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CONFERENCE ABSTRACTS

VOX POPULI - THE APPLICATION OF SOCIAL MEDIA IN POLITICAL CAMPAIGNING
Sabine Baumann

From a political communication perspective national elections have significant characteristics: a large, sometimes even global audience looking for information highly suitable for interactive exchange through the use of new media platforms. Currently, democratic election processes undergo extensive transformations regarding the communication with the electorate as information is shared through the customary media channels but also from citizen to citizen. In the last US presidential elections all communication channels were used on an unprecedented scale for sharing information via social networks, news management on electoral topics, and Obama's extensive grassroots campaign. Some of the latest European elections mimicked Obama's style albeit on a lower scale. However, research is missing on whether his campaign strategies provide a transferable approach or are merely rooted with his personality and the cultural conditions of his home country.
Using a variety of examples the paper explores the application of social media and publicly generated content in political election campaigns. Interpersonal communication and precise news management provide the foundation to spread ideas, influence the behaviour of others and even induce monetary contributions towards a generalised purpose. If devised and implemented accurately, political campaigns can exploit multi-level supporter pyramids to gather votes and funding within democratic election processes.

APPLIED MEDIA DIPLOMACY: INDUSTRY NGO'S MEDIA DIPLOMACY WITH CHINESE GOVERNMENT IN INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL CONFLICT
Han Bing

This qualitative study targets at exploring factors that affect the effectiveness of the airlines industry NGO – IATA (the International Air Transport Association)'s media diplomacy to seek the support from Chinese government, fighting against the rival state's policy – European

Union's Emission Trading System for the Industry. Understanding China's media environment would be important to use media diplomacy for the result, when IATA fails to argue with EU, the formal diplomacy is unavailable and the issue is not the priority for Chinese government. Field participation and observation would be conducted to collect raw material about the organization's media diplomacy in China. Furthermore, three sets of questionnaire would be interviewed with three groups of the stakeholders, including the staffs from the IATA and the PR agency in China, journalists, and government officials. Grounded theory would be used to analyze the findings, outlining the factors affect the effectiveness of media diplomacy in China. The results of this study will show the media diplomacy process, key factors affect the effectiveness in media diplomacy in China, especially in how to attract media, how to advance communication between parties, and how to win support through media diplomacy. The outcomes of my study will be appropriated to researches of media diplomacy, Chinese media study.

POLITICAL INFORMATION ON THE WEB FROM A NEWS SITE USERS PERSPECTIVE
Andrea Burmester

The question of how citizens use political information in the media needs to receive more attention in political communication research. The unmanageable and constantly growing supply of political information on the internet adds weight to that claim, since it modifies the process of communicating politics – with consequences remaining unclear up to now.
Data of media use indicates that the internet is increasingly used for information-seeking reasons. However, to what extent this also accounts for political information is not measured separately. Several questions remain unanswered: Who uses political information (online, offline and/or combined)? How is it used? What kind of political information is used (deepening background information vs. daily news update) and how is it evaluated?
Theoretical approaches that deal with these questions are uses & gratifications and digital divide. They provide the basis for a study that focuses on the use of the internet as a source of political information. Motives and types of use as well as evaluation are essential aspects. Additionally, a comparison of political information in new and traditional media (substitutional vs. complementary effects) is included.
Results of an online survey, that was conducted in early 2010 on two Swiss news webpages (www.news.ch, www.sf.tv), will be presented.

