: OM (Oman)

Affiliation: Nizwa College of Applied Sciences

Abstract: Paper title: What Happens to a Dance Step When the Music Changes? A Content Analysis of Print Media Coverage of the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election Campaign in Oman

This panel presentation will examine the Omani media coverage of the American election. The author points out that the global buzz generated by the extra-ordinary nature of the November 2016 US presidential election campaign was prominently reflected in the Omani mass media despite limited interest in previous political discourse in the press. The media in Oman often shy away from political discourse. The strict state control of the media is often associated with the goals of maintaining internal peace and stability as well as sustaining cordial relations with the outside world. This study will examine the nature and nuances of the coverage of the U.S. presidential campaign in selected government and private dailies. The study contributes to our knowledge of media culture and the changes in society as a result of globalization and the new communication technologies.

Title: Media vs. political parties in the 2014 Presidential Elections in Brazil

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

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Affiliation: California State University Long Beach

Abstract: This study explores how Brazilian mainstream online news organizations and their columnists and bloggers framed the 2014 Presidential elections. Brazilians reelected former president

Dilma Rousseff for a second term, amid a turbulent campaign and accusations of corruption. Dilma Rousseff was reelected in October 2014 by a narrow margin and impeached in August 2016 for administrative misconduct and violation of the federal budget. Framing is both a theory and a methodology employed in journalism studies to understand the media's role in political life. The prominence of different issues and topics in the news media can have a significant influence on public opinion (Weaver, 1990). Frames are a result of social, institutional and professional interests and reflect the ideological character of news, which is one of the main aspects to be explored in this study. The study of frames in political coverage helps to shed light on the complex nature of political information in Latin America, a region where many countries have experienced similar processes. In most cases, the media actions strengthen the democracy, but at times they seem to undermine it. The Brazilian media have denounced wrongdoings and produced exposés about kickbacks in the public

administration in a regular albeit erratic style. Ambiguities persist both in politics and in the media's political coverage. The following research questions guide this study (some of them replicate my previous study on the 2010 coverage of the Brazilian Presidential elections:

RQ1: What are the main frames present on the online coverage of the 2014 Brazilian presidential elections and how do they compare to the frames found in 2010?

RQ2: To what extent do the media cover issues that parallel the electoral agendas of the main candidates expressed in their platforms and webpages?

RQ3: What are the main issues discussed by the online coverage during the presidential campaign and how do they compare to the 2010 campaign/

RQ4: Does the online coverage offer a more a critical/adversarial view or a more interpretive/analytical view of the presidential elections compared to the 2010 coverage?

RQ5: Does the online coverage tilt toward a more balanced, less partisan coverage or toward a less balanced and more partisan balanced coverage compared to 2010?

RO6: To what extent do the media favored a presidential candidate?

Methodology

The unit of analysis is the news items published by Brazil's three largest news online portals and the two major newsweekly magazines collected during a 30-day period before the election's first round up to five days after the official announcement of the winner. A random number of these units will be selected for analysis. News will be coded according to the major frames used in previous studies (episodic, thematic, horse-race, and personality-centered), and on whether they contain elements of a critical/adversarial tone or an analytical/interpretive tone. The study will include measurements of

level of partisanship, agenda matching, and frequency of positive/negative/neutral references to candidates' personalities and their political parties.						

Title: Uso de Twitter como estrategia de comunicación política en la campañas presidenciales del 2012 al 2016 en México, Colombia y Perú

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

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Abstract: El texto analiza las estrategias de comunicación política en la red social Twitter de los candidatos a la presidencia de México en 2012, Colombia en 2014 y Perú en 2016. Se realizó un análisis de contenido cuantitativo de las cuentas de los candidatos punteros de cada país, para comparar el potencial de actividad e interactividad de los contenidos tomando como base posibilidades de apertura al debate público un elemento de transparencia, rendición de cuentas social y democracia deliberativa (O'Donnell, 1997; Smulovitz y Peruzzotti, 2000) Se analizan desde perspectiva de análisis de redes socio tecnológicas (Foot y Schneider, 2006) y las bases teóricas de actividad e interactividad en internet (Mc Millán (2001; Norris, 2001; y Gibson y Ward, 2000 y 2006 y Lilleker y Jackson, 2012) y en las redes sociales.

