

**FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 1<sup>st</sup>, 2017**

**Panel 1: THE WORLD OUTSIDE AND THE FAKE NEWS IN OUR HEAD**

**THIMIOS ZAHAROPOULOS**, Deree-The American College of Greece: “The Organizational Nature of Fake News”.

The news making process is an organizational process, which produces the news product. Legitimate news media have traditionally relied on a news-processing apparatus, which although not completely unbiased, included filtering mechanisms through which news and information went through in order to become news. Such mechanisms include news people’s training, professionalism and other newsroom practices, corporate organizational structures, and medium characteristics. The exception to such traditional filtering mechanisms have been incidents of crisis news reporting.

In the era of a much-decentralized approach to news and information sharing brought about by the Internet, such mechanisms have disappeared. The resulting democratization of the media has also brought about accompanying anarchy. The World Wide Web is the new Wild Wild West. It was a matter of time before various individual, corporate and political entities found a way to exploit this new environment. In some respects, this is an “absolutist’s” dream. The dream of a completely free and uninhibited news process where news people have the right to be responsible only if they so choose may have actually become a nightmare, because it is not just news people who produce news anymore. Nevertheless, given that this brave new world is tied to technological developments, we can only move forward. The question is: how?

**DANIEL McCORMAC**, Deree-The American College of Greece: “Fake News Embroils the Media in the Culture War”.

The UK Brexit –referendum and 2016 US presidential campaign have elevated the expression “fake news” to prominence, fueling a debate over inadequate standards of journalism and what, if anything, should be done to improve it. Some observers take a prescriptive approach to the matter, assuming that fake news influences people to vote against their own interests on the basis of false information about candidates or issues, and therefore represents a threat to democracy. What remains is to decide what to do to extinguish that threat. However, as numerous writers (e.g., the historian Andrew Pettegree, in his historical study, “The Invention of News”) and others have shown, false news is hardly new, which raises the question of why it has become an object of concern now. This presentation will examine samples of

news and political commentary in arguing that the current concern over “fake news” reflects the polarization of politics in the US; and the loss of gatekeeping control over media narratives suffered by MSM with the rise of alternative media sources.

**MARGARITA KONDOPOULOU**, Deree-The American College of Greece: “How Can Fake News Save Journalism? An Ethical and Professional Approach”.

Given that there is a consensus about the fact that there is nothing really new about Fake News, it is worth tracing some key features of universal and enduring problems vis-à-vis the phenomenon in order to move forward. These problems, to a great extent, relate to issues embedded to the role of the journalists in public life (e.g. truth-telling and serving the public’s need to know). Although the critical school of thought has, rightfully so, always been very skeptical about the real leeway journalism actually has to achieve these rather normative objectives, there is a current urgent need to revisit these principles. Despite the wide range of its vices, some obvious and some less so, it is worth going back to the basics. In fact, it is the only solution. So, instead of demonizing the social media, for example, for the phenomenon of Fake News, it is high time to consider how journalism can ethically and professionally serve its role by sticking to its principles and avoiding the mistakes of the past. In a way, what is suggested is that, although this sounds extremely paradoxical, Fake News could indeed potentially save the honor of journalism. This may not be such an unrealistic idea.

**KATERINA DIAMANTAKI**, Deree-The American College of Greece/ OUC: “The World Outside and the Fake News in Our Head/ Strategic and Rhetorical Framing of Facebook’s Role as a Public Entity”.

Facebook is today one of the most popular social media network sites in the world, integrated into the daily lives of a growing number of people across borders, generations and social groups. Thirteen years after it was founded, Facebook has acquired what Durkheim called “facticity”, as we are increasingly reliant on having a FB account. Recently and in a landscape of surging nationalism, fragmented public spheres and polarization, Facebook, has been mobilizing a positive vision of globalization and strategically positing itself as a “social infrastructure” that is able to effect wide-reaching social change and bring about an “inclusive” and “informed” “Global Community”. At the same time, Facebook is faced with the challenge of balancing its multiple roles: What is Facebook, really? A social network? A media company? A tech company? A utility? An institution? A new political actor? A social movement?

This study examines the emerging and often contradicting roles of Facebook as a public entity, by means of a critical discourse analysis of its key formal public texts, messages and discourses. Adopting a framing

and critical rhetoric lens, it seeks to examine how these communication texts function pragmatically and constitutively to structure Facebook’s social and institutional power, and how they reflect the company’s struggle both with other powerful actors, and with a set of contested issues, such as misinformation, diversity, or privacy. In order to understand Facebook’s evolving role as one of the world’s most powerful actors, we need to engage not only on the ways issues are framed, but also on the intertwining of these discursive practices with the communicator’s identity and the wider sociopolitical context in which they are enacted.

## Panel 2: POLITICS AND SOCIAL MEDIA

**MICHAEL NEVRADAKIS**, The University of Texas at Austin, USA: “Social Media and the Greek Public Sphere: Reinventing or Reproducing the Status Quo?”.

A persistent perception in the relevant literature on Greece is that, unlike most Western European and North American societies, Greece’s public sphere and civil society are poorly developed, while clientelism and patronage have prospered. As the Greek economic crisis has deepened, credibility in institutions ranging from the state to the mainstream media has waned, while social and new media has increasingly played a dynamic role in Greek society. Despite the relatively low penetration rate of broadband Internet access in Greece as compared to Northern and Western Europe, social media usage in Greece ranks among highest in Europe. From the rapid popularity of “news blogs” in the late 2000s, to the mass movement of the “Indignants” which is said to have begun as a result of a Facebook invite, to the formation via Facebook of a new political party which now co-governing Greece, social and new media have played a catalytic role during Greece’s economic, political, and social crisis. But have they played a transformative role in Greece’s public sphere and civil society, or have they replicated the existing institutional status quo? Have new forms of political communication developed? Have social and new media tools helped reinvent democracy, civil society, or fostered new forms of activism? Does digital journalism present news and information which was previously unavailable via Greece’s mainstream, traditional media, and is it considered a more credible source of news and information? This research project—part of a broader ongoing dissertation research project on the Greek public sphere and civil society—dissects the many dimensions of this question.

**ANA FLAVIA PEREIRA VENTURA**, Pontifícia Universidade Católica de Minas Gerais, Brazil: “Politics, Social Media and Dilma Rousseff’s Impeachment Process on Facebook”.

Dilma Rousseff's impeachment process has started in December 2015, with the acceptance by the then president of the House of Representatives, Eduardo Cunha, of a responsibility crime report against Rousseff. This has then culminated in Rousseff's destitution of office in August 2016. However, as one of the main aspects of the referred political crisis, what followed was the polarization of the public opinion, with the emergence of movements and discourses in support as well as against the impeachment, and also with the debate revolving the legitimacy or not of the referred process.

Taking into account the above mentioned context, this article aims to investigate how did the formation of the discourse(s) pro impeachment in the social media happen, paying close attention to how this process took place on Facebook specifically.

In this sense, the main goal is to discuss whether such debates, occurring in social media, are mostly a reflex of the debates taking place in the concrete reality, or if this is a process that occurs simultaneously on both spheres - virtuality and reality. In other words, this article aims to understand whether social media are a mere reflex or are itself a propellant of such political debates in the virtual realm.

Therefore, the theoretical-methodologic perspective to be adopted is the Network Analysis for Social Sciences, as well as for Social Media (CARRINGTON et al, 2005; RECUERO et al, 2015; MALINI, 2016). In this sense, the perception of the social media as public sphere is taken as a premise. In other words, social media is considered as a universal and rational space, detached from social hierarchy, in which the formation of public opinion takes place. This last concept herein defined as the process of formation of a consensus or "political orientation".

**RASHA ALLAM**, The American University in Cairo, Egypt: "Digital Media and Level of Political Participation & Knowledge".

The 25th of January and 30th of June revolutions have deepened the discussion on the political impact of the Internet and communication technology on the political sphere. It has facilitated the flow of information, the exchange of political ideas and become a voice for the voiceless.

Social media platforms, such as Facebook and Twitter started to gain more importance as they offer the free transmission of opinions without the barriers of entry that exist in the traditional media. Yet, although the digital media is used to freely communicate and express political views, many critiques were directed toward the impact of the social media on the level of political participation and knowledge.

This study aims to investigate through a survey on the social media users if there is relationship between the usage of digital media and the political knowledge and participation.

**NICOLA JONES**, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa / **SANDRA PITCHER**, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa: “Challenging the Ivory Tower: An Exploration of the Agenda-Setting Influence of South African Student Activism on Social Media, on the Mainstream Press”.

Community media is arguably a vital aspect of social development in many, if not most, countries. In developing nations such as South Africa, home to thousands of poor communities for whom mainstream media holds little relevance, community radio stations and community newspapers are important avenues through which impoverished communities are able to stay abreast of relevant information which is pertinent to their everyday life. However, in recent times it has grown increasingly expensive to fund community media. South Africa’s community newspapers are often cited as being ‘knock-and-drop’ advertorials’ (Jones & Pitcher, 2014), and many of its community radio stations have begun to adopt more conventional corporate marketing strategies in order to stay afloat - often to the detriment of values generally assigned to community media (Sibiya, 2015).

Despite these challenges, however, many communities – thanks to decreased costs – have begun to utilize social media to foreground issues and stories which are pertinent to their needs. Unlike community media of the past, the popularity and reach of social media has, we argue, facilitated communities’ ability to set the agenda of mainstream news coverage, rather than journalists using the discourse of conventional sources to frame the news.

Using the social media discourse of students involved in the South African #FeesMustFall student protest at the University of KwaZulu-Natal as a case study, this paper considers how South Africa’s oldest daily newspaper, The Witness, altered its representation of students during fee increase protests in 2015, after students took to social media utilizing the hashtag #FeesMustFall, from one which was critical of violent students, to stories which lauded the bravery of students in the face of an oppressive capitalist education system.

### **Panel 3: DIGITAL ERA CHALLENGES: WIKILEAKS AND FAKE NEWS**

**EMMANOUIL TAKAS**, Advanced Media Institute, Cyprus: “The Rhetorical Construction and Implicit Theories of Fake News – The Role of Blame Games on Brexit and Trump’s Victory in Formulating Fake News Discourse”.

Social Media such as Facebook and Twitter offer political actors opportunities to communicate directly with the public and allows the public to directly participate to the process. The technophile approach considers this as the source of creating a new public sphere while allowing novel anti-establishment political actors to gain power. The evaluation of the role of social media in the election of Obama attests to this perspective. The technophobic approach, on the other hand reframes social Media as the perfect platform for propaganda and disinformation. Moreover technophobic approaches argue that advanced electronic technologies “dramatically inverse the bureaucratic advantage” (Oscar, 1989) that lead to the phenomenon of the “Surveillance Society”. Under this framework, the intensification and extension of social Media (and other technologies) surveillance can lead to political and market dictatorships (De Gryuter, 2015).

In this research emergence of Fake News, as an act of deliberate publication of hoaxes and disinformation purporting to be real news especially in social media platforms, is analyzed as a facet of the technophobic perspective.

Fake news as a media discourse incorporates presuppositions on the role of Media, the power of (social) Media and media – politics relations. Fake News gain prominence in public discourse due to the victory of Trump in the USA and Brexit in the UK. Both events operated as the critical events that highlighted particular uses and capabilities of digital society and the social media in particular. Moreover, after unexpected events, failures or crises political actors engage in a “blame game”, by employing processes of attribution of responsibility. In both occasions post electoral blame games employed the power of Fake News as an explanation of the result. In the case of Brexit, post campaign blame games attribute to Fake News the dissemination of inaccurate information that played a pivotal role to election result. In the case of the USA presidential campaign the Fake News discourse is further enriched. The leaking of the Clinton emails by Russian hackers in order to accommodate Donald Trump’s campaign directly links to and perpetuates technophobic considerations/framing of the surveillance society.

A major issue addressed in this study regards the rhetorical attributes and the “subjective theories/presuppositions” incorporated into the Fake News discourse. The research identifies these attributes and presuppositions and identifies their origin at the interplay of the new media environment with the post-electoral blame games and the respective attribution processes. Particular emphasis is on media sling and propaganda frame as part of the Fake News discourse. Moreover, the presumed media

influence, hostile media theory and third person effect are considered in order to explain the “subjective theories” integrated in Fake News.

In terms of methodology, grounded theory approach is employed. Two corpora are analyzed: one incorporates the blame games on Trump and Brexit results while the other focuses specifically on the Fake News discourse in the UK and the USA irrespectively of context.

**GARY GUMPERT**, Urban Communication Foundation/ Queens College, USA/ **SUSAN DRUCKER**, Hofstra University, USA: “Real Digitalization@Fake News”.

Is there a tradition of bias built into digital technologies? Does digital technology, by definition, create sources of bias? Political economist Harold Innis was influential in developing an approach to media developments and political power. This analysis will rely on “the bias of communication” to focus on the current state of digital journalism. This work will examine three questions posed by Innis: 1) How do specific communication technologies operate? 2) What assumptions do they take from and contribute to society? 3) What forms of power do they encourage? This paper will argue that inherent in digital technologies is the multiplicity of sources and that such multiplicity enable the bias of sources. This paper will look at the relationship of digital technologies and fake news.

Fake news is a term made meaningless by competing strategic redefinition. The evolution of “fake news” demonstrates how easily facts about facts can become murky. Leaders around the world acknowledge that we are living in a fake news era. The evolution of technology alters access, distribution and influence. The 2016 American presidential campaign illustrated the power of digital media. The talks surrounding the division of Cyprus illustrate changing platforms of fake news.

Digital media engineer perception. Objective truth morphs the production and consumption of so-called digital “facts” into “alternative facts” reflecting little respect for accuracy. Real versus fake news has become indistinguishable. Sham invitations to protest rallies are impossible to detect. Digital channels empower anyone to publish a book, tweet, blog or “comment” from a dizzying array of platforms and devices. Digital media have complicated the traditional debate around sourcing, objective truth and falsehoods. While factual falsehoods and lies have been around since the rise of cave painting, are there now differences of kind as well as degree in the falsehoods of the digital era?

**DEBORAH WILSON DAVID**, University of Lincoln, UK/ EJTA: “Reporting Brexit: Lies, Damn Lies and Alternative Facts”.

For many years in the UK the reporting of the European Union focused on stories which were often exaggerated or indeed fabricated, such as the EU banning bent bananas or forcing fishermen to wear hairnets. When the country voted for ‘Brexit’ last year, some analysts claimed that sustained sensationalist reporting of the EU had played an important part in the Referendum result.

The notion of a united Europe had gathered momentum after the Second World War. The UK was an important driver of the union from the start with the then Prime Minister Winston Churchill calling for a ‘United States of Europe’ (1946). Wilkes and Wring claim that from 1948 to 1975, the British press demonstrated a “... vaguely 'pro-Community' consensus to a pronounced **and nearly** unanimous Euroenthusiasm.” Newspapers were keen to focus on the opportunity the union offered for stability and renewal after the years of pan-European war.

But from the eighties onwards this pro-Europe stance gave way to widespread Euroscepticism in large sections of the press. Researchers have concluded that Brexit endorsement was stronger, both quantitatively as well as qualitatively, than that of Remain during the 2016 Referendum campaign with over 80% of consumers who bought a daily paper reading a title favoring British withdrawal from the EU.

So what happened to Britain’s reporting of the EU over recent years and how much did the ‘Euromyth’ contribute to the voting public’s decision in June 2016?

This paper looks at the background to the reporting of the EU in the UK, it interrogates how the perceptions of the EU may have been influenced by what we now term ‘fake news’, and it questions whether the growth in fact-checking is enough to maintain public trust in journalism.

**DIMITRIOS S. ASIMAKOPOULOS**, University of Piraeus, Greece: “Democracy and Intelligence: The Case of WikiLeaks”.

The proposed paper purports to analyze the link between democracy and intelligence by using the WikiLeaks affair as a case study. From an academic point of view, this paper has an interdisciplinary character, since it links political science, intelligence studies and media studies. The main research questions that we will try to answer are the following: firstly, “which are the incentives that led Julian Assange to reveal state secrets by the vehicle of WikiLeaks?”. Secondly, “is Assange a hero, a traitor, or something in between?”. Thirdly, “which conclusions can we reach about the relationship between democracy and intelligence, by analyzing the case of WikiLeaks?”. Fourthly, “which are the mechanisms

that we can invent, in order to achieve a harmonious relation between democracy and intelligence?”  
And last but not least, “Should the media reproduce the content of WikiLeaks? Is it legal or ethical?”

Our research will be based on the academic literature of political science, generally, and intelligence and media studies in particular and our method will be qualitative.

#### **Panel 4: SOCIAL MEDIA AND PROTEST MOVEMENTS**

**NINA SANTOS**, Université Panthéon-Assas, France: “Digital Media and Protest Movements: What a Literature Review Tells Us”.

Much has been written about the relationship between protest movements and digital media in the last years. From theoretical approaches to the so called connective action (Bennet&Segerberg, 2012), digital activism and cyber-conflict (Karatzogianni, 2012), net-activism (Di Felice, 2013), mediactivism (Cardon&Granjon, 2013), to case studies of many of the recent protests that occurred around the world. Although many aspects of this new kind of political action have been pointed out - such as its horizontality, lack of distinguishable leaders, the fact that they are based on weak social ties, on a convergence of issues and not identities and on a general disappointment with traditional politics - we are far from a consensus on how to analyze the organization and impact of this movements. The digital media landscape continues to change and adapt rapidly and so does some of the political realities on the countries that experienced protest on the last decade, what tells us that understanding and being capable to adequately analyze this actions will be increasingly important. Even though this thematic concerns an environment in constant and rapid change, and maybe also because of that, we believe it is important to value the knowledge produced and accumulated until now. The goal of this article is to try to summarize the arguments already produced by main researchers in the field focusing on three major aspects: nomenclature and characterization of the movements; methodology of analysis; and the role assigned to technological and social aspects of the process. This three focuses do not exhaust the complexity of the issues related to this field of research, but we believe they are crucial to understand many movements that happened on the last decade and many others that are still being engendered. The analysis will be based on articles published in international reviews and books in English, French, Spanish and Portuguese from 2010 to 2017.

**ABBAS MUSTAFA SADIG**, Omdurman Islamic university, Sudan: “Using Social Media in Doctor’s Strike and Civil Disobedience in Sudan”.

