Wednesday 27 September

New College

18.30-19:00	Drinks reception *(Undercroft)*
19:00 onwards	Dinner *(Founder's Library)*

Thursday 28 September

St Anne's College

8.00-8.45	Registration and coffee *(Foyer)*
8.45-9.00	Opening remarks *(Tsuzuki Lecture Theatre)*
9.00-10.00	Keynote lecture by Talia Stroud *(Tsuzuki Lecture Theatre)*
10.00-10.30	Break *(Foyer)*
10.30-12.00	Panels 1a *(Seminar Room 7)* and 1b *(Seminar room 9)*
12.00-13.00	Lunch *(Dining Hall)*
13.00-14.30	Panels 2a *(Seminar Room 7)* and 2b *(Seminar room 9)*
14.30-15.00	Break *(Foyer)*
15.00-16.30	Panels 3a *(Seminar Room 7)* and 3b *(Seminar room 9)*
19:00-onwards	Dinner *(Dining Hall)*

Friday 29 September

St Anne's College

8.00-9.00	Arrival and coffee *(Foyer)*
9.00-10.30	Panels 4a *(Seminar Room 7)* and 4b *(Seminar room 9)*
10.30-10.45	Break *(Foyer)*
10.45-12.15	Panels 5a *(Seminar Room 7)* and 5b *(Seminar room 9)*
12.15-13.15	Lunch *(Dining Hall)*
13.15-14.45	Panels 6a *(Seminar Room 7)* and 6b *(Seminar room 9)*
14.45-15.00	Break *(Foyer)*
15.00-16.00	Roundtable with IJPP Ed. Board members and closing remarks *(Tsuzuki Lecture Theatre)*

CONFERENCE OVERVIEW

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St Anne's College

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Towards a 'reflexive' turn in digital journalism research - cosmopolitan relational 'loops' as a model for assessing transnational 'risk' journalism: a case study from Pakistan
Ingrid Volkmer, Kasim Sharif and Andrea Carson

Conflict Framing in the News and Informal Political Discussions
Camilla Bjarnøe and David Hopmann

Terrorism and Climate Change: Two Global Phenomena Divided by A Common Professional Journalism
Hillel Nossek

Which Atrocities Matter? Investigating Determinants of News Coverage of Human Rights
Scott Maier

PANEL 1B: Online Media & Audience Behaviours

Who is Pulling the Cart in the Horse Race? Comparing News Media Agendas with User Agendas in Election Seasons
Jacob Ørmen and Casper Petersen

The role of the online press in the emergence and visibility of Local Publics in a municipal election in France
Franck Bousquet

No Spillover: A Longitudinal Analysis of the Effects of Political Communication Online and Off
Benjamin R. Warner and Michael W. Kearney

Media, Public Opinion, and Political Participation
Yossi David

PANEL 2A: Online Media & Contentious Politics

ICTs and Contentious Politics in the Digital Age: Towards a synthetic framework
Jun Liu

Media Partisanship, Political Rhetoric and Polarized Public Opinion on Social Media
Fawad Baig and Sehrish Mushtaq

The rejection of multicultural democracy on right-wing news websites: A comparative analysis of the agenda-building articulations of right wing alternative media movements in the US, Austria and Germany
Lea Hellmueller and Matthias Revers

Online newspapers as target of strategic user-generated content —Dealing with hate-speech, fake news and hidden propaganda.
Lena Frischlich, Svenja Boberg, and Thorsten Quandt

PANEL 2B: China in Local and International News

International Politics: It's the Economy, (Metaphorically). Metaphors of China in the Financial Press
Minyao Tang and Tianbo Xu

State Sovereignty or Freedom of Navigation: the Rhetoric Battle between China and the US for a Dominating Narrative in the Controversy over South China Sea.
Fan Min and Zhang Xiaomei

From CCTV to CGTN: An assessment of China's Go global media strategy and ongoing development of its news operation
Jie Shao and James Stanyer

Adieu to Contra-News and Hegemonic Channels: Is the Multipolar World Order the Premise for a More Balanced News Flow?
Massimo Di Ricco

PANEL 3B: The case of the US Media System

Washington Reporters as "Beltway Insiders": Space, Place, and Elitism
Nikki Usher and Scott Nover

From Liberal to Polarized Liberal? Contemporary US news in Hallin and Mancini's typology of news systems
Efrat Nechushtai

Passion and Politics: Voters' emotion, perceived candidate image, and decisions in 2016 US presidential election
Denis Wu and Renita Coleman

The hybrid media system in the 2016 US presidential election
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PANEL 3B: 'Fake News' and Media Trust

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Jana L. Egelhofer and Sophie Lecheler

Explaining Media Trust
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Friday 29 September

St Anne's College

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J. A. Brambila

Reporting transitional justice: media bias and media memory in Serbian and Kenyan contexts
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Wiebke Lamer

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Rodney Benson

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Alexa Robertson

Dual Screening, Public Service Broadcasting, and Political Participation in Eight Western Democracies
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Developing a cross-nationally comparative discourse approach to researching mediated political communication
Mats Ekström and Julie Firmstone

PANEL 6B: Political Elites and Political Communication

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What Can I Do For You? MP-Constituent Interaction Beyond the Electoral Context
Nikki Soo

A Trojan Horse for Marketing? Solutions Journalism in the French Regional Press
Pauline Amiel and Matthew Powers

Rethinking journalist-politician relations in the age of post-truth politics. Strategies of de-legitimization
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Abstracts

Panel 1A: Risk and Conflict Reporting

Towards a 'reflexive' turn in digital journalism research - cosmopolitan relational 'loops' as a model for assessing transnational 'risk' journalism: a case study from Pakistan

Ingrid Volkmer, Kasim Sharif and Andrea Carson

Today's advanced sphere of digital networks shapes not only communicative 'public' interdependence across all societies but - increasingly - notions of 'fluid' legitimacy and accountability of political action. This is particularly seen in areas of global 'risk' journalism, such as in discussions of climate change.

New methodologies are required to assess these emerging interdependent globalized risk spheres - specifically in contexts of journalistic practice. This paper suggests a 'reflexive' turn of digital journalism scholarship and a methodology of cosmopolitan relational 'loops' to tackle three major transformations in journalistic practice: (1) the availability of 'fluid' webs of data, which situate journalistic practice in a transnational arena; (2) the increased involvement of journalists from developing countries in transnationally interdependent spheres; and, (3) the focus on subjective journalistic perceptions of the increased globalized 'risk' dimension.

Our methodology is based on a case study of climate change journalism in Pakistan. Sixty in-depth interviews with journalists across Pakistan reveal that the construction of climate change 'issues' is neither situated in the local nor the global sphere, but rather based on 'fluid' subjective 'axes,' reflexively connecting a diversity of local, global and digital actors. Journalists in Pakistan can therefore be seen as 'cosmopolitan actors' navigating complex, nonlinear communications system to produce climate change news stories and communicate these to diverse publics.

Overall, our paper contributes to the methodological debate of 'risk' journalism and to the much needed scholarship of 'inclusive' comparative research in a globalized 'fluid' journalistic terrain - across developed and developing regions.

Conflict Framing in the News and Informal Political Discussions

Camilla Bjarnøe and David Hopmann

In this paper, we investigate how news media exposure influences informal political discussions. Specifically, we argue that exposure to conflict framing in the news provides reasons for citizens to discuss politics. It simply signals that something it at stake. Moreover, we argue that the effect of exposure to conflict framing is conditioned by two factors. First, citizens vary in their preference for conflict. Second, the context of discussion makes a difference being either private or public.

Based on an extensive content analysis of news media coverage and a longitudinal five-wave panel survey conducted in Denmark (n=2,061), we examine the effects of exposure to conflict framing on citizens willingness to discuss politics in different networks (public/private), and how this effect is moderated by the level of conflict avoidance.

The results show that the positive effect of exposure to conflict framing on discussion frequency in public or half-public networks (e.g., in newspapers or on social media sites) is moderated by conflict avoidance. Those who like conflict are more positively affected by exposure conflict framing than those avoiding conflicts. The effect of exposure to conflict framing on discussion frequency in private networks (e.g., interpersonal) is not moderated by conflict avoidance. This makes sense when considering that the consequences of a public debate are less predictable compared to discussions in private settings. In short, to understand when citizens discuss politics, we need to account for individual motivational characteristics, and the setting of the discussion.