A CONSTRUCTIVIST RETHINKING OF POLITICS' MEDIATIZATION IN HUNGARY
Peter Csigo

In academic and lay discourse, the mediatization of politics has commonly been interpreted as an overall process in which public actors adapt their behaviour to the systemic „logic" of commercial media, a populist rule urging public actors to immediately gratify the existing demands of the popular audience. By contrast, an alternative understanding of mediatization might start from the cultural constructivist idea that social actors do not adapt themselves to institutional systems „as such" but systems as portrayed by their widely shared, and inevitably simplistic, representations. Seen from this view, it is not some „objective" systemic conditions but their cultural representations that orient actors' adaptation to commercial media.
Challenging the widespread (scholarly and lay) representation of commercial media logic as a

simple rule of populist enchantment, my paper suggests that populist actors cannot „simply" enchant or gratify their audiences. In order to gain their attention in today's cluttered media environment, they need to invite them to „attend" media events. In today's era of „event television", powerful but hardly controllable media events have assumed a central role in the media ecology and become inevitable carriers of populist messages. Addressing the above basic instability, this paper argues that populist strategies of event-based mobilization do not seamlessly follow from coherent media logic. Instead, populist event-creation represents an inherently unstable, broken, even self-undermining strategy that public actors need both to follow and evade.

Based on survey and focus group evidence taken from Hungarian electoral campaigns in 2002 and 2006, I will argue that Hungarian political actors have completely neglected the above inherent brokenness of populist „media logic". In their rush after enchanting the audience, they have overlooked the fact that the more powerful and mobilizing a populist performance is, the more it also risks to undermine its own power and bring harm back to the performer. The empirical data presented in my paper will document, however, that populist mobilization is self-undermining by nature, which very instability contradicts most public actors' (and many researchers') high beliefs in the power of media populism.

The above arguments will allow me to conclude that the deep crisis of Hungarian politics in the 2000's has been due to a great extent to public actors' systematic misunderstanding and misuse of popular media, rather than to an inevitable process in which an inherently corrosive media system would have colonized democracy.

ITALIAN LEFT PARTIES FACING THE GLOBAL CRISIS. POLITICAL COMMUNICATION AND EMOTIONAL PUBLICS IN ITALY AND EUROPE
Emiliana De Blasio

Italian political scenario has been deeply transforming since the late 1990s. The bipolarisation of Italian politics (not followed by a transformation of the institutional system into a bipartitical one) pushed the two main competitors (People of the Liberty Party and Democratic Party) to revise their strategies.

Mr. Berlusconi's emotional communication strategies seem to be effective in public opinion's building. In the same way, the Left Parties – above all the Democratic Party – have found new strategies (e.g. primaries elections as a new form of public participation) but unable to create an emotional involvement by its supporters.

The Left parties seem to experience many troubles to interpret social opposition and even their "emotional messages" seem effective only for specific targets (e.g. retired people). Is this a lack of competence in managing the crisis communication? Or does it even show a problem in positioning permanent campaign of the Italian Left? Are there similarities and differences between Italian Democratic Party and British Labour?

The paper aims to illustrate the findings of our qualitative and quantitative research (6 focus groups, 250 e-interviews, over thousand questionnaires) about the youths (under 30) and old people's (over 60) reception of the Left political communication about crisis.

PROFESSIONALIZATION OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION IN POLAND. THE CASE OF CIVIC PLATFORM OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND.
Barbara Brodzińska-Mirowska

Professionalization of political communication is a main challenge in the 21th century. The dynamic process of political communication change is visible especially in post-communist country, which makes Poland a good example. However, the term of professionalization appears regularly in Polish academic literature, but mainly in connection with Americanization. Nevertheless, much research indicates that we shouldn't use both term as a synonym. The most important is to specify what precise meaning the term of professionalization? The issue implicates many questions: whether professionalization is connected only with effective electoral campaign or maybe with inter-electoral period too? If ineffective and lost political campaign means lack of professionalism? What is characteristic for this process in Poland? The crucial goal of this presentation is to analyze professionalization of political communication, using Poland and Civic Platform – party which has been governing since 2007, as a case study. The analysis stress what changed in scope of political communication in Civic Platform. I will focus on the ways of managing electoral campaign by Civic Platform. I will try to answer main question: what is the consequence of political communication in Civic Platform: permanent campaign and/or maybe reelections in 2011?

