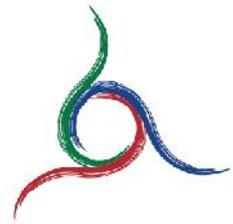




IAMCR 2018



Post-Socialist and Post-Authoritarian Communication Working Group

Abstracts of papers presented at the annual conference of the
International Association for Media and Communication Research¹

IAMCR

**Eugene, Oregon, USA
20-24 June 2018**

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Version: 11/06/18

¹ We have endeavoured to ensure that these are the abstracts of the papers actually presented at the conference. Nevertheless, due to cancellations, additions and other factors, abstracts may be included here that were not presented and abstracts that were presented may not be included.

Id: 17416

Title: Comparative Analysis of Transformational Processes of Chinese and Russian Media Systems

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: The objective of this paper is to compare the transformational processes of Chinese and Russian mediasystems. For Chinese mediasystem, the process of transformation has started from 1978, and for Russian, from 1985. In this paper, we attempt to show how the two mediasystems transformed from the very similar beginning to the different orientations and whether the similarity still exists today.

In this paper, we take the McQuail's theory about relations between journalism and society as a starting point to analyze the transformational processes. According to McQuail, the main factors that impact on mediasystems are economy, politics, technology, and culture.

According to the extent of transformation, we divide it into several parallel periods. Each period corresponds to different mediamodels. This approach allows us to see the changes explicitly, and then fully understand which factors are more crucial to the process, what are the features of new models, and the relations between the old and the new.

In this comparative research, we found: firstly, Chinese media transformation and Russian media transformation had different orientations in the beginning. Corresponding to the pragmatic China Reform, Chinese media transformation had no map of goals, while Russian media transformation had the Western media systems as an example. In the boom of democracy in the 1990s, not only did Media Law of Russian Federation have a lot of terms close to the Western media law, but also the media transformation was oriented to the Western media models, such as media privatization, commercial television, public television, etc. It was from 21st century accompanied with the ongoing Presidential position of V. Putin, the model had turned to the pro-governmental orientation. Secondly, the way of transformation in two counties was identified as gradual style and radical style. This was also in alignment with the state and social transformation in Russia and China. Thirdly, the priorities of media transition were different. In China, media transition mostly happened in the field of economy and new technology. Due to the high caution of ideology, Chinese government always controlled the media system. However, Russian media transition was in full speech freedom and market orientation in the beginning, and after 21st century, the governmental control started to be enhanced.

Regarding the similarities, we found there were some factors in common, in time older - market, globalization, and new Information Communication Technology, which directly impacted on media systems of two countries. But because the transformation has taken place mostly in the context of national countries, so in reality, although Chinese political mechanism is different from Russian, we found the government in two countries played more crucial roles and other three factors have less impacts.

Id: 17421

Title: The uneven modernization of media systems in post-authoritarian countries. Mexico as a case study

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: During the past decade, Mexican journalism has been widely researched by international and national scholars. Although both sets of studies coincide on certain issues, they diverge on their final argument: whereas the former suggests that the press as a whole was moving towards its modernization (e.g. Lawson, 2002; Wallis, 2004; Hughes, 2006), the latter argues otherwise (e.g. De León, 2011; Márquez, 2012; González, 2013; Espino, 2016). In other words, though from the outside there was a perception of change, from the inside a continuity of premodern ways was consistently stressed. Furthermore, these works draw their conclusions from anecdotic or descriptive evidence, rather than developing an overarching explanation for such a complex process as media modernization.

In order to fill this gap, and by drawing on an already robust body of literature, the aim of this paper is to develop a theoretical framework that allows an explanation of the coexistence of liberal and authoritarian features within the Mexican media system. That is, an analysis that contributes to the understanding of how journalistic practice, though inspired by modern ideals, is still held by premodern realities. That said, this proposal assumes neither a homogeneous modernization nor stagnation. On the contrary, it emphasises the simultaneous presence of both traits through everyday news stories, an outcome borne out of an uneven process of modernization. In so doing, this scheme is built upon the concepts of those exogenous and endogenous forces of change, and their impact on the news-making process: the former refers to the characteristics of the economic and political system, which is the context where news outlets operate; and the latter is related to the inherent features of the media system.