Terrorism and Climate Change: Two Global Phenomena Divided by A Common Professional Journalism

Hillel Nossek

Terrorism and climate change are global phenomena whose outcomes are beyond national borders and their influence on everyday life are present globally.   The question this paper poses is: How these events are covered by the media and what can explain similarities and differences in the coverage?

Two approaches will form the theoretical framework of the research: Risk Communication (Cottle, 2011) and Global Journalism (Berglaz, 2007,2008). Risk communication offers theoretical tools for understanding the coverage of phenomena and events according to the extent of their risk to the individual and the society, while global journalism offers insights regarding the need to adapt the professional journalistic norms to the coverage of phenomena and events that deviate from the traditional local framework of nation-states.

The coverage of two events, the terrorist attacks and the Climate change summit that took place at the same location - Paris in a close time will be the case study. A qualitative content analysis will be applied to analyze the coverage and answer the research question.

The results of this study will offer, I believe, a better understanding of risk communication and its suitability for coverage of events in which the risk is not immediate, and whether the theory and practice of global journalism apply to both.

Which Atrocities Matter? Investigating Determinants of News Coverage of Human Rights

Scott Maier

In an empirical assessment of determinants of international news, this study tests the theory that human rights abuses elicit media attention commensurate to the violence. Research published in 1999 in the Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics asserts: "as the level of terror goes up, the coverage also goes up; as terror decreases, so does coverage." To evaluate this proposition, my study draws on two authoritative human rights indices, the Political Terror Scale and the Cingranelli-Richards human rights score. These indices are correlated country by country with a 180-nation database tracking foreign news coverage by the New York Times, Time magazine and NBC Nightly News. Making a unique contribution to this field of research, this cross-media study assesses the magnitude of human-rights suffering relative to the influence of political, geographical, economic factors that drive media agenda-setting.
A primary function of the media, communication scholars contend, is to "bear witness" to traumatic world events. By informing the public of human suffering, media potentially provide a crucial link to political response and public policy. How well do the U.S. media studied actually perform this role? Not very well. Preliminary results indicate that human rights abuse is a weak predictor of media attention; military and economic factors predominate international news coverage. With human rights ranked 7th of 14 news determinants, the study suggests that more media attention can – and should – be given to victims in dire distress.

Panel 1B: Online Media & Audience Behaviours

Who is Pulling the Cart in the Horse Race? Comparing News Media Agendas with User Agendas in Election Seasons

Jacob Ørmen and Casper Petersen

Political communication research has shown how news media tend to focus more on strategic and game-like elements of campaigns rather than the political issues at stake (for an overview see Aalberg, Strömbäck, & Vreese, 2012). At the same time, studies have documented a discrepancy between which stories news media prioritize and which stories news users prefer to read and share with others (e.g. Boczkowski & Mitchelstein, 2013; Bright, 2016). Following from this, the agenda of news users cannot be deduced from the agenda of news media. It remains an open question to which extend news media and users converge (or diverge) on the "horse race" framing of elections. Taking the 2015 Danish General Election as a case, this paper explores the differences in election coverage presented by news media, read by users, and shared through social network sites. It does so by combining web scraping with database searching for collecting data and using automated content analysis for assessing news framing. In this way, the article proposes a design for comparing coverage, popularity and virality of news stories that is scalable in time (election and non-election periods) and space (across countries and regions).

The role of the online press in the emergence and visibility of Local Publics in a municipal election in France

Franck Bousquet

A lot of political, socio-technical and economic constraints are today imposed on professional local media. The consequence for them is that the link between information and the animation of a territorialized public debate seems not to be their priority. However, in many areas in France and elsewhere in the world, the local newspaper is the only professional actor to produce a complete daily information and is thus a key actor in the construction of Publics and in the building of the subjects that animate them (Dewey, 1927; Gusfield, 2009). This research begins with the question of the professional media's role in the constitution of a local Public. We will address this issue through the interactions between journalists and some readers. The corpus is constituted by of all the articles published online by the regional newspaper on a small French commune (13,000 inhabitants) during the 2014s municipal campaign (94 articles) and their comments (528 contributions from 134 commentators). We have analyzed the editorial stance of the newspaper, the content of the articles, the content of the comments and the interactions between commentators. We also have conducted interviews with local journalists and some of the main commentators we identified. Our results will be repositioned in the global debate with the assumptions about the role of press comments in the evolution of journalism and more generally on their impact on the public sphere (Graham, Wright, 2015), while maintaining the originality of our approach in terms of constitution of a public problem.

No Spillover: A Longitudinal Analysis of the Effects of Political Communication Online and Off

Benjamin R. Warner and Michael W. Kearney

This study explores the relationships between offline political talk, the production of political communication on social media, and the consumption of political communication on social media. A questionnaire was distributed to a quota-stratified sample of U.S. residents (N=800) drawn from an online opt-in panel at three points in 2016 (W1 = August 26th – September 6th; W2 = November 1st to 7th; W3 = December 5th – 14th). Respondents to this survey who reported using at least one prominent social media platform (N = 620) were asked questions designed to assess the frequency

with which they engaged in conversations, produced social media content, and consumed social media content about the 2016 U.S. Presidential election. Responses were analyzed in a longitudinal structural equation panel model. Findings demonstrated a reinforcing relationship between production and consumption of political content on social media such that social media users who produced more political content were more likely to consume political content over time and those who consumed more political content were more likely to produce political content over time. There was very little relationship between offline political communication and political communication on social media. Offline talk was weakly associated with social media consumption at one point and social media production at another, but there was no influence of political uses of social media on offline talk at any point. Results suggest that the production and consumption of political content on social media are mutually reinforcing behaviors but that they are unlikely to spill over into offline political communication.

Media, Public Opinion, and Political Participation

Yossi David

Theories of political participation and social movements accord important roles to media coverage and to public opinion. This paper explores these theories by drawing upon two studies focusing on relationships between media consumption and public opinion in the context of Israel's 2011 social protests. The first study undertakes a quantitative content analysis of media coverage before and after the protests' outbreak and a time series analysis of fourteen public opinion polls on socio-economic issues conducted in Israel from 1969 to 2015. This study's findings indicate that even though a full decade before the 2011 protest movement the majority of Jewish-Israelis supported social-democratic economic policies, only after the beginning of the protests did the climate of opinion shift from capitalistic to social-democratic, ending a stubborn pluralistic ignorance. The second study examines seven public opinion surveys of three populations: protesting activists, online activists, and representative samples of Jewish-Israelis, conducted at three junctures during the protests. The findings here suggest that the climate of opinion regarding the social movement increased in conjunction with the growth of the protests and their media coverage, irrespective of which media was consumed. However, those who relied only on word-of-mouth to learn about the protests were less likely than media consumers to perceive the majority public support of the movement's aims. These findings provide new insights into the role of media and political participation in the dynamics of public opinion, especially regarding their potential role in shattering pluralistic ignorance.

Panel 2A: Online Media & Contentious Politics

ICTs and Contentious Politics in the Digital Age: Towards a synthetic framework

Jun Liu

In recent years, the scholarship on Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) and contentious collective action – such as revolutions, riots, protests, and demonstrations – has developed appreciably as an exciting, relevant, but highly contested field in political communication and political sociology. Despite enduring interest, proliferating interrogation, and substantial deliberation on the role of ICTs in political activism and social movements over the past decade, existing literature from different disciplines still rarely achieves a consistent framework for the analysis of how ICTs transform contentious collective action for social changes. To advance the field, this theoretical paper outlines a communication-centered framework that views communication as a key mechanism in distributing political opportunities, maneuvering mobilizing structures, shaping cultural framing, articulating contested meanings, and facilitating relational dynamics among these interrelated factors. Acknowledging ICTs as the context for communication and action, the proposed focus overcomes technological determinism and media centrism by reemphasizing human beings – precisely their communicative practices and networks – as political agency in contention. By centralizing and sensitizing communication dynamics, the framework suggests an explicit focus on communication – including different degrees of communication, in particular mediated and face-to-

face communication, and metacommunication with a focus on the (de)codification of contextually bounded social codes and values in the application of technology – to dissect (technologically mediated) collective actions in different spatiotemporal contexts. The communication-centered framework is able to transcend the limits of extant discipline-confined approaches to the field by conceptualizing the evolving relationship between (technologically mediated) communication and contentious collective action and by integrating bodies of literatures that are isolated from different disciplines.