On October 9 2016, Doctors working in Sudan’s governmental hospitals started a long strike for the first time during the totalitarian regime in the Sudan. They were demanding better working environments, provision of proper equipment and protection from repeated attacks on them in hospitals and health centers. On 27 November 2017, most people on Khartoum went on three days of civil disobedience protesting against unprecedented price hikes and fuel subsidy cuts. The calls for the strike and the civil disobedience were announced by young doctors and Sudanese activists through social media, especially Facebook, Twitter and WhatsApp. In 1989 Sudan was transformed into an Islamic authoritarian one party state as a result of coup d’état. Accordingly, all political parties, elected trade unions and free media were banned. Years later and after international pressure the regime started to give limited space to the political parties especially to its allies to work, but without real sharing of power. On 27 September 2013, fire was opened on Sudanese protesters marched an opposition push to turn a wave of popular anger over fuel price. According to observers, media and human rights activists, two hundred were killed that time. Therefore, to avoid loss of lives, young Sudanese created new tactics to express their opinion. This was done through social media which surprised the government where broadcasting is highly restricted and state TV, and radio reflect the government policy, and while the private press carries opposition views, but the state uses its powers to influence what is published.

This paper will discuss the ways and tactics of using social media by young Sudanese in both doctors and strike and civil disobedience to reach their objectives especially in communication, organization and crowd sourcing.

**PROF. DR. RALF SPILLER**, Macromedia University of Applied Sciences, Germany / **SVENJA PAUL**, Macromedia University of Applied Sciences, Germany: “Changes in Protest Culture through the Social Web: A Model for Ad-hoc Counter-publics Using the Example of the #outcry Debate in Germany”.

Digitalization has changed many things, e.g. public opinion is no longer formed solely by established media experts, but increasingly by institutionally non-privileged individuals (Thimm, Einspänner & Dang-Anh, 2012: 283). New media - first and foremost Social online networks such as Facebook, Twitter and others - enable individuals to create a new form of collective formation and a more effective articulation of opposition and protest.

Research question: How are daily protest movements generated within established social networks? This paper aims to answer this question by presenting a new theoretical model for ad-hoc counter-publics.

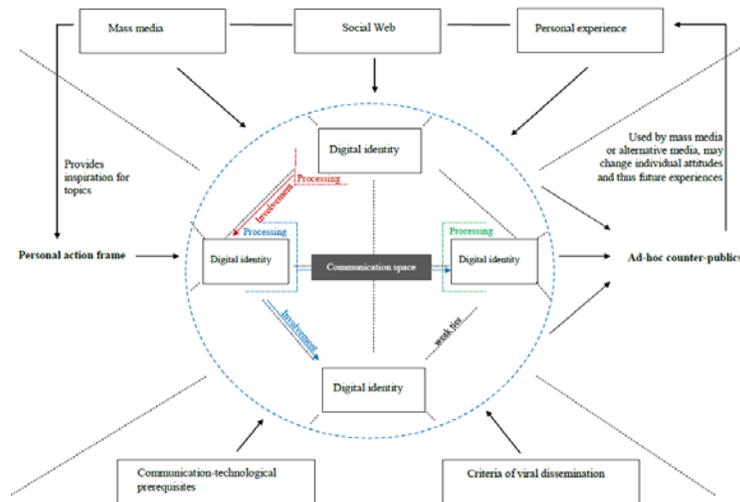
Theoretical model: According to Bennett&Segeberg (2012) the "logic of Connective Action" emphasizes the increasing individualization of society. The expression of personal opinions is becoming more and more the focus of our own actions. In the context of the so-called "personal identity narrative" (Bennett, 2004: 126), the reception, selection and adaptation of a topic - the so-called "personal action frame" - takes place within the personal identity narrative. Users of social online networks select topics in the form of "personal action frames" within the framework of their personal hopes, their own lifestyle, and subjectively perceived grievances (Bennett&Segeberg, 2012: 745).

In this case, each user is exposed to a variety of different influences, i.a. personal experiences or information flows from the mass media and the social web. In the course of this procedure, the user decides to participate and disseminate information via fixed and loose network connections on the respective topic by means of the available participation functions, such as liking, sharing or commenting. Participation is seen here as an "act of personal expression and recognition or self-validation achieved by sharing ideas and actions" (Bennett&Segeberg, 2012: 752).

At best, a large-scale advocacy of the core message of the "personal action frame" leads to a wide-ranging adaptation and dissemination of various users. The individual political participation of the actors ensures the involuntary emergence of a decentralized communication space, which is structured around a specific social or political discourse (see Fig. 1).

The emergence of a collective is thus not the result of an intensified networking of movement participants with the aim of a collective identity, but much more product of a multiple consensus of different identities on one topic. These are structureless and loosely connected by the same consensus with each other within their social online network; united in a brief moment, but without claim for further collective action: Ad-hoc counter publics arises.

Fig. 1: Model for Ad-hoc counter-publics



**RASHA EL-IBIARY**, Future University in Egypt: “Citizen Journalism, Mobile Camera, and Political Change in Egypt and Tunisia: The Role of Online Videos in Mobilizing the 2011 Uprisings in Egypt and Tunisia”.

Citizens empowered by mobile cameras played a significant role in mobilizing people to the streets through uploading their amateur photos and videos on social media and peer-to-peer media. In fact, at times when the conventional media was banned from entering Tahrir Square, many of them used some of the most shared YouTube videos uploaded by protesters in the square. This research aims to shed some light on the role of peer-to-peer online visuals, photos and videos, in mobilizing the people to join the uprising via a content and discursive analysis of significant videos as well as an online survey that aims to figure out the impact of online visuals on people and their actions. The survey will also test the credibility of online social media versus traditional conventional media among respondents. Interviews, also, will be conducted with media, politics and social-psychology experts to help analyzed and make sense of the survey results and outcomes.

**Panel 5: POLITICS, NEWS MEDIA AND IMAGES OF NATIONS**

**NEOFYTOS ASPRIADIS**, University of Piraeus, Greece / **XANTHI TZOUROUNI**, University of Piraeus, Greece: “Representations of Refugees, Immigrants and the Image of their Nation of Origin in Trump’s Political Discourse: A Comparative Analysis of Campaign Discourse vis-a-vis the First Six Months in Presidency”.

“If I had a bowl with caramels and told you that between them some were poisoned, would you eat them all? This is our problem with Syrian refugees”. “While Mexico send its people, it doesn’t send the best. Mexico sends people who have lots of problems, which are transferred to us. They bring with them drugs. They provoke crimes. They are rapists”. Such statements produce the phenomenon of hate speech and they are endemic to the political rhetoric of the Republican candidate in the US elections of 2016, Donald Trump. Behind those statements there is a strategic planning, which builds and uses images for groups of populations and simultaneously for their homeland in order to achieve his goals and attack against his opponents.

This strategy is based on Ethnocentrism, an ontological element of individuals that exists due to the activation of categorizations and biases in intergroup communication. Trump’s strategy manipulates in extreme ways the ontological process. Historically, the strategy of scapegoat tends to be used from populist politicians, who glean voters from societies, which are plagued by economic crisis. The feeling of depression which is produced by economic crisis and the subsequent constraint of hegemonic power lead the population and political system in aggression against the “otherness”. Economic refugees compose the convenient demonized “other” on Trump’s rhetoric.

This research examines how immigrant’s image, the image of their homeland and the conditions of realistic competition are composed and applied in Trump’s rhetorical strategy to win the elections as well as during the first six months of his Presidency. This research has interdisciplinary character. The analytical tools are extracted from the stereotypes of the field of Social Psychology, from the image theory, as it is developed in the field of International Relations and from Domestic Politics and International Political Communication. The impact of campaign mode at the level of domestic politics and at the level of international relations upon the representations is assessed the interplay of the two levels (domestic and international) is examined.

Rhetorical analysis is employed, the corpora include statements of the Trump campaign/administration and its opponents both prior to the elections and in the first six months of his administrations as well as key news items from papers of record on these statements.

**TAKTIKOU IOI**, University of Piraeus, Greece / **GOUSIOS CHARALAMPOS**, University of Piraeus, Greece: “Presentations of the Ukrainian Crisis in the French Press: Foreign Conflict News and Images of Nations”.

The purpose is to examine the image of Ukraine as well as the impact of Ukraine-related news upon the images of other nations in the French press. The analysis focuses upon the period to the internal

political turmoil of Ukraine: November 2013 - May 2014. The following research questions are addressed: 1. How is the image of Ukraine presented in the French press? 2. How is the status of the Crimean peninsula presented until the results of the referendum on its future? 3. Evaluative approach of Russia's role. 4. What was the role of the EU and Germany that was constructed by the Ukraine crisis? 5. What were the reaction and the role of the US in this crisis?

Quantitative content analysis was employed. Two French newspapers were examined: Le Monde and Le Figaro. The total content of the two newspapers on the Ukraine crisis was analyzed for the aforementioned period (517 news items). The unit of analysis was the depiction of a foreign country and supra-national institution (EU) per news item.

At the core of the codebook the typologies employed by the state-mapping project stand: visibility, evaluation and the frames of conflict, problem, impact, positive effects, melodrama, fear, hope and dominance-hegemony. A group of typologies was created particularly for the purpose of this research: theme, status of Crimean Peninsula, definition of the Ukraine crisis, presentation of EU unity and EU projection of power. These typologies emerged through qualitative analysis with the process of grounded theory.

The quantitative content analysis led to the following conclusions: (a) The evaluations of Ukraine were particularly negative because of the developments within its territory. However, it is the only country with high levels of melodramatic tone, which indicates high levels of sensitization towards the suffering of its citizens. (b) The majority of the articles present Crimea as an autonomous entity or as part of Russia, instead of referring to it as Ukrainian territory. This implied a rhetorical acceptance of the international event and attests to the geopolitical power of Russia. (c) Russia is presented as a state showing trait of hegemonic behavior for the first time since the dissolution of the USSR, which is assessed negatively, since the country is presented as responsible for the crisis. (d) Germany is presented as the main EU country taking actions for the resolution of the crisis. (e) The US is depicted as more decisive in taking measures for the resolution of the crisis than the EU.

**DIMITRIOU MARIA-ELENI**, University of Piraeus, Greece / **ELENA KOKKINO**, University of Piraeus, Greece / **ELENI NTOKO**, University of Piraeus, Greece / **CHRISTIANN MARRA**, University of Piraeus, Greece: "Representations of the World System in the Greek News Media – Results from the Measurements of June 2015 and June 2016. A Grexit Vs. Brexit Perspective".

Nation image is defined as the cognitive representation of a given country (Kunczik, 1997). A major variation of Image-projected (i.e. the image as an attribute of the message) is the journalistically mediated image. The image of a foreign nation in the news is produced by the combined operation of the news making process, the strategies of actors and domestic and international events. The formation of foreign nation image emerges as part of the dialectic between foreign events and local angles. Ethnocentrism affects this process.

Aim of this paper is to examine the impact of the 2015 Greek referendum campaign upon images of foreign nations in the Greek press and to compare it with the impact of a similar but foreign event: Brexit. Quantitative content analysis is employed. The state mapping approach is adopted: the image of every single state is analyzed; thus a representation of the state system is offered. This allows examining the comparative impact of the 2015 elections as well as the impact of news on the financial crisis upon the image of each nation. Every news story containing a reference to a foreign country has been analyzed for a period of two months (June 2015 and June 2016). The unit of analysis is the depiction of a country per news item. The codebook includes type, frequency and placement of reference of each country, the evaluative aspect of image, frames contributing to image formulation (hope frame, fear frame, hegemony frame melodramatic frame, problem frame, positive effects frame, negative effects frame, conflict frame, European frame), as well as attribution of blame for problems.

The content of two newspapers with different political affiliation are examined, thus the press-party parallelism hypothesis is examined. This is important for the image of countries like Germany that are related with campaign issues like EMU and are integrated into campaign rhetoric.

**ATHANASSIOS N. SAMARAS**, University of Piraeus, Greece / **EMMANOUELLA DEVETZI**, University of Piraeus, Greece / **NATASA HALKODEMON**, University of Piraeus, Greece: “Framing the Nation Image of a Country Experiencing Coup – The Case of Turkey in the Greek Media: Quantitative Content Analysis on June & July 2016”.

The impact of news media upon the construction of image-perceived is related to their capacity to make particular topics (agenda-setting) or aspects of these topics (framing) more accessible to the audience. Aim of this paper is to examine (a) the nation image of Turkey and (b) the effect of news coverage of the failed military coup in Turkey upon the projected in the news media images of nations. Three questions are addressed: (a) Does the news coverage of the failed military coup generate the image of a nation in crisis for Turkey? (b) Is it a critical incidence that has the capacity to redefine the image of a country? (c)

How is the coup framed within the media of a country that experiences conditions of realistic competition with Turkey, like Greece? (d) As previous research on the effects of Syrian crisis has demonstrated domestic crisis in one nation may affect the images of other nations, often in unexpected manners. What is the impact of the news on the Turkish coup upon the images of other nations?

In order to address the questions, in the first stage the research draws from data generated by three state-mapping projects: (a) June 2015, (b) June 2016 (c) July 2016. The three periods allows for a longitudinal analysis and documents the image of Turkey as framed by internal political conflict and geopolitical competitions prior to the coup. The questions are answered at the levels of the visibility, the evaluation and the framing of the nation image as well as the attribution of responsibility for the problems related with Turkey.

In the second stage of the research complementary content analysis is taking place. The analysis focuses upon the image of Turkey, the image of the Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan and the interplay of the two images. The standard typology of generative frames that the state-mapping codebook is employed is supplemented by event specific frames that allow a better understanding of the event.

**Guest Speaker NICO CAPRENTIER:** “What has Journalism to Learn from Community Media? About Participatory Assemblages, Institutional Embeddedness and Production Ethics”.

The discussions on the consequences of the hegemonization of the digital have, when it comes to journalism and politics, very much remained locked in signifying practices about the "post". Examples of this rhetorical phenomenon are the discussions about post-industrial journalism (Anderson, Bell & Shirky, 2012), about post-journalism (Siapera, 2013), and about post-truth (Harsin, 2015), which complement older -and sometimes easily forgotten- critiques of the disconnection between audiences' everyday lives and (mainstream) media's factual narratives. This has led to many calls to strengthen the citizenry, by better informing them about (and arming them against) the functioning of these media through different forms of media education.

Simultaneously, we have been incessantly immersed in utopian signifying practices about citizen journalism, where the digital is seen to offer new opportunities for citizens to engage in self-expression, (co-)creation and participation, grounded in the conflation of the potential and the actual. This is enhanced by signifying practices that emphasize the media savviness of audiences, who are, in these approaches, articulated as fully empowered consumers, prosumers and producers.

This presentation wants to contribute to this debate by focussing on the struggles over the role of journalism, politics, ideology and ethics, and some of their key signifiers (in particular truth). The presentation also calls for a need to avoid analyses grounded in a zero-sum game between the worlds of professionalism and amateurism, fed by historical decontextualizations, the (symbolic) annihilation of the ethical and reductionist media effects models. To counter these dichotomisations, the presentation will argue for an agonist community media inspired model, committed to a participatory assemblage of civil and professional journalisms, institutional embeddedness, and the broad acquisition of production ethics.

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#### **Panel 6: FAKE NEWS AND POST-TRUTH**

**OSÉE KAMGA**, AMLAC & S, Canada: "The Age of Fake News or the Shifting Nature of Misinformation in Digital World".

In recent years, thanks to the democratization of the means of information diffusion, a new form of misinformation commonly referred to as fake news has appeared in the information field. In the United States for example, the debate on fake news emerged from the aftermath of the November 2016 presidential elections. Though a systematic attempt to fight this from the US government is yet to be launched, some social networks such as Facebook have bowed to public pressure and adopted new measures to combat the spread of such news on their networks. The European Union took up the task to address this alarming issue earlier. In March 2015, the European Council set up a task force, the East StratCom Team, with the mandate to counter what is perceived in Europe as the disinformation campaigns being orchestrated by the Kremlin. Part of the mandate of the task force is to destroy this

disinformation narratives and trends by tracking down, analyzing, and debunking false reports in circulation in the digital world.

Although the concept of fake news has been an increasingly part of the media vocabulary, its contours are yet to be understood. Although, analyzing the social and political impact of fake news could be a highly productive research prospective, this paper is an attempt to understand the phenomenon and the context favoring its growing trend. To be deemed news, though fake, fake news has to have a rapport with the reality. So, what exactly is fake news and what type of rapport does it entertain with the reality? How fake news produced and what is the dominant motivation behind its production? Who are its favorite targets and what are its favorite channels of circulation? How do we explain the speed with which some of this fake news has been propagated? Methodologically, the paper combines interviews with some fake news producers and content analysis, with a focus on three particular sites: AmericanNews.com; PoliticalEars.com; and RealNewsRightNow.com. Such analysis will be undertaken within the framework of both the theory of misinformation (Freund, 1991), and the theory of manipulation (Breton, 1997). We will argue that fake news constitutes a radical phase of media disinformation which Chomsky (1997) traces back around World War I.

**BRIGITTE SEBBAH**, Aix-Marseille University – IRSIC, France / **ALEXANDRE JOUX**, IRSIC, France: “Testing Information to Avoid Post-Truth: the Ecosystem of Media Labellization”.

We aim to examine the platforms that contribute to identify fake news, in order to denounce them. These platforms, first launched during the American campaign for the President in 2016, have been developed in a more systematic manner during the French presidential campaign of 2017. Two complementary platforms will be analyzed, the “Décodex” of the newspaper Le Monde, which is an autonomous editorial initiative, and CrossCheck, which is based on a collaborative action. These two platforms rely on co-regulation. Their exploration will be based on the discursive framework (Entman, 1993) available on each platform in order to analyze their communication contract (Charaudeau, 1995), (Jeanneret&Patrin-Leclère, 2004). In each case, the media involved conclude to the significance or not of the tested news, and of those diffusing them. Actually, they create a prescriptive ecosystem of crossed certifications and selective exclusions.

In this light, by analyzing each platform and their editorial promises, this study aims to examine the link between the journalist and his sources of information (Kaciaf&Nollet, 2013) throughout a diachronic approach. While taken into accounts documents and data could be presented as a method able to

strengthen an "objective" discourse (Anderson, 2015), the emergence of false documents on the other hand renews the verification requirement. Visibility of the methods of verification is thus essential, which favors the transparency of the journalistic act on the guarantee of objectivity (Hunter, Van Wassenhove&Besiou, 2017), (March 2012). The challenge of these mechanisms will be doubly questioned, because they contribute to both reinforce the legitimacy of journalistic practices, strengthen their credibility, maintain the gatekeeper function (Singer et al., 2011) and propose an alternative to an eventual national regulation that could restrain the free flow of information.

**VALIA KAIMAKI**, Open University of Cyprus: "Fak(th)e News, Building a Postmodern Political Economy of the Media by Rereading Herman and Chomsky".

In 1988, Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky wrote "Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media". In it they proposed that the mass communication media of the U.S. "are effective and powerful ideological institutions that carry out a system-supportive propaganda function, by reliance on market forces, internalized assumptions, and self-censorship, and without overt coercion", by means of the propaganda model of communication. They described five editorially distorting filters, which are applied to the reporting of news in mass communications media: Size, Ownership, and Profit Orientation, The Advertising License to Do Business, Sourcing Mass Media News, Flak and the Enforcers and finally Anti-Communism which later Chomsky argued that it became War on Terror.

