2016 INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF PRESS/POLITICS CONFERENCE

Wednesday 28th at Mansfield College, Mansfield Rd, Oxford OX1 3TF

18.30-onwards	Dinner at Mansfield College ([map](#))

Thursday 29th at St Anne's College ([map](#)), 56 Woodstock Rd, Oxford OX2 6HS

8.00-8.45am	Registration and coffee
8.45-9.00	Opening remarks
9.00-10.30	Panels 1a and 1b
10.30-10.45	Break
10.45-12.15	Panels 2a and 2b
12.15-13.15	Lunch
13.15-14.45	Panels 3a and 3b
14.45-15.00	Break
15.00-16.00	Birds of a feather sessions
16.00-16.30	Break
16.30-18.00	Panels 4a and 4b
18.45-onwards	Dinner at St Anne's College

Friday 30th at St Anne's College

8.30-9.00am	Arrival and coffee
9.00-10.30	Keynote lecture by Katrin Voltmer
10.30-11.00	Break
11.00-12.30	Panels 5a and 5b
12.30-13.30	Lunch
13.30-14.30	Panels 6a and 6b (3-paper sessions)
14.30-15.00	Break
15.00-16.00	Roundtable with IJPP Ed. Board members and closing remarks

THURSDAY 29TH AT ST ANNE'S COLLEGE

9.00-10.30   Panels 1a and 1b

PANEL 1A: POPULISM, POLITICAL CONFLICT, AND THE MEDIA (chaired by Duncan McCargo)

Brexit 2016? Media reporting of the Referendum Campaign on UK Membership of the EU
Dominic Wring, David Deacon, John Downey and James Stanyer

What shapes the coverage of immigration
Paolo Mancini, Marco Mazzoni, Giovanni Barbieri, and Marco Damiani

The Coming Anocracy? Mediatized Politics in Thailand and Beyond
Duncan McCargo and Thaweeporn Kummetha

Mass righteous indignation as a form of contentious politics
Cherian George

PANEL 1B: JOURNALISTS AND NEWS PRODUCTION (chaired by Michael Brüggemann)

Between the "citizen" and "consumer": A comparative account of journalists' roles in political and everyday life
Folker Hanusch and Thomas Hanitzsch

Opportunity makes the journalist?: An analysis of the blurring of boundaries between science and journalism during the COP21 summit
Stefanie Walter and Michael Brüggemann

The Impact of Media Policy on Journalism Culture
Ruth Moon

From supplement to trigger? Changing role of social media in the mainstream Czech news production
Václav Štětka

10.45-12.15   Panels 2a and 2b

PANEL 2A: COMPARING MEDIA SYSTEMS (chaired by Jay Blumler)

Influences on Journalistic Practices Across European Digital Mediascapes
Zrinjka Peruško, Antonija Čuvalo and Dina Vozab

Reporters and Reformers: The European Fact-Checking Field in Comparative Context
Lucas Graves

Media System Theory, Political Institutions, and Political Journalism - A content analysis of El País, Die Welt, and the Financial Times
Iain McMenamin, Michael Breen, Michael Courtney, and Gemma McNulty

News in Catalonia: the formation of a differentiated Catalan media system
Manel Palos Pons

PANEL 2B: JOURNALISM IN TRANSITIONAL AND AUTHORITARIAN SOCIETIES (chaired by Ralph Schroeder)

A free press is no match for corruption: how corruption poisoned the Bulgarian media
Lada Trifonova Price

Comparing the Role of Traditional and Digital Media in Political Communication in India and China: Populism versus Authoritarian Responsiveness
Ralph Schroeder

Changing Times, Changing Journalism: Shifting Journalistic Approaches in Transitional Democracy Explained
Claudia Mellado and Arjen Van Dalen

Who Speaks for the Past? Social Media, Social Memory, and the Production of Historical Knowledge in Contemporary China
Jun Liu

13.15-14.45   Panels 3a and 3b

PANEL 3A: MEDIA, CULTURAL DIPLOMACY, AND GLOBALISATION (chaired by Cristina Archetti)

Confucius Institutes and China's Public Diplomacy: between benign cultural exchange and sinister propaganda
Falk Hartig

Journalism and Political Islam: the Case of Malaysia's Harakah newspaper
Janet Steele

Theorizing Political Communication in the 21st century: People, Processes and Practices in an Age of Interconnection
Cristina Archetti

Shallow Globalization: Media discourse entanglements, the United Nations, and the performative neglect of global democratic necessities
Dirk-Claas Ulrich

PANEL 3B: JOURNALISTS, GOVERNMENTS, AND POLITICAL PARTIES (I) (chaired by Marcel Broersma)

The virtual Lobby: How politicians and journalists interact on Twitter during election campaigns
Marcel Broersma, Dan Jackson, Einar Thorsen, and Todd Graham

Political engagement in everyday news work. A survey of journalists in Europe and the US
Jessica Kunert, Neil Thurman and Sergio Splendore

Professionalized political communication vs. speedy-journalism*
Milda Celiešiūtė

Party organizations in the light of professionnalization of political communication
Lamprini Rori

15.00-16.00   Birds of a feather sessions

Comparative qualitative research (hosted by Matt Powers)
Collaborative research projects (hosted by Folker Hanusch)
Working with digital trace data (hosted by Andreas Jungherr)

16.30-18.00   Panels 4a and 4b

PANEL 4A: MEDIA, AGENDA-SETTING, AND THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS (chaired by Risto Kunelius)

Why political elites respond to news coverage: Information acquisition vs. strategic timing
Julie Sevenans

The emphasizing effect of the media: a comparative analysis of legislative processes
Lotte Melenhorst

Political agenda-setting put into context: How the electoral system shapes politicians' reactions to media coverage
Luzia Helfer and Rudy Andeweg

Authority performances in mediatized policy networks
Esa Reunanen and Risto Kunelius

PANEL 4B: LOCAL AND REGIONAL NEWS CULTURES (chaired by Jay Blumler)

Networked Intermedia Agenda Setting: The Geography of a Hyperlinked Scandinavian News Ecology
Michael Karlsson, Eirik Stavelin, Helle Sjøvaag and Aske Kammer

Put it in the context: Regional and national references in the press
Ramona Vonbun

[New] Media Systems, Public Spheres, and Local Political Discourses
Dirk von Schneidemesser

Political Actors and Local News: Source Diversity in Local Political Reporting
Helle Sjøvaag

FRIDAY 30TH AT ST ANNE'S COLLEGE

9.00-10.30   Keynote lecture by Katrin Voltmer

11.00-12.30   Panels 5a and 5b

PANEL 5A: DIGITAL MEDIA, DATA, AND ELECTION CAMPAIGNING (chaired by Andreas Jungherr)

Data, democracy and political communication: the case of the 2015 UK general election
Nick Anstead

Inter-media agenda-setting in the social media age. How Twitter influences the media agenda in election times
Raymond Harder, Peter Van Aelst, Julie Sevenans, and Steve Paulussen

Focus points of political attention: Collective curating on Twitter during the federal election 2013 in Germany
Andreas Jungherr and Oliver Posegga

Tweeting the electoral cycle: political debate and sentiment analysis of the Greek elections in 2015
Moses Boudourides, Dimitra Dimitrakopoulou, Sergios Lenis, and Pantelis Vikatos,

PANEL 5B: MEDIA, ENGAGEMENT, AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION (chaired by Regina G. Lawrence)

How Political Disagreements Lead to Participation: Comparing less and more experienced voters in the case of the U.S. 2014 midterm elections
Hailey Hyun-kyung Oh

The Engaging Effect of Exemplars
Kim Andersen, Morten Skovsgaard, Erik Albaek, and Claes H. de Vreese

Practicing "Engagement": A Cross-National Comparison
Regina G. Lawrence, Damian Radcliffe, Thomas Schmidt

Participation features in news websites: A comparative study
Yacov Netzer

13.30-14.30   Panels 6a and 6b (3-paper sessions)

PANEL 6A: MEDIA AUDIENCES, INSTITUTIONS, AND PERCEPTIONS OF THE PRESS (chaired by Erik Bucy)

Media Scandal and Support for Regulation: How Audience Outrage Affects Public Opinion About the Press
Erik Bucy and Nichole Bauer

Explaining the formation of online news startups in France and the US: A field analysis
Matthew Powers and Sandra Vera Zambrano

Political journalists' branding practices on social media: A comparative analysis
Folker Hanusch

PANEL 6B: JOURNALISTS, GOVERNMENTS, AND POLITICAL PARTIES (II) (chaired by Ana Ines Langer)

Taking the lead? Understanding dynamics of individual politicians' visibility in traditional and online media"
Sanne Kruikemeier, Katjana Gattermann, and Rens Vliegenthart