Algunas de las principales preguntas son: ¿Cuáles son los grados de apertura democrática de los candidatos a la conversación e interacción e Twitter? ¿Ha sido Twitter un elemento marginal de las campañas o ha tenido un papel predominante? ¿Qué modificaciones a la estrategia de comunicación política en Twitter aplican los candidatos?

La hipótesis analiza el uso de Twitter en campañas políticas como parte de una estrategia de campaña donde, el contexto local y el grado de posibilidades de interacción y apertura, puede ser un elemento que normalice o ecualice los resultados de la campaña electoral.

Para la metodología se revisaron los envíos de las cuentas de Twitter de los candidatos punteros en cada elección, (primer y segundo lugar) durante la primera vuelta electoral, delimitado 61 días antes de cada. Para las redes sociales se realizó una revisión aleatoria no probabilística de entre un 10% y 30% de muestra del total con 90% de nivel de confianza y margen de error de entre un +/- 7 y 10% Se utilizó su archivo directo y además para los históricos de Twitter, y la captura de datos y el análisis fue realizado con Excel y SPSS. (Jerónimo y Duarte, 2010; Benoit y Benoit 2000; Honeycutt y Herrig, 2009 y García et al, 2011)

Entre los principales resultados se encontró que son minoría los candidatos que aprovechan las opciones de interacción en Twitter y con ello desaprovechan un nuevo espacio de deliberación con las audiencias y por el contrario recurren a campañas negras para disuadir más el debate orgánico entre usuarios. En algunos casos es la red social que más importancia le dan los candidatos, en comparación con YouTube y Facebook. La mayoría de los participantes en las contiendas utiliza links y utilizan constantemente etiquetas y dan mucha importancia a las fotografías.

Los nuevos espacios sociales, como se menciona en el documento introductorio de la mesa del IAMCR, tiene efectos sociales y culturales y cambios dramáticos, como por ejemplo el incremento del uso de videos y transmisiones en vivo (Periscope) a lo largo de cuatro años de campañas en tres países de América Latina o la importancia que algunos dan a los retuits, respuestas, menciones y "Me gusta".

Title: Confianza en la información de medios sociales y su impacto en la hipótesis de la acción correctiva

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: La hipótesis de la acción correctiva (Rojas, 2010) establece que las percepciones de las personas de que los medios son hostiles a sus puntos de vista y las percepciones de la influencia en medios se relacionan positivamente con la expresión online y la conversación política (Barnidge & Rojas, 2014); en un intento de corregir lo que los ciudadanos perciben como sesgos mediáticos en la esfera pública se producen acciones expresivas. Este estudio intenta establecer si la confianza en la información recibida por Internet y medios sociales puede ser una variable mediadora en la acción expresiva online ante la presencia de percepciones de hostilidad de los medios y de influencia de los mismos. El estudio observará los datos de una encuesta a una muestra de 521 colombianos obtenida entre el 26 y el 29 de abril de 2016, basada en un panel en línea administrado por la compañía Survey Sampling International (SSI) y diseñada para representar a la población adulta de Colombia. SSI utiliza una estrategia multietápica en la que primero, y en forma aleatoria, se escogen personas del panel que fue construido para representar al país a partir de parámetros demográficos y geográficos; en una segunda etapa se emplean características conocidas de la población para balancear la muestra por cuotas. El estudio diferencia entre la acción expresiva en Internet y la que ocurre en las redes sociales, intentado explicar la presencia de nuevos modos de acción política como el compartir información en redes sociales, alimentado por una mayor confianza en la información de dichas redes que se encuentra por lo general sesgada en las burbujas de opinión informativa online. El estudio encuentra evidencia de que la credibilidad en la información obtenida por Internet y redes sociales explica las acciones expresivas online mucho más que la credibilidad en las fuentes de información tradicionales de prensa y noticieros de televisión, sin embargo, no se encuentra relación entre esta acción y la hipótesis de la acción correctiva para la muestra obtenida en 2016. Se sugiere entonces que la proliferación de creencia en la información obtenida por redes sociales unida a un alto interés político genera movimientos expresivos independientes de los medios tradicionales, cualquiera sea la orientación ideológica de estos. Se observará además el impacto de las diferencias entre la confianza en la información obtenida por medios sociales o por medios tradicionales en la valoración de la democracia para el caso colombiano.