The originality of this proposal relies on a twofold basis: firstly, it pulls together the evidence of previous studies - all of which has been valuable and influential - to a higher level of abstraction and diversity. Therefore, this knowledge is presented within a single explicative framework. Secondly, and because of this alignment, this model is not only tailor-made for the Mexican case, but can be adapted to other emergent democracies, especially in Latin America, whose countries share similar cultural, political, and economic backgrounds, in addition to a common experience of transition to democracy from authoritarian regimes. This paper will therefore attempt to engage

with global debates on media modernization in post-authoritarian regimes, as well as attempt to contribute to its theoretical development.

Id: 17443

Title: Media, Populism and Nationalism in Revolutionary Cuba: Constructing the Cuban 'people' in Times of National Debate

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: This paper analyses the discursive strategies by which the unity of a political group is constructed, that is, the strategies that articulate 'the people' as a collective identity. More particularly, it focuses on the way in which the Cuban state-run press has constructed a populist revolutionary identity. While conceptualised differently, I analyse the way in which populist and nationalist articulations intertwine in discourse. Therefore, I study the articulation of a people-versus-elite (internal) and a people-versus-imperialism (external) confrontation. This paper sheds light into the analysis of populist discourse in contexts in which it has become hegemonic, and institutionalised. I demonstrate that, in these situations, 'the enemy' can be articulated both through a populist and a nationalist discourse. In the case of Cuba this means that the enemy can be internalised, blaming a bureaucratic elite for distorting the people-Party unity, or externalised, blaming the United States for plotting against national sovereignty.

In this paper, I contend that concepts and identities are necessarily unstable, and open-ended. If there is one revolution that claims to have happened in the name of the people, that is surely the Cuban Revolution. The articulation of Cuban hegemonic discourse is analysed through the lenses of Granma, the official organ of the Communist Party of Cuba. In this paper, I systematically analyse over 500 news stories during the national debates that preceded the 4th (1990-1991) and the 6th (2010-2012) congresses of the Communist Party of Cuba. The hegemonic discourse of the press is then discussed through in-depth interviews with over 30 Cuban journalists. This double focus allows to unveil the media role in the construction of asymmetric power relations, and to account for discursive resistance.

Id: 17561

Title: "Media and Conflict: Media Use and Role in Conflict Management and Peace Restoration in Tajikistan in People's Narratives."

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: Twenty-six years ago, Tajikistan was on the edge of a disaster. Civil war erupted in the country that killed more than 100,000 people, nearly 26,000 women became widowed, and 55,000 children became orphans. The war is the most tragic episodes in the history of Tajikistan, and one of the bloodiest conflicts in the post-Soviet space.

This study investigated the role of media in pre, during, and the post-civil war in Tajikistan to understand what role(s) local media played during various stages of the conflict and how media was used by in-conflict parties. The goal of the study was to explore the use and roles of Tajik media during the war to learn if the media escalated or diminished the intensity of the conflict, and /or if contributed to conflict management and restoration of peace in the country.

First, the review of the literature was conducted on how the media may provoke violent conflict, contribute to conflict management and peace restoration. Second, the study used the uses and gratification theory in arguments to explain the media roles, media uses and gratifications of in-conflict parties during the conflict, and how media played a large part in provoking and managing the conflict.

The study used secondary data collected by the "Oral History of Independent Tajikistan Project" of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Academy, devoted to the 15th anniversary of Tajikistan Independence. Interviewees shared memories, experiences, and challenges of the country within this period.

The data were collected in form of interviews conducted with ordinary people - citizens of Tajikistan, who witnessed and survived the civil war of 1992-1997. In short, the "Oral History" project is an archive of stories told by ordinary people rather than a neat, academic text.

In this study, interviews' excerpts containing information about media and media situation during the war were extracted, transcribed, translated into English, and analyzed. These excerpts served as the text for this project and analyzed to explore the role and use of media during the conflict. Data were coded using (open, axial, and selective) coding process. The excerpts were re-read and coded line using two-cycle coding strategy. The emerged codes were categorized to develop themes. The study answered two research questions:

RQ 1: What role did the media play in the beginning, middle, and the end of the conflict based on people's stories?

RQ 2: How media were used by in-conflict parties during the war?