Bring back the party: How coalition governments affect the personalisation of politics in the media
Ana Ines Langer and Iñaki Sagarzazu

Connecting politicians to issues: the impact of specialization and issue ownership on MPs' news coverage
Kirsten Van Camp

15.00-16.00   Roundtable with IJPP Editorial Board members (Duncan McCargo, Janet Steele and Regina Lawrence) and closing remarks

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ABSTRACTS

PANEL 1A: POPULISM, POLITICAL CONFLICT, AND THE MEDIA

Brexit 2016? Media reporting of the Referendum Campaign on UK Membership of the EU

Dominic Wring, David Deacon, John Downey and James Stanyer

This paper will provide insights into the nature and scope of news media reporting devoted to the forthcoming referendum that will decide if the UK remains an EU member state. This poll, scheduled to take place on 23rd June, will follow a formal ten week campaign as well as a much longer debate that has intensified in recent years. The paper will draw on extensive content analysis of the major television news bulletins and the national newspaper titles. These media are still consumed by millions of voters including the many undecided who are set to have a crucial role in this debate given current polling is predicting a very close race that could be won by either of the rival 'Remain' and 'Leave' camps. Given sections of the British press are renowned for being partisan they could potentially influence the referendum campaign agenda. Consequently a key aspect of the paper will be to assess and evaluate the themes, issues and personalities that appear in the 'Eurosceptic' press and compare their journalism with other sections of the media. Here the analysis will explore the similarities and differences between the coverage provided by the anti-EU press and a broadcast media legally required to report the referendum in a balanced and impartial way.

What shapes the coverage of immigration

Paolo Mancini, Marco Mazzoni, Giovanni Barbieri, and Marco Damiani

After the Euro crisis, immigration is another dramatic challenge for Europe and for the European Union in particular: the press has a large influence in determining the opinion climate at this regard. This paper, part of a larger project involving several national teams, investigates, through content analysis, how a selection of newspapers in four European countries (Belgium, Germany, Great Britain, Italy) covers the immigration issue in conjunction with the Lampedusa tragedy in 2013 (the observed period goes from 1 January 2013 to 30 April 2014). Applying Multiple Correspondences Analysis (MCA), we investigate, in particular which variable is more important in affecting the coverage.

Departing from the hypothesis that media ownership may have a large influence on news sources, political attitude, approach, we investigate the influence of other independent variables as well: national belonging, newspapers genre (quality vs tabloid) and the specific editorial strategy of each newspaper.

The paper identifies what MCA defines "factors" (clusters of recurring variables) that are cross-tabled with property, newspaper, newspaper genre and national belonging. Findings show that media ownership does not affect the coverage in a dramatic way but the most influencing variable appears to be the nationality of the newspaper highlighting in the coverage a clear opposition between a cosmopolitan approach trying to put the immigration issue into a European and globalized framework of possible solutions and a parochialist approach that relates immigration to very national problems and exigencies.

The Coming Anocracy? Mediatized Politics in Thailand and Beyond

Duncan McCargo and Thaweeporn Kummetha

Over the past decade, Thailand has been characterised by deeply divided politics. Supporters of the traditional elite (including the military and the monarchy) have organised mass demonstrations in 2006, 2008 and 2013-14, paralyzing central areas of Bangkok. Red-shirted supporters of ousted former premier Thaksin Shinawatra held comparable rallies in 2009 and 2010, which were violently suppressed by the then government. The Royal Thai Army staged successful coups in both 2006 and 2014. Both sides have made extensive use of old and new media, but often for illiberal and even offensive purposes. Islamophobic messaging, demonizing the Malay Muslim populations of the country's insurgency-ridden southern border provinces, has been a corollary of growing Buddhist chauvinism. The current military junta has sought to suppress the free flow of information to a degree unprecedented in recent decades.

This paper argues that in the context of deeply polarized societies such as Thailand's, new modes of mediatized politics help to create the conditions for anocracy: a political order which combines extreme elements of both democracy and authoritarianism. Anocracy is the world's fastest growing regime type (now 54 countries, up from 30 in 1989), but remains both under-examined and under-theorized. Drawing upon extensive field research and qualitative analysis of Thai internet data, we will address the question: What are the political characteristics of media in an anocratic regime?

Mass righteous indignation as a form of contentious politics

Cherian George

Outbursts of religious rage are usually framed in the media as erupting from visceral emotions. They are thought of as rooted in tribal psychology and reinforced by the commands of prophets and preachers. Drawing on case studies from several Asian countries, this paper argues that most of such protest episodes are in fact orchestrated by political entrepreneurs. Examples range from the spate of murders of atheist bloggers in Bangladesh, the killing of liberal activists in Pakistan, and violent resistance to the building of churches in Indonesia.

These campaigns of righteous indignation are best understood as instruments of contentious politics. Through them, opportunists mobilise supporters and marginalise opponents. They may express their grievances in absolute and uncompromising terms, conforming to the "clash of civilisations" thesis. A closer look at these episodes, however, reveals that they are largely "symbolic crusades", in the sense that their goal is more expressive than the literal removal of impurity.

The myth of the uncontrollable religious mob continues to be recycled because it serves multiple elite interests. Among other benefits, it provides populist legitimation of elite agendas, and helps obscure the state's true motivations for censorship and repression. Media unwittingly abet this process by failing to look behind the facade of the intolerant mob and to locate the political interests at work. In Asia, this phenomenon also feeds off illiberal insult laws, such as blasphemy, which are gamed by groups that use offendedness as a political weapon.

PANEL 1B: JOURNALISTS AND NEWS PRODUCTION

Between the "citizen" and "consumer": A comparative account of journalists' roles in political and everyday life

Folker Hanusch and Thomas Hanitzsch

The extent to which journalists address their audiences as citizens or consumers has received considerable attention in journalism scholarship. Traditional public sphere approaches have long argued that journalism's primary role is to mediate politics and build an informed citizenry. News that entertains audiences and provides practical advice has often been denigrated and accused of being unworthy of the term journalism. Yet, some scholars argue that this side of journalism can also make news accessible to a wider variety of audiences and play an important role in educating them. While these arguments have swayed back and forth over time, we still have a limited understanding of how journalists understand and conceptualize their roles in this regard. Often, citizen and consumer-oriented roles are seen as opposite poles of a market orientation dimension, with journalists supposedly supporting one or the other. Yet, recent evidence suggests that citizen- and consumer-oriented orientations may not, or not always, work in an antagonistic fashion. Depending on the context and nature of a story, journalists may activate both roles simultaneously. This paper advances our theoretical understanding by examining the dimensionality of these roles, based on representative surveys of journalists in 64 countries around the globe. Further, it examines to which extent these roles are supported by journalists across the globe. To do this, we interrogate individual-, organizational and national-level determinants which may impact journalists' support for consumer- and citizen-oriented roles.

Opportunity makes the journalist?: An analysis of the blurring of boundaries between science and journalism during the COP21 summit

Stefanie Walter and Michael Brüggemann

Only a few years ago, journalists and scientists were considered "strangers to each other" (Peters 2013: 14102). Professional norms of scientists have played an important role in discouraging them from engaging in public discussions (Dunwoody/Ryan 1985; Schneider 1986). Today, however, scientists frequently use social media to make their research visible (van Noorden 2014). This might contribute to a blurring of boundaries between scientists and journalists, pushing traditional scientific norms, such as detachment from value judgements and advocacy, in the background. The research questions addressed are: To what extent do scientists provide 'live reporting' of scientific events and does this contribute to a turn away from scientific norms?

During the COP21 summit, we gathered geo-located tweets covering the area of the conference venue, hence, capturing tweets of people who were present at the summit. Using automated content analysis, we distinguished scientists from other

users, utilising key words and official participant lists. Then, the content of their tweets was coded as either: a) information provision, b) own research, c) personal update, d) call for action, or e) political judgement. This sample is compared to tweets by scientists absent from the conference (identified by their geo-location) using the conference-related #COP21.

The analysis enhances our understanding of the extent to which events can contribute to a blurring of boundaries between science and journalism, and the role that social media plays in bypassing traditional gatekeepers.