Title: I have set the Press Free! Geometry of General Musharraf's Gimmicks and Grammar of Pakistani National press

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: Abstract: Through the famous 1999s military coup in Pakistan, General Pervez Musharraf declared himself as Chief Executive of Pakistan by toppling the elected political government and successfully established his autocratic regime with effective control of media contents and use of media as a state tool to win wider public support at home truly his mind in line with what Aristotle- the Great had said once 'the power of the people's collective opinion enables a king to rule and should a king lose the support of public opinion, he would be a king no more". Since the media have the ability to mastersuch a crucial role, it stands a chance of being misused by the persons in power to justify their wrong actions sometimes. The study is the content analysis of news and editorials of mainstream six Pakistani national dailies on the issue of Lal- Masjid to see as to how overtly media was used as state tool for mustering support for Musharraf's policies during his tenure as Head of the state. Lal Masjid operation, widely be called as "operation silence" was one of them where information propaganda was commonly used to justify the operation. Started by General Pervez Mushrraf's sole powerful government the serious conflict runs for 18 months and 9 days of negotiations in 2007. The press, during this period, appears to have had extensive use of propaganda techniques devised by John Galtung's peace and war Journalism which includes, exposing the untruths of the others and supporting cover-up attempts/lies. Through application of Critical Discourse Analysis on the newspaper contents, the study harvests manifold suggestions that; 1) how such information black-outs affects independent thinking and curbs questioning tendencies of public? 2) how such environment causes to undermine most crucial faculties of the society and imparts rigidity information propaganda robs analytical ability to make the readers passive, as well?

The two-fold uniqueness of the research entails; it adds-up to the existing repository on techniques and role of propaganda under the guidance of Galtung's Peace Journalism, which further enhance understanding on role of media in a critical situations.

Key Words: Autocratic Regime, Peace Journalism, Information Propaganda, Lal Masjid, Pakistan, Content Analysis, Discourse Analysis

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Title: Panel: Perils and Possibilities: The Media in Post-Peace Accord Colombia

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Guilherme Canela Email: g.godoi-xyz-unesco.org

Country:

Affiliation: UNESCO

Abstract: How the Colombian Peace Process Fits within Challenges for Ensuring Freedom of Expression in Latin America Aligns with International Standards

The Colombian peace agreement acknowledges, particularly in chapter 2 (democratic participation), the role of key aspects of Freedom of Expression and Media Development agendas for the peace process.

Plurality of the media landscape (represented in the items related to community media, public media and regional media); regulation of governmental advertisement, safety of journalists, media and elections, access to public information are some of the media development-related issues underlined in the peace agreement.

Those topics are well-known challenges in Latin America's media ecosystem, together with media ownership concentration, lack of independent regulation, outdated regulatory frameworks, new censorship strategies, new challenges with the digital revolution, are but a few key pieces of the puzzle in the region.

This presentation will focus on the most important challenges faced by the Latin American region in order to align its media ecosystem with international standards on freedom of expression, access to information and press freedom, highlighting how facing these challenges is also a task for the Colombian peace process.

Title: Panel: Perils and Possibilities: The Media in Post-Peace Accord Colombia

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Alex L. Fattal Email: alf31-xyz-psu.edu Country: US (United States) Affiliation: Penn State University

Abstract: Paper title: The FARC and the Culture Industry: What the Media Spectacle of the FARC's 10th Conference says about its Prospects for Political Integration

"We will put down our weapons and pick up cameras."

