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This is the published version of a paper presented at *International Association for Media and Communication Research 2017, 16-20 July, Cartagena, Colombia.*

Citation for the original published paper:

Voronova, L. (2017)

Local, national, transnational: shifting audiences in Ukraine.

In: *IAMCR Abstract Books 2017: Post-Socialist, Post-Authoritarian Working Group*

N.B. When citing this work, cite the original published paper.

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# IAMCR 2017

## Post-Socialist, Post-Authoritarian Working Group

Abstracts of papers presented at  
the annual conference of the  
International Association for Media and Communication Research<sup>1</sup>

**IAMCR**

**Cartagena, Colombia  
16-20 July 2017**

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<sup>1</sup> We have endeavoured to ensure that these are the abstracts of the papers actually presented in Cartagena. Nevertheless, due to cancellations, additions and other factors, abstracts may be included here that were not presented and abstracts that were presented may not be included. Email addresses have been intentionally altered to prevent harvesting by spammers.

**Id:** 14440

**Title:** Schizophrenia on Demand: Russia's Information Warfare in the Third Phase of Mediatization

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Discussing the contemporary information war waged by Russia, many observers focus on the confusion sown by the Kremlin in its deliberate spreading of distorted information through organized Internet trolling whose aim is to fuel nervousness among Russia's adversaries (Hoskins & O'Loughlin, 2015). This is what allows Russia, as many observers believe, to disturb and ultimately paralyze the decision-making processes of its enemies, establishing so-called "reflexive control" – an information warfare weapon provoking a state of apathy and stalled decision-making (Thomas, 2004).

The purpose of "reflexive control" is not to propagate a specific ideology, point of view, or any other "grand narrative" reminiscent of the pre-post-modern times (Geleotti, 2016). On the contrary, its aim is to confuse by eroding the links between signs, multiplying the number of contradictory explanations, and, thus, purposefully unleashing the network schizophrenia as theorized by Deleuze and Guattari (2009/1972). This pattern of information strategy tries to escape fixed meanings by unleashing a desire for liberation from all the restraints of Enlightenment rationality and the rules of the international order controlled by the West.

As I argue in my paper, this pattern of information war makes perfect sense if the exhaustion and demoralization of the West, as discussed by the theorists of World Risk Society (Beck, 2010), is taken into account. The "culture of fear" permeating the West (Furedi, 2005) is what makes it especially vulnerable to Russian trolling attacks. If we take seriously the claim of those scholars who believe the biggest internal weakness of the West is its lack of shared values and its inability to formulate a meaningful explanation of why it is involved in endless international conflicts (Hammond, 2007), it is logical to assume that Russia is trying to take advantage of exactly this disorientation. I illustrate my point by using the example of the MH17 airplane crash.

My research was based on a framing analysis of the universe of 197 Facebook posts that went up during a 15-day period – from July 17, 2014, the day of the plane crash, to July 31, 2014, the last day of the month. This narrow timeframe highlighted the earliest mediated reactions to the tragedy and allowed for an interpretive investigation, which was the focus of my research. The unit of analysis was one post; no comments on any of the posts were analyzed.

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**Id:** 14536

**Title:** Transformation of Politics and Communication in Kyrgyzstan: New Media, New Publics and New Actors

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The rapid development of new communication technologies creates a pressing need to rethink the complex and multifaceted forces that are shaping the political communication environments of the societies in transition.