In the last 30 years things have changed rapidly due to technology and the social media. This paper proposes a comparative analysis to determine how many of Herman-Chomsky's filters continue to be valid in our postmodern era (or better post-truth era). This will help us determine the new forms propaganda takes, whether it's called fake news of any other name. We will bear in mind that the term fake news is imprecise and partly drained of value and it has to be divided in two different sections: profit (money) and propaganda (politics).

**IRINI KATSIREA**, University of Sheffield, UK: "Fake News and Freedom of Expression".

The phenomenon of 'fake news', sparked by allegations of Russian interference in the US elections as well as in the forthcoming French and German elections by way of propaganda campaigns, has gained increased currency in recent times and sparked fears over the threat posed to the democratic process. In response to this perceived threat, German politicians have called for fines against social media platforms that fail to speedily delete fake reports and hate speech. The adoption of new criminal laws to tackle websites specializing in misinformation is also under consideration. Other EU Member States,

such as Italy and the UK, are also in the process of drawing their strategy in this undeclared media war, while the Czech Republic has already taken steps to monitor and react to fake stories that pose an internal security threat. Meanwhile, social media platforms and search engines, in an attempt to keep stricter regulation at bay, have responded by cooperating with fact-checking Organisations and by reducing the financial incentives for the production of fake news content. Appointing tech companies and other third-party organizations as arbiters of truth is problematic. However, introducing legal sanctions against false content is equally if not more contentious. The protection afforded to untruthful speech differs widely between jurisdictions. Whereas the dissemination of untruthful facts is not covered by the German Constitution, the First Amendment generally protects the spread of false information. The European Court of Human Rights has also passed verdict on the criminalization of a specific form of lies, namely those falsifying history by way of Holocaust or genocide denial claims. While the Court has sanctioned the criminalization of the former, it has found a Swiss law prohibiting the denial of the Armenian genocide to be in breach of the right to freedom of expression under Article 10 ECHR. This paper proposes to assess the compatibility of the criminalization of fake news with national and international free speech guarantees and to evaluate the effectiveness of alternative mechanisms.

#### **Panel 7: JOURNALISM AND POLITICS IN THE DIGITAL MEDIA ERA**

**ELENA JOHANSSON**, Södertörn University, Sweden: “Polish and Swedish Journalists’ Source Networks in Twitter: Who takes Control?”.

One of the most important paradigms concerning relations between journalists and their political sources is the adversarial-exchange model. It emphasizes journalist autonomy and the media’s fourth estate role (Davis 2010). The question “who leads the tango” in this communication, has always been central to this approach (e.g. Stromback and Nord 2006). The relationship between journalists and political sources can take different forms. They are often described as symbiotic.

Since technological development has led to transformations in the media sphere, the nature of (political) communication has been reshaped. The paramount form of power in the network society is network-making power. The latter can be realized by the ability to exercise control over others through two basic mechanisms in the network as programmers and switchers (Castells 2009).

The emergence of social media platforms provided extra space for actors’ self-expression and for journalist-political source interaction (e.g. Verweij 2012, Larsson and Moe 2011). One of the new

communicative patterns, for example, has been called “mediatized interdependency” (Ekman and Widholm 2014).

This paper looks at the links among 31 Polish and 34 Swedish journalists and ministers and their press secretaries in Twitter in a comparative perspective. The network analysis is provided by Gephi software – a program for visualization and statistical analysis of networks.

The results demonstrate that generally Swedish actors use most of the possible links in Twitter – the density of the Swedish network is much higher than the Polish one. For Swedish ministers (and to a lesser extent for Polish ones) Twitter is first of all “a club for their people”: the densities in these two groups are highest in the both networks. The next value has the density between journalists and ministers. Press secretaries’ – journalists’ potential links are used with the lowest effectiveness.

Swedish and Polish journalists in the networks form clear clusters with equal shares of following to and followed by other actors. Swedish ministers and press secretaries prefer “division of labor” strategy: ministers are mostly followed while their staffers are mostly following. Polish ministers combine two functions while press secretaries are marginalized.

In this analysis, control is conceptualized in terms of “communicative resources” or “accumulated capacity” and expressed by connectivity and belonging to groups of so-called “producers” or “consumers” of information. Despite on differences in the Polish and Swedish networks, journalists act as “information flow aggregators” in both cases.

This finding has implications for existing research on journalist-source relations in general and in social media in particular relating to government and political communication.

**MATTHEW WALSH**, The University of Northampton, UK: “Cutting out the Middle-man – the Impact of Disintermediated Digital Communication on Political and Lobby Journalism in the United Kingdom”.

Political actors are increasingly curating their own audiences via social media, communicating directly with their supporters and bypassing political reporters and commentators. From Donald Trump to Jeremy Corbyn, politicians are finding that they can rouse supporters without recourse to a traditional media that tries to balance or mediate their message through its own filters. What is the impact of this on political journalism? Does it mean an end to the lobby system of privileged briefings and access journalism? Does it imply greater transparency of message or does it demonstrate contempt for the traditional freedoms of the press and the role of the Fourth Estate in democratic life. What is the impact

on trust in news when journalists are cut out of the reporting and analysis of political developments? And is there a growing risk of propaganda and misinformation entering the mainstream of political debate? Using a range of interviews with journalists from both the mainstream media and new digital start-ups, plus an analysis of political activity via Facebook and Twitter, this paper will analyze and critically evaluate the impact of journalists and publishers of the changing nature of political communication and the rise of social media activism.

**NATHALIE PIGNARD-CHEYNEL**, University of Neuchâtel, Switzerland / **EMMANUEL MARTY**, Université de Grenoble – Crem, France / **BRIGITTE SEBBAH**, Aix-Marseille University – IRSIC, France: “Audience Participation and News Framing in the Digital Media Era - the Strauss-Kahn Case–related Live Blog at [lemonde.fr](http://lemonde.fr)”.

This study aims to characterize audience participation in live blogging and to understand the way journalists deal with this immediate and proliferating digital participation, in the wake of previous work (Singer et al., 2011; Thurman & Walters, 2012; Steensen, 2014). It takes [lemonde.fr](http://lemonde.fr)’s live blog during the “DSK affair” as a case study since it undeniably marked a turning point, popularizing live blogging among audiences and legitimizing it in newsrooms.

The link between the political event and its live coverage will be tackled, with a focus on the nature and various forms of audience participation as well as the way those contributions are framed (Entman, 1993) by journalists.

Therefore, in order to analyze this 40-hours-length live covering the arrest of the IMF director in New-York on 15 and 16 May 2011, we used mixed methods combining content analysis of media frames and qualitative discourse analysis.

The comparison between two sets of corpora (corpus 1 being composed of all comments submitted by Internet users during the live and corpus 2 of the few that were finally published), will enable to grasp the representativeness of the published messages. It also allows depicting the audience profile that journalists foreground within this digital media space and raises the question of ordinary speech staging through the ideal type and normative conception of participation conveyed by journalists in a digital space.

**ELENI MAVROULI**, Advanced Media Institute, Cyprus: “ISIS’ Strategic Communication via Twitter. The Case Studies of Paris and Brussels Attacks”.

Strategic communication is defined as the purposeful use of a wide range of communication activities, activities that are well chosen and methodically implemented, by an organization (its leadership and its members) to fulfill its mission (Hallahan, Kirk, Holtzhausen, Derina, van Ruler, Betteke, Vercic, Dejan and Sriramesh, Krishnamurthy (2007) “Defining Strategic Communication”, *International Journal of Strategic Communication*, 1: 1, 3-35). Strategic communication also includes examining how an organization presents itself in society as a social actor in the creation of public culture and in the discussion of public issues.

The elements needed for an organization to plan its communication strategy are the existence of a mission, of values and beliefs. Then it’s needed to have a clear view of its goals: to make itself known, to transmit its message to the audience, to gain media coverage, to, also, gain material and financial support, to promote its “narratives” of reality and to attract more followers in its ranks (Cook, Matthew, Lally, Caitlin, McCarthy, Matthey, Mischler, Kristine, “Guidelines for the Development of a Communication Strategy”, Worcester Polytechnic Institute).

Since 9/11 the role of new technologies like the Internet and global communication networks has been more critically approached, regarding their use from transnational terrorist organizations for the spread of their ideology, and their recruiting activities (Archetti, Christina, “Terrorism, Communication and New Media: Explaining Radicalization in the Digital Age”, (2015), *Perspectives on Terrorism*). ISIS is one of the most typical examples of a terrorist organization that has proven capable of adapting its communication strategy to strengthen its power locally, recruit new fighters or influence public opinion in Western and Arab nations by using widely social media and especially twitter.

Aim of this paper is to study ISIS’s members’ and supporters’ tweets 15 days after the terrorist attacks in Paris, on the 13th of November 2015, and in Brussels, on the 22nd of March 2016. A corpus of all related tweets has been constructed and content analysis is employed to identify patterns of strategic communication.

#### **Panel 8: WIKILEAKS, SNOWDEN AND THE SURVEILLANCE SOCIETY**

**IOANNIS L. KONSTANTOPOULOS**, University of Piraeus, Greece: “Democracy and Ethics vs. Intelligence and Security: The Case of Edward Snowden”.

The purpose of this paper is to examine thoroughly the relationship between democracy and ethics on the one hand, and intelligence and security, on the other hand, based on the case study of Edward

Snowden. The questions which we will try to answer are the following: firstly, “Is intelligence, which consists a prerequisite for achieving security, compatible with democracy and ethics?, secondly, “If there is a gap between them, by which measures can be bridged, and what is the role of journalism?” and thirdly “What lessons can we reach from Snowden’s case, as far as the role of democracy and ethics on the one hand, and intelligence and security, on the other hand?”

This paper firstly, will analyze the relationship between democracy and ethics on the one hand, and intelligence and security, on the other hand, secondly, will examine the incentives that led Edward Snowden to reveal state secrets, and, thirdly, will assess the repercussions of his revelations and the mechanisms that might be created in order to achieve an harmonious relation between democracy/ethics and intelligence/security. And last but not least, this paper will try to clarify and assess the reverberations for journalism from Snowden’s affair, based on the literature concerning the relationship between media and intelligence.

**DOGANI MYRSINI**, University of Piraeus, Greece / **MARIOLI MARIA**, University of Piraeus, Greece / **NOULA EVDOKIA**, University of Piraeus, Greece: “The Threat of the Power and the Risk of the Weakness: Fear Framing Wiki Leaks in the News”.

In 2006 a new, and innovative, media organization rises. WikiLeaks specializes in the analysis and publication of large datasets of censored or otherwise restricted official materials involving war, spying and corruption. It has so far published more than 10 million documents and associated analyses. The diffusion of those persecuted documents prominence a new era for the dynamics of the international state system. War, spying and corruption official material used to be part of the national power of a state, while the diffusion of that kind of material cancels part of that power - the power of the surprise. However, in the same time, emerges another power: that of the fear.

According to its original definition, fear is caused by the realization of a real threat or an imaginary risk (Corey, 2004). Threat is a direct message informing that danger is coming. It is an objective hazardous state. Risk, on the other hand, is the narration of the possibility to face a hazardous future situation (Fischhoff, 2011). The fear context and the fear frame is a crucial attribute for the image of a nation (Kunczick, 1997).

This paper examines the manner in which Wiki Leaks news affected the fear-framing of nation images in the Press. All Wiki Leaks related news items in four Greek newspapers are content analysed for the period 2007-2016. The unit of analysis is the fear appeal per image of nation per news article. The

codebook “Fear Framing the Nation Image” developed by Dogani (2014) and previously applied in a state-mapping project on the British press in employed for this analysis.

The research differentiates between two separate types of fear appeal (threat & risk) suggesting that this distinction is crucial for the comprehension of fear framing, while answers key questions like: Which fear argument is commonly connected to the nation images? How is this fear correlative to the power representation of the nations? Which nations produce and which nations experience fear?

**ATHANASSIOS N. SAMARAS**, University of Piraeus, Greece / **AGGELIKI PITTAROKILI**, University of Piraeus, Greece: “Exploring WikiLeaks’ Capacity to Deconstruct Official International Politics Rhetoric – Exploring the Facets of Strategic Framing in WikiLeaks-Related News”.

Strategic frame, as an organized set of assumptions, implies that the actors of political activity are self-interested, dishonest about their intentions and driven by a desire to stay in power. It represents political activity as a strategic game, where each part uses strategies to defeat competitors and stay (or acquire) political power. (Capella and Jamieson 1997). Through the use of strategic frames, political actors appear as manipulators and their statements as propaganda, rather than political figures that truthfully strive for the “public good”. Additionally, strategic framing can be used as an instrument for deconstructing the opponent’s legitimacy. When strategic framing is used as counter-frame, any aspect of the opponent’s political action is being translated in terms of pursue of self-interest and ambition. There are two mutually exclusive rationales that interpret the motives of political acts. The first is the normative rationale that assumes that public actors are being truthful and clearly state their intentions, and the second the strategic rationale, that assumes that public actors manipulate through propaganda and act based on an agenda (Samaras 2002). While original research examines strategic framing as an attribute of news media representation of USA domestic politics, consequent analysis examined the employment of strategic framing at the level of international political communication and identified subcategories of strategic framing like: geostrategic frame, petit-politics frame, vested-interests frame and foreign agent frame (Samaras 2002, Samaras & Xenofontos 2010, Venizelos & Samaras 2014, Takas & Samaras, 2016).

Wiki Leaks provide the audience with access to “secret documents” that offers an “understanding” of the “inner thoughts and intentions” of the states. These inner thoughts have to potential to deconstruct the normative – legitimating rhetoric that states are employing in their official discourse and employ strategic framing. Aim of this project is (a) to examine strategic framing within Wiki Leaks news, (b) to

differentiate it from other uses of news and political instigated strategic framing, (c) to identify the subcategories of strategic framing and expand the existing list and (d) to explore the relation of strategic framing within Wiki Leaks news with the Realist theory Vs. Constructivism debate in International Relations. A grounded theory approach has been employed to identify the facets of strategic frame and to construct a wide typology of its variations, of the manner that is has been employed and how it has accommodated the operating logic of the news making process. Qualitative analysis is supplemented by quantitative analysis in order to examine not only the variety of facets of the strategic frame but also the intensity of its use.

**NEOFYTOS ASPRIADIS**, University of Piraeus, Greece “WikiLeaks, Snowden and Surveillance-related Crises for the US Government: Flak, Crisis Management and Image Restoration – A Comparative Evaluation of Responses”.

Is an intelligence crisis an image crisis for the government and the state? In 2013 Edward Snowden revealed the surveillance program of the National Security Agency (NSA) causing distrust between the United States government and the Allied European Countries like Germany, France and Great Britain.

In this context the Obama administration needed to reproach the relations between its NATO allies and win their trust again. The image of the United States was turning negative due to this event, since the Allies perceived the country in terms of international antagonisms and hegemonic projections.

President Obama tried to fix the relations between the allies and restore the US nation image and manage the crisis in all levels. This paper explores the public reconciliation process used by the Obama administration during the period after the Snowden scandal and the Wikileaks cases. Through the use of discourse analysis and the tools of image restoration strategies, other crisis management techniques and processes of suppression (flak model) this paper aims at discovering the strategies used by President Obama to a) Restore the image of the United States, b) to control the damage made in the image of the country and c) to reconcile and regain the trust of its allies and end the hegemonic power projection of the country.

#### **PANEL 9: POLITICAL RHETORIC**

**ANTONIO MOMOC**, University of Bucharest, Romania: “What is the Rhetoric of the Dominant Romanian Party? The PSD Online Discourse on the Ordinances Decriminalizing Official Misconduct”.

The recent Romanian street protests gathered thousands of people manifesting against the governing party. Hundreds of thousands of citizens mobilized via the social networks and protested against the emergency ordinances (OUG 13) which were decriminalizing the abuse of office and were relaxing the anti-corruption laws.

PSD, the successor of the Romanian Communist Party, won the elections in December 2016 and had to confront massive anti-corruption protests not even two months later. PSD is the same party that lost the power in 2015 subsequent to street protests against corruption after the dramatic fire from the Colectiv club. However, in 2016, the PSD candidates were voted by 45.5% of the people who participated at the poll.

It has often been said that PSD electors were less informed or less educated than the voters of the other parties. Nevertheless, in 2016 the urban people and the educated youth voted PSD.

The hereby study aims to answer the questions: how did PSD manage to persuade the Romanian voters to choose them, considering that most of the traditional PSD electors watch TV and do not access the digital media? Was it because their traditional electors were convinced by the electoral agenda filled with promises? What were the online messages and comments of the PSD supporters during the 2017 massive anti-corruption protest?

How OUG 13 was reflected on the Facebook pages of the PSD leaders? What was the rhetoric of the dominant Romanian party during the anti-corruption protests?

The study is based on the qualitative content analysis of the official Facebook pages of the Socialist leaders, together with the online comments made by PSD electorate during the January-February 2017 protests. This research will show to what extent the nationalist messages and the social promises constituted more important topics for the PSD electors than the anti-corruption fight or the rule of law.

**DR VENETIA PAPA**, Cyprus University of Technology/ **GIORGOS CHARALAMBOUS**, Cyprus University of Technology: “Populist Rhetoric on Facebook: Left-wing and R-wing Online Discourses in Greece during the Crisis”.

While a lot of research effort has been put into the determinants of populist rhetoric by political parties and politicians, there has been much less research on the relationship between populism as rhetoric and online messages in the social media. This is surprising because online social media have been said to be more user-oriented than the mass media, thus implying an increased susceptibility to populist messages

through an orientation that sees social media as means to address the interests of ‘the people’ (see Gerbaudo, forthcoming). Against this backdrop we inquire into the patterns of online populist rhetoric, by investigating the similarities and differences between the posts of left-wing and right-wing social media users over time, focusing on major social and political events during the financial crisis in the case of Greece (2010-2016) where a rich record of populist rhetoric in the political sphere has been documented (Pappas 2014; Stavrakakis and Katsambekis 2014; Vassilopoulou et al. 2014). More specifically, do left-wing and right-wing online discourses differ in terms of the degree and nature of populist rhetoric in similar ways that political actors on the ground from the left and right have been shown to differ? Is there an inclusive left-wing and an exclusive right-wing populism online? How is populist rhetoric blended into ideological attachments? Is there a distinction to be made between online partisans and non-partisans? These are questions that direct focus into whether online social media reflect or augment patterns of ideological polarization between political actors within organizations and institutions. Through a content analysis of approximately 5.000 user data from both partisan and non-partisan Facebook groups (2 from each category), we interrogate specific, oft-cited dimensions of populism found in the literature (emphasis on the sovereignty of the people, attacking the elite, ostracizing others, and evoking the threat of crisis) in relation to the distinction between left-wing and right-wing populism. Our analysis concludes by considering the ways in which online rhetoric and by extension Facebook as a platform of communication reconstructs ideological divisions between rival political groups.