SO IRONIC I FORGOT NOT TO LAUGH: META-RACIST HUMOUR AND STEREOTYPE ACTIVATION / APPLICATION IN A PUBLIC OPINION CONTEXT

Katie Brown and Diana Betz - The University of Michigan

This research seeks to understand the effect of ironically racist humour, or "meta-racist" humour, on levels of racism and public opinion vis-à-vis blacks in America. We define meta-racist humour as jokes that explicitly target blacks while implicitly targeting those who would laugh at the jokes at face vale. Thus, through the use of irony, an implicit racist is summoned as the true joke target, thereby deflecting responsibility for the politically incorrect content. Building from the humour, prejudice, and public opinion literatures, we hypothesize that exposure to meta-racist jokes will activate stereotypes equally with exposure to directly racist jokes, with both resulting in greater stereotype activation than the control condition, regardless of baseline prejudice. We further hypothesize that participants low in baseline racism exposed to directly racist jokes will demonstrate lower levels of stereotype application compared to participants high in racism, while stereotype application will be equal regardless of baseline racism in the meta-racist condition. A laboratory experiment tests these hypotheses by exposing participants to meta-racist, racist, or neutral comedy clips and measuring subsequent levels of racism via IAT and political effects with indices of public opinion of traditionally racialized issues (e.g. affirmative action). Results will be ready by November.

ADVERSARIAL DISCOURSE IN PRIME MINISTER'S QUESTIONS

Peter Bull & Pam Wells - University of York

An analysis was conducted of 20 sessions of Prime Minister's Questions (PMQs) in the British House of Commons (April - November, 2007). Ten sessions were with Labour Prime Minister Tony Blair, 10 with his successor Gordon Brown; in all 20 sessions, their opponent was Conservative Party leader David Cameron. In PMQs, Members of Parliament (MPs) are expected to converse through questions and replies, while refraining from "unparliamentary language" (e.g., direct insults to another MP). The aim of the study is to investigate how within

these constraints both Prime Minister (PM) and Leader of the Opposition perform face-threatening acts (FTAs) - discourse strategies intended to put their opponent in a bad light and constrain their freedom of action. A coding system has been devised, which identifies six distinctive ways in which FTAs are performed in questions, and four distinctive ways in which the PM may counter FTAs. The typology is intended both to further our understanding of PMQs, and to provide a means whereby the communication skills of the central protagonists may be evaluated. Overall, it is proposed that face aggravation is both sanctioned and rewarded in PMQ discourse.

THE POLITICS OF FACEBOOK FRIENDSHIP: THE IMPACT OF THE SOCIAL NETWORKING SITE UPON THE CONCEPT OF DEMOCRACY

Alec Charles - University of Bedfordshire

This paper deploys Jacques Derrida's meditations upon the writings of Aristotle, Blanchot, Cicero and Montaigne in order to suggest a direct relationship between the traditional concept of friendship in European civilization and the western notions of politics and democracy. It thereby proposes the dependence of the democratic ideal upon the ideal of friendship. Through interviews with researchers and staff at Facebook, and through an empirical experiment on the establishment of social relationships through Facebook, the paper suggests that the world's most popular social networking site is radically redefining the popular concept of friendship, and thereby undermining the traditional ideal of friendship. It concludes that, in undermining the ideal of friendship, the ubiquity of the social networking site may therefore also be subverting the very possibility of democracy.