Research on the media's place in nondemocratic regimes has gained prominence only over the past two decades. A major impetus for the initial shift in geographic scope was, understandably, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent "transition" to a "normal" (i.e., democratic and capitalist) society, as based on expectations among prominent Western scholars and policymakers of the region's eventual political and economic liberalization (Diamond 1992). Pioneering works closely detailing the relative strengths and weaknesses of post-Soviet and post-communist media include Androunas (1993), Benn (1996), Brown (1995), Foster (1996), Loś (1995), Rogerson (1997), Sajo (1995), and Wilson (1995). Thereafter, it took another decade or so for studies on the mass media-political nexus to gain momentum, as researchers sought to explain the diffusion of democratic ideas and protest repertoires that were part of the Colored Revolutions in Georgia, Ukraine, and Kyrgyzstan in the early-to-mid-2000s (Junisbai, 2014). These were then followed by a third wave of studies documenting the official and de facto clamp-down on media by authoritarian leaders in response to threats from political challengers (deSmaele 2007; Gelbach 2010; Junisbai 2010; Kendzior 2010; Oates 2007; Ryabinskaya 2014; White and McAllister 2014; Yablokov 2014). As this overview suggests, much of the existing literature acknowledges the potential of media actors in fulfilling their democratic function (Kulikova and Perlmutter 2007; McGlinchey and Johnson 2007; Wilkinson and Jetpysbayeva 2012). At the same time, scholars realistically assess the significant limitations that persist on the ground (Allison 2006; Becker 2004; Gross and Kenney 2008; Kenny and Gross 2008; Shafer and Freedman 2009; Tussupova 2010). Collectively, such studies recount the ongoing struggle of post-Soviet media operating within a difficult—and sometimes impossible—political, economic, and social landscape. Scholars do so from the perspectives of a wide range of actors, including that of Western practitioners and educators, independent journalists, post-Soviet and Western human rights activists, international organizations, and donor organizations (Junisbai, 2014).

The aim of this study is to analyze key aspects of systemic change in the political communication environment of Kyrgyzstan. It attempts to do this by focusing on the interactions among political actors, media, and publics.

The data will be collected through in-depth interviews with those working in a sample of organizations at the heart of Kyrgyzstan's media-politics nexus in Bishkek. In-depth interviews will be conducted with political parties' communication staff, journalists, independent bloggers, senior regulatory staff at the Office of Information of Prime Minister, communications staff working inside government departments and in Jogorku Kenesh (Parliament), and members of local political activist groups.

This study will reveal how the new media is creating new norm of the conduct of news making among professional journalists and bloggers, and for the conduct of political activism, election campaigning, and government communications. It reveals what new media practices are emerging in the daily work of actors in these fields.

**Id:** 14672

**Title:** Structures of media control in post-socialist countries. A comparative study of eight mass media systems

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Following Hallin and Mancini's works on comparing media systems (2004, 2012) and bridging some of the topics to be discussed at IAMCR's Post-Socialist & Post-Authoritarian Communication Working Group in Cartagena (e. g. emergence of new actors in post-authoritarian/transitional societies and their communication strategies, transformation of communication and media structures), this paper looks at governments in post-socialist countries and their way of dealing with mass media systems. To put it another way: Do post-socialists regimes all over the world maintain control over the public sphere? If yes, how do they keep control? Are there any rules and principles that could explain similarities and differences between those countries? To address these questions, we compare eight post-socialist media systems. The study is based on material, which has been collected and analyzed by means of method triangulation (documentary analysis, experts, category conducted coding).

Comparative research on media systems and journalism cultures is currently very much the trend. Hallin and Mancini's classic work *Comparing Media Systems* lead to a flood of follow-up studies, which underpinned or differentiated the original typology or criticized it fundamentally. If there is any weakness in literature, then it's the lack of a theoretical approach that goes beyond media system phenomena and would, therefore, allow to distinguish between cause and effect, to explain change and stability and to generate general insights into the interaction between agency and structure.

In a first step, using structuration theory in line with Anthony Giddens and regarding existing media system literature, the study develops a category system that guides the media system analysis. In step two, this category system is employed on eight post-socialist countries. Selection criteria were transformation stage, the formal adaption of civic rights like press freedom, country size, world region, and economic power. Following the principals of theoretical saturation, the study includes Russia, Hungary, Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Belarus, Vietnam, China, and Iraq.

The search for research material was guided by the category system. Major sources are both documents (constitutions and media laws, court decisions, reports from NGOs and authorities such as ministries of foreign affairs) and experts. The respective interviews provided insights into structures (rules, resources) and agency (role perceptions, for example). People questioned were leading local journalists, media authorities, unionists, media educators, NGO workers, foreign correspondents, and academics. In total, the study is based on more than 50 expert interviews, which mostly took place between September 2014 and February 2017. The collected information from both sources (documents, experts) was analysed by the category coding method and condensed to country portraits. A major result is that all eight post-socialist states still want to

maintain control over the mass media. In compliance with Voltmer's concept of path dependency, the aim of controlling the public sphere, deriving from the socialist past, is still effective. However, how media ownership and media steering practices reflect this control claim depends on the economic power and, closely related to this, the advertising market.