**KIRIAKI FILIPPAKOU**, University of Piraeus, Greece: “The Discourse of Hate Speech - Identifying Rhetorical Strategies of Golden Dawn in Social Media”.

The research aims to contribute to uncovering the characteristics of hate speech in social media by combine discourse analysis of social media comments by the Greek far right party Golden Dawn with analysis of their wider message strategies (campaign mode analysis). This is part of a wider project to decode persuasion strategies employed by the particular party. Hate speech has been identifies as a key element of Golden Dawn rhetorical strategy. A focal point of this research is the dominance of hate speech of the party is social media, the facets and rhetorical attributes of hate speech of Golden Dawn in social media and finally the differences between the party’s rhetorical strategy in social media and other mean of political communication.

Producers of hate speech either are organized or act on their own initiative. The research compares and contrasts the official Golden Dawn use of social media with the social media employed by a sample key supporters. The research hypothesis is that key supporters would by to a certain extent “fine-tuned” to the official party message but would employ more extreme forms of hate speech since they are not bound by the fear for backlash effects and the restraining power of surveillance by the wider political communication system, as is the official party social media. Finally the research addresses the strategies that both the official party and its key supporters employ in order to circumvent the “terms of service” for hosted services of Facebook that prohibits hate speech.

**GEORGIA MYLORDOU**, Advanced Media Institute, Cyprus: “Attack and Negative Speech in the Presidential Elections (2013) and in the Parliamentary Elections (2016) in Cyprus”.

It is hard to imagine an election that would be informative without some degree of both positive and negative campaigning by the candidates. In political discourse, also, attacks are used more and more often.

From the body of literature we know that candidates tend to go negative when they are behind in the polls (Skaperdas and Grofman, 1995), when they are in opposition (Kahn and Kenney, 1999) and when the Election Day approaches (Damore, 2002). Damore (2002) also assumed that candidates hesitate to initiate negativity, but are much more likely to respond negatively to negative campaigns against themselves. The existing literature is obviously almost exclusively American and only very few studies exist in the European multiparty context.

This research focuses and examines the degree and the forms of attack and negative in the political discourse in the Presidential Elections (2013) and in the Parliamentary Elections (2016) in Cyprus. For the systematic recording of the communication outlet of candidates the method of quantitative content analysis was used. As analytical material selected the press releases of parties, candidates’ staffs and the government. Two types of measurement units used in the context analysis: the total press release and the single attack. For each election (Presidential Elections and Parliamentary Elections) have collected and codified all press releases from a period two months just before the Day of Election.

In the Presidential Elections in the 2013 the agenda of political issues was mainly focused in economic crisis and in other financial issues. Contrary, in the Parliamentary Elections in the 2016 the agenda of political issues was mainly focused in political issue as is Cyprus Issue (the ongoing issue of military invasion and continuing Turkish occupation of the northern third of the island).

## Panel 10 in French – JOURNALISME ET POLITIQUE DANS L'ÈRE DES MEDIA NUMERIQUES

**BABA WAME** - University of Yaoundé II – Soa, Cameroun : “Le journalisme en ligne et les réseaux sociaux numériques lors de ‘la crise anglophone’ au Cameroun”.

Les technologies de l'information et de la Communication sont entrain de favoriser le renouvellement de l'espace public au Cameroun. Surfant sur les vagues du succès des terminaux mobiles (Smartphones, tablettes et liseuses) et l'émergence des réseaux de transport des données numériques à l'instar de la 4G, le journalisme en ligne et les réseaux sociaux numériques (Facebook, Twitter, les forums, wikis...) sont devenus une aubaine pour la libre expression des idées et des opinions. La production des internautes du Cameroun et de la diaspora camerounaise connaît une croissance exponentielle dans les multiples groupes camerounais sur Facebook, qui s'affichent désormais comme un laboratoire des alternatives à la démocratie représentative. C'est dans un tel contexte technologique qu'à éclore les revendications fédéraliste et sécessionniste des régions anglophones du Cameroun. Une crise politique nourrie de plusieurs années de contestation identitaire et de mouvements sociaux majeurs. L'Agence de Régulation des Télécommunications (ART) indique que fin 2016, près de 45% des Camerounais disposent d'un smartphone (Téléphone avec accès à Internet), soit environ 11, 25 millions de Camerounais sont potentiellement des internautes actifs. Compte tenu de cette donnée importante, l'objet de cet article est de tenter d'appréhender la complexité de la problématique du journalisme en ligne et des réseaux sociaux numériques au Cameroun, écartelés pendant « la crise anglophone » entre journalisme institutionnel et fonction critique médiatique. Notre contribution s'adosse d'une part sur la théorie lazarsfeldienne des effets limités (agenda setting, The Two-step flow of communication) et d'autre part sur le courant des Usages et gratifications.

**SAMI ZLITNI / FABIEN LIENARD**, Le Havre University, France : “Education électorale, citoyenneté et démocratie à l'ère du numérique. Le cas de la campagne électorale pour l'assemblée constituante en Tunisie”.

Depuis les événements de 2010, la jeune et fragile démocratie tunisienne se construit au rythme des campagnes et des élections. Les citoyens adhèrent au processus et prennent conscience progressivement du poids de leur vote. Les espaces discursifs virtuels, créés par les technologies de l'information et de la communication, ont permis aux citoyens et aux hommes et femmes politiques de s'exprimer, d'informer et de s'informer, de se mobiliser et de s'organiser.

Par ailleurs, ces espaces discursifs virtuels n'ont pas été occupés seulement par les citoyens et les partis politiques. D'autres instances ont compris qu'ils pouvaient permettre d'informer et de communiquer efficacement à l'image de l'Instance Supérieure Indépendante pour les Elections (désormais ISIE) à laquelle nous allons référer dans cette communication. Elle fait partie de ces instances qui ont eu pour mission de former, d'éduquer les citoyens au processus engagé : du vote libre à la découverte de la démocratie.

En ayant recours à une observation participante et à une veille numérique, nous avons observé, tout au long de la campagne et une fois l'Assemblée constituante élue, comment ces institutions publiques et/ou citoyennes ont fait en sorte d'éclairer les Tunisiens sur le processus démocratique tout nouveau pour eux. Nous commencerons donc par formuler quelques éclairages théoriques essentiels pour décrire le contexte et comprendre les objectifs et les enjeux. Nous discuterons de ce qu'il est possible de dénommer l'e-éducation électorale pour en venir, dans un dernier temps, à l'e-citoyenneté et même l'e-démocratie. A ce terme, nous tenterons d'ouvrir pour continuer de réfléchir à la nature et au poids de ces sphères discursives virtuelles qui apparaissent et qui participent à la construction d'un véritable espace d'échanges (politiques) numérique public.

Ainsi, de la préparation du processus électoral jusqu'à l'adoption de la constitution tunisienne, les institutions publiques et la société civile ont eu recours à plusieurs initiatives novatrices pour informer, éduquer et stimuler la participation des citoyens à la vie politique. Cette participation physique et/ou virtuelle à la vie démocratique est incontestable et elle s'est traduite par un engagement personnel et/ou numérique sur des périodes déterminées. Nous ne pouvons nier que les modes d'interaction (notamment électroniques) entre les élus, les instances, les associations et les citoyens sont plus efficaces et favorisent les échanges démocratiques.

Force est de constater aussi que les actions d'information (et/ou d'éducation) et de communication menées par l'ISIE (comme par la société civile) n'ont permis d'atteindre que partiellement les objectifs. Rétrospectivement, nous remarquons que les efforts ont porté sur le processus électoral (inscription sur les listes, incitation à la participation, déroulement du scrutin, etc.) mais très peu sur les enjeux des élections. Autrement dit, les acteurs se sont davantage ancrés dans une logique d'information électorale que d'éducation électorale.

**CHRISTELLE CRUMIÈRE**, Le Havre University, France : "Registres énonciatifs et registres d'adhésion dans une production journalistique cross-média. Le cas du web-documentaire 'La campagne à vélo'".

Cette proposition s'inscrit dans l'axe « Digital Journalism: Funding, Practices and Content » (4), et plus précisément dans la thématique « Digital storytelling and social media use by journalists».

« La campagne à vélo » est un web-documentaire réalisé en 2012 par les journalistes Raphaël Krafft et Alexis Montchauvet, et coproduit par Francetv Info, France bleu et Playprod, avec la participation de Rue 89. Le concept original consistait en une radiographie de la France électorale, opérée par les deux journalistes sillonnant à vélo le territoire national et logeant chez l'habitant en immersion dans la vie locale. Le voyage et les haltes, permettant d'aller à la rencontre de Français habituellement délaissés par les grands médias, donnaient lieu à de nombreuses interviews, dressant par les chemins de traverse un portrait intimiste des conceptions politiques et intentions électorales du peuple français.

Construit sous forme de feuilleton diffusé sur Twitter et Facebook, le webdocumentaire donnait lieu à des publications quotidiennes de statuts, photos, pastilles sonores ou vidéos comme autant d'« instantanés de campagne », ainsi qu'à la publication hebdomadaire d'un épisode d'environ 7 minutes retraçant le parcours et les rencontres majeures de la semaine écoulée. Invités à suivre les journalistes en temps réel sur une carte alimentée via leurs données GPS, les internautes pouvaient interagir avec eux de façon concrète et influencer sur le contenu éditorial, en leur proposant une rencontre, le gîte ou le couvert. Chaque étape donnait également lieu à la rédaction d'un reportage publié sur le pure player Rue89, à un rendez-vous radiophonique hebdomadaire (le mardi vers 21h30) sur France Bleu National et à une diffusion sur Francetv Info. Enfin, le feuilleton dans son intégralité (montage linéaire des épisodes hebdomadaires) a fait l'objet d'une diffusion sur la chaîne nationale France 4, à l'issue du voyage.

Inscrit dans une démarche novatrice résolument interactive, ce web-documentaire propose sur une période de 4 mois l'élaboration progressive d'un storytelling, un récit de campagne si ce n'est co-construit du moins alimenté par les protagonistes et/ou les internautes.

Ce procédé donne lieu à de nombreux phénomènes de glissement, d'altération ou d'hybridation du discours journalistique, que nous tenterons ici d'interroger sous les angles suivants :

- l'enchâssement du récit et les glissements de registres narratifs posent la question de la place et la posture des journalistes au sein même du récit. De simples témoins, observateurs ou narrateurs, les journalistes deviennent, protagonistes, acteurs du reportage et de la narration : alternance d'anecdotes propres au dispositif du voyage (incidents de parcours, recherche d'un hôte pour la nuit) et d'interviews proprement journalistiques (interviews, contenu éditorial au sens strict). L'enchâssement du récit

électoral (lui-même constitué de micro-récits successifs) dans le récit de voyage induit une double narration dans laquelle les journalistes changent de posture et de fonction.

- les glissements de registres énonciatifs : induits par le dispositif du voyage et sa vocation à établir une proximité rapide (rapprochement par le médium, le vélo, et la dynamique immersive, le gîte chez l’habitant), de nombreux glissements énonciatifs s’instaurent avec les protagonistes (tutoiement, ton : plaisanterie, registre de discours : familier voire argotique, attitude décontractée, posture corporelle), contribuant à brouiller la perception de la fonction journalistique et de l’intentionnalité du discours. De même, ces glissements s’opèrent sur les réseaux sociaux dans l’adresse aux lecteurs (tutoiement, usage de l’impératif), brouillant là encore les catégories discursives.

- un brouillage des registres d’adhésion au discours journalistique: 3 principaux types de commentaires émergent sur les différents supports : des commentaires d’encouragement, d’empathie et d’assentiment induits par l’originalité de la démarche (rencontre avec les « oubliés » des médias traditionnels, engagement physique des journalistes, mise en danger) et le dispositif lui-même (forte interactivité des réseaux sociaux) ; des critiques ou contestations adressées au contenu journalistique (en général inscrites dans une démarche constructive de débat ou de précision) ; des critiques adressées à la posture journalistique (partialité, représentation des interviewés), à la dimension marginale des contenus proposés (représentativité, intérêt informationnel), ou à la familiarité établie avec les protagonistes (absence de distance, objectivité).

L’enjeu de cette proposition est donc d’interroger les difficultés induites par la démarche journalistique et le dispositif médiatique lui-même en termes de distanciation entre discours et objet d’une part, en termes d’adhésion du lecteur et de crédibilité du discours d’autre part. Nous nous appuyons pour cela sur l’analyse des contenus éditoriaux publiés par les journalistes (séquences audios ou filmiques, photos, statuts, articles), ainsi que sur les commentaires laissés par les internautes sur Facebook et Rue89. Notre cadre théorique s’appuiera plus particulièrement sur la sémiotique (Fontanille), l’analyse de discours (Genette), et l’analyse de discours informatif (Charaudeau Cornu) et audiovisuel (Jost).

**EL GOLLI MERIEM**, Université de Rouen Normandie, France / **Fabien LIENARD**, Le Havre University, France : “Discours politique iconique sur Facebook : vers la structuration de communautés d’interprétation à l’occasion des élections présidentielles de 2014 en Tunisie”.

Depuis les événements de 2011 en Tunisie, Facebook s’est imposé comme moyen pertinent pour la communication politique dans ce pays. Le système politique verrouillé pendant les années Ben Ali

fonctionnait de manière verticale : tout était sous contrôle et l'information «descendait» sans jamais pouvoir « remonter » vers les instances. Les partis politiques tunisiens émergents à la suite des événements ont vite compris qu'il fallait rendre audible cette parole, qu'il fallait l'écouter aussi en lui donnant une visibilité au sein même du nouveau discours politique en structuration. C'est ainsi que l'Appel de la Tunisie (Nida Tounes) et le Mouvement d'Ennahdha, deux partis qui ont pesé dans l'après Ben Ali, ont choisi de développer des stratégies de communication politique numérique qui les ont conduits à recourir massivement aux réseaux sociaux, véritables sphères discursives politiques (Zlitni & Liénard, 2013) qui ont été autant de communautés sociolinguistiques virtuelles (Laroussi & Liénard, 2013).

Dans cette perspective, Facebook se présente comme un média social favorisant l'échange entre le peuple et les politiques, entre les gouvernés et les (futurs) gouvernants. L'enjeu de la recherche présentée ici était d'étudier la manière dont les chefs, les leaders des deux partis évoqués se sont façonnés une identité numérique à l'aide d'images publiées sur le réseau social Facebook. Béji Caid Essebsi (BCE) et Rached Ghannouchi (RG) ont en effet recouru au média social pour «s'afficher», pour présenter des images d'eux-mêmes qui respectaient toutes la grammaire de l'affiche politique (Gourévitch, 1998). Il s'agissait de décrypter les images des leaders... incroyablement riches en signes et symboles de manière à dégager les symboliques des représentations contrastées. En considérant l'image comme un discours iconique numérique, nous avons mis en œuvre un protocole méthodologique qui repose sur une double analyse : i) une analyse qualitative des 20 images les plus sollicitées entre 2012 et 2013, ii) une analyse quantitative s'intéressant notamment aux réactions que ces images ont pu générer. Pour ce faire, nous avons adopté une démarche pluridisciplinaire basée sur le modèle de l'argumentation iconique (Adam et Bonhomme, 2007). De la description intrinsèque des images, nous avons ressorti des éléments formels que nous avons organisés en six codes : linguistique, typographique, morphologique, photographique, kinésique et chromatiques. La récurrence manifeste de certains codes confère aux leaders une certaine identité. Il s'agit d'un paradigme représentatif qui permet une indexation topique génératrice de valeurs participant à la logique de valorisation, de mise en avant de chaque entité politique. Ainsi, l'image charismatique et autoritaire que BCE a construite (El Golli, 2016a) ou l'image d'homme pieux et de guide spirituel voulue par RG présentent toutes les deux des constantes que nous pouvons traduire en valeur : charisme de l'homme qui guide et sentiment d'appartenance collective. Cela implique le fait de se référer à un absolu unique tout en appartenant à un groupe, celui de la communauté des Tunisiens pour l'un, des musulmans pour l'autre. Les partis

politiques suivent ainsi une directive en appliquant une « démonstration représentative » visant à engendrer une interprétation. La production de celle-ci, consiste en une sélection d'un ensemble de traits du personnage, compris comme les traits structurants capables d'expliquer le fonctionnement interprétatif global. Toute description-interprétation témoigne des choix opérés, aussi différents soient-ils, construisant une image produite engendrant l'apparition de communautés d'interprétation différentes (convaincue, critique ou partagée).

En définitive, la communication que nous proposons a pour objectif d'expliquer comment la construction identitaire élaborée sur un réseau socionumérique comme Facebook peut permettre aux leaders politiques « d'être dans une interaction constante entre « production de soi » et « interprétation de l'autre » » (El Golli & Laroussi, 2014 ; El Golli, 2016b).

**MARI LAVRENTIADOU**, Hellenic Open University, Greece: "La communauté chrétienne dans le conflit syrien: représentations sociales des minorités chrétiennes dans les éditions numériques des médias de Grèce, de France et de Grande Bretagne".

La confrontation en Syrie prend de plus en plus un caractère confessionnel et impose l'exode massif des chrétiens hors des lieux historiques de la Chrétienté d'Orient. Malgré l'état critique de la situation actuelle, les médias européens font preuve d'une indifférence étonnante à l'égard de la présentation de ce sujet et par conséquent, le déplacement et l'exil de ce groupe ne se présente guère comme un événement d'actualité.

Cette communication étudie la présence médiatique de ce sujet, mais aussi ses caractéristiques afin de mettre en valeur les représentations sociales dominantes et les encadrements dominants de la diaspora chrétienne dans les éditions numériques des médias de Grèce, de France et de Grande Bretagne.

Le sort de cette population fait naître des questionnements divers qu'il faut bien analyser : cet exode marque la disparition de cette diaspora historique du Proche Orient ? Les chrétiens subissent un « génocide » ? Y a-t-il une politique d'accueil particulière quand les chrétiens de la Syrie se réfugient en Europe ou dans les pays voisins ?

En se basant sur des articles de la période mi-mars 2011-2016, nous allons analyser de façon critique plusieurs sujets. Tout d'abord, c'est l'image dominant du conflit syrien dans les médias et les informations auxquelles ils attachent une importance plus grande. Par suite, nous évoquons leurs enjeux

majeurs et leur position favorable ou non sur le caractère multiconfessionnel du régime syrien et son despotisme.

L'approche comparative vise à mettre en valeur des possibles différences et similitudes entre des modèles de communication dans des pays européens qui subissent la crise économique de façon distincte les dernières années.