Data analysis revealed that media played a vital and active role during various stages of the conflict in Tajikistan and remained as one the vigorous players in the completion of the war in the country.

It was found that media played an informative, awareness raising, archiving the war/ scenes, and

was considered as a powerful tool and a peacemaker by the study respondents. Media was used by in-conflict parties for agenda setting, invitation to join, and blaming another party.

Id: 17727

Title: Joint-ventures, Ownership and the Treuhand ' The Post-Socialist Transition of the Press in East Germany

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: This is a working paper. It is part of a larger project that analyzes the transition of the press from a state controlled propaganda apparatus to a democratic media system in former socialist/communist countries in Eastern Europe; its focus is the German Democratic Republic (GDR). The leading question is in how far the democratic potential that existed in the moment of revolutionary change in 1989/1990 found its institutional and/or political implementation in the post-socialist East German press.

The transition of the East German press cannot be understood without taking into consideration early media policy influences and increasing market pressures of the federal government and West German newspaper publishers, here in particular the major publishing houses Heinrich Bauer, Axel Springer Publishing House and Gruner+Jahr. Together with Burda Publishers, these publishing houses held a 70 percent share in the total newspaper and magazine circulation in the Federal Republic in 1989. Called the "Big Four," they used different strategies to explore the emerging GDR press market early on.

Based on extensive archival research, this paper looks at issues of ownership. Next to sales and distribution, the eventual and almost complete shift of East German publishers into West German ownership resulted in a highly concentrated press market in the former GDR. In particular the "Big four" secured their future market shares via early joint venture agreements of different sorts with the fifteen former regional papers (Bezirkszeitungen) of the Socialist Unity Party (SED). These mass-circulating papers held quasi-monopoly positions in their respective regions. In the GDR, they had held privileges in paper allocation, location and facilities, and printing. In 1989/1990 their subscription and circulation rates remained stable and high. As of August 1990, the privatization of these papers fell to the Treuhandgesellschaft (THA), a public trust agency whose task soon focused on the privatization of the GDR economy. In privatizing the former SED papers, the THA, without splitting them off, followed pre-established joint ventures and handed them over to the "Big Four." This left newly established and local papers in great disadvantage, not the least because of fierce market practices of the regional papers. Respectively, between 1990 and 1992, the number of local papers decrease by two-thirds. The Association of the Local Press insisted these market structures were the mere continuation of centralized newspaper monopolies once established under a political dictate, which now continued for market reasons.¹ This happened with the full knowledge of the federal government that gave lip-service importance to a free local press but did nothing in its service, mainly for financial reasons.

While the archives of the THA are still closed, this working paper gives first archival glimpses into the struggle of local press initiatives and their consistent plea against dominant market

practices of the former SED regional papers (and the “Big Four” thereby), the disinterest of the THA and the compliance of the federal government in it.

Id: 17806

Title: Media and Civil Society in Central Asia: Comparative Analysis of Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Tajikistan

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: This study analyzes the current status of media and civil society and the interaction between media and civil society organizations in three Central Asian countries: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan.

The research questions in terms of media address the issue of capacity of the independent media to clearly and simply explain, inform, engage and inspire local communities (specifically on human rights issues, conflict prevention, migration, accountability and corruption) through traditional and new media, the level of professional standards of independent journalists (traditional and new media) and the media development perspectives in the future.

The research questions about the issue of the development of civil society address the situation of the civil society in Central Asia, the capacity of the civil society formal (organizations) and informal (online social activists groups), independent experts to develop and provide locally defined and relevant expertise and advocacy across the country, the visibility of the civil society on key issues in the country, regional and internationally, the capacity of the civil society to engage and utilize the media as an instrument for change and the civil society development perspectives in the future.

The research questions addressing the interaction between media and civil society organizations are related to the level of collaboration between media, young policy experts, civil society organizations and government on key issues in three Central Asian states.

The data will be collected through survey of 75 local journalists and 75 local civil society representatives in each country and 10 in-depth interviews with local journalists, 10 in-depth interviews with the representatives of civil society and 10 in-depth interviews with local experts.

Survey questionnaires will be filled out online by sending the link to email addresses or messengers of the respondents. We will use random sampling method to select the respondents.

Keywords: Central Asia, Media, Civil Society, Interaction, Social Networks, Advocacy, Engagement and New Media.