The Impact of Media Policy on Journalism Culture

Ruth Moon

The role of news media in public policy is well documented in communication research, and findings suggest its role is extensive. In the U.S., the media are sometimes considered another branch of government, with as much power. They have power to set agendas for policy elites and the mass public. The news media can serve as proxies of public opinion by reporting poll results and cover issues in ways that can speed up or hinder particular policies. They also have direct effects on the policymakers featured in media reports, on policy entrepreneurs involved in hearings, and on bill passage. And yet, there is little communication or public policy research documenting the effects of policy on news media themselves, in the U.S. or internationally. This lack of information leads to my research question: What is the role of public policy in defining journalistic norms in a given country? Public policy theories of policy feedback, social construction, and policy diffusion theories, together with sociological theories of journalistic norms, suggest that (H1) journalists are subject to much greater resource effects than interpretive effects from government policy in socially constructing their roles and that (H2) mass publics are subject to strong interpretive effects from government policy in socially constructing the roles of journalists. I test these hypotheses using regression analyses of data drawn from Reporters Without Borders, the Afrobarometer survey, and the Worlds of Journalism survey.

From supplement to trigger? Changing role of social media in the mainstream Czech news production

Václav Štětka

This paper focuses on the impact of social media on journalistic routines and patterns of news production in the Czech Republic. Drawing on Andrew Chadwick's concept of hybrid news system as well as on the intermedia agenda-setting theory, our study aims to answer the question what is the extent and form of usage of social network sites as sources of news by mainstream Czech media, and whether the role of SNSs as news sources is increasing over time. The study relies on a longitudinal content analysis of news outputs (articles and reports, N=1384) published and broadcast in the most significant Czech news media during two years, 2013 and 2015 (2 x 13-week

samples). The preliminary results indicate substantial increase in the usage of social media as sources by the mainstream media over the two-year period. In terms of the differences between particular networks, Twitter has surpassed Facebook as the main social media source. Also, while in 2013 the majority of news quoted social media as secondary sources only, in 2015 SNSs played much bigger role as triggers of the news. Another significant shift has been identified in the topical structure of the SNS-sourced news, with politics surpassing sports as the primary area of news stories which have been triggered by social media. This suggests that social media are nowadays not only more commonly accepted by mainstream media as legitimate sources of "serious" news, but also that the Czech politicians and political actors have been growing more technology-savvy and successful in setting the agenda for the press, which is becoming increasingly dependent on their social media production.

PANEL 2A: COMPARING MEDIA SYSTEMS

Influences on Journalistic Practices Across European Digital Mediascapes

Zrinjka Peruško, Antonija Čuvalo and Dina Vozab

This article explores patterns and sources of influence on professional practices of European journalists and the way they differ across different media systems, in a multilevel, cross-national comparative research design. The research is more broadly framed within mediatization theory and aims to explore the relationship of increased media logic in journalistic practices (Kammer, 2013, Kunelius, 2014) with specific digital mediascapes. Journalism is known to be culturally specific in historical terms (Chalaby, 1996), and cross-country studies show differences in journalistic milieus in different political regimes (Hanitzch, 2011). In this article, we posit that journalistic practices are influenced by the structural framework of the media system, in a similar fashion as audience practices (Peruško, Vozab & Čuvalo, 2015).
The institutional framework of media system is conceptualized with the model of digital mediascapes that applied to 22 European Union countries produced three structural clusters/ media systems (Peruško et al, 2015). The digital mediascape concept defines media systems in terms of contemporary multimedia markets, globalization processes, cultural industry framework, as well as in relation to the level of institutional inclusiveness (Acemoglu & Robinson, 2012) i.e. democracy and freedom of expression. The data on journalistic values and practices are from 30 west, central and east European countries included in the 2012-2015 WJS. Cluster analysis will be performed again to define digital mediascapes clusters on the expanded number of countries, to match the country spread in the WJS, i.e. including more non-EU eastern European countries. Factor and cluster analyses will show types and patterns of influences on journalistic practices. Hierarchical multiple regression analysis will relate individual level variables to macro-level clusters of digital media systems.

Reporters and Reformers: The European Fact-Checking Field in Comparative Context

Lucas Graves

According to the most recent fact-checking "census" (Stencel 2016) Europe now has 27 active political fact-checking groups, accounting for more than a third of such outlets worldwide. While all of these outlets publish articles testing the truth of public claims, they vary in key dimensions including method, focus (some target politicians, others also check the press), and organizational home (newspapers, TV stations, universities, civil society groups, and etc.). What accounts for these variations, and how do they reflect larger differences in the media-political environments where these groups operate? This paper argues that the key divide in Europe's fact-checking landscape is between reporters and reformers: Groups in the former category (including some without ties to news organizations) practice fact-checking as a routine vehicle for democratic information provision, while those in

the latter (including some with journalistic ties) use fact-checking to promote institutional change. To structure the comparison I draw on Hallin and Mancini's (2004) model for comparing media systems, as well as critiques of that framework; in particular the debate over the Polarized Pluralist model (see Hallin and Mancini 2012; Waisbord 2013) helps to understand the reformist orientation of fact-checkers emerging from civil society. Building on previous fieldwork at hubs of the global fact-checking movement, data for this study come primarily from parallel, semi-structured interviews with fact-checking organizations in France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.

Media System Theory, Political Institutions, and Political Journalism - A content analysis of El País, Die Welt, and the Financial Times

Iain McMenamin, Michael Breen, Michael Courtney, and Gemma McNulty

Hallin and Mancini's influential work suggests that media systems and cultures differ in the extent to which they cover politics as a policy debate versus a game of power and in the extent to which they try to report objectively or reflect partisan divisions. These ideas have been explored using discursive methods or tested using small samples of humanly-coded data. We leverage automatic text analysis for a much more comprehensive test of media systems theory. We study over two decades of all of every daily edition of the Financial Times in the UK (a liberal media system), El País in Spain (a left-wing paper in a polarised pluralist media system), and Die Welt in Germany (a right-wing paper in a democratic corporatist media system). To correct for the effect of partisanship, we analyse smaller samples of the left-wing Frankfurter Rundschau and the right-wing El Mundo. We develop an automatic topic classifier and an automatic sentiment analysis. Both of these systems are seeded and validated using manual coding schemes that have achieved high Krippendorff's alphas.

News in Catalonia: the formation of a differentiated Catalan media system

Manel Palos Pons

This presentation deals with the existence of a Catalan media system detached from Spain's media system and discusses the process of creating a distinct media model in Catalonia. We start from the theoretical premises outlined by Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini in their work, Comparing media systems. By using their main defining dimensions of a media system, we found that both nature and frequency of media consumption, as the type of regulation, funding and professionalization in the Catalan media system are markedly different compared to Spain's media system as a whole and even to another historical nationality with strong identity ties like the Basque Country. Finally, we pose the question on the role of the media systems in the nation-building process, particularly in the Catalan case.

PANEL 2B: JOURNALISM IN TRANSITIONAL AND AUTHORITARIAN SOCIETIES

A free press is no match for corruption: how corruption poisoned the Bulgarian media

Lada Trifonova Price

This paper addresses the question: can a free press act as a check and deterrent to corruption in the context of an emerging democracy? The media, along with civil society and the private sector, is usually seen as one of the pillars of a national integrity system (Pope, 2000), entrusted with the important task of informing the public of the harm caused by corruption. Corruption continues to be one of the most significant challenges that Europe faces, undermining citizens' trust in democratic institutions and weakening the accountability of political leadership (Eurobarometer, 2012). However, evidence suggests that in fragile EU democracies, such as Bulgaria, despite more than eight years of full membership and numerous preventive measures, corruption is rife and the press is not capable of exposing abuses of power or authority. On the contrary, drawing on in-depth interviews with 40 Bulgarian journalists and media experts, this paper argues that since democratisation began in the early 1990s the media in Bulgaria has become an essential component of systemic corruption, and not a solution to it as scholars have suggested in the past. Senior journalists and editors cast serious doubt over the ability of the post-communist free press and journalism to act as a watchdog for society. Instead, they depict a post-communist journalistic culture in which bribery, blackmail and extortion schemes, hidden advertising and publications "made to order" are routine, often facilitated by European taxpayers' money. Corruption in the media sector and among journalists is something that is rarely discussed or studied in the European context. This paper finds that endemic shady practices - such as funnelling government advertising in return for favourable reporting in a democracy, with a weak rule of law and non-functioning judicial system - can completely stifle the fledging efforts of the press to champion free expression.

Comparing the Role of Traditional and Digital Media in Political Communication in India and China: Populism versus Authoritarian Responsiveness

Ralph Schroeder

The first part of paper discusses the existing literature on the topic and sets the study hypothesis while the second part, after a short description of MCA, illustrates the main findings of the research.

In the social sciences, India and China are often compared, but comparisons between their media systems are rare, and even less so with digital media. Yet these two countries are important, not least because the differing ways they exercise control over digital media are regarded as important models in the developing world. Hallin and Mancini's 'media systems' approach has been applied to the two countries, but it

does not deal well with new media that are not shaped in the same way as older media by traditions of public broadcasting, or by the autonomy or otherwise of professional journalists. Digital media are also on a different trajectory from high-income countries inasmuch as the vast bulk of digital media consumption takes place on smartphones.