18:15 – 19:15 **NIKOS CHRISTODOULIDES**, Cyprus Government Spokesman and Director of the Diplomatic Office of the President of the Republic of Cyprus: “Cyprus: A Regional Actor at the Forefront”.

Cyprus is an EU member state at the heart of the Eastern Mediterranean, the EU's south-eastern most corner in a turbulent, yet vital region. It is a country with an incredibly rich and diverse history, a melting pot of cultures and religions of the Mediterranean that co-existed peacefully for hundreds of years. Cyprus is in fact unique in its volatile region, in that it has long-standing excellent relations with its neighbours. It is in the background of this unique, geostrategic location – at the crossroads of Europe, Middle East, Africa and Asia - that we have stirred the ship of our foreign policy in recent years, in an effort to demonstrate Cyprus's added value in a region that despite its volatility, holds enormous potential. The country's foreign policy has been re-oriented so as to put at the forefront Cyprus's greatest geopolitical value: as a bridge and as a credible partner, with pragmatic and prudent positions. Amongst other, Cyprus is a responsible, active, reliable partner in the areas of combating terrorism, fighting the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and providing humanitarian assistance. Moreover, Cyprus is at the forefront of building a common vision for the Eastern Mediterranean, and in creating a positive agenda for the region, through the trilateral cooperation mechanisms between Cyprus, Greece on the one hand and Egypt, Israel, Jordan and Lebanon. Energy lies at the core of these cooperation mechanisms. The keynote address will touch upon these developments, and Cyprus's role in the Eastern Mediterranean and beyond, also through the perspective of how media plays a significant role in amplifying Cyprus's role in the region, and in communicating the message of our vision for the Eastern Mediterranean.

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**SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2017**

**PANEL 11: ETHICS, JOURNALISM AND SOCIAL MEDIA**

**KAREN FOWLER-WATT**, Bournemouth University, UK: “Restoring Connectivity and Rebuilding Trust through Re-imagining Journalism Education”.

‘If we want digital connections to increase human connections, we need to experiment’. (Zuckerman, 2013; 131): this paper explores whether reimagining journalism education offers a potential route for seeking connected publics and trusted journalism. The imperative to utilize digital media to help create a better world, where citizens and journalists feel they belong, where the powerful are still held to account remains, but perhaps now is the time for a more inclusive, quieter, slower (Neveu, 2016), more thoughtful, investigative and globally - aware journalism? Predicated on the Habermasian (1991) understanding that robust journalism plays a crucial role in healthy public discourse, this paper will ask how journalists’ faith in their own ability to have impact can be restored. Could a focus on teaching the ‘intangibles’ of emotional literacy, encouraging rigorous scrutiny of normative values; ethics, the shibboleth of objectivity and verification through the lens of critical self- reflection, lead to a different kind of journalism practice?

Arguably, in the ‘post truth’ context, trusted, credible journalism has never been more important, but levels of disaffection with the media are profound. Alongside re-evaluating politics, we need to rethink journalism practice (Helm, 2017). If journalistic storytelling is to have a meaningful, positive impact on society, in the digital age of ‘citizen – witnessing’ (Allan, 2013), it needs to become more intuitive, more aligned. This paper presents ideas for different approaches to journalism education, drawing on interviews with journalists and the author’s experience of working on a current pedagogic project with Global Voices that focuses on community and marginalized voices. Engaging with the psychosocial notion that journalists, who are emotionally and digitally literate, are more likely to produce journalism that is inclusive, immersive and connected it posits that transformative pedagogies provide a starting point in seeking to answer the question “where does the best journalism lie?”

**NWAMMUO, ANGELA NKIRU**, Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu University (Formally Anambra State University) / **OBI, IJEOMA**, Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu University (Formally Anambra State University)/ **NWANOLUE, IFEYINWA MAUREEN**, Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu University (Formally Anambra State University), Nigeria: “Are Nigerian Journalists Objective, Ethical Or Socially Responsible? Assessment of News Photographs In Nigerian Mainstream and Digital Media Forms”.

The importance of photographs in journalism profession cannot be underestimated. After all, a photograph is worth more than a thousand words. This postulation is supported by two Nigerian

scholars , Okoro and Nnadiukwu (2000p.139) who posited that “ across time, pictorial communication has remained the most vivid of all forms of communication which not only delivers its message in split seconds but also makes a lasting impression on the audience “. Photographs present events to media audiences as live witnesses which allow them to feel more present at the scene of events. This is why photographs are perceived as a portrayal of absolute truth and reality hence, Reich (2003p.11) asserts, “we believe what we see more than what we hear or think “. For media practitioners to be objective as their profession demands, facts must be presented the way they are, most times, with photographs. While presenting facts, journalists are also expected to be guided by the ethics of journalism profession. They are also expected to be socially responsible to the environments in which they live. There is therefore an unavoidable conflict between objectivity (which the media hold sacred), ethics and social responsibility (which guide and regulate media profession). The law of the land, as affirmed by Hassan (2010p. 572), “takes care of any type of violation by the press“. Journalists are therefore not totally free while discharging their duties. The questions which necessitated this study therefore are: shall Nigerian journalists ignore publication of photographs of dead victims of various religious and ethnic crises as a way of being ethical and socially responsible? What happens to objectivity if such photographs are ignored? These questions served as the gap in knowledge which this study intends to fill. Quantitative and qualitative research methodologies will be adopted in the study. Content analysis will be used to analyse selected mainstream and digital media forms in Nigeria in terms of nature of photographs. From the population of all media outlets and practitioners in Nigeria, Purposive sampling technique will be used in selecting samples for the study. Focus Group Discussion will be used to elicit useful responses from media practitioners in the selected media. This study, no doubt, will yield useful and interesting findings to the global community at large. From the findings, significant recommendations will be made.

**IRINA MILUTINOVIĆ**, Institute of European Studies Belgrade, Serbia: “Code of Ethics and Digital Journalism in a Transitional Society. Serbia’s Case”.

The processes of democratic transformation of the media system in the Republic of Serbia, triggered by political changes in 2000, have been unfolding within the overall post-socialist transition through approximation with the EU regulatory framework. In the same period, the advancement of information and communication technologies in the sphere of journalism has increasingly reshaped the profession’s structure and ethics.

The scope of this paper is to offer a critical analysis of the position and implementation of the code of ethics in modern Serbian digital journalism. The research examines the impacts of media self-regulation in the online editions of print newspapers. The aim of the paper is to explore, through an analytical approach, the relations between journalist ethics and practice within the digital media environment of a transitional society. The study is based on the assumption that the code of ethics has normative importance as a structural element in the identity of the journalistic profession.

Research analysis conducted in this paper leads to these argued conclusions: 1) internet potentials have not been optimally used in the process of democratic and professional transition of the media system; 2) despite normative alignment with EU standards, digital journalism in Serbia offers numerous examples of disruption of ethical and professional standards; 3) self-regulatory instruments have not exhausted their potential as an empowering factor for the identity of the journalistic profession. The study concludes by offering some recommendations for the advancement of responsible digital journalism: implementation of a more consistent media co-regulation policy; continuous adjustment to the guidelines appropriate to a changing information environment; emphasis on the competencies and responsibilities of independent regulatory bodies and professional associations; more involved and responsible civil society action.

**LIA-PASCHALIA SPYRIDOU**, University of Cyprus / **ANDREAS VEGLIS**, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece: “Alternative Facts: Conceptualizing and Handling Fake News in the Post-Truth Era”.

Misinformation and news bias is not a new phenomenon. But the new media ecosystem allowing for both the creation and dissemination of an unprecedented flow of information, poses new challenges for journalism and democracy as the phenomenon of fake news is on the rise. Fake news came into center stage with the presidential election in the United States and the United Kingdom’s Brexit referendum. However, fake news has been around for some time now allowing post-truth assumptions and arguments to be easily diffused through legacy news media and social networks, and thus influence voting decisions and the perceptions of the citizenry.

Several initiatives concerning the confrontation of this serious credibility problem have been launched, in which many major web corporations (like Google and Facebook) are participating. At the same time, journalism associations and alternative media are attempting to advance fact-checking mechanisms and related media education courses. In the recent years many research programs have investigated and developed tools for verifying content (in various forms, text, images, videos). These available tools along

with the necessary techniques can be employed in verifying the content. It is worth noting that in the field of investigative journalism such methods have been utilized for several years in response to the increased availability of non-credible data on the WWW.

Accounting for the new media ecology and drawing upon the notion of strategic narrative, this paper has a two-fold aim. First, to provide a typology of fake news, and second to propose ways to counteract this phenomenon. More specifically, it examines fake news in detail by attempting to trace their sources, and the mechanisms for their creation and dissemination. The available methods and tools that can be utilized in order to debunk fake news are also presented and discussed in detail. Finally, the authors propose policies that can be implemented in order to deal with this legitimacy crisis that has taken the media sector by surprise.

#### **Panel 12: COVERING POLITICS IN MULTIMEDIA ENVIRONMENTS**

**YARON ARIEL**, College of Emek Yezreel, Israel / **DANA WEIMANN-SAKS**, College of Emek Yezreel, Israel / **RUTH AVIDAR**, College of Emek Yezreel, Israel / **VERED ELISHAR-MALKA**, College of Emek Yezreel, Israel: “Covering Elections in a Multimedia Environment: Comparing Data from Traditional and New Media During the 2015 Israeli Election”.

Relevance and research question: This study examines the online public discourse over Web 2.0 platforms (e.g. social networks and readers' comments in news websites) during the 2015 Israeli general election, and compares its main topics of discussion with the main topics that were mentioned in television evening news broadcasts at the same time. The first research question examines whether, and to what extent, compatibility can be found between the public agenda 2.0, as manifested in the free discourse of Internet users, and the traditional media agenda, as manifested in evening news broadcasts. The second research question explores the extent to which television preserves its power as an agenda-setter in an age in which the Internet and social networks are experiencing increasing popularity.

Methods and data: Two quantitative research methods were employed as part of this study: (1). A content analysis of all television evening news broadcasts (n=126) during the six weeks preceding the Election Day (in Israel's public channel and the two commercial channels). (2). Monitoring system that crawls through cyberspace 24/7 for conversations in the major web 2.0 platforms - public and open - Israeli online social networks, responses to articles, forum posts, and blogs, during the same period (the

system collected automatically all conversations with the minimum of two active participants and two comments displayed).

Results: Significant correlation was found between the media agenda and the online public agenda ( $r = .42, p < .05$ ). There were no significant differences between the three television channels as for the salient topics. Ordinal regression analysis revealed that the relative salience trends in the online public discourse followed those of the television news broadcasts ( $X^2(df=587) = 21.205, p < .01$ ). A comparative analysis of trends in the coverage of the topics at hand revealed a similarity between the two media spheres.

Added value: This research emphasizes the interconnectedness and convergence of ‘old’ and ‘new’ media. Online public discourse is still fed by, among other things, information sourced from traditional media. At the very least it is too early to declare television's demise as a relevant, important platform.

**THEODORA MANIOU**, Frederick University, Cyprus / **IRENE PHOTIOU**, Frederick University, Cyprus / **IOANNIS SEITANIDIS**, Open University of Cyprus / **ELENA KETTENI**, Frederick University, Cyprus:

“Political Reporting in the Digital Media Era: Norms, Attitudes and Performance”.

In order to further the practice of democracy in any society, journalistic freedom always has been – and needs to be – a key concept for every media system. This is especially true in the case of political reporting, where the amount of freedom journalists enjoy relates absolutely to the quality of information the public receives. The popularity and immediacy of digital technologies is considered an important factor in promoting journalistic freedom. However, in some cases, journalists seem to fail in taking advantage of the freedom associated with digital technologies and this often leads to a marring in the democratic practices of the media.

The proposed paper presents the results of a survey conducted on a sample of journalists in Cyprus between December 2015 and January 2016. We focused on professionals employed in the media conglomerates and specializing in political reporting. The main aim is to determine the norms and attitudes within their specialized field, and to compare them to their perceived as ideal journalistic performance in order to discuss the manifestation and level of professional freedom they enjoy within the current digital environment.

**VERED ELISHAR-MALKA**, College of Emek Yezreel, Israel / **YARON ARIEL**, College of Emek Yezreel, Israel:

“The New Game Changer? Analyzing Twitter as a New Journalistic Work-Tool in the Context of Journalists and Politicians' Relationships”.

Relevance & Research Question: Twitter has become a central work-tool for journalists as well as for politicians and elections candidates. This phenomenon is extremely noticeable in Israel, where regular citizens refrain from using Twitter, while journalists public figures utilize it extensively. Journalism and political communication studies have thought us that changes in the nature of work tools, particularly ICT, leads to variations in work patterns and journalists-politicians relationships (e.g. Davis, 1999; Garrison 1995, 2005; Parmelee, 2014). In light of Twitter's unique features, our research questions inspect the possible professional implications of utilizing this online social network as a work-tool among senior political correspondents.

Methods & Data: Comparison of two data sets were utilized. First, senior political correspondents were directly contacted and asked to answer an overt questionnaire. Second, after receiving their consent, the Twitter accounts of all respondents in the first Phase were monitored on a daily basis for three months before their participation in this study. The final data compared the Twitter assessment of 57 senior political correspondents with their actual Twitter's activities. A total of 19,025 Twitter activities were analyzed.

Results: We conducted a separate analysis for each database and then analyzed the matching pairs. Key findings indicate that the range of correspondents' sources became wider, due to using Twitter as a work tool. Twitter enables professional brain- storming among colleagues. Thus 66% of their Twitter activities are interactive in nature. Twitter audience engagement for each post (up to 1500 unique interactors) implies that correspondents receive immediate feedback for their value of Twitter. Political correspondents report they become better informed and confidence, therefore, become stronger when standing in front of politicians. Nonetheless, political correspondents perceived their level of Twitter activities as higher than their real performance.

Added value: As the complex relationships between politicians and political correspondents are profoundly influenced by each player's professional status, becoming more dominant in this shared arena might mean getting a better position in this power-based relationships. The present study wishes to add another break to the wall of the growing research body that examines Twitter in political and in journalistic contexts.

**PATRICK READSHAW**, Canterbury Christ Church University, UK: “Twitter: Political Arena or Political Soap Opera, British Coverage of the European Parliamentary Election”.

The United Kingdom's involvement within the European Union has become a national fixation, and is frequently part of the national debate within the UK's legacy media. Despite the frequent coverage of popular policy, national broadsheets are noting a continued decline in readership, a readership which appears to be transitioning to news coverage online (Hansard Society Audit, 2012). That being said, the work discussing the growing primacy of social media as a news disseminator and aggregator does not address its potential with regards to the acquisition of salient political knowledge, the possession of which is a significant predictor of meaningful political engagement (de Vreese&Boomgaarden, 2006; DelliCarpini&Keeter, 1996; Hochschild, 2010). The current paper seeks to explore this idea within the context of the 2014 European Parliamentary Elections by collating a series of news articles and comments obtained from British broadsheets and Twitter over a three week period (8th-29th of May 2014). The analysis undertaken consisted of two main methods. The first, a manual content analysis of broadsheet coverage in the two weeks running up to, and for one week after the polling date (May 22nd). The second, a mixed methods computer-mediated approach designed to generate co-occurrence matrices, and hierarchical clusters to aid in the comparison of both the Twitter sources and the originally sampled broadsheet articles. The results obtained emphasize the role of personality online, particularly with regards to generating the momentum needed to foster engagement with the debate surrounding the election. That being said, even when taking these results into account, the role of social media in political discourse is still poorly defined. However, it could be argued that social media appears to operate in the middle ground between what could be traditionally understood to be an arena for political discourse and the tabloid styled political soap opera. The placement of social media here, is due in part to the clear desire of online content creators to provide relevant political coverage and social media's reliance as a medium on strong personalities to drive the debate.

### **PANEL 13: JOURNALISTS: ROLE AND INFLUENCE PERCEPTIONS**

**COSTAS VENIZELOS**, Newspaper Phileleftheros, Cyprus: “Presumed Influence and Hostile Media Perception – Exploring the Subjective Theories of Cypriot Politicians”.

This research falls within the tradition of qualitative analysis of politician's perceptions and attitudes on journalists and media. It is informed from theoretical frameworks such as the “third person effect” (Davidson 1983), the “hostile media effect” (Gunther, & Schmitt, 2004) and the “influence of presumed

media influence” (Tsfati et al 2010). The perceptual aspect of media power affects attitudes and behavior in many and important ways (Gunther and Storey 2003) reaching as far as affecting policy issues, media regulations and censorship (Hoffner et al 1999) and even the legitimacy of electoral outcomes (Tsfati and Cohen 2005). This research project expands this perspective by examining the politician’s sense of journalistic power, where they derive it from and what supports such acclamations and how this sense of power is rhetorically constructed in political narrative.

Moreover the rise of new communication technology and the consequent shifts in journalistic practices as well as the rise of citizen-journalist are related to notions of empowerment and disempowerment within the nexus of the politics-journalists relationship. Such processes of empowerment, disempowerment and their interplay with the narrative of crisis of the journalistic perception are examined via qualitative frame and discourse analysis of the answers of key politicians to open-ended questions. In essence this research expands Stromback (2010) analysis on the interplay of medialization with the perception of media’s political influence.

The focus on the analysis falls on Greek-Cypriot politicians. Cyprus as a case study is distinguished by its small size, the semi-occupation status, the complexity of its political structure and culture as well as the attributes originating from its important geopolitical location. Journalists constitute a group of professionals whose function is pivotal for democracy. The documentation of the perceptions and attitudes that politicians hold on journalists and in particularly their perceived media power allows to assess the operation of the political communication system and to explore of the gap between the “working theory” of politicians and the scientific findings in the field of Media and Communication studies.

**STEPHEN JUKES**, Bournemouth University, UK: “How Social Media and Technological Innovation are Challenging Journalists’ Perceptions of their Role”.

Professional ideology and newsroom culture have become deeply embedded and codified in Anglo-American journalism since the late 19th Century. Despite constant questioning by professionals and scholars alike, they have remained remarkably stable, resisting the repeated challenge of technological, societal and cultural change ranging from the groundbreaking introduction of radio and television to the ‘New Journalism’ of the 1960s & 70s and the birth of the Internet. The antagonism between professional journalists and the boundaries they are erecting to distinguish themselves from ‘citizen journalists’, or those they regard as ‘amateurs,’ is arguably reinforcing existing ideology. There are also clear signs that

media outlets are unwilling to give up their traditional ‘gate keeping’ role. But are there other disruptive factors ushered in by the social media revolution that may finally lead to a breakdown of these norms? Using a qualitative research methodology involving in-depth interviews with journalists from leading established news outlets, this paper examines two changes to practice now becoming commonplace in the newsroom. Firstly, it explores the growing requirement for journalists to use Twitter and other social media tools to promote their own news output or their news organization; and secondly it examines the introduction of social media ‘hubs’ in which journalists trawl the Internet for user-generated content to complement their own. To what extent are these two developments changing journalists’ perception of their role and the culture of the newsroom? And is the broadly consensual view of their professional ideology becoming more diffuse?