NEWS MEDIA AND DEMOCRACY: HOW DIFFERENT MEDIA AFFECT REGIME SUPPORT IN BRAZIL

Nuno Coimbra Mesquita - University of São Paulo

The media is a fundamental institution to be considered for the quality of democracy. Different media and messages daily depict the world of politics having the potential to foster or undermine political attitudes toward the democratic regime. This means that the media can be considered important intermediaries between the institutional dimension and citizens' attitudes and beliefs. Media malaise and mobilization theories have contradicting points of view over the role played by the media in democracy. Using data from the national survey "Brazilian Electoral Study" (2002), we explore how media exposure is relevant for Brazilian citizens' orientations towards their political system. We focus our attention on the different impacts of print media, tabloid TV programs and attention to political news on the radio on support for democratic values as well as on valorising the role of political parties in citizens' representation in the political system. This paper brings partial results of a postdoctoral research conducted in the Political Science Department of the University of São Paulo.
Keywords: Media – Newspaper– Democracy – Political Support – Political Parties

THE POLITICAL COMMUNICATIONS RESPONSE TO AN AGEING ELECTORATE: EVIDENCE FROM THE UK, AUSTRALIA AND THE UNITED STATES.
Scott Davidson

It is now a feature of modern election campaigns for journalists and political consultants alike to proclaim older voters as one of the pivotal battlegrounds in determining the outcome. The advent of this senior power model has become predominant in translating the political implications of ageing societies. Some theorists and writers such as Sinn and Dychtwald go as far as predicting ageing democracies such as Germany and the USA will soon become 'gerontocracies. While some elements of the senior power model are reasonably accurate, others are contradicted by the facts. Older people are not homogenous in political attitudes. However, age, either as a chronological, life stage, or cohort phenomenon, clearly is a variable that influences political behaviour. Ageist media stereotypes need to be challenged, age does not equate to decrepitude, but it does incorporate, at widely varying rates, a process of gradual loss of physical ability and decline of the senses. Within this context, there is emerging evidence that a more sophisticated segmentation of voters by political communicators by life stage is now taking place.
This paper will analyse the attempts to reach older voters by candidates in the USA, UK and Australia. It will explain how candidates and parties have targeted their communications during campaigns and consider the impact of media framing of the implications of population ageing.

MEDIATED POLITICAL COMMUNICATION, SPIN FATIGUE AND CONCESSIONARY GIFTS
Jiska Engelbert - Erasmus University Rotterdam (NL)

This paper focuses on a paradox in contemporary mediated political communication: despite its explicit attempts to engage cynical and critical consumer-citizens, mediated political communication itself is increasingly implicated in criticism and cynicism towards political practices. The very public sceptical of political institutions' levels of transparency, altruism and accountability is progressively more apprehensive of how politicians deploy media platforms to perform those qualities. I term this condition 'spin-fatigue', which I consider a consequence of everyday forms of critical media literacy and a backlash of widespread PR efforts to control media flows.
My question is whether practices of mediated political communication can indeed be seen to display an orientation towards anticipating or responding to this novel condition? In my outline of a conceptual-analytical framework for detecting traces of such a new modus operandi, I propose we actively incorporate an understanding of changing characteristics of PR practices of royal families in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. Their communication machineries have adopted an interesting strategy to manage mounting criticism on their strict control over media access: the families' 'doing' authenticity, transparency and accountability in media performances is increasingly worked up as a 'concessionary gift', allowing the royals to be seen to meet the requirements of what others deem newsworthy.

THE PSYCHO-POLITICS OF SPIN
Jessica Evans

The 'black arts' of UK government public relations have been paradigmatically captured by the shady but highly visible figure of the press officer, special adviser or 'spin doctor', some of whom have nonetheless become media personalities in their own right. The paper explores the extroverted figure of the spin doctor for the new labour governments since 1997 centring on a case study of testimonies to the Chilcott Inquiry of 2009-1010 to analyse the governmental and organisational contexts for 'spin'.

In so doing, the paper uses a broadly psychoanalytic framework. It aims to shed light on a political agent who is commonly seen in an individualised manner as dedicated to the perversion of the truth but, the paper claims, thrives because of an ambivalence about organisational boundaries in a post-bureaucratic governmental culture. The relationships between spin, lying, sincerity and charisma are dealt with in terms of some of the psychodynamics between the main political actors but also placed into a wider discussion of the developing relationship in government between 'information' and 'advocacy'.