- Boris Guevara, member of the FARC's media team speaking with PBS

For one week in late September of 2016 the FARC hosted more than 200 journalists in the Plains of Yarí, where it had assembled a stage fit for the Rolling Stones. Journalists bunked and bathed among the guerrillas. Ostensibly the meeting was for representatives of the group's rank and file to approve the peace accord, however in reality it was the FARC's coming out party and the consummate moment of the FARC's efforts to rebrand itself, a process it had been honing over the four-year negotiating period.

Achieving one of the peace agreement's underlying goals, deepening democracy, will depend on a more inclusive media environment where even the radical left can espouse its ideology. As the FARC weighs its prospects for political reintegration it has carefully considered its media strategy. This talk analyzes how the FARC's media inclusion can drive its political inclusion in the post-conflict period, and builds on interviews with FARC leaders and an ethnographic analysis of its 10th Conference cum public relations extravaganza.

Title: Panel: Perils and Possibilities: The Media in Post-Peace Accord Colombia

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Omar Rincon

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Country: Affiliation:

Abstract: Paper title: LOS MEDIOS Y EL PERIODISMO PERDIDOS EN LOS HORIZONTES DE PAZ

Comunicar es narrar en perspectiva de futuro. Y los medios de comunicación, el gobierno, las Farc, la academia y el ciudadano narramos en forma de pasado y nuestras guerras, violencias, inequidades, barbaridades. También, para comunicar mejor, hay que partir de las percepciones de los ciudadanos. Y existen dos percepciones generalizadas: (i) la guerra y ahora la paz son un asunto entre las fuerzas militares, los políticos y la guerrilla en la que los colombianos de bien somos espectadores del conflicto y la paz; (ii) en el proceso de paz el que pierde es el colombiano de bien. Estas dos percepciones se confirman en las narrativas mediáticas que aunque a favor de la paz, enuncian el mensaje del odio y confusión del uribismo. La pregunta es como hacer medios y periodismo en perspectiva de hacer las paces en Colombia.

Title: Panel: Perils and Possibilities: The Media in Post-Peace Accord Colombia

Session Type: Panel Submission

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Abstract: Titulo: LOS TERRITORIOS DE PAZ Y LAS POSIBILIDADES DE CREACION

ETICA Y ESTETICA DE LAS RESISTENCIAS

Esta ponencia se origina desde la apuesta directa de la comunicación Noviolenta y el diálogo de saberes utilizados como línea y metodología para la territorialización de la paz y el posconflicto en Colombia, a través de la investigación adelantada por el Programa SOYPAZ de UNIMINUTO en el sur de Bolívar, sobre: "Lo común y el uso de los bienes comunes como expresiones de nuevas ciudadanías y territorialidades para la paz en Colombia", investigación adelantada por el grupo de investigación en Paz, Ciudadanía y Desarrollo.

Lo anterior, implica promover y adoptar nuevas formas de comunicación éticas y estéticas para la vida desde los territorios, en donde se amplíen los mecanismos y expresiones de resistencia ciudadanas desde lo creativo en la reconstrucción de la verdad, sanación del dolor y recuperación de saberes, tradiciones, íconos, usos y costumbres afectados por la guerra.

Pero no solo hay historias de dolor a través del arte y de lo estético. También las hay de resistencia a la guerra y al desplazamiento impuesto: el Comité Cívico del Sur de Bolívar (CCSB), La defensa por el territorio de la Asociación Campesina del Valle del Río Cimitarra (ACVC) y la Asamblea Constituyente de Micoahumado, son apenas tres entre muchas valiosas experiencias de resistencia a la guerra y de construcción de paz realizadas en la región.

De esta ponencia pueden deducirse grandes posibilidades en las adopciones de nuevas e innovadoras metodologías y pedagogías para la paz, así como en la gestión del conocimiento y la reconstrucción social, puesto que permitirá: Crear narrativas de paz basadas en los valores e imaginarios regionales. b) Aprovechar las experiencias de resistencia y construcción de paz para generar programas educativos pertinentes y cohesionadores de arraigos e identidades. c) Profundizar en el conocimiento y la conservación de las memorias de resistencia y de las vidas de aquellos que lucharon por mantener vivas las organizaciones, su tierra, costumbres y los derechos de todos y todas.