**Id:** 14730

**Title:** Local, national, transnational: Shifting audiences in Ukraine

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Since 2013, scholars have been discussing events happening in Ukraine from the perspective of the “war of narratives” (Khaldarova and Pantti 2016). In this war, information has become one of the main weapons (Hoskins and O’Loughlin 2010), and fight for the publics has crossed the borders of the ordinary economic and political struggles. Previous research has mainly focused on the attempts of the Russian mainstream state-controlled media and other actors (e.g. trolls on social media) to influence the Russian-speaking audiences in Ukraine, Russia and elsewhere by spreading pro-Kremlin propaganda (see Pantti 2016). Less attention has been given to the Ukrainian media community and the internal processes in it in the period of crisis (Bolin, Jordan & Ståhlberg 2016).

Being a part of the research project “From nation branding to information war”, this paper focuses on the visions of the publics by the Ukrainian media community today. How do representatives of the media community imagine and perceive their audiences? What are the changes that have occurred along with the territorial changes – loss of Crimea to Russia and establishment of self-proclaimed “people’s republics” in the East of the country? And which language do media producers choose today to speak to their audiences?

Through the prism of “imagined audiences” (e.g. Litt and Hargitai 2016, boyd 2008) and “imagined communities” (Anderson 2006), this paper discusses several aspects of the changes in the visions of the audiences by the Ukrainian media community. First, it focuses on the visions of the audiences by the journalists who due to the crisis had to move geographically and, thus, work for a different audience today. As such, it takes up the cases of journalists who moved from Crimea and the so-called LPR and DPR to Kyiv or other Ukrainian regions. Another case is journalists from Russia who moved to Ukraine for ideological reasons. Second, the paper discusses the reactions of the media community to the need for reaching out to the audiences in Crimea and so-called DPR/LPR, the technological and ideological challenges of this communication. Third, it focuses on a serious challenge and change concerning the language, in which the audiences are addressed. Due to new legislative proposals and, according to some media experts, economic reasons, Ukrainian language is becoming more and more dominant both in broadcast and printed media. Yet, simultaneously Ukraine is one of successful producers of transnational entertainment products in Russian language (e.g. popular travel show “Oryol i Reshka” by TeenSpirit Production which is broadcast in Ukraine, Russia and Kazakhstan).

**Id:** 14978

**Title:** Isn't it a new transformed culture' New Chinese films, new dialogues, and new confrontation between Socialism and Capitalism: A Semiotic and discourse analysis on 'Tiny times', an new controversial film in China.

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** After 1978, the Chinese economic reform and opening-up policy went into effect, the Chinese young people in the new ages get the chance to get in touch with western cultures. Indeed, most Chinese young people are attracted by those western mass culture productions. Chinese companies certainly saw the high profitability that are hidden in those mass culture productions. So they established entertainment companies and imitated Hollywood's system to produce similar cultural products. Especially, when Chinese government engaged WTO, China has been inevitably affected by globalization, including the culture industry.

Recently, film industry as representative example, has created huge wealth in Chinese market. However, the content of contemporary Chinese film were strongly influenced by western culture to the extent where some of producers copied the contents from western films directly. Using western culture factors in Chinese films has become a common practice, however, it has also caused some conflicts in the Chinese society.

'Tiny Times' is a famous film series in China, and it was released from June 27, 2013 to July 9, 2015, the whole box office reached ¥1billion 779million. This Chinese feature film set in contemporary Shanghai, as a coming of age story, it tells the story of four girls juggling their work, friendship and finding a balance in life. As a commercially successful model example, this film series not only created huge profits, but also attracted a big number of Chinese young and teenager audiences. However, it received mostly negative reviews from the Chinese film critics due to the fact that this film series unabashedly spreads a culture that is concerned materialist and money worshipping values, which the young Chinese people nowadays look up to.