The personalisation of politics is certainly not new. But, sociologists have argued that in recent years politics has to a great extent become infused by the values and interests of media organisations, and this is because the power to represent politics and government affairs has shifted from political leaders to the media. However, this is a somewhat media-centric view. What may be as or more important is the ambiguous power of the spin doctor related to certain changes in organizational boundaries, processes of accountability and the conventions of political conduct. An assessment of whether one can expect 'spin' to decline in the administrations of the new Conservative-Lib Dem government might benefit from the insights of this paper.

REPRESENTATIONS OF POLITICAL MOVEMENTS BY DIFFERENT NEWSPAPERS IN THE ERA OF PERSONALIZATION OF POLITICS: A CASE STUDY OF THE POLITICAL MOVEMENTS DURING PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN 2007, TURKEY
Nigar Degirmenci

Media has been considered as an improving tool for political movements especially since the print media, and the most important example of that is, French Revolution, of course. In the new technology age, media has developed some advantages; according to Castells, new media technologies can improve the network so that increasing political participations in movements. On the other hand, compared to old media, new media is not available for everyone yet and, individuals still need old media discourse to communicate each other and derive their political information. Political parties have become less functional especially in organizing political movements and giving political information to their followers. Moreover there have been fewer followers of political parties due to different reasons. Maybe the most important reason is personalization of politics. In this study, we are seeking to answer those questions: Is there any radical difference between representations of political movements by different newspapers due to their owner and their political proximity to the government, and due to the political positions of the movements? Is there opportunity to efficiently meet needs on reading "objective" representation of the political movements on newspapers? Does media's role on political movements become a matter of ownership, beside of political

positions of movements and of readers? What is the relation of those developments with personalization of politics? Those questions were tested by subjecting 5 Turkish newspaper's news to discourse analysis, on the consideration of political movements which had been held against to the government, during 2007 Presidential Elections. (a) newspapers' discourses related to political movements differ due to ownership of the them; (b) ownership also defines which movements are newsworthy, how successful event they are; (c) the institution which is controlled by the government and named "Savings Deposit Insurance Fund", works as a media control tool and defines indirectly political movements' effects on the media readers. The results also showed that in the age of media cartels and personalization of politics, individuals need very diverse sets of media literacy, and alternative media tools such as new media technologies in order to understand political developments and to decide how to shape their own political attitudes.

Keywords: Political Movements, Media Discourse, Personalization of Politics, Presidential Elections

EXPLORING THE INTERPERSONAL ASPECT OF DEMOCRACY: FINNISH POLITICIANS' EXPERIENCES OF THEIR DIRECT INTERACTION WITH CITIZENS

Minna Finstad - University of Tampere, Finland

There is a constantly growing concern about the relationship between politicians and citizens in modern representative democracies. Political communication is often studied from the perspectives of media and mass communication. This study concentrates on a more individual aspect by scrutinizing how politicians personally experience and describe their direct interaction with citizens.

The objective of this study is to understand how Finnish politicians interpersonally interact with citizens. Here interaction refers to direct interpersonal level communication between politicians and citizens. The main questions are: how does the interaction appear from the politicians' perspective? What is being communicated, with whom, how and why?

The data consists of 24 semi-structured interviews of Finnish politicians of which 12 municipal politicians and 12 representatives. The intention of the qualitative content analysis is to illustrate the interviewee's original experiences. Introductory results indicate that the interaction is very typically and consistently described to arise from a citizen's request to the politician to solve out his individual, everyday-life related problem. The tone of interaction is rather uniformly described as problem-related, commonplace, and perhaps surprisingly negative from the citizens' side. Interestingly, the results seem rather varying in relation to how politicians describe their own activeness towards citizens.