**YIMING CHEN**, Uppsala University, Sweden: “Articulatory Practice of Chinese TV News Presenter’s Professional Identity Construction: a Theoretical Discussion”.

This paper provides a theoretical discussion on the discursive construction of Chinese TV news presenter’s professional identity. Drawing upon Laclau and Mouffe’s (1985) post-structuralist discourse theory (DT), the paper articulates nodal points as sensitizing concepts around which identity construction of the Chinese TV news presenter is fixated. This paper intends to make a contribution to the discussion that how the Chinese TV news presenter’s identity is legitimated, contingent, and rigid. Followed by the ontology of DT, the identities of bodies and objects are discursively constructed to obtain their relevant meanings. The methodological principle of partially fixation within a contingent reality is through articulating nodal points, around which meanings and identities (partially) stabilize.

Using DT’s perspective critically (re-) read the relevant literature on (media-) professional identity to uncover (potential) dominant nodal points that articulate the TV news presenter’s identity in the Chinese context. The Chinese president Xi Jinping (2016) has made a statement that the state-run Medias are required to act as “propaganda fronts” for the Communist Party and these Medias’ “family name” must be the Communist Party. This declaration has emerged as a working principle that requires professional journalists to further enhance the position of the Chinese news media outlets as the mouthpiece of the Communist Party. Based on this macro context operated within Chinese news media organizations, the paper discusses that how the Chinese TV presenter occupies certain specific subject positions to present the professional journalistic image on screen in the digital newsroom for the media organization and the Communist Party. This paper argues that the Chinese TV news presenter’s

professional identity as a discourse is discursively articulated through specific nodal points. These nodal points are that the Chinese TV news presenter is 1) being the holder of journalistic professional values and norms, 2) being the holder of (professional) knowledge, 3) being employed, 4) being the holder of political beliefs and ideologies, and 5) using the performing form. Ultimately, this paper debates on the formation and stabilization of (re-) articulatory practices of these five nodal points.

**RUTH AVIDAR**, College of Emek Yezreel, Israel / **DANA WEIMANN-SAKS**, College of Emek Yezreel, Israel / **YARON ARIEL**, College of Emek Yezreel, Israel / **VERED ELISHAR-MALKA**, College of Emek Yezreel, Israel: "Agenda-Setting Research Online: Unique Theoretical and Empirical Challenges".

Relevance and research question: Agenda-Setting studies have been conducted for more than four decades, both in traditional and online media. Analysis of the public agendas in online media requires re-evaluation of definitions and measurement, and especially the dynamic environment of online social networks, their units of analysis and empirical tools. The present study seeks to address these challenges and propose possible solutions for a handful of them. Thus, our main research question is: What are the unique problems and dilemmas facing Agenda-Setting research in the online sphere?

Methods and data: To answer this question, the authors have re-examined their research of online vs. offline public and media agenda conducted during the 2015 general elections in Israel. Data in the original study has been gathered from two sources during the six weeks prior to election time: (1) Posts from all the main online social networks in Israel which were digitally monitored according to a list of key words; and (2) all items from 132 television evening news broadcasts, which were content analyzed. At every stage, such as defining main variables, collecting data and analysis – we examined the various problems, dilemmas and measures which were directly associated with applying offline methods to the online sphere.

Results: Main challenges and dilemmas that were identified in this study: Defining what online public agenda is, forming a thematic hierarchy in the online public discourse, defining the measured units of time, measuring online salience of news items, putting together a sample, overcoming mutual influences between different media outlets, and handling inter-source "contamination." Considering all challenges and dilemmas, it is clear that to advance online Agenda-Setting research; a multi-facet process should take place. Instead of trying to apply traditional media concepts and methods to the online sphere, scholars should re-examine them in light of the media's novel characteristics.

#### **PANEL 14: CAMPAIGNS AND ELECTIONS IN THE DIGITAL MEDIA ERA**

**MOHAMMAD REZAEI**, Tarbiat Modares University, Iran / **MARYAM POORASKARI**, Tarbiat Modares University, Iran: “Facebook and Voting Behavior: An Analytic Approach to the 2013 I.R. Iran Presidential Election”.

This study tries to examine relationship between Facebook activity and voting behavior in 10th Iran Presidential Election. Based on virtual ethnography, observation and deep interview data gathered and analyzed by thematic analysis. Our findings show taboo of participation since controversial 2009 election, lack of dialogue and political discussion atmosphere in Iranian political and media sphere outside of Facebook, and Facebook position as an alternative to official state media are the main effective themes. Some of them are obviously related to special circumstances of the 2013 I.R. Iran Presidential Election and also blockage on using this social media in Iran. In addition, the repetition and re-repetition of mobilizing content and quotes from non-political public figures, justifies changing decision for participation. In this article, we argue that analyzing the effect of social media, is not possible, unless we take into account special political circumstances, and special access condition of social media in Iran. Based on this situation, political discussions may affect political awareness and motivation among Facebook users, but it doesn't necessarily result in changing voting behavior and participation. Accordingly, here we can imply to a different kind of participation which is more common in Iran: no-participation as a negative political behavior.

**MÁRTON BENE**, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Hungary: “The Viralization of Politics: Investigating the Link Between Candidates' Facebook Performance and Electoral Success”.

This study investigates whether the number of average shares of posts on SMD candidates' Facebook pages during election campaign influences the personal vote they gain. Politicians' contents on Facebook can achieve the wider Facebook public only if they are shared by their followers. The distribution logic of networked media logic is virality (see, Klinger – Svensson, 2014): being widely shared is a requisite for being successful on social media. However, one can raise the question of whether wider visibility of politicians' message on Facebook can have actual political effect on candidates' electoral performance. The database contains all Facebook posts of three most voted candidates owing Facebook pages from all single-member districts posted during the last two weeks of Hungarian parliamentary election campaign of 2014. The results show that the average number of shares per posts on candidates' Facebook pages is positively associated with the shares of votes after

controlling for the vote share of the candidate' party on list in the districts as well as the age, gender, local political position and party leadership position of candidates.

**UMAR JIBRILU GWANDU**, Bayero University, Nigeria: "Internet Memes as Campaign Tool in Nigeria's 2015 Presidential Election".

The proliferation of the information and communication technologies has contributed to the active participation of hitherto passive recipient citizens in the creation and dissemination of media content. The democratization process in Nigeria witnesses an unprecedented era of campaigns where citizens engage in the promotion of their cherished candidates and to some extent demonizing or vilifying candidates that they do not support. Using Social Media with the available technologies, political communication in Nigeria transcends the use of words alone to circulating internet memes of candidates. This paper aims at bringing to limelight the enormous application of photograph internet memes in political communication on the social networking sites especially Facebook during the Nigeria's 2015 Presidential election. The paper finds that the social media served as an avenue that contributed to the citizen democratic engagement, vanishing of authorship, ephemerality of photographs and the application of unhindered freedom of expression in relation to the creation, distribution and consumption of internet memes of the two leading presidential candidates of the 2015 Nigeria's presidential election. On the premise of visual rhetoric analysis and using the Atlas.ti8.0 software, the study analyses major themes of the 56 purposively selected Photograph internet memes. The study finds that the internet memes convey glorification (5%), demonization (26%), humorization (32%), trivialization (20%) and traditionalization (17%) as their dominant themes. The paper recommends ways that Nigerian social networking sites users can use internet memes in achieving myriad strategies of election campaign communication.

**RUTH AOKO OWINO**, Daystar University, Kenya / **MUREJ MAK'OCHIENG**, Daystar University, Multimedia University of Kenya: "Digital Journalism, Citizenship and Professional Ethics: the Case of Political Blogging in Kenya".

Access to news and information by citizens is paramount in any democratic society. All over the world, the traditional or legacy media of print, radio and television have played the role of entertaining, informing and educating citizens. With the coming of the digital media, starting with the Internet, and now with mobile media, access to news and information has greatly been enhanced. But more importantly, citizens can now participate in the democratic process by collecting, processing and

distributing content. It is generally believed in the Western World that news and information are now literally on people's finger tips. With more and more Kenyans owning smart phones, this belief can also be made about Kenya, with positive implications for citizen participation in public life. This means that digital media enables citizens to participate actively in public discourse thereby ensuring that more voices are heard.

This paper will critically discuss the practice of digitally-enabled citizen journalism in Kenya by reviewing political blogging and its impact on citizen participation. However, the paper argues that for citizen journalism to contribute effectively to public discourse, it needs to build trust by being credible. This means that citizen journalism should adhere to the basic tenets of professionalism. The paper will therefore use a select number of political bloggers whose work has gained prominence and created controversy to discuss the place of citizen journalism in Kenya. To do this, the paper will: (i) describe the work of these bloggers and their impact on public discourse on certain key political issues; (ii) evaluate the extent to which blogging has enhanced citizen participation in public discourse in an emerging democracy; and (iii) assess whether bloggers adhere to the Code of Conduct for the Practice of Journalism in Kenya.

**Guest Speaker PAUL MICHAILIDIS:** "Civic Media Literacies: Re-Imagining Engagement for an Age of Distrust".

Discussions about civic action today occur primarily in the context of large scale, responsive civic uprisings. Movements like the Arab Uprisings, Occupy Wall Street, the Umbrella Revolution in Hong Kong, and protests in Greece, Ukraine, and Turkey, provide compelling cases for discussing the attributes, effects and outcomes of civic movements online and offline. Beyond these large-scale examples of civic action, however, exist a host of civic movements where citizens of all ages and backgrounds are redefining what participation means in daily life. In this talk, I will explore the texture of daily engagement in civic life, and the resources—human, technological and practical—that citizens employ when engaging in civic actions for positive social impact. In this talk, I will introduce the concept of civic media literacies, and offer a set of core principles and a normative model that leverages voice, agency and persistence in the ways that citizens create positive social change in daily civic life.

#### **Panel 15: JOURNALIST WORK PRACTICES IN THE DIGITAL COMMUNICATION**

**XU YINGCHUN**, Zhejiang University of Media and Communications, China: "Networked Satire on "Smog": Remaking Publics for China's Environmental Journalism".

In December 16, 2016, a new solar term ‘Smog Solstice’ were celebrated in China. It was supposed to be China’s traditional day called ‘Winter Solstice’. However, that year was the fourth one with red alarm that the ‘Smog’ swept away 71 cities in China and PM2.5 severely exceeded the limits. Meanwhile, the government drafted legislation to list ‘Smog’ as a ‘Natural Disaster’. Therefore, punsters, in Chinese ‘DuanziShou’, produced serials of jokes, humors and satirical videos on ‘Smog’. It was a discursive carnival for Chinese Netizens. The environmental news incorporated the satire to tell stories.

It is no doubt that digital media is transforming the production and consumption of traditional news making. By means of the new media, people had the opportunity to produce contents for themselves (Miller 2005: 23), which aroused criticism on its professionalism. Pietila (2012: 254) argues internet is a public sphere without publics as there are no more journalists.

Environmental journalism usually includes environmental incidents and public demonstrations, which are treated as negative and sensitive news by Chinese government. As mainstream media in China are state owned, they are easily manipulated for political reasons. Day by day, China’s environmental journalism lost its public.

Since 2013, the word of “Smog” has firstly gained great attention as over 25 provinces were suffering from heavy air pollution. For four years, the author has been collecting online data including jokes, humors and personal satire videos posted on “Smog”, and find out through textual analysis that networked satire brings great pleasure combining with social resistance. This kind of resistance operates through the re-construction of the boundaries of language norms, scientific norms and event categories. The research shows, mainstream environmental journalism started to remake the public by adopting the source of these networked satire, discussing the buzzwords like “APEC Blue” and “Smog Solstice” to review government’s policies and actions. Environmental publics have to be co-shaped by old and new media.

**NIKOS SMYRNAIOS**, University of Toulouse, France / **EMMANUEL MARTY**, Université de Grenoble – Crem, France / **LOIC BALLARINI**, Université de Lorraine – Crem, France: “Crowdfunding Journalism: the Case of France”.

In a context of economic crisis, particularly affecting the media sector, building innovative and sustainable business models is a necessity. Crowdfunding is increasingly present in the funding of journalism in a variety of forms. It can take the form of one-time or regular support. It may be the sole source of revenue (especially for small projects) or just an additional revenue stream. The participation

of journalists in this type of scheme requires a new know-how: creating a direct link with a community, using social networks to attract attention and adapting to crowdfunding platforms constraints and formats (Carvajal et al., 2012). More often than not, community participation is limited to financial support and rarely involves collaboration on the substance of journalistic work. Nevertheless crowdfunding creates a more direct and close relation with the readers that implies different ties with journalists (Aitamurto, 2011). Our paper proposes to present the results of an empirical research carried out between 2016 and 2017 upon 5 French journalistic startups that regularly resort to crowdfunding. Our empirical material includes interviews, observations and the use of internal documentation. Our results show that some of the most important aspects of these crowdfunding projects are transparency, accountability and the implication of the audience in the definition of journalistic projects. Most of the media we examined wouldn't have existed without crowdfunding. Consequently, the use of crowdfunding has a positive effect on media pluralism.

**DIMITRIOS KTENIDIS**, Open University of Cyprus: “Informing or Influencing? The Use of Twitter from the Greek Journalists”.

The role of practice of journalism has always been affected by innovations in the realm of technology, as well as by transformation in the realms of society, culture and lifestyle. Lately, the advancement and widespread use of online social networks and digital media have presented journalists with significant challenges as well as opportunities. Web 2.0. and networking platforms has somehow forced journalists to adopt new practices, engage with their audiences in a more direct way, and even relinquish their role as the exclusive gatekeepers, evaluators and distributors of news information.

The proposed presentation will examine Greek journalists' role as is enacted on Twitter, as well as their perceptions concerning their role as influencers in the new media environment of microblogging and networked flows of information. Empirical finding will be presented based on 20 personal interviews with Greek journalists who maintain Twitter accounts, as well as discourse and ethnographic analysis of journalists' practices on Twitter.

**REBECCA WHITTINGTON**, Leeds Trinity University, UK: “There is no ‘I’ in ‘News Team’: an Actor Network Theory Analysis of the Digital Impacts on Journalistic Identity and the Networks and Hierarchies of Regional UK Newspapers”.

In a world dominated by digital the journalistic agenda of regional newspaper teams within the UK has been forced into a position of compromise. Pitched between a progressively demanding, fickle and

critical audience and a publisher whose influence on newsroom decision making has an impact at a variety of levels, the regional journalist as a gatekeeper and master of the news faces an increasingly compromised identity. In this paper the application of Actor Network Theory (ANT) seeks to demonstrate how the autonomous journalist no longer exists within the parameters of the regional newspaper newsroom. The study employs ANT with the aim of demonstrating subverted hierarchies, the struggle between identity and employability and the power dynamics between the publishing company, news audience and the journalists in between. It explores how digital influences have both expanded the regional newsroom community in terms of size, scope and storytelling potential and caused a contraction in terms of journalistic autonomy, specialism and identity.

Based on observation and semi-structured interviews conducted in 2017 at two daily titles owned by two of the three main regional newspaper publishers within the UK, this paper seeks to demonstrate the complex networks, systems and relationships between regional UK newspaper journalists, their employer and their audience.

#### **Panel 16: CRISIS IN GREECE - JOURNALISM, POLITICS AND SOCIAL MEDIA**

**DIMITRA L. MILIONI**, Cyprus University of Technology / **PANTELIS VATIKIOTIS**, Kadir Has University, Turkey: “Fifty Shades of G: all the Different Ways in which Alternative Media still hate the Mainstream”. Alternative media have traditionally been defined by their opposition to the mainstream (Fenton, 2007; Hamilton, 2000; Harcup, 2003). The resulting binarity of the mainstream-alternative relation has recently been called into question by studies that stress the hybridity of alternative media (Carpentier et al., 2003), evident in the permeable boundaries between mainstream and alternative journalism (Harcup, 2009), the ‘temporality of alternativeness’ (Lewis, 1993), and the transitory state of opposition, as the alternative might transform into the mainstream (Santana & Carpentier, 2010). Kenix (2015) even argues that the distinctions between alternative and mainstream have collapsed, due to the intensification of commercialism that has infiltrated the field of alternative media. At the same time, ‘alternativeness’ is claimed by emerging types of media although they hardly meet any such criteria (Hájek&Carpentier, 2015). As much as the notion of ‘hybridity’ helps de-essentialize the various media (mainstream and alternative), it is also highly problematic as it risks “displacing the definitional problem, from everything-is-alternative-to-something to everything-is-hybrid” (ibid: 378) and may contribute to the “emptying of the alternative media signifier” (ibid: 366).

Amidst this conceptual haziness, what is hardly doubted is that the mediascapes worldwide undergo tremendous changes. In Greece, where this study focuses, the last decade saw a large number of journalists' lay-offs from long-established mainstream media, the emergence of new online tabloid-like news media, and the creation of new initiatives, within the mainstream, characterized by radical content, non-hierarchical modes of production and different financing models (Siapera et al., 2015). Against this shifting background, how are alternative media positioned in the broader mediascape? Are they still explicitly oppositional in form and essence or are they subject to the broader 'hybridization' process? And what can we make of their subversive potential?

This study addresses these questions by exploring the positioning of alternative media vis-à-vis the mainstream through interviews with media producers in 13 media alternative projects in Greece. The study findings construct a case against 'hybridity', in the sense that, despite their many differences in the various dimensions that constitute their 'alternativeness', all alternative media studied share a fundamental antipathy and strong rejectionist values toward mainstream news culture. Differences exist, however, in how they translate these feelings into concrete practices, which range from the approach of the 'open attack', to the conditional appropriation to 'preach beyond the converted' (especially in moments of crisis), to attempts at corroding mainstream media from within or reforming them using their own tools. The study concludes by proposing a refined typology to assess the mainstream-alternative distinction and enrich alternative media theory.

**SAVVAS MAKRIDIS**, Technological Educational Institute of Ionian Islands, Greece / **VASSILIKI PAPAGEORGIU**, Technological Educational Institute of Ionian Islands, Greece: "Media Representations of the 'Voice' of the Homeless in Street Network Journals during the Greek Economic Crisis: A Case Study of the Street Journal 'Shedia'".

In the wake of the cumulative socioeconomic changes and inequalities wrought by the Greek economic crisis, a grassroots Street Networking Journal known as "Shedia" began circulation in Athens in early 2013.

This specific type of printed media originally appeared in the late 80s in New York City and San Francisco with the aim of supporting vulnerable social groups, particularly the homeless, by giving them the opportunity to gain employment as street journal vendors, remunerated either in commission or a flat percentage of profits. This was an initial attempt at a gradual socio-economic integration of the homeless.