Id: 18300

Title: Digital participation in Moscow: rethinking public sphere and participation in mediated context

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: Research on civil and political participation in modern Russia has been predefined by trend of authoritarianism as a stipulatory and dominant trait of civil involvement. Due to the democratic transit and overall uncertainty in the political field over the past few decades, sharp focus on private space instead of public been cultivated and legitimised. Therefore, the brisk Internet penetration set up the required pre-conditions for civil discourse emergence and shift into digital. Such trend was recently adapted by authorities and led to the development of a few tools meant to organise and control public participation. Nevertheless, the overall approach to the public sphere is restricted to “complain/report” terms and thus does not fit to the communicative action definition, it still requires conceptualisation through the prism of needs and values of residents as well as an inquiry of normative models of public participation.

Ongoing research questions the rationality and attitudes within the communicative action in a framework of the public sphere. Authors focus on the local level of online civil involvement (neighbourhood and city levels) which appears with the support of authorities as well as on the grounds of civil initiative. The case of an “Active citizen” mobile application (launched to conduct referendums on city-related issues for residents) is inquired as one of the technical elements of civil digital infrastructure. The form and role of public sphere and interpersonal trust that is shaping public discourse are considered through the normative approaches proposed by Habermas, Grin and Luhman, applying the citizenship concept of Kymlicka throughout the mediated communication. The research attempts to focus on the affordances of the digital space along with the perceptions of such practices among the citizens. Authors argue that changing nature of civil discourse can be interpreted through the findings on digital participation practices research, as it outlines confronting styles and attitudes. As importance of explicit communication for public dialogue appears to be crucial, an overall view on mediated participation consider rethinking and further discussion.

Research methods are presented by the blend of qualitative and quantitative methods. It can be divided in two logically connected parts: attitudes and practices of digital participation among residents. Authors apply widely used in social media research concept of affordance to structure and shape the perceptions of digital participation of citizens of different age. Data was collected through

a number of the in-depth interviews with users and non-users of application to develop archetypes of residents based on reasons for involvement, goals and objectives in civil participation.

Id: 18477

Title: The cultural politics of Russian in the age of digital media

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: This study addresses the socially and politically controversial issues of language politics from a communication standpoint. It takes Russia's communicative efforts to secure its cultural influence in the post-Soviet space as a case study. Previous studies emphasized significance of the Russian language as at once an asset of Russia's foreign policy and as matter at stake in this particular region. But there is little research regarding the role of cross-border communication networks and the connectivity of modern social media in promoting such policies. Modern theories of mediated public diplomacy suggest tracing policies from their original (official) framing towards audience reception and their feedback. This study employs Entman's (2008) "cascading activation" model and the notion of "frame contestation" to look at this phenomenon, and answer the following questions. What are the key frames of Russia's official language politics discourse towards the former Soviet nations? Is there a difference between framing of domestic and foreign policy, between domestic media and policy agenda and its external (international, regional) versions? What are the communication channels that are being used for specific language policy purposes? How does the transmedia (horizontally and across multiple digital platforms) engagement and cascading activation (vertical hierarchical flow) of the target audiences occurs? What are the outcomes of the active audience reception of these policy frames and their potential contestation, counter-hegemonic resistance, and reframing at each of the horizontal and vertical iterations?

The study applies recent elaborations of Goffman's (1974) frame analysis to the data that represents social media activities of the Russian official public diplomacy agencies (media, government and non-government cultural organizations) as well as local organized groups (diaspora organizations and media) and individual consumers of relevant social media content in the comparative setting of the six Eastern Partnership nations (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine).

The data includes mediated content and relational meta-data (obtained with help of web mining software). This approach allows studying digital communication networks by revealing clusters of mediated spaces, their interconnectedness and flows of information as they shape into coherent agendas. This study contributes to public diplomacy theory by adapting it to the modern realities of regional rather than global effects of cultural (language) politics; by considering the digitally enhanced transmedia and networked communication patterns as opposed to the outdated vision of a one-way broadcasting approach; by taking into account mediated public diplomacy strategies to promote language policy and the active role of the audience.