THE BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION OF 2010, A POLICY-FREE ENVIRONMENT

Ivor Gaber

An increasing emphasis on personalities, at the expenses of party policies, has been a trend that has been apparent in UK General Election campaigns for the past two decades. However, the 2010 campaign saw that trend reach new heights in what is here described as a 'hollowed out' election. This paper, based on research which investigates the news agendas of the parties, the media and the public, demonstrates the extent to which, with the exception of generalised discussion about the state of the economy, there was an almost total absence of

policy discussion, by the parties and the media during the 2010 campaign. This is attributed to three factors – the impact of the first-ever leaders' televised debates, ideological convergence between the parties and the fact that the two issues of greatest concern to the public - government spending cuts and immigration - were issues that the parties clearly felt were 'too hot to handle.'

WHEN THE BBC LIVES IN INTERESTING TIMES: AN HISTORICAL CASE STUDY OF WAR REPORTING IN A CLIMATE OF POLITICAL HOSTILITY
Michael Higgins - University of Strathclyde; Angela Smith - University of Sunderland

This paper looks at a prominent example of war reporting on the BBC, along with the terms of the government-led political hostility that followed. Kate Adie's reporting of the US bombing of Tripoli in 1986 met with an immediate critical response, and prompted the commission of a report by the governing Conservative Party that was to allege "bias" on Adie's part, including an undue emphasis on civilian casualties. Focussing on these events, our paper suggests that we couple, first, our understanding of the role of a public service broadcaster to represent the public interest against that of the sitting government with, second, an awareness of self-restraining journalistic practices designed to anticipate government scrutiny. In order to encourage a more informed relationship between government and journalism, the paper calls for a more nuanced understanding of journalism in context, responding to what we present as a conceptual disalignment between the normative assessment of bias and balance and contextually evolved journalistic practices.

THE EVOLUTION OF RUSSIAN INTERNET IN LEGITIMATING OF POLITICAL PROCESS
Evgeny Ishmenev

Research shows the evolution of Russian Internet (Runet) last 15 years. It specifies the most important consequences of post-Soviet transformation and its role in development of on-line communication. Presented analysis especially concentrates on such conditions of Runet which help to understand the place of new communications in the process of political legitimating. The aim of analysis isn't comparative consideration between the Internet and off-line communication, but attempt to explain how traditional communications coexist with Internet. The main intention of research is to demonstrate possible variants of interaction between on-line and off-line communications, and to show a role of official mass media and state institutions in this process. The key hypothesis of research is verified by fact supposes that when users of post-soviet countries participate in creation of information a little, the basic institute and "source" of the information become mass media, and small interest of users in the political information testifies about small difference between on-line mass media and official mass media. As the best example to this fact is the case when on-line media become "continuation" of off-line communications: when on-line mass-media become the on-line version of traditional newspapers, TV and radio.

THE PR-ISATION OF NEWS: LESSONS FOR POLITICS
Dan Jackson and Kevin Moloney - Bournemouth University

In this paper we draw together evidence from various studies (Davis 2002; Moloney 2006; Cardiff School of Journalism 2008, Davies 2008) concerning the increasing PR-isation of contemporary news. This colonization of the news by public relations has been noted and monitored in the UK since 2000 and is an expression of a burgeoning promotional culture which we characterize as a challenging overhang to democratic culture. Indeed, we argue that it weakens the ability of journalism to perform its normative role in a liberal democracy.
But when we look at PR-isation in the context of political journalism, a more complex picture emerges. Although PR still pervades much political news, political journalists have developed a number of defense mechanisms: such as making political spin the subject of their stories. We cautiously welcome such journalism. However, we argue that the resentment amongst journalists towards the increasingly sophisticated use of PR is partly behind one of the less edifying developments in political journalism: deep-lying negativity and cynicism in political coverage.
If the future of rigorous and independent political journalism is under threat, as many argue, then what antidotes might we prescribe? Firstly, regulating the media relations aspect of PR is fraught with difficulty. We therefore turn to the news media, and consider what conditions are required for journalists to manage the power imbalances that result from PR-isation, including a reassessment of the structure and commercial orientation of the vast majority of news organizations. We consider what journalists can build into their reportage of daily events, such as greater transparency over the sourcing and news-gathering process. Finally, we turn to the public and explore a media literacy that includes PR literacy. We ask how aware are the British public of the influence of PR in their news, and is making voters aware of PR-isation the most effective way of reducing its pernicious effects?