Media Partisanship, Political Rhetoric and Polarized Public Opinion on Social Media

Fawad Baig and Sehrish Mushtaq

This article analyzes the response of social media users towards content of TV channels and political elite in online environment. Such analysis becomes essentially significant for developing countries like Pakistan where political leadership is plagued with corruption, media is partisan and public is highly polarized on religious and political views. Partisanship of TV news channels of Pakistan was explored through videos shared on their official Facebook pages on the issue of Panama Papers. Political rhetoric of elite was analyzed for the use of key words, hashtags and persuasive appeal. Polarization among audiences was also determined through sentiment analysis of comments on these posts. Results indicate that both selected Fecebook pages of ARY and Geo news showed bias in favor of Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) and Pakistan Muslim League - Nawaz(PML-N) respectively. Key words and hashtags count showed different patterns on pages of Imran Khan and PML-N but both pages frequently employed pathos to persuade audience and emotional appeal garnered more response from public than any other appeal. But public sentiment expressed on any post did not correspond to partisan bias and rhetorical appeal. Public seem more motivated to detest the opponent than defending their own party thus indicating high level of polarization. The notion that people turn to information in consonance with their own belief, was also negated as people seem to watch videos incongruent to their political beliefs.

The rejection of multicultural democracy on right-wing news websites: A comparative analysis of the agenda-building articulations of right wing alternative media movements in the US, Austria and Germany

Lea Hellmueller and Matthias Revers

In recent years, we have witnessed an increased visibility of right wing political movements on a global scale, which has been folded into policy, law and public sentiment. Against the backdrop of increasingly right-wing politics, associated digital media outlets like Breitbart.com also exhibit similar coverage. Right-wing media position themselves as alternatives to legacy media and therefore differ according to cross-national differences between journalism cultures. From a cross-national perspective, such right-wing movements raise important questions: To what degree do right-wing media follow the mainstream media agenda and how do they present themselves as alternatives to the mainstream media? Furthermore, in what ways do right wing media provide a counter-narrative to legacy media? In other words, how do they set themselves apart from mainstream media and what are topical discourses on which those distinctions are articulated? Because news media play an important role in setting public agendas actively shape social reality and can affect audience members' sense of civic empowerment, this research examines journalistic professionalism and topical discourses on right wing media websites in the United States, Austria and Germany from a cross-national perspective.

Online newspapers as target of strategic user-generated content —Dealing with hate-speech, fake news and hidden propaganda.

Lena Frischlich, Svenja Boberg, and Thorsten Quandt

Participatory journalism has become standard in the Western world. Virtually every newspaper has, at least, its own website and a Facebook page. Participatory formats offer multiple options for user involvement, including options for democratic participation. However, participatory formats also offer multiple options for abuse via negative user-generated content (NUGC), ranging from single users' hate-speech, up to the strategic spreading of "fake news" and hidden propaganda.

Community managers and digital editors are expected to guard the increasingly open gates at online newspapers, carefully disentangling valid opinions from manipulated statements—with the obvious danger of either censoring or letting potentially damaging content 'slip through'. So far, empirical studies on how media actors' perceive this challenge and how they handle NUGC are scarce. Embedded in a multi-methodological project on hidden propaganda in online media, we conducted a series of guided interviews (N = 27) exploring community managers' and digital editors' experiences with NUCG at German regional and national newspapers. A qualitative content analysis showed that NUCG is a steady part of user involvement. Differences in (a) the relative frequency of NUCG; (b) the presumed actors behind such content; and (c) between different platforms, were linked to perceiving NUCG as threat versus challenge. Perceptions in turn, were associated with different moderation strategies, ranging from a relaxed laissez-faire moderation up to a defensive pre-moderation.

Our results offer meaningful insights into factors influencing the perception and handling of NUGC and increase our understanding of online newspapers' ability to guard their increasingly open gates against strategic attempts.

Panel 2B: China in Local and International News

International Politics: It's the Economy, (Metaphorically). Metaphors of China in the Financial Press

Minyao Tang and Tianbo Xu

Political dialogue is often based on presumptions about the cultural contexts that are shared or perhaps divide participant nations. The representation of these relationships in current affairs news is often rich in metaphorical usage. This paper will focus on metaphorical representations of China in the British and Chinese financial press after the 2008 financial crisis until 2011 and investigate the similarities and differences in the use of metaphor between self-presentations of China in the Chinese financial press and other-representations of China in the British financial press. Metaphors, as an indispensable heuristic device, are central to sense-making and persuasion processes yet this role in the financial press is very under-researched. This is an important omission as the financial press often drives elite political opinion and is key to high-level decision-making.This study also questions assumptions that financial journalism should be more fact-based and less subject to stylistic ornamentation.

This paper will be based on an empirical study of the metaphorical representations of China as a dominant financial-political player in the British financial press including the Financial Times and the Economist and the Chinese financial press including China Business Journal and China Business News. The main research question posed here is whether metaphorical conceptualizations of China in the financial press represent it as a rising political power or do they rather tend to reinforce older stereotypical imaginations of China as the Other?

State Sovereignty or Freedom of Navigation: the Rhetoric Battle between China and the US for a Dominating Narrative in the Controversy over South China Sea.

Fan Min and Zhang Xiaomei

In the battle for a dominating narrative in the controversy over South China Sea, the People's Republic of China and the United States have tried to establish their own rhetoric frames by qualitative definition, justification for actions, and elocutionist embellishment, developing their respective line of argument from different starting points: those of "State Sovereignty" and "Freedom of Navigation". On the Chinese side, the rhetoric frame is built around historical facts and persuasion by reasoning. Both the rhetoric effect on the epistemological level, the aim of which is to make known true facts in an international history, and that on the axiological level, for the promotion of state sovereignty, rule of law, and value of rights in international affairs, are sought after. On the US side, an opposite set of values are promoted: freedom, power hierarchy, and the maintenance of allies and existing vested interests. For that purpose, their rhetoric frame is built around a power play that relies on authority and uses elocution to interfere with facts, desiring rhetoric effect on the axiological level rather than the epistemological one. The clash between these two rhetoric frames, as accurate projections of realistic state power on both sides, is not only a matter of disparate rhetorical outlooks: one refining language to establish truth and the other focused on "persuasion/dialexeis", but also reflects deep differences in moral and philosophical thinking.

From CCTV to CGTN: An assessment of China's Go global media strategy and ongoing development of its news operation

Jie Shao and James Stanyer

China Central Television News (CCTV) has recently been rebranded as China Global Television Network (CGTN). The change of name is an indicator of the continued importance of the 'Go global' media strategy for the Chinese state and of the problems it has faced in pursuing this strategy. Launched with great fanfare in 2009, Go global can be seen as a distinctive effort to strengthen and extend China's soft power, in order to convey China's perspective, increase its world-wide visibility and to consequently favour China.

This paper will chart the development of this strategy, looking at the major player CCTV's global expansion. It will examine the strategies implemented in the different world regions in different periods. It will map the progress, scale and scope of the growth and attempt to evaluate state media's overseas initiatives. Finally the paper seeks to contextualise the findings in terms of the wider issue of China's soft power.

Previous research has been mainly based on secondary data and news stories, due in the limited accessibility of Chinese state media sources. This paper presents the findings of ongoing research based on official documents and interviews with those involved in the 'Go global' media strategy, including: Chinese propaganda officials, and media practitioners at CCTV. These resources provide a valuable insight into the decision making processes that is often missing in the English language literature.

Adieu to Contra-News and Hegemonic Channels: Is the Multipolar World Order the Premise for a More Balanced News Flow?