Media in both countries have increasingly been subject to market forces and a corresponding shift away from public broadcasting. Yet in China, it has been argued that this shift has been used to the regime's advantage (1), whereas in India, the media are more subject to clientelism. Another fundamental contrast is that although television (and in India, newspapers) serve as the main source of news about politics, in China online media are widely regarded as a more credible alternative to state-dominated television broadcasts. What anthropological studies (2) in the two countries furthermore reveal is that social media are often used to make fun of politicians, or in China also to express patriotic support for the regime. This paper will go beyond the media systems approach, and show how the contrasting regimes of the authoritarian party-state and a chaotic pluralist semi-democracy shape the role of both traditional and digital media in politics.

Changing Times, Changing Journalism: Shifting Journalistic Approaches in Transitional Democracy Explained

Claudia Mellado and Arjen Van Dalen

The role of journalism in transitional democracies is heavily debated (e.g. Hallin and Mancini, 2012; Voltmer, 2013). Still, systematic empirical analysis is scarce. Thus, the key questions which this study asks is: how do journalistic approaches change during democratic transition, and what explains these trends?

According to the homogenization thesis, journalistic approaches should during democratic transition converge towards the American ideal of objective watchdog journalism, where reporters take the side of ordinary citizens against political and economic elite. Increasing political freedom, changing audience demands, and journalistic professionalization are proposed as main explanation for these changes.

This paper puts the homogenization thesis to a test with an unique dataset consisting of a content analysis of over 20,000 articles which make up representative yearly samples of newspaper coverage in Chile between 1990 and 2011. The paper analyzes changes in journalistic role performance during 21 years of democratic transition since 1990. We analyze the presence of the watchdog model, loyal facitilator model, civic model and interventionist journalistic model in the news in each year.

Timeseries analysis show that contrary to the homogenization thesis, there was no increase in watchdog journalism during the 21 year period, while the loyal facilitator role became more important. The civic model was most important in the first years of the transition. The timeseries analysis furthermore shows that the emancipation of the audience and satisfaction with democracy led to less rather than more critical and

civic journalism. The generalizability of the findings to other transitional democracies is discussed.

Who Speaks for the Past? Social Media, Social Memory, and the Production of Historical Knowledge in Contemporary China

Jun Liu

The growing ubiquity of digital media has nourished changes in political culture and power structures around the world, particularly in locales with authoritarian regimes. Discussions abound regarding the ways in which the use of digital media in general and social media in particular have emerged as a means against authoritarian rule, a resource for dissident movements, and a tool for producing political change in contemporary China. This study explores the influence of social media on the (re)formation of social memory and the production of historical knowledge in society. It takes one of the most widely used forms of social media, known as weibo, as a case to investigate how social media enable people to articulate their previously unspoken experiences and memories, question the authenticity and accuracy of official history, and shape social recollection in contemporary China. This study investigates several contested debates on weibo over historical events and figures in the Mao era, arguing that social media embraces a wide variety of diverse individuals as subjects who contribute to various mnemonic practices, facilitates the crowdsourcing and aggregation of alternative narratives of the past as counter-hegemonic discourse, and cultivates the production of historical knowledge as an easily retrievable and re-activatable process. We conclude that the integration of fragmented, individual memories into historical knowledge and the facilitation of diversified mnemonic practices on weibo re-construct the maintenance and production of historical knowledge in the long run in contemporary China.

PANEL 3A: MEDIA, CULTURAL DIPLOMACY, AND GLOBALISATION

Confucius Institutes and China's Public Diplomacy: between benign cultural exchange and sinister propaganda

Falk Hartig

Public diplomacy, a country's communication and engagement with foreign publics, is one of the most salient communication issues in the early 21st century and China has embraced the concept with an enthusiasm rarely seen in other parts of the world. The most prominent and most controversial tool of China's public diplomacy is the Confucius Institute (CI). Launched in 2004 to introduce Chinese language and culture globally, CIs are normally joint ventures between Chinese and international universities and they are partially funded by the Chinese government. These close links with official China have raised concerns about their aims and have triggered heated debates about their intentions. While proponents describe CIs as a benign instrument of cultural exchange, critics define them as the propaganda arm of the Communist Party.

This paper provides empirical evidence to these debates as it critically engages with the actual content CIs present to their audiences. Based on a content analysis of internal work reports from about 50 CIs in Asia, Africa, Europe and the Americas, it analyses what narratives about China CIs present to global audiences and thus sheds light on the crucial question what actually happens at CIs and what is not happening there. To understand what is happening at CIs is firstly important because in just a decade China has managed to establish 500 CIs around the world. Secondly, by answering this question, the paper exemplifies how China wants to present itself to the world by means of public diplomacy.

Journalism and Political Islam: the Case of Malaysia's Harakah newspaper

Janet Steele

In the last two decades, some of the most interesting attempts at democratic reform have occurred within the Muslim world. Is there an Islamic form of journalism and, if so, how is it related to what some have called "Islamist democracy"?

Although much has been written about Islam and democracy, little is known about ordinary day-to-day journalism as it is understood and practiced by Muslim professionals. In Malaysia, Harakah is the paper of PAS, the Pan-Malaysian Islamic party. Journalists at both the newspaper and online edition strive to reconcile the principles of journalism with the teachings of Islam and the needs of the party. Despite the many pitfalls, the paper has been led by journalists of striking ability and what may at first blush appear to be a surprising commitment to press freedom.

A key question that comes up with any study of Islamist political movements is how compatible is the goal of the Islamic state with democratic institutions? Is it possible to imagine an Islamic state that claims, with the Muslim Brotherhood, that "Islam is

the solution" while at the same time promoting basic freedoms of expression and the press along with participatory rights for non-Muslims? The history of Harakah and Harakahdaily.net may offer some insights. My research method is primarily ethnographic and historical. In this paper I argue that Harakah's way of viewing journalism should not be seen as a sort of halfway point to "real" journalism, but rather how many Muslim professionals understand and explain their work.

Theorizing Political Communication in the 21st century: People, Processes and Practices in an Age of Interconnection

Cristina Archetti

The paper is about explaining political communication in an age of both extreme interconnectedness and fragmentation. It argues that we cannot understand the political implications of the communication processes that saturate the world we inhabit unless we engage with the material micro-reality of the everyday practices of a wider range of actors than "traditional" elected politicians and their organizations. In doing so the analysis takes on ambitious challenges: to question current approaches to the study of political communication, to problematize the very notion of what is politics in the 21st century, and to suggest new methodological avenues to explore connections and discontinuity within and beyond national borders.

The paper presents a study of the way political communication is constructed in its daily dimension across the UK (London), Norway (Oslo) and Somalia (Mogadishu). It particularly focuses, through the data gathered in over 50 interviews, on mapping the communication practices of two categories of non-conventional political actors that sit at the crossroad of the local, national and international dimensions: foreign diplomats and foreign correspondents.
The analysis combines Actor Network Theory with Relational Sociology to illuminate how different configurations of relationships, technologies, information, spaces (socio-technical assemblages) lead to varying outcomes in terms of information circulation and influence.

The study points at the importance of context in understanding political communication and of more deliberately integrating practice and materiality into its study, beyond the traditional focus on messages. It additionally emphasizes the need of a more comprehensive empirical approach, less limited by national borders and more oriented towards the fluid mapping of circulations and networks.

Shallow Globalization: Media discourse entanglements, the United Nations, and the performative neglect of global democratic necessities

Dirk-Claas Ulrich

Contemporary trends of a growing proliferation and complexity of global governance structures and processes beyond the nation state are challenging media

and must be challenged by the media at the same time. Hence, democratic media performance is directly linked to a global reconfiguration of online and print media, to the concept of a global public sphere, and international institutions like the United Nations (UN).

Basically, political and economic factors (macro level), media organizational factors (meso level) or individual socialization factors (micro level) culminate in international or so-called global news items and are relevant while assessing the qualitative characteristics of media outlets. As focusing on media content as a socially formed artifact, hierarchy and hegemony structures are implicitly or explicitly defining (global) media discourses.

Consequently, for an assessment of any global media performance concepts like a 1) radical de-centering, 2) vertical re-focusing, 3) reciprocal entanglement, 4) thematic re-contextualization, and 5) legitimatory re-scoping should be revitalized and systematically used as indicators of media quality in increasingly complex UN governance processes.

Based on a quantitative content analysis of about 7.500 UN newspaper articles in four world regions (India, Germany, Tanzania, U.S.) the study will reveal specific (long-term) media performance patterns and assess their global orientation as an essential public interest.