POLITICAL COMMUNICATION IN GREECE. BEFORE AND AFTER THE 'CRISIS': A SELF-DESTRUCTING PRACTICE

Sophia Kanaouti

For a few years now, political communication in Greece is entering 'lifestyle TV shows'. Politicians are presented in the way such shows present their 'heroes', in terms of how beautiful the women politicians are, how much of a showman a man politician is. Politicians tend to appear in trivial shows and answer trivial questions about their private lives.
Many private Greek television channels presenting political scandals, concentrate of the parties' intentions to deal with their decreasing popularity, rather than examining the parties' intentions, if present, to change wrongful practices.
Also about international politicians, newscasters of private television tend to concentrate on reporting about the popularity of foreign politicians first and foremost, and seem to suggest that their actions are dictated by that and only that. (Dealing with the BP accident, news suggested that President Obama is trying to deal with it because his popularity is suffering because of that).
Using Hannah Arendt's work on political communication, I would like to argue about the viability of politics in such a communications 'regime', tracing the misuse of power and the scandals that currently torment Greek political life. I would like to argue that values of a non-political world are attached to communal life in order to de-politicise it, when power and money are admired and voted for, above and beyond proving oneself worthy of public support.

BLOGS AND THE POWER TO CHANGE: THE CASE CONSIDERED
Marcus Leaning

This paper explores how blogs have been understood as a media that can bring about political change. The paper considers the arguments that have been proposed to support such a claim and those arguments that reject it. In doing so the paper conceptualises the debate surrounding blogs.

The argument that blogs bring about political change is grouped into four key arguments: blogs encourage civic participation and involvement; blogs will allow for a rejuvenated sense of journalistic practice to emerge that will more effectively challenge political power; blogs revitalise politics and bring in a new level of accountability for politicians; blogs erode the influence and power of formal groups and existing power structures and challenge corporate media power.

A number of critical challenges to these claims are examined: how such readings represent a typically western or U.S. model of journalism and politics; how blogs are overly influenced by commercial pressure; and how they encourage the ghettoisation of opinion – and consequently they do not seriously contribute to free debate in the way their advocates claim. In the conclusion it is proposed that blogs may have an effect but that this effect must be understood to be socially situated. Blogs must be understood to operate not as an alternative to mainstream, more traditional mass media but in concert with those forms.

NEW MEDIA AND ELECTIONS: THE EVOLVING ROLE OF THE WEB 2.0 AS A CAMPAIGNING TOOL
Darren G. Lilleker - Bournemouth University & Nigel A. Jackson - University of Plymouth

Interest in the Internet and its role within political communication and election campaigning has now an established body of theoretical and empirical study, with mixed predictions and findings. The bulk of empirical research has been in single countries, and where there has been comparative research it has tended to use a range of methodologies conducted by different authors. Largely, these have agreed with the politics as usual thesis, that political communication online is of a similar if not identical style to offline: top-down, information heavy and designed to persuade rather than consult with voters. The mass take-up of web 2.0 tools and platforms challenges this approach, however. Internet users now have opportunities to interact with a range of individuals and organisations, and it is argued that such tools reduce societal hierarchies and allow for symmetrical relationships to build. Theoretically democratic politics is a fertile environment for exploring the opportunities potentiated by web 2.0, in particular the notion of interactivity between the campaign (candidate, party and staff) and their audiences (activists, members, supporters and potential voters).