In recent years, there is an increase in academic analyses on the ways that multifarious social realities such as these are being represented through the media. In this presentation, we analyze the impact of media representations on the homeless based on a theoretical framework, which focuses on contemporary interdisciplinary theoretical approaches of fields such as Cultural Studies and Media Communication.

To this end, we also present the two main scholarly approaches to the examination of street journal themes. The first approach contends that the thematic axes of street newspapers and magazines ought to comprise not only articles and columns exclusively pertinent to matters and concerns of vulnerable social groups, but should also broaden their scope to include themes of social concerns, at large. The other approach maintains that street journals should intensify their role as an activist medium by offering a stepping stone for vulnerable social groups wherefore their focus should shift more intently on their biographies and the difficulties they face in their daily lives toward social rehabilitation, integration and inclusion, and self-sufficient economic restoration.

Through the case study of the Street Journal “Shedia” we examine the extent that Street Journals enable the voices of homeless people to be heard, the ways their identities are being represented or reshaped, and the degree to which they are capacitated through various provisions not only to articulate their “voice”, but also to come out of the social margins and become re-integrated as active social members.

**IFIGENEIA MYLONA**, Technological Educational Institute of Western Macedonia, Greece / **DIMITRIOS AMANATIDIS**, Hellenic Open University, Greece: “Cultural Organizations and Twitter in Greece”.

Social media has become a staple of today’s online activities. Most organizations, are finding more effective ways to meet users by using not only traditional media but also social media such as Facebook, Instagram, YouTube and Twitter. Much of the scholarly work on Twitter focuses on conversations coordinated by hashtags which makes tweets more easily searchable and allows users to follow real-time feeds of all messages of their interests. The study focuses in the ways that cultural organizations are using social media in Greece. More specifically the present study is focusing on Twitter, as it tries to explore the use of this social media in Greek museums. We aim to investigate whether and to what extent, museums in Greece use Twitter to communicate with their audiences. We extract for each museum its Twitter activity and compare it with each other. The analysis of the data was conducted with the use of NodeXL. The findings of the study reveal that almost all of the museums in Greece have little or no Twitter engagement at all.

**SISSY ALONISTIOTOU**, Media Literacy Institute, Greece/ **KATERINA CHRYSANTHAKOPOULOU**, Media Literacy Institute, Greece: “The Two-way Relationship between Journalists and News Consumers during the ‘Crisis’ from 2011 until Today: The Greek Case”.

In many countries today, the relationship between citizens and journalists appears "injured" and citizens seem not to trust in media and their role. This is evident in the readers' opinions about the news, as expressed publicly online, revealing the fragile balance between the necessity of citizens to be informed and their opinion of the validity of media in general and journalistic content in specific.

Case Study: In the context of crisis in the Greek media sector, we have studied the citizens - journalists' relationship as recorded in users' comments on social media. Our corpus consisted of approximately 5,000 messages from a sample of at least 300 people commenting on several articles published on the www.jaj.gr platform. In the framework of the international debate regarding reliability of 'institutional' media a qualitative study has been conducted to attempt an answer to the following working questions: (1) how do Greek news providers and consumers behave on the online media? (2) Do news consumers seem able to differentiate between relevant/good from irrelevant/bad journalism? (3) Do they correlate the current media crisis in terms of "freedom of the press" to their own freedom for information? (4) Do they understand where the problem lies? (5) Is their acceptance of the content's substance influenced by their general beliefs about journalists, as revealed in their comments?

Based on the findings we have attempted to investigate whether it is possible, and how, to reinstate trust in the citizens-journalists' relationship. Furthermore, we have tried to conclude on the commentators' news literacy adequacy judging from their comprehension of each specific published article.

#### **Panel 17: IMAGES OF PLACES, NATIONS AND COMMUNITIES**

**DAVID KATIAMBO**, University of South Africa/Technical University of Kenya / **JOB ALLAN WEFWAFWA**, Technical University of Kenya: “Re-imagining the African Community through Social Media Groups”.

It was feared the digital divide would deny citizens in developing countries opportunities for increased participation in politics through internet enabled communication technologies, but the divide was bridged by citizens through innovations like internet access through mobile phones and cyber cafes. In fact the difference between the north and south in use of internet to participate in politics is quickly becoming unnoticeable, especially in use of social media. In fact social media groups have become the

new civil society in Africa. Nevertheless scholars have not explained the rapid adoption of social media in Africa, a continent that has been lethargic to other technological advances. This presentation argues that social media has been adopted first because it has many features that are similar to indigenous African imagined communities. Social media applications like Facebook and WhatsApp are replicas of African Village assemblies. The presentation uses Anderson's (1983) theory of imagined community to explain how social media applications match African communitarian tendencies which as noted by Nyerere (1968:12), shows characteristics of a society that is made up of not only the basic family unit, but the extended family, tribe, community, nation, and even continent so that the family embraces the whole society. The presentation analyses the role of social media groups as issue-oriented pressure groups that are checking, monitoring and restraining government actions. Many social media groups start involuntarily but quickly attract participants, creating a community which Anderson (1983:47) would argue is an "imagined community" of a nation whose citizens maintain "deep attachments" to each other in the absence of face-to-face contact. Through analysis of the activities of social media groups, the presentation shows how, besides enabling formation of social groups, social media has created a new sense of consciousness and deep attachment to political rights in Kenya.

**ANASTASIA ASLANIDES**, Advanced Media Institute, Cyprus: "Exploring the Aspects of Digital Journalism in the Economic Development: The Tourist Sector".

While there is no clear definition of Digital Journalism, it is widely recognized that for journalists, this allows feedback they would not have had with traditional journalism. It also means that people can now react accordingly to journalism, get involved and give their opinion transforming the static page of the website in a dynamic platform which allows the autonomous generation of content.

Since the development of Information and Communication Technologies is keeping pace along with the de-industrialization of the economy and the global integration, the concept of the Digital Journalism is top of the agenda for the business executives and decision makers who are trying to identify ways in which firms can make profitable use of social media applications. The use of information communication technologies leads to a new era of tourism economy, an important component of the world economy. Continuously adapting to the digital trends, journalists and travelers are involved in a process of discovering new experiences, cultures and landscapes while, in a form of citizen journalism, anonymous reviewers provide their commentaries on blogs, wikis, tourism boards and a host of other information

sources available, offering travelers tips for a destination. Thus the significance of place as a concept is expanding beyond that of geographical point.

TripAdvisor represents a popular example of countless websites with blogs and review sites involving a significant impact on the tourism system and the travelers' decision making. Using data from this public domain, by adopting a netnographic approach, this article aims to demonstrate that the online stories and opinions entail more than a simple product evaluation. A rich repository of experiential narratives is produced the insights of which the tourism businesses and destination managers could tap into the modern tourist consumption and the further tourism development. In addition, this attempt contributes to the academia and industry by providing an agenda for future research.

**GIASEMI GEORGALIOU**, Open University of Cyprus: "Apology/Image Repair Strategies Regarding the Greek Financial Crisis: Greek Politicians Interviewed in World Media".

This study investigates the employment of the rhetoric of apologia and image repair strategies with regard to the Greek financial crisis in the political discourse of Greek politicians. In particular, the focus is on the interviews that four prominent Greek politicians gave to international media in the period 2009-2016.

In a theoretical context, apology is examined both as a rhetorical genre as well as an expression of a sincere apology - mortification. Its function is further explained as self-defense – image-repair during a crisis and as part of the preparation of a political campaign. Two different modus operandi, two competing sets of strategic considerations undermines the employment of apology discourse: (a) the rationale of international political communication with an underlying cause of repairing Greece's nation image for an international audience (b) the rationale of Greek domestic party/political communication with an underlying cause of repairing the politicians' either personal or party image for domestic audiences. Both rationales involves the refutation of attacks, the management of blame games and the restoration of images through strategies of apology. Which of the two campaign modes operates in each occasion? How does the employment of the particular campaign mode affects the choice of strategies of apologies and what is the final effect it has upon the (re)formulation of the nation image of Greece.

These data raise questions and generate assumptions which are answered through an analysis of the content of the interviews of G. Papandreou, A. Tsipras, Y. Varoufakis and A. Samaras in international digital and broadcast media and in the international press. These politicians were members of the government during the crucial period in question. Moreover, they come from different political parties

and support different ideologies; therefore, they constitute a representative and adequate sample for analysis. The interviews have been arranged on a question-answer basis. Indicatively, the analysis includes the different kinds of strategies implemented, the frequency of use and their combinations. Finally, it investigates image repair on various levels, (individual, party, country-level), the tendency of specific politicians to prefer the use of specific strategies in specific media on the basis of related or opposite ideology or the relations of the politician and Greece with the medium's country of origin and finally the image of Greece that emerges from this interview.

**EMMANOUIL TAKAS**, Advanced Media Institute, Cyprus: “The Construction of Causal Factors and Consequences of Brexit in the German Press: The Exploring the Interplay of UK’s International Image and Germany’s Self Image”.

On June 28 2016, five days after the decision of the UK to leave the EU, the British newspaper “the Guardian” hosted an article entitled “What to the Germans believe for the Brexit? They pity us!” The article describes the change of attitude of the Germans regarding the British, given their vote in favor of the Brexit. The image of the UK has shifted from being the realistic allies of Germany to the “gamblers” of the European integration processes.

This change of attitude can be explained, according to Attribution Theory, from the way people interpret, decode and evaluate an event, especially when a negative or unexpected event occurs (Weiner, 1985). Another interpretation of this shift of the image is offered by the image theory in international relations (Boulding, 1959; Herrmann, 2003) that highlights the differentiation of the relations of Germany and UK because of the Brexit. A third interpretation is offered by the theory of apology in rhetoric (Benoit, 1995), according to which Brexit is a breach in the European policy of Germany, which requires the mobilization of image restoration strategies.

The way the German Press establishes “why the Brexit happened” and “which impact Brexit has” is a basis of understanding, evaluating and processing Brexit itself, since Brexit, as any phenomenon, can be understood through a) its causes and b) its implications. The way the German Press constructs causal relations regarding Brexit is not an absolute and “objective” description of the phenomenon, but operates as a representation and thus explores how depictions of reality are constructed. As an element of representation it is affected by inherent biases that operate as Intervening variables in the construction of causal relations.

Aim of this research is to explore the way the German Press evaluates and constructs the causes and implications of Brexit. 170 articles have been examined regarding Brexit in Deutsche Welle (n=87) and “die Zeit” (n=83) for a period of one week, beginning from the day of the Referendum in UK (June 23rd 2016). Qualitative content analysis is employed with the use of an observation sheet, operationalizing Attribution Theory (Weiner, 2004). The research questions guiding this research are: First, which are the causes of Brexit regarding the German Press? Second, which are the implications of Brexit regarding the German Press? Third, how is the British, German and European identity constructed through causal relations in the German Press? Fourth, which inherent biases affect the construction of these causal relations?

#### **PANEL 18: MEDIA POLICY ISSUES**

**MONIKA METYKOVA**, University of Sussex, UK / **LENKA WASCHKOVÁ ČÍSAŘOVÁ**, Masaryk University, Czech Republic: “The Oligarchs Made Us Do It: New Newspapers and Magazines in the Czech Republic and Slovakia”.

In the proposed paper, we chart recent developments in media ownership in the Czech Republic and Slovakia that eventually led to journalists leaving well-established national newspapers and founding new titles. We argue that the founding of two new newspapers, a weekly magazine and a monthly magazine (in print and online formats) following a change in ownership of major national dailies in 2013/14 highlights the complexity and consequences of developments in media markets that are combined with changes in political and business elites in the so-called new democracies of Eastern Europe. These developments challenge journalists’ understanding of their professional values (particularly those of autonomy and objectivity) and in the cases discussed by us prompted the founding of new for-profit media outlets.

In the aftermath of the so-called Velvet Revolution of 1989 that led to the collapse of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia, foreign owners entered Eastern European media markets and in some cases dominated these. Following the financial crisis of 2008 foreign owners began withdrawing from the market and new - local - ones emerged. However, rather than businessmen with media ties, these locals are closely linked to politics, most powerfully in the case of Andrej Babiš, the owner of the largest Czech publishing house and the Minister of Finance of the Czech Republic. In the Slovak case, journalists defected the leading daily SME after a stake in its publisher was bought by the private equity group Penta that is alleged to have close links to politicians.

We also use our case study to caution against foregrounding digital technologies in attempts to understand developments in journalism, the political and professional factors that we discuss in this case played a major role in the journalists' decision, the founders also had economic considerations but technological change seems to have played a very small role in their decisions. In addition, the founding of these commercial media outlets is of interest because it is different from earlier developments when online only media were set up to promote forms of journalism that were under threat due to political influence, these sites were often financed by international charitable foundations or other non-governmental organizations.

**SHANGYUAN WU**, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore: “Uncovering Conceptions of “Journalism Crisis” in Singapore and Hong Kong: When State Influences Interact with Western Liberal Ideals in the Digital Media Age”.

The topic of “journalism crisis” is a pertinent one – news media systems now face profound challenges as media landscapes become globalized and digitized. Audiences and advertisers are migrating to digital media, and public confidence in mainstream media is declining as alternative perspectives surface online.

Notably however, much research on journalism crisis has been based within the Western context, set predominantly in the US and couched within a liberal-democratic ideological framework. Little is known about whether dimensions of this crisis extend beyond the West, particularly in societies that continue to subject their media systems to some form of authoritarian control, despite being influenced by Western liberal ideologies. To what extent has the Internet challenged the stronghold of these regimes? Are media systems in such societies perceived to be in an even deeper “crisis”?

To plug this gap in research, this study examines two prominent “global cities” in Asia – Singapore and Hong Kong. As global media hubs and former British colonies, they have been particularly susceptible to influences from the West; yet local historical experiences, philosophical traditions, and cultural practices have created interesting contradictions in the way people there perceive journalism. Singapore, labelled by scholars as an authoritarian state, faces the challenge of an increasingly politically engaged middle class that is asserting itself more strongly online, while Hong Kong, a firm advocate of the free market and democracy, is caught in an awkward position with the authoritarian Chinese leadership post-handover, with voices of dissent peaking during the Umbrella Revolution of 2014.

To uncover journalism crisis dimensions in these two cities, a survey was conducted on 160 journalists, followed by in-depth interviews with senior news professionals. Results point to a “crisis of legitimacy” narrative, pertaining to the system of governance that must be considered when studying journalism’s decline outside of the Western context.

**LUIDMILA SIVETC**, Turun Yliopisto, Finland: “New Schemes to Regulate Indirectly Russian Internet Mass Media through Cooperating with Internet Infrastructure Owners”.

The paper discusses a change in state regulatory practices applied to Russian Internet mass media and new drastic implications for freedom of speech. My methodology borrows from Internet infrastructure-centric theories developed in US legal scholarship by Lawrence Lessig and Jack Balkin. According to these theories, digital mass media are more vulnerable to state regulation because they rely on the same technologies and institutions that are used by governments to regulate them: the Internet. This merger has led to new schemes based on cooperation with Internet infrastructure owners rather than with publishers. I argue that there is a shift from direct regulation to new schemes in Russia. I present three cases to illustrate it.

The first case is an example of direct regulation. On October 10, 2014, Novaya Gazeta received a warning notification sent by Roskomnadzor, a government media agency, because of an online article containing extremist speech. Novaya Gazeta concealed notified sentences but left the article accessible on its website.

The second case is an example of a new scheme. On March 13, 2014, the website of Grani.Ru was blocked by Internet access providers because Roskomnadzor had included the website in a blacklist. The third case is also a new regulatory scheme. On April 19, 2016, Roskomnadzor became a partner in Netoscope - an extralegal, private project, started in 2012. The project’s main aim is creating a database with suspicious websites. In 2014, Yandex, a search engine provider more popular in Russia than Google and a partner of the project as well, started utilizing this database to place websites closer to the end of a search results list. It means that a publisher will still publish, but Internet users will unlikely read his content. Moreover, a publisher may never know that she has been regulated by Roskomnadzor through this project.

**ANDREAS PANAGOPOULOS**, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece: “On Air Antagonisms in Gatekeepers’ Routines and Practices: Selection and Hierarchies Practices of News in TV Stations at Greece and Cyprus”.

Over the past 50 years, a large body of research on professional roles has analyzed the different functions and agenda setting of journalism. However, an examination of how these procedures materialize in specific journalistic performance remains mostly absent. Our proposal aims to contribute to the ongoing debate about the News Directors' gatekeeping and journalistic roles during selection, production, construction and broadcasting T.V. news, timing. This research is based on our previous study where by examining the routines and the practices of the News Directors of the six private Greek T.V Channels, we found that there is an "on air antagonism" which affects the pre-decided hierarchy of the news broadcasting. According to our findings, as News Directors try to gain higher ratings they broadcast specific news items before their competitors, braking the news evaluation hierarchy, which they made before the News Bulletin is on air. This phenomenon occurs when there are two or more news bulletins broadcasted at the same time or major parts of them co-exist. Using semi-structured interviews with the Director of News in T.V. stations in Cyprus by conducting a comparative analysis we aim to examine whether or not similar routines and practices exist both in reek and Cypriot Tv news gatekeepers.

Our main hypothesis is that on air antagonism boots up from intermedia agenda setting but it is mainly caused from the commercialization of the media and their ratings targets. T.V. News bulletins in Greece and Cyprus, despite the web news sites increasing role, remain one of the dominant sources for the public opinion. This is especially critical because by combining the study of news content with research on professional roles, this study proposes a new operationalization of how professional roles can manifest in performance and influence the news content.

Keywords: Gatekeeping, Intermedia Agenda Setting, On Air Antagonism, Television News.

#### **PANEL 19: CYPRUS: SOCIAL MEDIA, JOURNALISM AND (INTERNATIONAL) POLITICS**

**DIMITRIS TRIMITHIOTIS**, University of Cyprus: "Analyzing News about Europe in Cyprus Online Media".

Research on European integration underlines the paradox that whilst European Union (EU) policies have a considerable impact on member states citizens' lives, the policy making process itself does not attract the appropriate attention of citizens. This paper studies the impact of national media on citizens' political awareness of EU affairs. Recent academic work suggests that Journalism is in crisis and goes through a transitive period of transformation related to the production, distribution and consumption of news. Changes raise debate about the nature and role of journalism in the public sphere. In its normative perspective, the role of journalism in the process of political communication is to produce

original content of synthesis and analysis of policies which affect the most citizens' lives. The paper develops a novel research approach of media content, moving beyond an approach based solely either on discourse analysis or on context analysis, in order to understand media coverage of EU affairs. This is particularly important in studying how organizational structures, political, financial and technological factors influence media discourses about Europe affecting the citizens' political awareness of EU affairs. Specifically, it gives emphasis to the different ways in which media construct and interpret "Europe", in relation: (a) to the ideological background of the media (b) to the organizational structure of the media (c) to financial patterns of media (especially during periods of economic crisis). The research focuses on the production of news about EU affairs by Cyprus mainstream online news media: Sigmalive, Philenews and Dialogos. The study involves a twofold analysis of these media coverage of European actuality by articulating the content of the coverage with its process of production; that is a content and discourse analysis of the news articles and an analysis of the production process through interviews with those directly involved.