For almost every indicator a persistent discrepancy between common journalistic media practices and the ideal-typical understanding of media performance is evident. Media predominantly refer to an isolated and centroverted horopter and lack a substantial openness towards extra-, inter- or supranational institutions. Hence, media proximity still supersedes transgressive globality and therefore, contradicts the political vision of a global public sphere.

PANEL 3B: JOURNALISTS, GOVERNMENTS, AND POLITICAL PARTIES (I)

The virtual Lobby: How politicians and journalists interact on Twitter during election campaigns

Marcel Broersma, Dan Jackson, Einar Thorsen, and Todd Graham

Social media have increasingly developed into a virtual Lobby in which politicians and political reporters network, exchange information and debate. Especially during election campaigns Twitter, as a real-time information network and social space in one, is indispensable for journalists who want to be on top of campaign news. However, research into the nature of the online interactions between journalists and politicians, how these differ cross-nationally and have developed over time is limited. This paper builds upon an analysis of the tweets of Dutch and British candidates two weeks prior to the 2010 Dutch (N=28,045 tweets) and British (N=26,282), 2012 Dutch (N=55,992) and 2015 British (N=31,797) general elections. It analyses which political parties journalists engage with, the function and topic of every interaction, and how these relate to offline events such as televised debates. Our results show that 7 to 12% of the candidates' interactive tweets were with journalists which confirms the public impression of close relations between press and politics. Reporters had a clear favour for particular parties and candidates, and a large part of their interactions had a personal character. Although this might simply reproduce offline behaviour, it undermines, given the public nature of Twitter, the objectivity norm and the rhetoric of balanced reporting. However, our results also show that – although a substantial part of the conversations is about the campaign and thus seems to confirm theories about horse-race campaign reporting – exchanging viewpoints on political issues and discussing them, makes up the majority of the interactions.

Political engagement in everyday news work. A survey of journalists in Europe and the US

Jessica Kunert, Neil Thurman and Sergio Splendore

How do journalists define their relationship with the political sphere? This paper draws on role theory, i.e. the roles journalists are supposed to play in monitoring and scrutinizing the actors and institutions of the political system. Different conceptions see journalists as "detached watchdogs" (Hanitzsch 2011), as "representatives" who openly take sides (McNair 2009), and also as having a symbiotic relationship with politics (Brants et al. 2010) – but how do these normative assessments translate to the actual working life of journalists?

This paper compares a representative sample of 700 UK journalists with journalists from other countries. The evidence is collected from 17 survey questions, e.g. touching upon the self-proclaimed roles of journalists, their trust in the individual political institutions, and the possible influence of the political sphere on their work. The data is taken from the latest wave of the Worlds of Journalism Study, which

surveys journalists from over 70 countries using the same questionnaire, and which offers rich opportunity for international comparison.

For the UK, the results show that journalists are in general rather de-politicized, and do not find political reporting or setting the political agenda to be of much relevance to their work, and trust the political institutions to a low extent. How does this compare with other countries, and which contextual factors may intervene?

All in all, this paper gives insight to how the 'fourth estate' itself defines its role regarding the political institutions, while taking an international perspective.

Professionalized political communication vs. speedy-journalism: who gains the power?

Milda Celiešiūtė

This research focuses on how calls for increased efficiency within both political communication and political journalism (Davis, 2010) influence daily interactions between journalists and their political sources. Ongoing trends of professionalization of political communication makes politicians rely on a number of intermediaries in order to provide a strategically coordinated message. Journalists, due to the changes in the media landscape, face increased requirements for multiskilling and efficiency.

Comparative approach of two countries with similar pressures within the media market, but different degree of professionalization of political communication, were taken for a further analysis: Sweden (professionalized, centralized government communication) and Lithuania (professionalizing, de-centralized). It allowed too track how the development of professionalized communication efforts changed journalist and political-source relations. The results are based on over 40 qualitative interviews with the leading journalists from the national media and governmental spokespersons in these countries.
Initial findings of the study suggest that attempts to centralize and coordinate government communication have a dual effect. At first sight, political sources potentially gain more power over the message than the journalists. On the other hand, less chances for the journalists to contact politicians directly might open-up for informal interactions between journalists and confidential political sources, where both sides tend to go "around" the formal communication procedure. These interactions result into mediatizing internal political conflicts or focusing on personalities and details instead of providing deeper analysis of the political events. However, due to the time constraints, journalists have fewer opportunities to establish the contacts that would help to scrutinize the official information.

Party organizations in the light of professionnalization of political communication: a comparative analysis among socialist parties in Europe

Lamprini Rori

This paper addresses the impact of the professionalization of political communication for socialist parties in Europe. It discusses organizational change that parties undertake under the dynamics developed by political communications. It sheds light in the way that modernization of communication technology influences the intra-party functions, by altering the political public space in which parties integrate.

The nature and degree of professionalization of political communication within the socialist family is identified through an original online survey among Heads of Communication in seventeen socialist parties. The results validate the importance attributed to political communication.

Organizational change in furthermore thoroughly examined by a comparative research of the French PS and the Greek PASOK from the 1970s to 2012. Following the most different systems' design, the comparison between the French and the Greek socialist party develops a reflection on party organizations, trying to understand the causes of their transformation, the forces that interact in their mutation, the parameters of organizational configuration, and the effects of this transformation on their party function.
The rise of public opinion, the dependence of parties from a series of experts and non-partisan agents in a broader sense, as well as the need to continually adapt communication resources in order to meet the needs of this mediatized political competition, force parties to undertake changes. Although exogenous factors push towards an opening of processes and functions of the socialist parties, such as the generalization of a direct relationship between the leader and the citizens, this presidential logic is hampered by other logics – local and parliamentary – as well as dynamics rather horizontal than vertical.

PANEL 4A: MEDIA, AGENDA-SETTING, AND THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS

Why political elites respond to news coverage: Information acquisition vs. strategic timing

Julie Sevenans

The political agenda-setting literature has extensively demonstrated that issues receiving more media attention rank higher on the political agenda as well. And, we have a good understanding of the contingency of this effect upon the concrete media outlet, issue, and political agenda under study (Walgrave & Van Aelst, 2006). We know less about the mechanisms behind political agenda setting. In particular, it is unclear whether politicians—when reacting to media information—really learn about the information from the media. It may be that politicians, in an era of information overload, turn to the media to learn which problems need to be solved. But it is also possible that politicians, rather than for its informative value, use media crises as a 'window of opportunity' to act upon issues they knew about long before. The question is relevant because it determines what role the media precisely play in agenda-setting processes. Are they the true 'first mover' of certain political initiatives? Or do they merely reinforce what actually originated in the political sphere itself? This paper investigates the matter by means of a survey with national politicians in Belgium, Canada and Israel (N = 410). We confronted them with news stories that had recently been in the media, asking whether they undertook political action upon the news story and whether they knew about the news story before it appeared in the media. We show that politicians mostly react to information they knew about beforehand, but that there is variation between politicians in this respect.

The emphasizing effect of the media: a comparative analysis of legislative processes

Lotte Melenhorst

The media's role in politics is often analyzed by studying agenda setting effects, thereby looking at rather symbolic political agendas. In terms of consequences for democracy, it would be highly relevant to know more about the role journalists and media attention play with regard to more substantial political agendas, that have fundamental policy implications.
Do the media play a role in legislative processes, and if so, how? To study this question, I conduct a comparative case study analysis of the media's role in lawmaking, with content analyses of parliamentary documents and media coverage, and semi-structured interviews with journalists and politicians. Based on this in-depth reconstruction of three recent lawmaking processes in the Netherlands, I conclude that media have an emphasizing effect.
This effect occurs in two ways. Firstly, as a source of information, media coverage can put emphasis on an issue, argument or actor. As part of the broad range of sources political actors have at their disposal, media can highlight specific consequences of a bill, a particular argument, or the position of an expert. Secondly, media attention is used strategically in legislative debates. It helps to emphasize the

topicality of an issue, to influence the direction of the debate, or to underline the validity of an argument.

In sum, this exploratory study suggests that the media have an emphasizing effect on debates about bills. Media however seem to have only limited influence on legislative outcomes, if at all.

Political agenda-setting put into context: How the electoral system shapes politicians' reactions to media coverage

Luzia Helfer and Rudy Andeweg

Taking into account a country's political system has provided new insights into political agenda-setting mechanisms. This paper adds to this growing stream of literature by zooming in on the role a country's electoral system in explaining why individual politicians put some issues from the media on the political agenda but not others.