Massimo Di Ricco

During the last twenty years international news channels, both state-owned and private conglomerates, have multiplied and expanded their regional and global reach. Often used as public diplomacy tools, this expansion came along with the evolution of the world political order toward a multipolar system, with no clear hegemonic power. Although studies on specific international tv

channels increased in the last decade (Painter, 2008; Thussu, 2009; Robertson, 2015), it seems necessary to offer a general overview of the space of world news in geopolitical terms. To what extent the actual configuration of news channels' reach is coming close to represent the multipolar world order? Is it heading toward a more equilibrated news flow?

This paper analyzes 21 tv news networks from the Americas, Europe, the Middle East and Asia, according to number of channels belonging to the group, number of bureaux and their worldwide location, along with their broadcast and webpage languages. Social network analysis shows which are the main regions they cover, which languages are most used and which regions or languages are left out. The resulting fragmented scenario in tv news along with their ramifications on the web, suggests the need to overcome the labels of contra-news flow, hegemonic or counter-hegemonic channels. A more complex and balanced space of world news, in which tv news networks struggle with each other in specific and geopolitically relevant world spots.

Panel 3A: The case of the US Media System (4 papers)

Washington Reporters as "Beltway Insiders": Space, Place, and Elitism

Nikki Usher and Scott Nover

The election of Trump brought with it a chorus of claims about the inability of elite coastal journalists to understand the concerns of Americans outside the big cities. Moreover, beltway journalists received ample criticism for their inability to extract themselves from the professional norms and coverage obsessions of Washington and campaign journalism in response to a candidate and now president who rejects the norms of traditional democratic discourse. These concerns, of course, are not new to political science or communication research, but the temporal conversation in the industry provides an entryway through which to use a multi-method approach to probe just how beltway elitism is understood by journalists and how structural factors may amplify the separation between these journalists and the people they aim to cover.

The first aspect of the project uses social network analysis to examine the tweeting behavior of political journalists with permanent White House credentials in an effort to assess whether they spend most of their time talking to themselves. The second portion of the project similarly relies upon big data analysis but looks to LinkedIn to assess markers typically associated with high cultural capital (or, to some, signs of an "elitist" background). Finally, qualitative interviews are being conducted with beltway journalists with an emphasis on regional correspondents in order to better understand how these Washington reporters deal with geographical and cultural distance from the communities they cover. Larger themes of media credibility and bias are explored.

From Liberal to Polarized Liberal? Contemporary US news in Hallin and Mancini's typology of news systems

Efrat Nechushtai

The 2016 elections demonstrated that phenomena that once seemed alien to US news are being normalized in the American newsscape. Evidence of profound changes in the US news system have been documented in the literature for some years, but were often framed as exceptions and not theorized broadly.

This paper offers a meta-analysis of research from the last decade in light of Hallin and Mancini's typology of news systems (2004). It suggests that the US news system is increasingly displaying its own variants of elements typically considered characteristic of South European news: a fragmented and poorly equitable news market, politicization of news content and funding, weakening professionalization, and even increasing openness to state involvement. Based on these elements, I suggest that American news are drifting away from the Liberal model into a hybrid category of "Polarized Liberal."

Starr (2012) suggests that despite predictions that news around the world will Americanize, it is American news that is Europeanizing. I further develop this observation, grounding it more systematically in Hallin and Mancini's framework and pointing to evidence of this shift in each of the four dimensions they defined. Potential reasons for this transition are discussed, evoking technological, economic, sociocultural and political dynamics.

Given the global influence of the Liberal model, this paper offers a timely contribution to comparative and global discussions. The US case suggests that in the near future, global convergence , if any, might be toward a hybrid model, exhibiting traits drawn from both the Liberal and Polarized Pluralist models.

Passion and Politics: Voters' emotion, perceived candidate image, and decisions in 2016 US presidential election

Denis Wu and Renita Coleman

The 2016 presidential election cycle has been notable for the role that emotion has played. American voters were said to base their decisions exclusively on their feelings and perceptions of the candidates rather than on issues. This study aimed to verify this observation by investigating a slew of traditional variables – such as party affiliation and political ideology – and affective factors to predict candidate preference. In the latter group of variables, both discrete (such as anger, sadness, pride, and hope) and dimensional (positive and negative) emotions as well as perceived candidate attributes were included in the data. A comprehensive list of media, including social, entertainment, online, and traditional media, was incorporated into the survey. We conducted a nation-wide, representative web-based survey (N=683) during the one week prior to the Election Day. Results show that, in addition to party affiliation and political ideology, emotions generated a significant influence on voting decisions. Media in general – and social media in particular – also played a pivotal role in swaying candidate preference. The public's overall feeling toward candidates is a decisive predictor of voting decision.

The hybrid media system in the 2016 US presidential election

Kelly Fincham

Social media is transforming the relationship between political actors and journalists in ways that are still being negotiated as the mass media era gives way to a hybrid media system. Much of the research into social media's effect on politics and journalism explores the ways in which the two groups separately use social media, particularly Twitter, but there is limited research into the points at which these two groups of actors intersect. As politicians and journalists increasingly integrate social media into their daily norms and routines there are questions about "newer" media logic in a hybrid media system which, unlike older media systems, gives politicians the ability to bypass journalists and influence the salience of certain topics in mainstream news coverage. Using hybrid media theory, this paper analyses the tweets from the two candidates, Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton, (n=745), and the tweets from a sample of 100 campaign reporters (n=29,201) in the two weeks before the 2016 U.S. presidential election and explores the resulting connections for evidence of intermedia agenda-setting and hybrid media logic. We analyze the relationship by mapping the candidates' tweets over the journalists' tweets to explore the frequency and type of interactions between the two groups while also looking at the topics of those interactions. The research shows that the candidates, particularly Trump, were adept at using Twitter to drive conversation in the mainstream media and suggests that politicians are making a more skillful transition to the hybrid media era than journalists.

Panel 3B: 'Fake News' and Media Trust

Conceptualizing 'Fake News' for Political Communication Research

Jana L. Egelhofer and Sophie Lecheler

The term 'Fake News' (FN) is widely used in current public discourse, as well as in a growing scientific literature. However, there is no clear definition of what exactly it stands for, and how it can

thus be effectively used in research. To answer the need for conceptual ground work, this theoretical paper synthesizes evidence from already existing studies on FN, as well as research on related concepts like misinformation, conspiracy theories, propaganda, and media trust. These studies come from various fields, such as political science, psychology, as well as journalism and communication science. We present ideas for a clarification and operationalisation of the blurred usage of the term – distinguishing between FN as label used to discredit information provided by legacy media, and FN as content, describing the deliberate dissemination of misinformation. Furthermore, this paper provides a discussion of why FN is so relevant now: It is part of a current political discourse that is characterized by a decreasing relevance of (scientific) facts in favour of opinions and feelings. This development is bolstered by the digitalization of our media environment. Drawing on our findings, we emphasize the hazards of FN for political decision-making. Finally, we present a research agenda to meet the challenges FN entails for modern democracies. The article contributes to political communication research by providing a substantial theoretical framework for subsequent research on FN.

Explaining Media Trust

Oliver Quiring, Schemer, Christian, Jackob, Nikolaus, Schultz, Tanjev & Ziegele, Marc

Whether it is Donald Trump's so-called "fake news" or Germany's right wing movements which publicly chant "Lügenpresse" (Liar Press), trust in the media is on the agenda of many journalists as well as researchers. Although long-term data shows little to no decline of the average level of trust in many Western countries (Reinemann & Fawzi, 2016; Eurobarometer, 2016), a series of studies by the authors (2008, 2015, 2016) shows an increasingly pronounced polarization of the public. In our paper, we try to shed a light on explanations for this phenomenon.

One of the problems of research so far is due to the fact that it does not differentiate between substantiated and non-substantiated reasons for media distrust (neither conceptually nor empirically). Building on theoretical approaches on "media cynicism" (Capella & Jamieson, 1997) and "media skepticism" (Tsfati, 2003) we extend these approaches with the help of two separate scales of media trust indicators. One is based on scientifically observed media shortcomings like, e.g., the usage of "opportune witnesses" (Hagen, 1992), the second one on rather unsubstantiated claims like, e.g. a conspiracy of media and political actors. In turn, the different scales act as different explanations for general trust in media. We base our evidence on a CATI-survey representative of the German population aged 18 and above (n =1.200) conducted in the fall of 2016.