**DIONYSIOS PANOS**, Cyprus University of Technology / **STELLA THEOCHAROUS**, Cyprus University of Technology / **THRASOS TILEMACHOU**, Cyprus University of Technology: "This isn't my Problem...so far": Perceptions of Terrorism through Media in Cyprus".

The symbiotic relationship between media and terrorism has been for a long time the epicenter of scientific research (Hoffman 1998; Laqueur 2001; Nacos 2007; Camphuijsen, Vissers 2012). The change of the communication environment, especially the evolvement of the prosumer makes the communication environment porous and not confined solely to the hegemonic media front. In an overall perspective, the concept of "visibility", as introduced by John Thompson (1995, 2000, 2005), is undoubtedly the main condition of the relationship between any public acting agent (no matter how extreme is) and the Media. According to Kropotkin, "terror is propaganda by the deed". The more spectacular the event, the greater the publicity and diffusion of terrorism. In any case, media is beyond doubt a basic "shaping factor" of the perception about reality – therefore the perception about specific aspects of reality such as terrorism as global and/or as local phenomenon.

Although the media consist of a sphere where the power relations between political and social actors are constructed, it is important to bear the necessity of a two-way transmission of the message in mind. Without the attention of society, the medium as well as the information it carries are useless. In the era of the mutation of the consumer to a prosumer where the audience has the power to choose its source

of information, the media landscape alters dramatically. The battlefield of the media, whose purpose is to win the hearts and minds of the audience, foremost presupposes the interest of the public. Taking this into consideration, Cyprus consists of an interesting case with regards to the perceptions about terrorism. Although in a geographical proximity to the turbulent Middle East, Cyprus seems to remain immune to terrorism as a “problem”, mainly because of the interest of media towards the intractable conflict that has existed in the island for more than five decades.

This research will examine the perceptions of the young generation regarding terrorism. A focus group qualitative research among the 18-25 age group aspires to highlight the dominant trends in Cypriot youth. The principal objective is to reveal the general attitudes of a society that considers itself to be under threat due to the intractable conflict, but is at the same time politically and socially a member of the EU - and more broadly of the West - where terrorism consists of a major threat.

**CHRISTIANA KARAYIANNI**, Frederick University, Cyprus: “Tweet for Peace: Twitter as a Medium for Developing a Peace Discourse in the Hands of the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot Leaders.”

The increasing use of Twitter by the leaders of the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities has made it a significant part of the Cypriot public sphere in which political issues that concern the two communities and the on-going peace process are often discussed publicly. This paper focuses on the way president Anastasiades and the Turkish Cypriot leader Akinci are using their Twitter accounts to share information about the negotiations, to comment on news related to the two communities or to communicate with each other publicly. The tweets published by the two community leaders since the election of Mr. Akinci in 2015, are manually gathered and analyzed in an attempt to understand this new form political diplomacy and discourse that is being developed in Cyprus. It also examines the online discussion or online political engagement that the activity of the two community leaders triggers on Twitter in an attempt to identify the impact of the leaders’ activity on Twitter on the peace process itself. The initial results show that Mr. Anastasiades and Mr. Akinci are using Twitter as a tool of building trust and reconciliation between the people of two communities rather than as a tool of negotiation. As the author argues, they are currently using twitter as a medium for the development of a political discourse that favors the peace process, i.e. twitter becomes for the first time a dynamic tool in the peace process for Cyprus. The examination of the online discussion and the political engagement triggered by the tweets of the two leaders reveals that the public activity is dominated by an elite group of political activists or journalists but still remains open to outside participation.

**IAKOVOS TSANGARIS**, Press and Information Office, Cyprus: “The Greek Cypriot Community in the Turkish Cypriot Press – Reflections of Otherness and Identity – A Quantitative Content Analysis”.

The Turkish Cypriot press has undoubtedly played a significant role in the way by which the relations between the two main ethnic communities in Cyprus were developed. It has evidently served the Turkish Cypriot elite in achieving its national goals and dreams regarding the division of the island.

Displaying the Greek Cypriots as the “Other” and creating a negative image for them in the Turkish Cypriot press was only one of the methods used in the effort of causing deterioration in the relations between Cyprus’ two main ethnic communities and convincing the Turkish Cypriots that peaceful coexistence is impossible.

The extent of negativity differs depending on the political views of each newspaper. The right-wing newspapers present the Greek Cypriots more negatively and the left-wing newspapers more positively. The topic of the news item influences the image of the Greek Cypriots. Topics containing the elements of conflict and problem influence the image more negatively than topics which promote cooperation between the communities. The image is much more negative in the commentaries and analyses. The source of the news item also influences the degree of the image’s negativity.

**KYRIAKOS KOLOVOS**, Advanced Media Institute, Cyprus: “Tweets Framing and the Cyprus’ Issue”.

Cyprus’ Issue is an open political problem, which concerns the international community the last 43 years. The Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus is accompanied by three treaties: the Treaty of Establishment, the Treaty of Alliance and the Guarantee Treaty, in which are involved, beyond the Republic of Cyprus, the three “guarantors powers”: the United Kingdom, Greece and Turkey. In 1974, Turkey, using the junta of Athens coup d’état as a pretext, invaded Cyprus, invoking the guaranteeing treaty, occupying illegally 37% of the territory, until today.

Nowadays, the talks on a solution to the Cyprus problem have been concentrated in six chapters. One of these is the "international aspect" of the problem, which includes security and guarantees. The Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot site have involved in a process for a comprehensive settlement, under the auspices of the United Nations, since November 2016; the three guarantors have engaged since January 2017.

This project is an extension of the work of Kolovos & Dorotheou (2017). We present and analyse the course of events about the international aspect of the Cyprus’ Issue, under the view of political

communication, by separating the tweets of the main political actors, between November 2016 and July 2017.

Twitter belongs to “new media” category. It is an informative and a social media tool as well which is useful for both fields: the field of political communication and the field of research. The messages via Twitter (tweets) have helped to politicians’ independent from traditional media and journalistic mediation, in a sort.

Firstly, by using Frame Theory (Goffman, 1974; Entman, 1993) and their codifications (Samaras, 2002; Parmelee & Bichard, 2011; Samaras and Iordanidou, 2014), through qualitative content analysis, we regard how the main political actors frame their tweets. Finally, Framing Analysis helps us to extract conclusions revealing the strategy each one of the negotiators.

## **PANEL 20: NEW MEDIA HABITS**

**CATHERINE SOTIRAKOU**, University of Athens, Greece / **CONSTANTINOS MOURLAS**, University of Athens, Greece: “From TV to Twitter and Back: A Case Study About Second Screening in Greece.”

New media habits have appeared since the arrival of social media networks. The practice of using a “second screen” while watching a television program has become a worldwide phenomenon. This trend explains the use of a digital device (smartphone, tablet or laptop) while watching television to access the Internet and social networks, mostly Twitter and Facebook, seeking for information, connect and participate to an online discussion or just gratifying the need to socially interact with others about their favorite TV shows. This practice creates an interface that combines traditional media (TV and Radio) with online networks and reconceptualizes the attention of the viewer.

In digital media era, with the increasing penetration of smartphones and tablets in the daily life, broadcasters adopt Twitter as a companion of real time conversations with the audience whilst on air, by producing official hashtags and instigating viewers to engage. These simultaneous media experiences and social media real-time reactions to TV programs can provide insights into news consumption and public opinion in the twenty-first century.

Exploring the possible outcomes of this new habit provides new aspects on the ongoing academic questions about the impact of new technologies on audience behaviors. A key question for our research is what kind of news drives second screening during a show. Another question that we investigated is

which politicians generated the most engagement on Twitter and in what context second screening altered the structure of the show.

In order to address the complexity of this phenomenon we captured 316.000 relevant tweets sent in Greece during the telecast of a specific news oriented talk show in the 2015 -2016 television season.

**MARIA ELLIOT**, Linnaeus University, Sweden: “Consumption Strategies in the Young News Audience”.

The paper presents results from a recent study of young Swedish adults’ news consumption strategies and views on professional news journalism. The objective of the study was to investigate young people’ news seeking behavior against the background of

- the decrease of news media consumption among young adults in Sweden, and b) the increase of the use of digital media platforms for news consumption. In-depth interviews were conducted with ten university students, aged between 21 and 25.
- Two basic strategies for using news sources were found among the respondents: One relies on the use of social media for news surveillance, the other incorporates social media as an important element in the news seeking behavior but relies mainly on traditional news sources. In both cases the respondents start out with a cursory survey of the news flow on a daily basis; they only proceed to seek out more information when something interesting turns up.
- The respondents do not exhibit any regular media repertoires for news consumption and they do not make any salient distinctions between different news media companies. Their news seeking behavior tends to be driven more by particular news events that the respondents find interesting or necessary to learn more about, and less by the habitual use of a set of particular news media.
- The respondents expect professional news journalists to perform their task in compliance with the social responsibility media theory (i.e. to give an objective and correct representation of important news events), but they also look for more subjective citizen’s views on the reported events, views that either stimulates empathy and a sense of presence or offer several different ways of regarding and interpreting the event.

**SUSAN IRIS BROKENSCHA**, University of the Free State, South Africa/**THINUS S. CONRADIE**, University of the Free State, South Africa: “Can you Back it up? Deliberation in User Generated Comments to Online News”.

Deliberation continues to incite inquiry for its capacity to amplify democratic values, both as an ideal and compromised realization, particularly when it engages sections of society beyond the elite echelons of politicians, pundits, scholars and journalists. One vector of this scholarly vein involves researching conversational designs, discourse architectures and protocols that might optimize the democratizing potential of public deliberation. A related stream pertains to the promises and perils posed by online technologies, including the surfeit of Web 2.0 spaces. Here, recent scholarship has increasingly eschewed optimist-pessimist bifurcations in favor of more finely-textured and context-specific analyses of the practices and patterns that structure online deliberation. Our study is located at the intersection between these two bodies of research, and probes into the discourse patterns that typify user generated comments (UGC) to online news reports published on South Africa's Mail & Guardian. Centered on a sample of 2173 conversational moves in 742 posts to 15 news stories emanating from issues of race, racism and racial equity, we apply an analytic framework composed by combining Brooks and Lutton (2015) and Adams (2014). The former offers a content analytic coding scheme, which we applied during a first-level analysis, in order to discern levels of civility and interactivity among participants. A second, more nuanced analysis, saw an application of Adams (2014), and aimed at ascertaining the frequency with which participants in the debate buttressed conclusions with supporting evidence and warrants. The latter are operationalized as discourse moves that explicate precisely how sets of evidence are effectively welded to participants' conclusions. By conducting this analysis, we aim to contribute to the archive of research currently aggregating around the practices that characterize South Africans' engagement with provocative political questions, especially racism and racial inequity.

**DAVID KATIAMBO**, University of South Africa/Technical University of Kenya: "The Mobile Phone as a Tool for Participating in Agonistic Democracy: a Discursive Material Analysis".

The mobile phone has bridged the digital divide by enabling people in developing countries to affordably access internet services. A key benefits of internet access is unrestricted access to (social) media content that has given the non-privileged an opportunity to be heard. But as the mobile phone enhances political participation, its physicality has receded to the background and become unnoticeable, even though it is the mobile phones user friendliness that has made it easy for people to engage in public discourses in social media. The thesis of this paper is that mobile phones are acting as objects which allow agonistic conflicts between adversaries, without which conflicts can easily become antagonistic. Indeed conventional technologies of content production are 'user-resistant' and have remained too sophisticated for the untrained user. Yet unrestricted access to social media has come with increased

transgressive audience behavior. It can naively be argued that social media has increased conflict as seen in transgressive audience behavior. Nevertheless conflict is an eradicable part of society and should not be blamed on social media. In fact consensus is usually achieved through exclusion, which is a form of structural violence. After all, it is consensus achieved through exclusion that supports discourses that legitimize physical violence. In this presentation, conflict is defined not as violent behavior, but as antagonistic positions of incompatibility between subjects that remain unresolved even with disappearance of violent behavior. Resolution of conflict can be achieved by avoiding violent manifestations of conflict through transformation of conflict within a democratic order. Mobile phones have initiated conflict transformation through two approaches: providing an environment where the non-privileged can achieve structural balance by countering discourses that legitimize their inferior position, and creating several adversaries that make it difficult for the privileged to construct a centralized hegemonic self that can unite against enemies (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985). Following Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) agonistic democracy, this presentation uses discourse material analysis to show how mobile phones as objects are enabling the non-privileged populace to agonistically participate in equalization of power relations. Mobile phones are therefore enabling people to move away from participation shaped by consensus to participation shaped by conflict by acting as a medium through which people within the community —but outside the community's prevailing consensus— are initiating a process of making the community to see itself differently. This is contrary to the mainstream media that has been accused of being part of ideological state apparatus that supports prevailing consensus and deny people opportunities to see what has been silenced through consensus.

### **Panel 21: WAR, CONFLICT AND THE REFUGEE CRISIS**

**CLAUDIA KOZMAN**, Lebanese American University, Lebanon / **JAD MELKI**, Lebanese American University, Lebanon / **ANKE FIEDLER**, Lebanese American University, Lebanon: "Uncertainty Reduction, Involvement, and Emotions during War: A Survey of Syrian Nationals' Media Uses in Four Countries".

This survey of displaced Syrian citizens living in four countries uses the theoretical framework of uncertainty reduction to understand refugees' media consumption habits. Taking the Syrian conflict as a case study, this survey aims to examine how these individuals use the media to reduce uncertainty. Assessing media use patterns through the role of emotions and motivation will expand our understanding of how people living in war conditions rely on traditional and digital media to cope with

their traumatic condition. Findings have implications on the intervening role the media can play to facilitate life for individuals affected by war.

1820 respondents in Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Turkey were sampled using a weighted multistage cluster sampling technique because Syrians inside refugee camps tend to be organized in clusters with each cluster containing several households. The survey questionnaire was in Arabic, comprised 35 close-ended questions, and required approximately 15 minutes to complete.

The questionnaire, which was researcher administered, included variables measuring media use, interpersonal communication, emotion toward the war, and perceived source importance. Initial findings suggest those who have link certain media to positive emotions tend to use it significantly more than others. On the other hand, uncertainty toward specific media was not related to the use of said media.

**JAD MELKI**, Lebanese American University, Lebanon: “Journalism Audiences in War Zones: News Audiences of the Syrian Conflict”.

Using the Syrian conflict as a case study and Uses and Gratifications as a theoretical framework, this research examines the characteristics of news consumption and production in countries experiences war and conflict. The survey of 2,500 displaced Syrian nationals in four countries (Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey) revealed that the major uses and gratifications of traditional and new media is receiving and understanding information, ahead of entertainment and overcoming loneliness. Among all media, TV consumption showed the highest correlation with people’s perception of TV as useful for providing information about Syria. Among digital media, social media were the most important in receiving information about Syria. The study contextualizes the findings within the tumultuous Middle Eastern region and the ever-changing nature of journalism in the 21st century and offers recommendations for media research, news production, journalism education, and media development stakeholders.

**DENIELLE J. EMANS**, Virginia Commonwealth University in Qatar: “Migrant Representations in Digital News Media: A Study of Socio-cultural Power Structures in Qatar”.

In Gulf Cooperative Council (GCC) countries, power structures and freedom of the press are highly debated topics, particularly with regards to migration, labor reform, and workers welfare. Given that studies suggest news media often fail to represent the multiple identities of migrant groups, an analysis of discourse in these Arab Gulf states may elucidate the gap between clandestine power structures and

public opinion. By employing a case study approach in Qatar, this paper examines the discourse around migrant workers in digital news media, with an aim to understand (1) the tone of messaging; (2) the thematic content of news messages; and (3) the argumentative strategies within news reports. By linking frame theory to critical discourse analysis, this study examines emerging communication themes and neglected dimensions facing migrant workers in digital journalism.

The dataset of the research is a corpus of news articles published in The Peninsula Qatar and Gulf Times, in comparative perspective with Qatar's first digital news service, Doha News. Findings indicate, digital news sources are more accessible to migrant workers and engage readers through the principles of dialogic communication. The frame analysis goes on to reveal how the discourse around foreign labor is overwhelmingly favorable and humanitarian across media systems. However, through the lens of critical discourse analysis, the argumentative strategies exacted by digital journalism reaffirm communication inequities including economic objectification, restricted voices, and social stratification at the micro-structural level. In response to these conclusions, this study aims to stimulate debate about the need for communication rights advocacy and the appropriation of digital news media as a site of struggle for migrant workers.

**ROBERT TOPINKA**, Birkbeck, University of London, UK: "Obscenity, Racism, and Reframing: Memes and Mainstream News r/ImGoingToHellForThis".

This paper examines how online communities use memes to reframe mainstream news coverage. It develops a case study of the social news website reddit and its r/ImGoingtoHellForThis community, focusing on the week following widespread mainstream news coverage of the photograph of Alan Kurdi, a Syrian boy whose dead body was photographed on a beach in Turkey. Although mainstream discourse focused on how the photograph unified support for Syrian refugees, on r/ImGoingToHellForThis users united around a racist and nationalist rhetoric that emphasized the divisions between refugees and so-called Western society. By defying calls for unity and inclusiveness with a rhetoric of division, the r/ImGoingToHellForThis sought to subvert mainstream news discourse and promote racism. Through an analysis of over 200 posts and 1400 unique comments from a one-week period, the paper analyses how racist and nationalist memes respond to mainstream news coverage by reframing mainstream discourse in purposefully obscene and offensive ways. This practice is similar to trolling, but instead of attacking unsuspecting victims, the r/ImGoingToHellForThis community unifies itself around racist, nationalist, and purposefully obscene memes. By reframing and subverting mainstream coverage of newsworthy

events, memes function as the organizing principles of this subversive counter-discourse. These memes practice a rhetoric of excess, replacing racist dog whistles with sirens blaring extreme, obscene, and grotesque racism that purposefully violates the norms of liberal discourse. As such, this rhetoric frustrates typical critical approaches to racist discourse, which tend to focus on unmasking obscured racist ideologies. Instead of a critical unmasking, this paper calls for critical attention to the unifying function of racist reframing. At a time when the alt-right and other right-wing groups increasingly reject mainstream media, examining these memes can provide scholars with insight into the ways in which online communities reframe mainstream news coverage to support racist discourse.