Data come from an experimental study with incumbent national-level politicians (N=80) in Switzerland and the Netherlands. Respondents were asked to indicate whether they would take political action based on a number of news reports that were systematically manipulated. The exact same survey was administered in both countries allowing a direct comparison. Results show systematic differences that can be explained by variation in the electoral system in these otherwise very similar multiparty systems. On the one hand, Dutch politicians react to coverage on their issue of specialization because they want to please their party leadership who has the power over the electoral process in the de facto closed list system. In light of the federalized open list system, Swiss politicians on the other hand capitalize on their party's issue ownership and react to issues they deem personally interesting at that moment.

These findings illustrate that insights from studies on legislative behavior can add to our understanding of politicians' reaction to media coverage. The study contributes to the field theoretically by showing how existing studies with often diverging findings could be integrated, and methodologically, by introducing a novel approach to conducting comparative studies in the field more generally.

Authority performances in mediatized policy networks

Esa Reunanen and Risto Kunelius

By analyzing decision-making in the Finnish labor market negotiations, the paper sheds light to the differentiated mechanisms of media's influence in the political power. Its key question is how power is "communicated" (Kunelius & Reunanen 2012) among stakeholders in "policy networks" (Compston 2009). The paper develops the use of Habermas's (1991) typology of validity claims in communicative action as a framework for analysis. This means analyzing how the stakeholders describe their mutual relations and the issue at hand according to (1) trust/suspicion and identity alliances, (2) value commitments and justifications, and (3) knowledge,

facts, and expertise. These validity evaluations – along with (4) references to actual power resources (like economic capital, legislative power, and collective resistance) – are interpreted as instances of performance that may affect actors' "authority" (Hajer 2009) or "epistemic capital" (Alasuutari et al. 2016) to be capitalized in "mediatized" (Esser & Strömbäck 2014) policy making. In addition, the paper also analyzes how the stakeholders in policy networks understand the media's role in the accumulation and division of authority gained by these instances of performance. Drawing from the evidence of 16 semi-structured interviews conducted with participants in the policy networks related to the Finnish labor market negotiations in 2015, the paper exemplifies the suggested theoretical and methodological approach and thus contributes to the current methodology of the research on media power in governance. It also contributes to the research on mediatization of labor market negotiations that only scarcely have been studied before.

PANEL 4B: LOCAL AND REGIONAL NEWS CULTURES

Networked Intermedia Agenda Setting: The Geography of a Hyperlinked Scandinavian News Ecology

Michael Karlsson, Eirik Stavelin, Helle Sjøvaag and Aske Kammer

How does agenda setting work within the hyperlinked Scandinavian news ecology? This paper investigates intermedia agenda setting within and between the local, regional, national and supra-national levels in Sweden, Denmark and Norway; analyses the center/periphery dimensions of hyperlink connections, and evaluates the extent of centralization of hyperlinked news agendas in the three countries. As hyperlinks are the backbone of the Internet, studying hyperlinking facilitates analyses of the relative connectedness of local, regional, national and international news agendas. The analysis is based on a big data hyperlink network analysis comprising all Scandinavian news outlets with an updated web news service, including 209 Swedish sites, 263 Danish sites and 244 Norwegian sites. The data consists of external hyperlinks collected using a custom written scraper, between 1 January 2016 and 1 March 2016, amounting to approximately 2 million hyperlinks, each geotagged with publication origin. The visualisation of the hyperlink structure is one of the main results of the analysis, illuminating a) the relative disconnect between local and national hyperlinked agendas, b) the relative disconnect between news agendas in the three countries, and c) the connectedness enabled by size, resources and central location in the Scandinavian hyperlinked information structure. The network analysis provides new insights into the relationship between centralized political structures, media ownership dispersal, social geography and hyperlinked news agendas in Scandinavia, adding to the research on the political implications of the Internet on national public spheres.

Put it in the context: Regional and national references in the press

Ramona Vonbun

Information on regional topics are important for everyday life. For the public contacts to political actors and issues remain often on a regional basis. Members of parliament represent commonly geographic areas, besides parties. Also media use can be classified alongside geographic borders. This research article focuses on the contextualization of political information in the regional and national press. A context, as a geographical social unit, links political information to the publics' direct environment. Contextualization of political information is theorized in terms of diversity and localization research. Regional information as part of political information is considered as a necessity for an informed vote choice intimately connected with Western electoral systems. The theoretical assumptions are tested during a national election campaign in a typical European multiparty system. The analyses draw on more than 3,000 news articles in two national quality newspapers, two regional newspapers and one mid-market paper. The findings show that the press puts political information in the context. Regional topics and actors are more

visible in the regional press than in national quality papers. Accordingly, regional newspapers contribute to the information environment in general and they exhibit a special information function in national election campaigns. Logistic regression analyses demonstrate that the context of a topic can be explained by the media genre (national vs. regional) and the context of the main actor of the news coverage. Furthermore, actor and topic contexts are highly correlated.

[New] Media Systems, Public Spheres, and Local Political Discourses: Discourse on Bikesharing in Mass Media and on Twitter

Dirk von Schneidemesser

Political discourses help shape policy and implementation. The agenda-setting function of the mass media is well established in the literature, but the addition of social media to the landscape brings a need to re-evaluate the roles of public spheres for deliberation on policy. Differences and similarities in the discourses on bikesharing are examined in mass- and social media across three cultures: Germany, Spain, and the USA. Differences in the roles of mass media in these countries have been well established in the literature, but comparative work on media including digital media is thin, especially as regards local political issues. The issue of bikesharing was chosen because of its enormous growth in popularity in recent years, its requirement for public resources and involvement of local governments. It is an issue which is visible and accessible, with no requirement of specialized knowledge to legitimize a position. This paper offers insight into the different portrayals of the issue in mass and social media via a quantitative content analysis of 678 mass media articles and 13074 tweets collected over 5 months in 2014 and 2015 from the three countries. The research complements the literature on media systems by filling a gap in how digital media is used to discuss local politics alongside traditional media across media systems. The differing ways that digital media is used in relation to mass media helps to inform further research on the specific role of social media in the public sphere in various cultural contexts.

Political Actors and Local News: Source Diversity in Local Political Reporting

Helle Sjøvaag

This paper investigates the frequency and distribution of political sources in Norwegian newspapers according to topic, party affiliation and gender. The research is operationalized as a question of diversity of political actors, aimed to measure the degree of internal pluralism in relation to external factors, including whether the newspaper is local, metropolitan or national, or has corporate or independent ownership. While the diversity perspective provides a policy framework to the research, questions of political parallelism are also embedded in structural news work factors, particularly for small-staffed, low frequency newspapers operating in local communities. The data consists of 1106 political sources across 68 newspapers, including 57 local newspapers, eight metropolitan dailies and three national dailies.

The sources were drawn from a content analysis of their complete news output from 5-11 October 2015, when the 2016 national budget was released. Preliminary results show that metropolitan and national newspapers carry more political news than local papers; that politicians are primarily used as sources in political stories (70 per cent of the cases); incumbent politicians feature more frequently than opposition politicians, Ministers being most prominent; and that local papers feature local politicians, while only 29 per cent of political sources overall are women. As corporate ownership does not indicate overlap, the analysis suggests accountability is the primary journalistic motivation for using political sources in the news, indicating the relevance of local newspapers for local democratic processes.

PANEL 5A: DIGITAL MEDIA, DATA, AND ELECTION CAMPAIGNING

Data, democracy and political communication: the case of the 2015 UK general election

Nick Anstead

While we know something of data-driven campaigning practices in the United States, we know very little about the role of data in UK politics. The recent British election though offers a fascinating case study of how these practices are evolving and being deployed, not least because the unexpected majority won by the Conservative Party may have been achieved, in part, because of the use of targeting methods.

This paper is based on a qualitative analysis of 32 in-depth interviews with political practitioners involved in the use of data for six major UK parties (the Conservatives, Labour, the SNP, the Liberal Democrats, UKIP, and the Greens), as well as regulators. In particular, it will address:

• What are the data capabilities of British political parties?
• What types of data are they gathering and how are they using it to construct their communication strategies?
• How are parties using the data they are gathering to target messages at individuals or segments within the electorate?

From a more normative perspective, this paper will ask what the evolution of data-driven campaigning means for regulation and democratic practices in Britain. Data can make the process of targeting campaign resources to achieve this goal more effective, but at the same time incentivizes parties to focus their efforts on an ever-decreasing pool of voters. Therefore, data-driven campaigning may have profound consequences for how voters experience an election campaign.