This study aims to explore the contents in 'Tiny Times 1.0', which is the first film released on June 27, 2013, the box office was ¥484 million (US\$79.7 million). The author analyzed such film by using various semiotic and narrative analyses approaches. This study intends to reveal how years of accelerating economic growth have brought unprecedented changes to China. Chinese

entertainment industry can easily be affected by Western culture too. So, those Chinese films not only contained the socialist ideology, but some of capitalist consciousness are also hidden in those films. Furthermore, it will give mixed messages and making the younger generation of China more confused than ever.

**Id:** 15196

**Title:** Digital media, protest and the dynamics of civil society in Bulgaria

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Recent history has shown that it is important to understand the ways citizens adopt networked technologies to mobilise collective action and to challenge political, media and corporate power. Similarly to elsewhere, the post-socialist Balkans have been also recently engulfed in social-media enabled protests spurred by disillusionment with the reality of the “Transition” and many citizens’ growing feelings of injustice and of exclusion from decision-making processes. These protests have raised important questions about the potential of social and digital media for enhancing the political participation of people in this region, where civil society has been traditionally regarded as weak. Less attention has been paid, however, to the type of political subjectivities that have grown around the use of these technologies for social mobilization in the region. My PhD research aims to fill this gap by looking at the place of social and digital media in the development of alternative public spheres and oppositional collective identities in Bulgaria. I am especially interested in the role these technologies (can) play for democracy in a post-socialist democratic context that diverges in significant ways from Western-styled liberal democracies, particularly in relation to the principle of (agonistic) pluralism as postulated by Laclau and Mouffe’s radical democratic theory.

This paper will present preliminary results of a pilot study that looks at two Facebook-enabled protests that have taken place in Bulgaria in the past year. Although it seeks to shed light on various aspects of the mediation of the protests, the study centers on the ways different (sometimes opposing) groups of civil society actors use social and digital media to represent themselves and to gain trust, visibility and legitimacy. In analyzing the self-representation and oppositional identity construction of collective actors, I employ a radical democratic perspective, as well as an analytical theoretical framework that understands identity negotiation in terms of the construction of us/them frontiers through collective action frames (cf. Svensson et al., 2014, also Laclau and Mouffe 1985; Entman 1993). Using framing and discourse analysis I look at how the different civil society actors develop and negotiate their identities, meanings, motivations, and political subjectivities online vis-à-vis each other, the mainstream media and those in power, in a context defined by conflicting perceptions of the role and nature of civil society in Bulgaria, a strong polarisation of the population along friend/enemy discourse lines and growing populist trends worldwide.

**Id:** 15207

**Title:** Concepts of images "past" and identify the "real" in the perception of Kazakh youth events of the twentieth century: the historical media discourse

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** In a period of serious political, social and economic transformation a new generation has grown in Kazakhstan. This generation has its own viewpoints, values, opinions and attitudes towards the world in which borders have become global. That is why it is important to study youth with regard to their temporal self-identification as they are perceiving this world through a prism of digital technology and are actively using up to 4-5 devices, social networks and have “friends” in different continents. “Is there a link between images of the past formed by mass media and images of the past which create the identifying basis of youth’s consciousness?” This hypothesis was previously suggested in an scientific project “Russia in 1917 in perceptions of modern youth: media discussion”, which become a foundation for the research of Kazakhstan’s youth [1]. Research methodology was based on a survey research, identical to the one conducted by a group of researchers – representatives of Higher School of Economics, National Research University, Russia. Survey research is aimed on an analysis of a historical consciousness of modern youth in Kazakhstan. Students were asked to write their opinion on ten most significant events which influenced the destiny of Kazakhstan in XX century. Furthermore, in the right column we were asked to rank these events from “1” to “10” by their importance. Pilot survey, conducted by the author covered more than one hundred students in the Journalism faculty of Al Farabi Kazakh National University [2] .

Conclusion. As can be seen from the above, the statement that, firstly, presence of Russia’s mass media is becoming a “barrier” on the way of a link between “images of the past” and the created “identifying basis of consciousness” of Kazakhstan’s youth is incorrect. Content of surveys confirms that Kazakhstan’s youth adequately perceive current changes in the life of the sovereign state, despite the presence of foreign mass media in its media space.