Id: 18796

Title: Political control of public service broadcasting in post-authoritarian contexts: Comparing Taiwan and South Korea

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: One important issue in media and Post-authoritarian societies is political controls of public service broadcasting (PSB). To strengthen democracy, it is important to establish PSB as an institution in public spheres. However, in post-authoritarian societies, PSBs have been suffering from political control because of historical legacies of authoritarian rule.

The recent political controls of PSBs in South Korea and Taiwan are important cases. Both countries are capitalist societies and had been under authoritarian rule by the end of 1980s. Both countries experienced the transfer of political power in 2008, with former ruling parties coming to power. Since then the conservative regimes of the two countries have attempted to impose control their PSBs. However the patterns of political control have slight differences.

This paper aims to compare the political control of PSB of the two countries, by adopting Jakubowicz's path-dependent approach. Jakubowicz has emphasized the historical legacy of a country on later transition and argued for the path-dependent approach. According to his analysis, historical traits of a nation tend to influence its media transformation

Taiwan government has been inactive in building national broadcasting system. The dictator in Taiwan continued to maintain the joint venture of private and state capitals of broadcasting system. In the following liberalization, the government imposed few restrictions on private capitals in liberalizing Taiwan's cable system. It was not until 1998 that Taiwanese Public television was established and was constructed as supplement to commercial television. The liberal government under the pressures of democratic media activists, promised to establish Taiwan's public television group (TBS) in 2006. When the KMT came to power in 2008, it was reluctant to offer legal and financial basis for TBS. It controlled the PSB through undue interventions, including budget freeze and interference with the appointment of the board of directors.

The Korean government has been active in building its national broadcasting system. In 1980, the dictator in Korea forced most private broadcasters to merge into the public broadcaster in the name of public interests. Since then, a monopolistic "public television" has been established. Though introducing new channels, the Korean government has continued to maintain the dominance of public broadcasters. After the conservative regime returned to power in 2008, it had to control the dominant media by structural means. It attempted to restrict the advertising revenues of the main PSB and to sell another one. The government changed the board of directors and chairman, removing progressive reporters and editors and turning the PSBs as the government's mouthpieces. Further, in the name of market reform, the government has allowed the conservative newspapers to provide general programming channels. Among them, JTBC, whose president has family ties with Samsung, adopts a more liberal editorial policy and replaced the PSBs as the most

popular and trust news brand. Hence, by these structural means, the Korean government has changed the nature and position of PSB in the Korean media landscape.

Id: 19213

Title: Framing of Crimean Annexation and Eastern Ukraine Conflict in Central Asian Press

Session Type: Individual submission

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Abstract: Central Asia faces similar challenges of democratization after a long era of authoritarian rule as do many other developing countries. Civic unrest is a problem for many developing countries which face challenges caused by ethnic conflicts or political disagreement. The media can play a central role in either spreading these conflicts or promoting peaceful solutions. The presentation focuses on media's role in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan public discussion around Crimea and Eastern Ukraine conflict in spring 2014. Thus, the presentation adds to the existing research literature creating new insights for understanding the role of media in process of social transformation in post-Communist conditions. Inspired by Nabers' (2015) approach to framing global politics in the 'crisis and change' paradigm, we look at the crisis around Crimea in 2014 as a possible catalyst of social changes in these Central Asian societies.

The presentation analyses the framing of annexation of Crimea by Russian Federation in March 2014 and conflict in Eastern Ukraine during the spring of 2014 in newspapers of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. Both newspapers in Russian and in Kazakh and Kyrgyz languages are included. The selected newspapers represent the different types of newspapers in both countries. The focus is in possible linkage of Crimean annexation to relations between Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Russia, including the possibility of similar annexation of Northern Kazakhstan, which has large Russian majority. Findings include that the amount of coverage is rather small in official, state-published or sponsored newspapers while in privately owned newspapers, the amount and spectrum of coverage is wider. It seems that in Kazakhstan, the Kazakh-language papers are less controlled by the

officials and therefore more varied in their views than Russian-language papers. In some private newspapers the similarities of Northern Kazakhstan and Crimea are discussed while the state media report only the official version that the annexation is against international law but that the people of Crimea also have right to organize a referendum. In Kyrgyzstan, the coverage has broadly the same pattern, Kyrgyz-language privately owned newspapers being the most varied and critical in their views towards Russian policy in Ukraine.