To our knowledge, research in media trust so far concentrates on a few countries like the US, Great Britain, Israel and Germany. The respective results can be compared to our research. But one of the aims of our submission lies clearly not in the paper itself but in the opportunity to learn to know more researchers who work on the same topic at the conference.

They won't get fooled (again)? Exploring consumption of and trust to "alternative" online news media in the Czech Republic

Vaclav Stetka and Jaromir Mazak

Digitalization of media environment in recent years has brought the rise and proliferation of new, Internet-based media outlets, challenging the position of traditional or mainstream news organizations. While some of these new players on the media market conform to professional journalistic norms, others do not feel bound by the standards of the profession and frequently engage in manufacturing and spreading disinformation, hoaxes and "fake news". The negative impact of such alternative news production, multiplied in the environment of social networking sites, on democracy and the public sphere have been recently subject to extensive debates; yet relatively little is still known about the audiences of these outlets, the patterns of and motivations for their use, as well as about their attitudes to media and politics. Utilizing data from the 2017 Digital News Report survey (N=2003, 18+), this paper aims to fill this gap and explore factors influencing "alternative" news consumption by the Internet users in the Czech Republic, focusing particularly on the consumers of those online news outlets that are generally regarded as hotbeds of disinformation and "fake news", composing broadly 15% of the sample. Apart from socio-demographic characteristics, the analysis examines the extent to which these audiences differ from consumers of mainstream / legacy media

brands in terms of their political knowledge and attitudes, online participation, as well as the level of trust to media in the country and the perceived level of their autonomy – a variable particularly significant in the context of the ongoing process of oligarchization of the Czech media landscape.

A Study to Examine the Third-Person Effects of Fake News during the Presidential Election in South Korea.

Daekyung Kim, Wi-Geun Kim, Thomas J. Johnson, Joseph Yoo, Lina Mao

The primary goal of this study is to explore the perceptual and behavioral components of third-person effect (TPE) hypothesis on fake news during the upcoming Presidential Election (May 9) in South Korea. We will examine self-other disparities in perceiving fake news' effects and its relationship to a willingness to endorse the regulatory policy. Data to be analyzed in this study will be collected from an online panel survey of 1,000 participants, which will be conducted right after the Election Day. Some significant implications of this study are as follows. First, Korea is known as one of the most wired countries in the world in which digital media have become the mainstream in the field of political communication for the last decade. As did in UK and US, fake news recently became a buzzword in Korea with a growing concern about the negative effects on the political perception, attitude, and behavior among the public. Second, the recent political event of the presidential impeachment will offer an ideal situation where we will examine the cognitive and behavioral effects of an inappropriate political message (fake news) based on TPE during the election campaign. We hope that this study will give some insights into the theoretical explanation of TPE in the newly evolving circumstance of digital communication media.

Panel 4A: Media in Hybrid and Authoritarian Regimes (4 papers)

Scaling Down: The Menu of Media Manipulation in Subnational Hybrid Regimes

J. A. Brambila

Scholars (Behrend and Whitehead, 2016) notice that there are cases where national–level democratic regimes coexist with less–democratic or undemocratic subnational regimes, especially in Third Wave Federal democracies. To categorize this phenomenon, they speak about the emergence of subnational hybrid regimes within one country, which are mixed in nature and contain both democratic and authoritarian elements (Karl 1995). Drawing upon these assumptions, this paper asks: How does the recognition of subnational "hybrid" regimes affect media system theory, and how do local powers contain the press in those regimes?
Drawing upon the literature of media systems (Hallin and Mancini, 2004) and comparative politics (Snyder, 2001), in the first part I argue that the recognition of subnational hybrid regimes enriched media system theory by introducing comparisons of units of analysis below the national state (Esser, 2013). Therefore, using the Mexican case, in the second part I argue that after 16 years of the transition to democracy at national level, local political powers implement "boundary control" strategies that limited the exercise of press freedom in Mexico´s subnational hybrid regimes (Gibson, 2013). Those strategies include legal, administrative, violent and technological means of censorship (Chalaby, 2000). To illustrate this, I use novel data coming from a set of 49 open-ended interviews to local journalists that I recently conducted in 10 of the 32 Mexico´s states. The paper concludes that the recognition of the subnational hybrid regimes is relevant to analyzing the uneven exercise of press freedom in new Federal democracies, like Brazil, Mexico or Russia.

Reporting transitional justice: media bias and media memory in Serbian and Kenyan contexts

Aleksandra Krstić and Judith Lohner

Transitional justice measures are designed as a mechanism for reconciliation in democratizing societies, but often mobilise divisions over the interpretation of historical events. Media can become a significant political player in the contestation over the interpretation of past human rights violations. However, their role in these processes is often neglected (Price & Stremlau, 2012). This paper aims to fill this void by focusing on the media coverage of political and societal polarisation over transitional justice processes in Serbia and Kenya, triggered by the arrest and extradition of the former Yugoslav president Slobodan Milošević to the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the proceedings against Kenyan president Uhuru Kenyatta by the International Criminal Court (ICC). In order to investigate how the conflicts were mediatised, we draw on results from content analysis of Serbian and Kenyan print and broadcast media and 50 in-depth interviews with Serbian and Kenyan journalists.

This paper particularly focuses on the issue of media bias and diversity of opinions in the coverage of transitional justice processes. The results of content analysis show that inclination towards one side of the conflict occured frequently, particularly regarding the portrayal of the prosecuted presidents and their supporters, international actors and the governments' actions. Interviews reveal that some journalists tried to offer contested viewpoints and alternative interpretations of the events. However, overall coverage was largely determined by current power constellations and editorial alignment with new democratic elites, as well as journalists' personal perception of break up with the authoritarian past.

The Journalisms of Islam: Contending views in Muslim Southeast Asia

Janet Steele

Ethnographic research at five exemplary newsrooms in Indonesia and Malaysia suggests that our definition of Islamic journalism has been too narrow. A focus on how Muslim journalists from five exemplary publications in one of the world's most populous Muslim regions understand the meaning of their work suggests a richness of experience that has been overlooked by scholars of journalism.

At Sabili, an Indonesian Islamist magazine first established as an underground publication, journalists were hired for their ability at dakwah, or Islamic propagation. They believed that the solution to the ills of modern society lies in Sharia, the law laid down in the Qur'an and Sunnah of the Prophet Mohammad in the seventh century. At Tempo on the other hand, a weekly Indonesian news magazine that was banned by the Soeharto regime and returned to print in 1998, journalists don't talk much about Sharia. Although many are pious and see their work as a manifestation of worship, the Islam they practice has been described as cosmopolitan, progressive, and even liberal.

Does Islamic journalism require that reporters support an Islamic party as they do at Harakah newspaper in Malaysia? Or is it more important to practice the kind of substantial Islam promoted by the Indonesian newspaper Republika? What about Muslim journalists who work at secular news organization such as Malaysiakini?

Journalists at each of these news organizations draw upon what are arguably universal principles of journalism, but understand and explain them through the lens of what I call an Islamic idiom.

Access Journalism, (Anonymous) Sources, and Authoritarian Regimes: Western Media Coverage of North Korea

Helen Cho

While North Korea is notoriously opaque, Western audiences are hungry for information on the reclusive country, leading journalists to sensationalistic reports that North Korea scholars call "irresponsible" and "histrionic" (e.g., Cha & Kang 2003; Cumings 2004; Gusterson 2008; Lankov, 2015). Analysis of public opinion on North Korea indicates "reading lots of news about North Korea does not seem to be helping Americans understand" North Korea's level of threat to the U.S. (Fisher 2013).

Western media's inadequate coverage of North Korea raises questions about the role of access and sourcing: how does access to North Korean sources, official and anonymous, influence coverage? There are only two Western news organizations – the Associated Press and Agency France Presse – with bureaus in Pyongyang. In authoritarian regimes, what is the balance between official and anonymous sources, and does Gitlin's (2006) criticism that access journalism is "more amplification system than watchdog" apply (p. 5)?