Secondly, Kazakhstan has a powerful informational space which influences the historical consciousness of the new generation. Historical discourse of the analysis of youth’s answers show that many progressive ideas realized the modern Kazakhstan were actualized already in XX century but were made true only now thanks to the gain of the country’s independence.

**Keywords:** social networks, images of the 20th century, the media, the barriers of information, historical consciousness

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2. Mezhdunarodnaya nauchno-practicheskaya konferenciya «Rossia v 1917 godu v v vospriyitii sovremennoi molodezhi: mediya diskurse». Materialy konferencii, 3 noybry, 2015, - M.: APK i PPRO, 2015.- s.26

**Id:** 15376

**Title:** The 'Big Four' Publishing Houses and the Transition of the Press in Post-Socialist Germany

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** This paper focuses on East Germany during the *Wende* (transition) period. It complicates dominant narratives that commonly describe the transition of the East German media system from a state controlled propaganda apparatus to that of a free democratic media system. It argues that current research has not given justice to the complexity of underlying socio-economic dynamics that made for a large part of the press reform in the GDR.

For this, and contrary to current research, this paper examines the process of press reform from the perspective of an expanding (inter)national market economy. It shows that nothing that happened in the German Democratic Republic before, during and after the *Wende* happened in isolation, nor was it a decisively East German problem. Instead East Germany became the battle ground for various interests groups, East and West, but with all-overshadowing interests of West German political and economic groups.

Based on qualitative methods and archival findings, this paper analyzes in particular the dealings and strategies of the major publishing houses Springer, Bauer, Gruner+Jahr and Burda. Called the “big four” these companies used three different strategies to explore the GDR market. These need to be approached as being closely interconnected to allow for an understanding of the broader implications of market interest influence.

First, starting in December 1989, the “big four” started to sell high numbers of their own publications early on at a price ratio of 1:1. While publishers had been legally required to sell at a ratio of 1:3, the early undercutting of prices had several reasons, one was to secure future readership, another was the competition with one another.

The second strategy was the joined building of a privately run press distribution system (*Pressegrosso*). Dividing the GDR into four zones, they distributed largely only their own publications, which caused an upheaval amongst small and medium-sized West German publishers. Eventually the practice was stopped. It continued, however. On the one hand, because hard facts had been created. On the other hand, the building of a local distribution system required time that was not available once German unification and all-German elections stood at the horizon.

The third strategy to secure future market interests were joint-ventures with East German publishers, a strategy employed also by small and medium-sized West German publishers. By June 1990, over ninety percent of East German newspapers were either in negotiations or had already signed contracts over investment shares of West German capital. These investments were needed because the East German press had outdated printing and editorial technology, a lack in know how and resources. It now handicapped GDR publications on a press market that was defined by fierce competition created not the least because of the massive import of West German publications.

In analyzing these strategies, core concern of this paper is the intersection between the normative role the press holds in a developing democratic society and that of a newly developing, or rather established expanding Western market economy.

**Id:** 15424

**Title:** 'Traditional vs. innovative' journalistic cultures: the impact of ICT-based content production on journalistic standards in today's Russia

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Today's approaches to comparative analysis of professional journalistic cultures has quite developed methodologies but relies on national level of comparison (Hanitzsch et al. 2011; Nygren, Dobek-Ostrowska, Anikina 2013), which might be misleading. We argue that, in Russia of 2010s, the structure of professional journalistic community may be perceived as more diverse than those of the Western countries, and also more diverse than it is described in the current research involving data on Russia. The cleavages in professional journalistic culture include generational ones (Pasti 2005) as well as value-based ones (Litvinenko 2013; Bodrunova&Litvinenko 2013), the latter being reflected in journalists' orientation to either post-Soviet or pro-Western journalistic standards of reporting. Another cleavage is based on the speed of adoption of ICTs in everyday reporting and editorial practices, which is considered to be a major factor of change in editorial practices, e.g., in the USA (Willnat&Weaver 2014). We argue that the combination of divisions within the journalistic community may be re-conceptualized as 'traditional vs. innovative' journalistic culture. This includes consideration of technological, professional, legislative and political circumstances in today's journalism in Russia. We argue that traditional and innovative cultures co-exist within one media system and do not supplant each other. Our results are based on an online survey of 200 journalists in several Russian regions, 12 in-depth interviews with key media managers, 30 video-interviews with online media managers (from open source) and content analysis of media texts. The survey is based on Hanitzsch et al. study 'Worlds of journalism' (2012-2016) enriched by several more parameters; in-depth interviews observe changes in journalism cultures within the last 15 years; video-interviews show adaptation of journalism cultures to new media. The new generation of journalists is described as having the rapidly changing professional standards – especially in online media where journalists are more keen on media metrics, big data, and content packaging, and production of new types of content correlates with the changes in professional value sets.