Inter-media agenda-setting in the social media age. How Twitter influences the media agenda in election times

Raymond Harder, Peter Van Aelst, Julie Sevenans, and Steve Paulussen

Over the last decades, journalism has undergone vast changes as a result of digitalization. These technological innovations challenge the fundaments of established theories. For one such theory, inter-media agenda setting, two assumptions that underpin its measurement and applicability can be questioned. One, the 24/7 news production cycle with its increased speed and continuous output means that using time lags is less suitable to capture how news disseminates across media outlets. Two, news is no longer the exclusive domain of traditional mass media, as web 2.0 (especially social media) enables non-journalist actors to co-shape the content, tone, and distribution of news coverage. This means that these 'new' media cannot be analysed like homogeneous entities, as 'regular' media usually are

in this research tradition. Therefore, the appropriateness of operationalising the media 'agenda' as an aggregate of themes present in their coverage becomes questionable in the contemporary news ecology. We propose a news story level approach as one possible methodology to counter these issues. To demonstrate its usefulness, we apply it to a large sample (n=9,749) of news items from the 2014 election campaign in Belgium, comprising websites, newspapers, television, radio, and Twitter. Combining traditional time series analysis with case studies, we prove that despite theoretical difficulties, inter-media agenda setting can be studied in the social media age. Our study shows how Twitter is integrated in contemporary news coverage and how it affects traditional media's agendas.

Focus points of political attention: Collective curating on Twitter during the federal election 2013 in Germany

Andreas Jungherr and Oliver Posegga

The growing use of digital services has provided researchers access to focus points of public attention through the analysis of digital trace data. A very promising data source is the microblogging service Twitter as it has become a popular platform to share and comment on news. Twitter's comparatively open data access policy allows researchers to comprehensively collect tweets commenting on specific topics, mentioning specific actors, or posted by populations of interest. We thus can identify prominent topics, actors, or objects associated with a set of specific keywords or among a given population of interest. In this, we can interpret the act of posting a tweet mentioning topics, actors, or objects in context of a specific keyword as part of a collective curating process. Each user signals through the text of her tweet what caught her attention in the context of a given keyword at a specific time. Aggregating these signals over specified time bins thus allows researchers insights into topics, actors, and objects of collective attention during time intervals of interest. This promises significant new insights into which elements of political media coverage receive significant attention online and which are in turn neglected. In this paper, we will examine closely actors, topics, and objects arising from tweets of politically vocal Twitter users during the German federal election of 2013 and discuss the research potential of identifying and analyzing the results of collective curating on Twitter.

Tweeting the electoral cycle: political debate and sentiment analysis of the Greek elections in 2015

Moses Boudourides, Dimitra Dimitrakopoulou, Sergios Lenis, and Pantelis Vikatos,

The present paper aspires to study the way Twitter is used as a forum for online political deliberation and debate as well as examine the political sentiment that is formed online and then reflected on the voters' behaviour and political decision. We use the context of the Greek national election and statistics of big data collected on Twitter over a pre-election period of seven weeks to conduct a multi-layered content

and network analysis that is lead by the most popular hashtags that were trending during the electoral cycle.

More specifically, our study focuses on the two elections held in Greece within one year in January and September 2015. Within the frame of crisis that is dominant in the country for the last five years, we aim to address the main issues that arise from the Twitter debate and grow an insight into the intermedia agenda-setting between social media and traditional news (Burgess & Bruns, 2012; Skogerbø & Krumsvik, 2014).

We further examine the overall patterns of information diffusion (see Bastos, 2013), interaction and engagement (see Byrne, 2015) in selected trending hashtags and track specific statistics of interactions between users taking part in the evolving Twitter debate.

Our analysis aims to study the Twitter debate on the Greek elections around two main axes: a. track the networking topics, in terms of the emergent and contributing information and views into the debate, b.
identify the patterns of network behavior in order to illustrate the patterns of interaction between political actors and citizens that reshape the participatory structure of the social networked public sphere.

On a second level, we aim to conduct a sentiment analysis and assess the predictive ability of social media analysis (see also Gayo-Avello, 2012; DiGrazia et. al., 2013; Ceron et al., 2014). Our aim is to examine whether the use of Twitter as an online political deliberation tool can demonstrate the main political concerns of the electorate and reflect the election results. Moreover, we aim to study the developing online public sphere(s) in comparison with the evolving 'offline' public sphere.

PANEL 5B: MEDIA, ENGAGEMENT, AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

How Political Disagreements Lead to Participation: Comparing less and more experienced voters in the case of the U.S. 2014 midterm elections

Hailey Hyun-kyung Oh

This study proposes that disagreements in political discourses can be a facilitator of political participation, and mediated-communication via social media encourages this tendency. It had a twofold purpose: (1) to understand the relationship between political talk, political disagreements, and political participation, and (2) to understand the types of disagreements voters experience face-to-face and online in influencing political participation. The study examines a real time political context (the 2014 midterm elections in the United States). It reviews literature in the areas of political communication focusing on the meaning of political participation in the digital era, the cross-pressures hypothesis, and political discourse in the online public sphere. Using two independent variables, political talk and political disagreements, with the dependent variable of both offline and online political participation, three sets of hypotheses were tested through quantitative research methods. For the data analysis, two different samples were collected (1) a college student sample representing the first-time or less experienced voters, and (2) an Amazon MTurk sample representing more experienced voters. The results showed that increased political talk predicted more participation both offline and online, and that more disagreements on social media predicted greater political participation both offline and online. Although face-to-face disagreements did not predict participation directly, it moderated the positive relationship between political talk and participation.

The Engaging Effect of Exemplars

Kim Andersen, Morten Skovsgaard, Erik Albaek, and Claes H. de Vreese

In order to make their journalistic products more interesting for the audience, journalists often use ordinary people as exemplars in their news stories. In this way, base-rate information is supported by stories about real people, providing what "… may be considered the lifeblood of journalism" (Zilmann & Brocius, 2000: viii). Past research agree that use of exemplars can effect news perception (e.g., Arpan, 2009) as well as political opinions and attitudes (e.g., Boukes et al., 2015; Ostfeld & Mutz, 2014). In this study we examine how the use of exemplars in news affect peoples' political participation. For this purpose, we conducted a survey experiment on a sample of 715 Danish citizens. The respondents were randomly exposed to a news clip with or without exemplars or no news clip at all. To secure high ecological validity the experiment utilized a news clip originally broadcasted as part of the main evening news programme on the public service channel DR1 in 2010. People who watched a news clip with exemplars were more likely to participate politically in relation to this issue. Using conditional process modelling (Hayes, 2013), we further show how this effect is mediated through the feeling of empathy, and that

this indirect effect is moderated by whether the respondents have children themselves. This finding supports the idea that the use of exemplars in news has a positive effect on citizens' engagement, which is mediated through emotional mechanisms, but that this indirect effect is moderated by peoples' similarity with the exemplars.

Practicing "Engagement": A Cross-National Comparison

Regina G. Lawrence, Damian Radcliffe, Thomas Schmidt

Audience engagement has become a buzzword for media outlets in recent years. Faced with business pressures and digital disruption, journalists increasingly accept that they have to interact with their audiences in order stay relevant. Scholars are divided, however, about whether journalism's adjustments to digital and social media constitute an "equalizing" game-changer giving the public a new voice in newsmaking. Many see "normalization" instead: digital and social media tools adapted to pre-existing journalistic norms and routines rather than disrupting them (see Spierings & Jacob 2016).

This debate can be further informed by empirical observation across countries and organizations. To what degree journalistic "engagement" is authentically disruptive depends upon how particular news organizations approach it, which may be conditioned by larger media/political systems in which they are embedded.

This study will address:
• To what extent are media disruptions changing journalistic norms and routines regarding how to interact with, listen to, and be guided by the public?
• Are there noticeable differences in how American and European news organizations approach "engagement" with their audiences?

We will present exploratory case studies from five countries (U.S., UK, Germany, Switzerland, Austria), using in-depth interviews (two of the authors have professional contacts at outlets including Die Zeit, Neue Zuercher Zeitung, and Der Standard) to delve into how individual news organizations are defining "engagement" and addressing the tension between marketing needs and public value. Interview data will be compared with examination of each news outlet's web/social media to assess how "engagement" is being practiced across organizations.