This study compares coverage in the six-month period since AFP's bureau opened in September 2016 among mainstream Western media publications with and without a presence in North Korea, including publications from France, Germany, U.K., and U.S., as well as alternative media coverage that relies on anonymous sources, such as Daily NK, NK News, Radio Free Asia, and Rimjin-gang. News content is analyzed at the story level, coding for the number and mix of sources, story topic, story frame, level of sensationalism, and verifiability. Results provide a nuanced understanding of the differing roles access journalism and anonymous sources play in covering authoritarian regimes.

Panel 4B: Comparative Perspectives on the 2016 US Election

The whole world is watching. A comparative study on how the US 2016 election was covered in the news

Peter Van Aelst, Rens Vliegenthart, and Amber Boydstun

The 2016 U.S. presidential election has become, in line with previous presidential elections, a major political event garnering extensive media coverage in countries all over the world. This coverage provides political communication scholars with a unique opportunity to study how country differences influence the production of political news of the same 'international' event. Although campaign research is flourishing, it is striking how little we know about how such coverage differs between countries, especially since scholars agree that analyzing country variation is crucial to fully understand the production of election media coverage. In a previous study we showed how newspapers in eight European countries covered the historic Obama-McCain campaign in 2008. Among other findings, this study showed that country differences on public opinion towards the U.S. influenced how the campaign was covered (Vliegenthart, et al., 2010). In this paper we replicate and extend the 2008 study by comparing news coverage across time and space. We will examine how U.S. newspapers covered the 2016 campaign in comparison to the press in six Western European countries (Germany, UK, Netherlands, Belgium, Spain, France) and focus on the main news characteristics that are commonly researched in campaign media studies: salience, tone towards the main candidates and framing. In addition to the content analyses we will use in-depth interviews with US and European journalists on how they covered the campaign.

Tyrant, Pragmatic Billionaire, Jokes, and Many More – The International Coverage of Donald J. Trump and Implications in International Relations and News

Yin Wu, Shreenita Ghosh, Larisa Doroshenko, Xiaomei Sun, & Douglas M. McLeod

The 2016 US elections reverberated across the world, especially where Donald Trump's policies substantially affected the status quo of bilateral relations, such as in China, Mexico, and Russia. As news discourse often reflects national interests and shapes public's perception of international affairs, we aim to find how the coverage of Trump and his policies differed across these three countries and how it has changed over time.

Previous research has demonstrated the influence of national interest frames on public opinion about other countries (Brewer, 2006), so applying a theoretical approach of strategy, value, material, and issue frames (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997), we assess how Trump and his policies are portrayed in the most influential newspapers in three countries.

Six native speakers analyzed random samples of articles from Global Times (Chinese), El Universal (Spanish), and Argumenty i Fakty (Russian) that mention Trump, between the first presidential debate and the inauguration. Intercoder reliability between country coders was assessed by coding a sample of the English version of national newspapers from each country.

Preliminary results suggest that Argumenty i Fakty and Global Times focused on material and issue frames when covering Trump; however, the former had more positive tone of this coverage than the latter. El Universal coverage is predominantly negative with emphasis on strategy frames.

This study provides a nuanced description of framing differences in national coverage of the most recent US election, places these differences within geopolitical contexts, and helps us understand how coverage can shape public opinion and relationships between countries.

The "World Watches the US Election:" Comparing global media perspectives on the US Presidential Election

Randolph Kluver, Skye Cooley, and Robert Hinck

From alleged Russian hacking of Hillary Clinton's emails, to visual memes of Donald Trump kissing Russian President Putin, to concerns over Arab refugees in the US, the U.S. presidential elections are affected by not just domestic political concerns but international as well. Obviously, the President of the US is the most visible symbol of the United States to much of the world, and the policies that the President brings to the office have global ramifications. For these reasons and more, the US presidential election becomes one of the most visible examples of global attention to the US and its political system, and global discussion of the merits of "democracy" often are framed in reference to what is modeled in the US. Unfortunately, the information that US voters receive about global perceptions is typically anecdotal and incomplete. This paper presents a comparative analysis of how global media covered the US presidential election and its immediate aftermath. Researchers utilized an innovative technology that allowed the teams to harvest media content, from almost 75 global news sources, in Arabic, Chinese, Farsi, and Russian. The data sources include major global broadcast coverage as well as online news sites that reach a large proportion of the global population to uncover the themes, fears, and hopes that global audiences express in reference to the US presidential election. The paper also discusses the methodological challenges of comparative analysis from disparate cultural and news traditions, languages, and patterns of access to media.

Panel 5A: Populism and UK Politics

Personality politics in media coverage over time; the UK case 1992-2013

Inaki Sagarzazu, Ana Ines Langer, and Johannes Gruber

There has been a lot of research on the personalization of politics, especially in parliamentary democracies. The key tenet is that there has been an increase over time in the centrality of individual politicians at the expense of collective institutions, which is manifested in, and reinforced by, personalized media coverage. Within media personalization, the literature suggests that there has been a rise not only on the emphasis on individuals but also on their personalities, which is also assumed to be replacing the coverage of policies and issues. Most research, however, has focused on the first dimension (i.e. individualization). Moreover, the complexity of analyzing the 'personality politics' dimension means that the little research available has generally analysed small samples of data, and mostly during elections and in the US. As a result, there is not enough evidence to confirm (or reject) the assumption that personality—and especially 'soft' traits—has become a major focus of media coverage, and even less to understand under which circumstances this is more the case.

Thus, this study seeks to analyse the degree to which media focus on politicians' personalities, and the characteristics that they emphasise. Specifically: how much of the coverage focuses on politicians' personalities vs. policy-focus? Which types of personality traits predominate? Have the patterns changed over time and which factors explain these changes? In order to answer these question, and using the UK as case-study, we analyse over one million newspaper articles covering a continuous 22-year period (1992-2013) using computational text analysis techniques.

Media and political participation: fostering inclusive governance

Sophie Baskett

There is near universal agreement across the international development sector on the importance of governments being properly accountable to citizens. However, there is less agreement on the best ways of achieving this, though increasing political participation is seen as one of the key routes. There is also only moderate evidence around the role the media can play in fostering participation.

BBC Media Action gathered data from over 23,000 respondents via comparable nationally representative surveys across seven countries in Africa and Asia. This study utilises multiple regression models to examine the relationship between political discussion programmes and participation, as well as the drivers of participation: knowledge, discussion, and efficacy.

The findings show that people exposed to BBC Media Action's audience-led governance TV and radio programmes participated more than those unexposed, even when taking other influencing factors – such as age, income and interest in politics – into account. There was also a strong, positive association between exposure and political knowledge and discussion.

This study makes an important contribution to the growing evidence base on the role of media in the developing world. While recognising the importance of the broadcast context, if those who tend to participate less overall in politics – such as less educated groups – gain more by watching/listening to BBC Media Action's outputs, then this suggests that discussion programmes can potentially be a powerful tool for social inclusion.

Brexit and the Political Value Space of Constituencies on Twitter

Marco Bastos, Dan Mercea, and Andrea Baronchelli

This paper seeks to contribute to the understanding of the decision by the British public to end the country's membership of the E.U. To this end, we analyse large sets of Twitter data collected in the run-up to the E.U. membership referendum to identify potential shifts in the British public opinion. Our study relies on a dynamic theoretical model and a dedicated machine learning algorithm ('the Brexit

Classifier') purpose-built for this project. The algorithm classifies Twitter messages associated with Brexit and posted by British users along a political value space comprising the coordinates of Nationalism, Populism, Economism, and Globalism. These coordinates are subsequently mapped onto voting constituencies in England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland to determine how public opinion on Twitter has evolved in the run-up to the referendum. The theoretical model, the classifier, and the spatial analysis are leveraged to test the hypotheses that 1) the value space of tweets dedicated to Brexit are geographically proximate to the results of the referendum (mapped to parliamentary constituencies); 2) the discourse surrounding Brexit presents evidence of polarized ideological echo-chamber communication across U.K. constituencies.