**Id:** 15471

**Title:** Changes in ideological power and resilient authoritarianism in China

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Whether was the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) ideological power in decline or in transformation, or both, after the economic reform? Is it a case of authoritarian resilience or adaptation, as Shambaugh's 2008 book seems to suggest, or does it demonstrate the Party's inability to re-find an ideological base of legitimacy after forgoing communist economic agenda? And what are the implications for the future of authoritarianism in China? To shed lights on these questions, this paper adopts Michael Mann's "organizational materialist" approach to ideology, which is interested in the organizational base of ideology as much as in its symbolic content (1993:36; also see Gorski 2006). Analyzing mechanisms of party rectification campaigns carried out from the early 1950s to the most recent one under Xi Jinping, this paper makes three arguments. First, in terms of symbolic content, the CCP has largely given up on developing an overarching worldview after the economic reform. Instead, its ideological invention shows a feature of fragmentation, which however is what defines ideology in post-modern societies, according to Phillip Gorski (2006). Second, in terms of organizational base, the CCP's ideological power networks were deeply embedded in its organization for coercion as well as in political party apparatus since the revolutionary era. Although ideological vision dictated economic policy-making and party-building in the 1951-1953 Party Rectification and Three-Antis Campaigns, in the early 1960s, some senior CCP elites stopped prioritizing it in state-making programs, which was one reason why Mao Zedong launched the Cultural Revolution. Finally, the organizational base of the CCP has been reinforced through waves of rectification campaigns after 1978, strengthening the Party's capacity to tolerate fragmentation in ideological content. However, the mismatch between fragmented symbolic content and full-fledged party organizations undergirding it is likely to contribute to more restrictive authoritarianism in the ideological domain.

**Id:** 16169

**Title:** Negotiating 'Socialist New Countryside' Discourses through Media: A Case Study of Rural Television Dramas in Post-Reform China

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Peasants in China once were and are still seen as politically, economically and socially significant to the Chinese party-state. While the Maoist state made it possible to forge its leadership over peasants via a party-led propagandist media system, questions arise as to what extent media matter in integrating the large peasantry group into the state projected trajectory in the post-reform era, when China's media ownership and people's political and sociocultural life have been fundamentally reshaped by the country's market-oriented reform efforts.

Post-reform rural television dramas serve as a relevant device for exploring the tension between the state, the media market and the peasants' subjectivity behind this question. This research explores how 'Socialist New Countryside', the Chinese state's major policy discourse of promoting rural modernisation, is negotiated through rural dramas. It will trace the links and information flows between rural drama production, content and audience reception. Two rural television dramas involving 'Socialist New Countryside' discourses, one initiated by the state and the other one driven majorly by the market, will be selected as cases. By a comparative analysis of related discourses in these two rural television series, supplemented by interviewing rural drama practitioners and rural audiences, this research aims to provide an insight into how and for what motive these types of post-reform Chinese rural television dramas project specific values and lifestyles for peasants, differences and similarities in their narrations, how each of them works on peasants' subjectivities and real choices of lifestyles in the transforming society, and how they contribute to or participate in the construction of the state-navigated rural modernisation project. During this process, not only can the invisible power relations hidden in media be deduced, but it also encourages the reconsideration of the social, political and cultural functions mass media could perform in a post-socialist transforming society.