Participation features in news websites: A comparative study

Yacov Netzer

In the past decade, digital technologies, combined with cultural and economic shifts, have led to new forms of audience involvement in news outlets, invoking tensions between traditional gatekeeping and the participatory ethos. We explore this tension

through the lens of participation features – mechanisms used by editors to display data resulting from attempts to gauge and tabulate users' behavior. Two main voids in the literature were addressed: (a) comparisons between countries with different levels of democracy, and (b) changes over time in applying participation features. Twenty leading news outlets from five countries (USA, UK, Israel, Russia, and Egypt) were sampled quarterly over three years and the participatory features within them were subjected to quantitative content analysis. Findings indicate that countries with lower levels of democracy are characterized by a lower level of consistency in implementing participation features. In Russia, for instance, inconsistency was found between the ubiquitous uses of participation features in the oppositional news outlet and the relative absence in the more government-associated websites. Findings also point to the Egyptian paradox, whereby all the Egyptian outlets contain comment sections, although in practice the sites include very few comments (or even none at all). Along the temporal axis, findings show, contrary to expectations, a decrease in the use of non-moderated user-generated content, as well as in the use of advanced social plugins. It indicates a tendency for non-linear implementation of participation features, and demonstrates the complex nature of editors' autonomy negotiations within the fluid dynamics of participatory phenomena

PANEL 6A: MEDIA AUDIENCES, INSTITUTIONS, AND PERCEPTIONS OF THE PRESS

Media Scandal and Support for Regulation: How Audience Outrage Affects Public Opinion About the Press

Erik Bucy and Nichole Bauer

Scandals involving illegal phone hacking, political corruption, and cover---ups of sex abuse have plagued the British media in recent years, resulting in calls for tighter media regulation and a top---to---bottom review of news management practices at the storied British Broadcasting Corporation. Press crises not only cause policy makers to respond legalistically; they also generate considerable emotional outrage in media audiences. In this paper we examine how cognitive and affective involvement with scandal impacts media evaluations, focusing on the relationship between audience emotion and public support for regulation. In the paper we integrate scholarship from journalism studies and political communication on the nature of press scandals, and consult political psychology on the relationship between affect and cognition. To test hypotheses, we fielded a national survey to a sample of 1,323 adults in the U.K. in December 2012. The analysis shows that awareness of the unfolding drama, measured as story---specific knowledge, increases affective involvement. We also find that heightened involvement 1) influences evaluations of key actors involved in both the News of the World and BBC scandals, 2) significantly impacts press credibility, and 3) increases support for press regulation. A replication sample in the U.S. finds similar results for credibility evaluations and attitudes toward Rupert Murdoch. We explain these finding by citing the self---referential and highly critical coverage of the media implicated in scandal (a type of accountability mechanism), which results in the public evaluating the press in light of that accountability reporting rather than solely relying on scandal details. Somewhat ironically, even in the wake of crisis and reported misdeeds, evaluations of the press are not always in a state of decline—even as calls for regulation mount. We should remain mindful, however, of the potential for "shocking news" about the media and chronic criticism of the press to more broadly delegitimize the institution caught up in its snare.

Explaining the formation of online news startups in France and the US: A field analysis

Matthew Powers and Sandra Vera Zambrano

Online news startups are widely seen as important vehicles of journalistic experimentation. Yet the degree to which startups take hold vary substantially by city and country. This paper explores these differences by looking at representative cities of two media systems: Seattle (US) and Toulouse (France). While Seattle has seen a wave of startups, in Toulouse there have been just four – and only one continues publishing today. Drawing on interviews with journalists, we offer a field theory explanation for these differences. In both cities, journalists created startups as

a way to enter into or remain in the journalistic field; however, the volume of capital they held varied as a result of journalism's structural position vis-à-vis the field of power. In Seattle, an intense period of layoffs put many journalists – including established ones – on the job market. Some sought to convert their capital into the resources needed to start online sites (funding sources, press credentials, media partnerships). By contrast, in Toulouse, labor regulations protected established journalists but prevented younger ones from gaining stable employment. As a result, the few startups that did emerge were the creation of young journalists with low volumes of capital, and they struggled to secure funding, access sources and gain journalistic acceptance. We suggest the findings highlight field theory's utility for comparative research, and discuss implications for scholars of journalism innovation and comparative media systems.

Political journalists' branding practices on social media: A comparative analysis

Folker Hanusch

Journalistic self-branding – a process which sees journalists use digital tools to promote themselves and maintain strategic relationships with audiences – has become an important practice across many newsrooms during a time of enormous economic and technological changes. Particularly evident on the social network site Twitter, these developments have also attracted increased attention from journalism scholars interested in the extent and ways in which journalists engage in branding. However, while the phenomenon is increasingly being studied, the majority of work has been conducted through single-nation foci, limiting our understanding of larger influences on the macro-level. Thus, comparative approaches are needed.
This paper addresses the gap in our knowledge by examining journalistic branding activties by political journalists who are members of parliamentary press galleries in four democracies across three contintents: Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United Kingdom. These countries were chosen strategically for a most-similar systems design, because they exhibit important similarities, as well as specific characteristics along economic, political, cultural and technological variables, which make them suitable for comparative analysis. Focusing on journalists' profile descriptions and photographs on Twitter, the paper examines the display of personal and professional information, and the extent to which journalists adopt certain kinds of personae on their profiles, with the aim of delveloping a typology of journalistic branding that can be applied in other comparative studies. The paper thus contributes to our understanding of how journalistic branding is evolving in a global context.

PANEL 6B: JOURNALISTS, GOVERNMENTS, AND POLITICAL PARTIES (II)

Taking the lead? Understanding dynamics of individual politicians' visibility in traditional and online media

Sanne Kruikemeier, Katjana Gattermann, and Rens Vliegenthart

News coverage is important for political actors during elections in order to convey their political viewpoints to the electorate. Visibility might ultimately contribute to electoral success. However, attention towards individual politicians is selective both in traditional news (depending on selection processes by journalists) and online media (depending on selection processes by audiences). In addition, these two media also influence each other, with public responses being driven by media content, but also being input for journalists in turn. Research scrutinizing the relationship between traditional news visibility of political actors and their visibility on the public agenda is, however, scarce.

In this study, we examine the extent to which politicians' visibility in traditional news coverage explains individual politicians' online visibility and vice versa. We expect that the extent to which visibility of politicians offline and online condition each other depends on commonly identified characteristics of the individual politician, including status, seniority, party affiliation, gender and age.

Bring back the party: How coalition governments affect the personalisation of politics in the media

Ana Ines Langer and Iñaki Sagarzazu

The central tenet of research on personalisation of politics is that there has been an increase over time in the centrality of individual politicians at the expense of collective institutions (parties, cabinets and parliaments), which is manifested in, and in turn is reinforced by, personalized media coverage (Karvonen 2010; Langer 2011; Rahat and Sheafer 2007; Van Aelst, Sheafer and Stanyer 2012). Research also indicates that the characteristics of the political system (and especially government type and electoral and party variables) are key for explaining the variations in the degree of personalisation (Dalton, McAllister and Wattenberg 2000; Karvonen 2010; Kriesi 2012; Mughan 2000; Poguntke and Webb 2005). But this literature has paid little attention to how changes in institutional settings affect the degree of media personalisation. By contrast, research on political institutions has demonstrated how different types of government affect the role of different actors, especially the relationships between individual politicians and collective institutions (Colomer 2002; Laver and Shepsle 1990; Lijphart 2012; Rose 1991). This literature has, however, generally ignored the role of the media. Of particular interest to this paper is how a change in the institutional settings, specifically a switch between single and multi-party governments, affects media personalisation. Thus, our research question asks: what effect, if any, does this change have on the degree of media personalisation? We created a novel dataset constructed from over one million newspaper articles in the

UK covering a continuous 22-year period. We find that the coalition government has a lower level of media personalisation than single-party governments, especially regarding the role of parties. Moreover, there is less media 'presidentialisation' as the Prime Minister loses some prominence in the coverage not only in relation to the party but also relative to other cabinet ministers. These findings not only provide key insights into the phenomenon of personalisation but also enable us to better understand some of the consequences of changes in government types in power dynamics and democratic accountability.

Connecting politicians to issues: the impact of specialization and issue ownership on MPs' news coverage

Kirsten Van Camp

The puzzle of which politicians make it into the media and why has received much attention in the political communication literature. One of the most prominent approaches to study the news selection processes has been news value research. Inspired by Galtung and Ruge's (1965) seminal work about the newsworthiness of events, a parallel literature has developed about the newsworthiness of politicians. The most prominent indicator of their newsworthiness has been repeatedly found to be political power (e.g. Tresch, 2009; Midtbø; 2011). Furthermore, researchers are increasingly interested in additional factors that determine the newsworthiness of politicians, beyond power (e.g. Vos, 2015). The aim of the current study is to investigate whether specialization and issue ownership are such determinants. Are they selection criteria used by journalists to select a politician as news source? We study this by means of a comparison experiment imbedded in an online survey conducted among 168 journalists in Flanders (Belgium). This study is innovative: both variables have rarely been the subject of experimental studies amongst journalists and results of previous research are mixed. The results of the current study demonstrate an effect of perceived specialization: journalist are most likely to choose politicians they believe to be most specialized in the topic of the news item. Added to that, a significant effect of issue ownership was found, but analyses revealed this effect to be mediated by specialization. In the discussion section, we reflect on the implications of the findings.