"We Need to Talk About Immigration": Media Coverage of Immigration During the 2015 UK General Election and 2016 EU Referendum Campaigns

Martin Moore and Gordon Ramsay

Immigration has emerged as perhaps the most significant area of public policy in UK politics in recent years, yet recent high profile political campaigns have seen drastically different treatments of the issue in news media coverage. While immigration was covered with high volume and prominence during the 2016 Referendum on membership of the European Union, it was very much a peripheral issue during the General Election campaign of 2015, despite public opinion research consistently ranking it as the first or second most important issue facing the country during the period spanning both campaigns.

Agenda-setting theory anticipates both correlation and causation in the relationship between the volume and prominence of political issue coverage, and the developing public agenda. Normative theories of the role of news media during periods of high political activity and interest suggest that immigration should have featured prominently in coverage of both campaigns. Instead, preliminary evidence suggests that the news agenda was heavily influenced by issue attention from elite political sources.

This paper applies the digital news content analysis software tool Steno to over 500,000 news articles published online by a range of UK media outlets during both campaigns, using bespoke political dictionaries to identify the issues covered by national news outlets online. It compares the coverage of immigration in the different campaigns, and explores the factors that influenced the prominence and nature of immigration coverage in each context. The paper tests the capacity of existing theory to explain agenda setting in a digital news environment.

Panel 5B: Press Freedom and State-Media Relations

Destroying the Messenger: A Comparative Analysis of the Recent Political Attitude towards Press Freedom in Democratic Societies

Wiebke Lamer

Press freedom is vital to democracy and protecting human rights. However, increasing worldwide crackdowns on the press have been documented for more than a decade now. While these used to be largely carried out by authoritarian regimes, worrisome anti-press freedom trends have been occurring in democratic societies in recent years. This paper studies and compares the political attitude towards press freedom in several democratic states on the liberal/illiberal spectrum, which also feature different media systems and press freedom traditions. The examined states are the US, the UK, Germany, Sweden, France, Hungary, Poland, Israel, and Turkey. In order to evaluate the attitude of politicians and the public towards press freedom, the paper analyzes press freedom indices, NGO reports, political speeches and statements, media coverage, and public opinion surveys on the political role of the press. The paper seeks to answer the following questions: How do politicians treat press freedom? What actors, if any, are promoting press freedom in these states?

What is the relationship between anti-press freedom measures and media system, press freedom traditions, and public support for the press?

In order to counter the worrying trends against press freedom and to protect liberal democratic politics, it is important to identify and understand the dynamics and circumstances that lead to these trends. This paper aims to do to that. It further intends to discuss these anti-press freedom trends in the broader context of the global democratic recession and the rise of authoritarian counternorms.

The role of Vietnamese state-owned media in improving governance: The case study of a farmer who shot at the police

Tran Le Thuy

The current scholarship on media in authoritarian states often assumed that authoritarian regimes restrict the media watchdog role for governance purpose. This paper conducts an analysis on whether the Vietnamese state-owned media has a role in improving governance. This study investigates the coverage and editorial process of Vietnamese state-owned media on a high profile land seizure and resistance case in which a fish farmer family shot and injured six policemen. This research finds the Vietnamese state-owned media is permitted to exercise watchdog journalism to monitor state power and to improve governance at local level. The findings provide new insights into power monitoring system and governance in one party authoritarian states. It suggests further study for the media role as a monitor of state power in authoritarian setting where an effective internal check and balance system is absent, and other external monitors such as civil society and the justice system are weak.

'Undemocratic' Representations of Democracy: Politics and the Political Economy of Media in India

Ruhi Khan and Danish Khan

Chants of 'Azaadi' (freedom) in universities in the capital New Delhi and across the country is perhaps ironic in the 70th year of India's independence but it has re-opened debates on the definition of nationalism and democracy. From a video clip that surfaced on social media in February 2016 to unverified stories in print and defamatory debates in television studio, mediated communication played an extremely important role in what led to polarising India's student community and dividing its citizens.

By situating the Indian Mediapolis in the political economy of communications, the paper attempts to gauge the impact of commodification, spatialization and structuration on the framing of news stories and probe into the media's desire to attract a larger audience commodity and manufacture consent for the political establishment.

Through an analysis of news reports and media discourse, the paper argues, that the media normalises 'undemocratic' representations of democracy by creating a rhetoric of evil that in turn, propagates a dominant ideology and leads to the Othering of those who do not comply.

This dangerous trend has implications for both journalism and society. While the paper focusses on India, similar trend is visible in other major democracies, making it imperative to understand the factors that lead to the hegemony of the politics-media nexus and the actors that can contest it.

The Press Coverage of Corruption in France, Italy and United Kingdom: Integrity Safekeeping or Penal Populism?

Roberto Mincigrucci and Anna Stanziano

Populism and corruption seems to be two phenomena strictly correlated. In his important work about populism, Case Mudde (2004) defines it as an ideology which sets 'the pure people' against 'the

corrupt élite'. In this research, which is part of a larger European Union (EU)-funded project, we want to verify if this contraposition is fostered by media coverage. We focused our research on three European countries: France, Italy and United Kingdom, trying to answer at the following research questions: "Does media coverage reflect the real extent of corruption or is it conditioned by newsworthy scandals able to attract people's attention?" "Do media absolve to their normative function, being a deterrent against corruptive behaviors, or do they sustain sentiments of penal populism (Pratt 2007), representing corruption in a spectacularized and instrumentalized manner, constructing a moral panic?". Our methodology implies two phases, in order to understand how and how much journalists talk about corruption: firstly we want to compare statistical data about denounced crimes, index about its perception and the number of articles published between 2004 - 2013, with the aim of verify if there is a relationship between representation, perception and the extent of corruption. Secondly we will conduct a content analysis on a sample of articles to understand on which aspects journalistic coverage is mainly focused, and if it is affected by commercialization and market logics that shape corruption into a spectacularization and instrumentalization process.

Panel 6A: Global News, Public Broadcasting and Comparative Research

How Media Ownership Matters for Public Service Orientation: A Comparison of Commercial, Civil Society, and Public Media in the U.S., Sweden, and France

Rodney Benson

This paper analyzes the links between diverse institutional logics (stock market, privately-held, civil society, public) and one important mode of media ownership power: public service orientation. I examine how this mode of power is exercised differently depending on the institutional logic of ownership and national media system (Sweden, France, U.S., representing, respectively, Hallin and Mancini's democratic corporatist, polarized pluralist, and liberal models). Public service orientation is indicated by relative (1) emphasis on public affairs coverage, (2) institutional/ideological diversity of actors mentioned, and (3) presence of independent investigative reporting. Content analysis was conducted on a sample of 15-20 leading news organizations in each country, representing a range of institutional logics. Through the use of a deviation index (comparing the degree of differentiation among a set of organizations on a 0-1 scale), I probe the levels of organizational isomorphism at both national and institutional levels. Preliminary analysis shows that for all three countries, "stock market" and "public" logics tended to be stronger than national logics (deviation index less than the national deviation index). Privately held and civil society logics were weakest: in other words, these ownership types provided the greatest room for variation across individual news outlets. I conclude the paper by situating findings in historical and national contexts (all too rare in media ownership research), highlighting methodological and theoretical contributions (scalable to much larger samples), and acknowledging the limitations of content analysis in attributing causal power to media ownership (while stressing its utility for the discovery of patterned differences across organizations).

Desperately Seeking Global News

Alexa Robertson

What is global news, and how much of it is actually on offer? As globalization is challenged by nationalist and populistic discourses throughout the world, the purpose of the paper is to consider how the global fares in global newsrooms. With critical global journalism studies (Wasserman, Berglez) as its theoretical point of departure, and hybridity (Chadwick) and mediated cosmopolitanism (Robertson, Orgad, Silverstone) as the key concepts structuring the literature review, the paper draws on an unusually large sample to explore the question. A comparative content analysis of over 18000 headlines and 6000 news items in the broadcasts of seven global television news channels (AJE, BBCW, China's CGTN, CNNI, DW, Euronews and RT) shows that only a small percentage of their news can be considered global, either when that concept is operationalized in terms of location and actors (nation-centred or border-transcending?), or the nature of the issue involved (global issues such as climate change or human rights). When the channels are compared, considerable variation in

the 'global' nature of their content is revealed. The findings have methodological consequences for comparative research on the intersection between news media and politics around the world, and call into question the cosmopolitan nature of global news outlets. The research reported here - part of a larger project on protest reporting 2008-2018 - shows that even channels said to speak to the world rely heavily on national borders, even if only discursively, and highlights the advantages of an emphasis on the global 'South'.