Inspired by critical discourse studies and the Althusser-Foucauldian approach to power, ideology and subjectivity, this research attempts to speak to the imbalance in current media scholarship that within the broad literature of political communication, there is a significant lack of attention paid to Chinese peasants – not to their media contact habits or their images represented by media, but to peasants as political subjects who interpret and subjectively relate to their media consumptions. In addition, this research also attempts to contribute to a more systematic and practical approach to conduct critical discourse analysis. In this research, discourses in rural dramas will be seen as results of three levels of practice: the macro 'social practice' level (media ownership and regulation in the current political system), the medium 'discursive practice' level (media production routines) and the micro individual level (personal preferences). Scrutinising those procedures could reveal the mechanisms by which specific values and lifestyles are imbricated into rural dramas as a materialist form of ideological efforts.

**Id:** 16472

**Title:** Mapping digital outlets in Mexico: the digital journalistic environment in a context of media capture

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Earlier debates on media democratization in transitional, post-authoritarian societies such as Mexico, had assumed that critical, independent journalism was concomitant to a hospitable commercial environment. A healthy, competitive liberal market, it is often claimed, enables the erosion of undue State, partisan and governmental interference, and broadens the voices in the media. However, within these theories, the issue of media capture is still insufficiently explored. Widely understood as the hindrance of the watchdog function of journalism on the part of private and political interests, media capture is commonly encroached within liberal market structures through clientelistic relations, opaque deals and exchange of coverage per favours.

The emergence and consolidation of native digital media and its critical coverage is often seen as the solution for challenging traditionally partisan or complicit media in a captured media environment. However, as the digital market faces financial uncertainties in the short-term, what are the extra challenges for independent digital media to thrive and survive in contexts where a captured media environment prevails? What is the relationship that native digital establish in relation to traditional media, especially in relation to business models and journalistic culture?

This paper presents preliminary findings based in a mixed-approach consisting of analysing the homepages and general characteristics of 140 native digital media outlets across the country, and of in-depth interviews with a dozen editors and journalists from selected critical outlets. The paper categorizes native digital outlets in a three-fold typology of journalisms: independent/critical, market-oriented or and passive/traditional, based on certain variables: focus and scope, type and tone of coverage (self-produced or curated), self-produced multimedia elements, audience engagement, directory and stated mission, range of advertisers, and visible business model.

It argues that while a small sample of independent, critical media are innovating in narratives and business strategies they are nevertheless struggling to survive financially in the long term. Meanwhile, other outlets are following market-driven trends with viral content and content aggregation. And finally, the majority of websites are extensions of traditional media and appear anchored to a captured media environment that depends on governmental advertisement and whose content is tailored to suit political, partisan and economic interests and merely exist as the instruments of their proprietors for power and influence gain. It concludes that given the fragmentary and underdeveloped nature of Mexican digital markets, the paper argues that media capture continues to be a latent condition for both traditional and digital media in Mexico, particularly at the regional level.

**Id:** 16478

**Title:** Soft power and the (de-)construction of climate change on RT and CCTV News

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** Based on the discourse theory of Michel Foucault and using the example of climate change reporting this paper examines reality constructions on RT and CCTV News.

At a time where news may be conceived as arena of global information wars (Xie and Boyd-Barrett, 2015) and governments, policy-makers and citizens have to face misinformation and fake news (e.g., Khaldarova and Pantti, 2016), there is no doubt that rising state-funded global news channels form part of the global battle for the interpretation of world events and the manifestation of soft power. Furthermore, these global news providers contribute to the social production of knowledge and meaning, and therefore, shape what is possible to be said and done. Against this background, the present explorative study asks for competing reality constructions in Russia's RT and China's CCTV News reporting on climate change – from a Western perspective one of the biggest challenges of the 21. Century worldwide.

Starting point is the assumption that both mentioned global news providers have similar access to "reality". More precisely, their reality constructions might depend on comparable evidence available. However, the world – the way we experience, conceive and interpret it – consists of discourses, as reality is apprehended through discursive structures that constitute meaning-making (cf. Foucault 1972; Hall 1997). In this meaning-making process, on the one hand, RT and CCTV News play an important role because they set an agenda which especially targets policy- and decision-makers around the globe. On the other hand, discourses themselves are representations of power relations in the world (cf. Philo, 2007).