Dual Screening, Public Service Broadcasting, and Political Participation in Eight Western Democracies

Cristian Vaccari and Augusto Valeriani

This paper assesses the relationship between dual screening—that is, simultaneously watching political news programs and using social media to read and comment on such programs—and political participation across eight Western democracies: Denmark, Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland, Spain, United Kingdom, and United States. Based on custom built online surveys conducted between 2015 and 2016 on samples representative of the adult population with internet access in each country, we test hypotheses on both intra-country and cross-country direct and differential effects of dual screening televised political news on a variety of participatory behaviours that occur across offline and online spaces. We find substantial positive correlations between the frequency with which citizens dual screen political news and their overall levels of political participation. Such correlation is stronger among respondents with lower levels of interest in politics, suggesting that dual screening has the potential to bridge participatory gaps between people who are more and less politically involved. When we focus on differences and similarities across countries, the relationship between political dual screening and participation is significantly stronger in countries whose media systems feature the strongest Public Service Broadcasters (PSB). Moreover, we find some evidence that dual screening reduces participatory gaps between citizens with low and high interest in politics more markedly in systems with strong PSBs compared with systems where sizable PSBs exist, but they are less well funded and less recognized as neutral.

Developing a cross-nationally comparative discourse approach to researching mediated political communication

Mats Ekström and Julie Firmstone

Previous cross-national research on mediated political communication mainly involve either systematic comparative quantitative studies or qualitative case studies from various contexts. This paper presents a third alternative, namely a qualitative systematic cross-national approach which was used in a study of political performances and representations of politics in the European Parliamentary Elections of 2014. The approach was developed to overcome some of the shortcomings of existing research which tends to consider political communication as rather static (Blumler and Coleman, 2013, 2010; Ekström and Tolson 2013) and because we contend that qualitative research on discursive practices is a way to get close to the realities of mediated politics (cf. Karpf et al, 2015). Election campaigns are critical events in which roles and relationships between politicians, citizens and journalists are articulated and symbolically represented. The approach enabled us to analyse how these relationships were discursively constructed in the context of television news and current affairs in five countries (France, Italy, Greece, Sweden, the UK). We argue that communication in text and talk is dynamic and context dependent and thus hard to grasp in the decontextualized coding of content analysis. The comparative approach contributes an understanding of how performative and discursive dimensions of political communication shape and negotiate what politics is all about in different cultural contexts. The paper finishes by discussing how the methodological approach can be used to reflect on the ways in which the cultural meanings of a democratic election, and the roles of those involved, are constructed in the media.

Panel 6B: Political Elites and Political Communication

The performances of mainstream politicians: politics as usual?

Stephen Coleman and Julie Firmstone

This paper presents a cross-nationally comparative analysis of the performance of mainstream politicians. By 'mainstream', we refer to leaders of established political parties with a record of being in government; we contrast these to 'populist' political leaders who seek to disrupt mainstream politics. Empirically grounded in a study of how politics is performed and discursively constructed in television news during the 2014 EU election campaigns, the paper presents a distinctive methodological approach to the qualitative cross national comparison of how roles and relationships between political actors, journalists and the public are performed and represented in the media. The 2014 European election was a critical symbolic moment in time during which the meanings (and legitimacy) of European politics were being shaped in a way which is indicative of the situation today. Taking coverage from the two weeks before the election we analyze the appearances of mainstream politicians in the most popular source of news about Europe – television news. The multimodal discourse analysis of news in five countries (France, Italy, Greece, Sweden and the UK) captures both the visual characteristics and the spoken discourse of politicians' performances. The analysis explores the performative frames and discursive strategies that politicians employ in order to establish themselves as serious and authoritative personae, while at the same time attempting to realize qualities of authenticity and public representativeness. In addition, we explore the discursive strategies of journalists in constructing mainstream politicians, and ask what role journalists play in the construction (and deconstruction) of politicians as mainstream.

What Can I Do For You? MP-Constituent Interaction Beyond the Electoral Context

Nikki Soo

Everyday political communication carried out by Members of Parliament (MPs) in their constituency have been studied sparsely since the 1950s. Existing literature predominantly maps how MPs have embraced a larger, more prominent role within the constituency, emphasising electioneering efforts as a motivational force. This research paper seeks to build on these studies by investigating the MP-constituent relationship within the digital media environment beyond the electoral context. This paper will draw on Jeffrey Alexander (2011)'s theory of symbolic action, focusing on everyday ritual interactions within the constituency in order to provide a snapshot of how and why they perform these rituals. I argue that these interactions are a ritual, where MPs present themselves to their constituents during their interactions to be seen as authentic. Such interactions include recognition from locals, the carrying out of routines and rituals though specific details such as greetings, and choice of clothing, also taking into consideration how important these interactions are to the MP. This also includes the use of old and new media during processes of political engagement.

The paper will be supported by data collected through original fieldwork observing MPs in ten British constituencies; interviews with MPs and constituents; as well as online and offline communication outputs from MPs to constituents. Specific episodes that encapsulate interactions and encounters between MPs and their constituents will also be highlighted. Findings from this paper will contribute to the evolving conversation on citizenship and representation in other democracies.

A Trojan Horse for Marketing? Solutions Journalism in the French Regional Press

Pauline Amiel and Matthew Powers

This paper examines recent efforts to bring "solutions journalism"—an approach to news coverage developed in the United States that encourages journalists to propose potential solutions to social problems—to the French regional press. Drawing on 25 interviews and company documents from seven news organizations, we show that solutions journalism has been imported because it found support among both company management and journalists, though for different reasons. Whereas management saw solutions journalism as a potential way to bolster shrinking audiences, journalists perceived an opportunity to regain relevance in diversified media companies whose emphasis on news has declined over time. Though solutions journalism changes little in terms of journalist's everyday practices, its presence legitimates and valorizes marketing discourses, as journalists use it to describe efforts to grow audiences, boost sales, and monetize content. As a result, we suggest that the primary effect of solutions journalism on the French regional press may be its capacity to operate as a "Trojan horse" for marketing: Once viewed by French regional journalists as the unethical intrusion of business considerations into newsrooms, such discourses are increasingly seen as a source of great innovation. We position this argument in relation to extant debates regarding the international circulation of journalism models, which typically examine whether such models act as forces of change or continuity. By contrast, we suggest that journalism models are better conceived as stakes in ongoing debates about how journalism should be practiced.

Rethinking journalist-politician relations in the age of post-truth politics. Strategies of de-legitimization

Arjen van Dalen

The relation between journalists and politicians in liberal democracy is traditionally conceptualized as highly institutionalized, based on mutual dependence, and grounded in a shared culture of clearly defined role relations, mutual trust, and informal mechanisms for conflict management (Blumler and Gurevitch, 1995, p. 32, See also Gans, 1979; Cook, 1998; Sparrow, 1999).
This paper questions the validity of this conceptualization in today's Western political-media environment, where the rise of authoritarian populism (Norris, 2017); the polarization and fragmentation of media audiences (Bennett and Iyengar, 2008), and the fading boundaries around the journalistic profession (Lewis, 2012) have substantially changed media-politics relation in what has been dubbed the age of post-truth politics (Suiter, 2016).
The paper proposes a new conceptual framework to understand the relation between journalists and populist politicians. In this framework, each rebels against the other to establish or maintain their position. Where stability and sustainability of the relationship were central in the original conceptualization of journalist-politician relations, the new framework focusses on mutual aversion, and conflict escalation. Central in the framework is a typology of strategies which each uses to de-legitimize the other. The output side of the framework looks at the effects on audience polarization and political and media trust.
The framework is illustrated with case studies of the relations of the press with American President Donald Trump, Dutch populist politician Geert Wilders, and the Law and Justice party in Poland. Finally, the boundary conditions of the framework are discussed.