In order to exemplarily explore competing world constructions, a qualitative news media discourse analysis was conducted. This study draws on Michel Foucault's discursive formation rules (objects, enunciative modalities, concepts, and strategies) and analyzes the climate change reporting on RT's and CCTV News' English programs during the 2015 UN Climate Change Conference in Paris.

The findings reveal more differences than communalities in the channels' reporting: Whereas RT portrays climate change as a triviality, but terrorism as the real challenge of our times, on CCTV News it is argued that climate change is controllable thanks to China which would play a pioneering role in terms of environmental protection. Finally, the study's conclusion is twofold: First, it shows how political and media system shape news reality referring to the preservation of state interests (e.g. in the case of Russia the de-legitimation of any environmental or sustainability policy) as well as to cultural aspects (such as the dominance of Confucianism in China). Second, the discourse analysis sheds light on the production of knowledge regimes in global 24/7 television news which points to serious consequences for the future of public diplomacy.

**Id:** 16584

**Title:** The Intellectual Origins of Media Development: Mapping the Theories and Ideas that Guide Donor Funded Media Assistance

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** To what extent does academic literature influence the dialogue in the thinking about measures of press freedom and media development? How does theory compare to practice? Does the data that is coming out of media development programs via monitoring and evaluation efforts lend support to the ideas and normative frameworks related to media systems offered by the scholarly academic literature? This paper seeks to answer these questions in line with research I am undertaking as part of my PhD research. This paper will look at the lasting legacy of modernization theories as well as early normative theories of the press such as those advanced by Siebert, Peterson and Schramm in *Four Theories of the Press*. The paper will also review literature by more contemporary scholars like Hallin and Mancini (*Comparing Media Systems*), Price (*Media and Sovereignty*), Servaes (*Communication for Development. One World, Multiple Cultures*), and more recently Manyozo (*Media, Communication and Development*). Following a review of the literature that has historically supported the intellectual origins and foundations of media development, I will consider the issue of whether theories about media and development have a bearing upon the work and programs being carried out by international NGOs and aid agencies who support international media assistance programs in developing and transitioning countries. To test out my ideas, I will look at media development programs being implemented by the US Agency for International Development.

**Id:** 16743

**Title:** Periodistas bajo amenaza: la percepción del impacto de la violencia en el periodismo de Saltillo

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** El ejercicio profesional de los periodistas en México se encuentra altamente comprometido por la crisis de inseguridad y los reiterados actos de violencia contra la prensa, modificando la acción diaria del periodista regional en tres grandes dimensiones: el área profesional, el área laboral y el área personal.

El presente estudio sostiene que si bien el entorno de violencia perturba las prácticas del periodista sin distinción de su área informativa o posición jerárquica dentro del medio de comunicación, existen añejas problemáticas que ya naturalizadas, sólo se hicieron visibles al sumar el factor de crisis a su ya de por sí precaria labor profesional. Con base en la teoría de la jerarquía de influencias de Shoemaker y Reese (1994), se propone un nuevo modelo de análisis que a través de estas tres dimensiones logre explicar el origen de la vulnerabilidad del periodista en ambientes violentos. Apegado al método de la entrevista a profundidad, se logra un compendio de vivencias y estrategias adoptadas por 22 periodistas de distintas fuentes y plataformas informativas en la ciudad de Saltillo, Coahuila, en donde existe un sistema de medios clientelar y bajo el régimen de un partido político dominante.

En el ámbito profesional, los periodistas iniciaron un proceso de autoprotección que incluyó el fortalecimiento de sus valores periodísticos, pero que concluyó en la normalización de la censura y/o autocensura.

Sobre la dimensión laboral destacan la desaparición de la nota exclusiva y el apego hacia la fuente oficial como método de protección; la amonestación o despido de periodistas que exigieron garantías para su trabajo y la visible desunión del gremio por la existencia de periodistas infiltrados por el gobierno o grupos delictivos.

Por último, en el área personal, se estima que se produjo un desapego del periodista hacia familiares, amigos y colegas con el fin de proyectar confianza y seguridad emocional durante el período más crítico de la violencia en general.