This research focuses on the extent to which interactivity is encouraged through the use of web 2.0 tools and platforms across a four year period focusing on four discrete national elections. Using the Gibson and Ward coding scheme, though adapted to include web 2.0, we operationalise the models of interactivity proposed by McMillan (2002) and Ferber, Foltz and Pugiliese (2007). This methodology allows us to assess whether election campaigns are showing evidence of co-creation based around conversations with visitors to their websites or online presences, or whether websites remain packaged to persuade offering interactivity with site features (hyperlinks, web feeds, search engines) only. Indications are that the French

election was largely politics as usual, however the Obama campaign took a clear step towards a more co-produced and interactive model and some of these lessons were learned by parties standing in the 2009 and 2010 contests in Germany and the UK contests, though in more limited ways. However, overall we suggest that the Internet has emerged as a key information tool that can be used to communicate directly to an online audience but also as a relationship building tool. Information provision is now increasingly balanced with tool designed to draw supportive visitors closer to the campaign, converting them to online and ideally offline activists and creating a political community around the campaign online that is self-mobilising using the interactive tools common within Web 2.0 environments.

NEW MEDIA AND POLITICAL ACTIVISM IN SPAIN AND ITS EUROPEAN CONTEXT; RECONSIDERING MEDIA MALAISE THEORIES.

Dr. Óscar G. Luengo - Universidad de Granada, Spain.

The development of political communication as a discipline suggests some contrasting explanations around an issue that has been configured as a constant in the academic debate; the relationship between the mass media and political engagement. On one hand, we find some authors that accuse the media of "narcotising" the citizens, who are increasingly less participative and less interested in public affairs and are in the terms of Robert Putnam, disaffected democrats. On the other hand, some recent analyses state that the empirical evidence points out in the opposite direction. The evolution of new technologies, as well as its application to the communication dynamics, involves a challenge for the traditional approach to this specific research field. Taking the cited framework as the main reference, this paper tries to explore empirically this connection in the case of Spain, within its European context. Special attention to the way this interconnection takes place in terms of political activism will be played.

FINNISH WOMEN POLITICIANS IN THE MEDIA – NEARLY INVISIBLE LEADERS?

Johanna Mäkelä - University of Tampere, Finland

Political leadership has become more demanding and media has a strong influence of what people think especially about women politicians in leading positions. Because of these developments the importance of political leader's communication and leading skills has increased.
This research focuses on the women position changes and the role of women as political leaders in the media. Women have gradually established a strong presence in the political leadership in Finland during recent years. Finland has world's matriarchal government and various political parties have lately tried to modernize their images with women leaders. Despite of that most woman leaders are still quite invisible in the media. According this research papers gave very slightly visibility to women in political decision-making positions. This study also clarifies how the gender seems to effect on political power, communication and especially handling in media. The research also finds out how the media describes women in political decision-making positions. Structural changes in communication and leading culture are considered by historical perspective and perspective of international changes. The research is based mainly on qualitative and quantitative content analyses of the four most read newspapers (two tabloids and two quality dailies) in Finland.

THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN COMMUNICATIONS POLICY DEVELOPMENT IN KENYA
Vanessa Malila

My research examines the role of the media in communications policy in developing countries. Traditional research investigating the media-policy relationship has concentrated on the manner in which the media cover and report on policy debates, development and implementation and the resultant influence of this coverage on the policy process. What has been glaringly neglected is research on other types of media involvement in policy, particularly as a stakeholder in communications policy. While an examination of the role of media in policy will have to examine the media's coverage of the policy process, there are other important influences the media can have on policy. These include as lobbyists or advocates for policy change, stakeholders in policy as part of multistakeholder partnerships and the less formal relationship the media have with politicians.
The examination of the role of the media in communications policy will take place within the context of current globalization trends. Globalization has influenced both the kinds of communications policy being formulated, and also the manner in which communications policy is being developed and debated globally and locally. I would argue that perhaps one of the biggest influences of globalization on the media's role in the communications policy process was the establishment of Multistakeholder Partnerships (MSPs). These MSPs initiated a change in the interaction between the media and communications policy, allowing the media to (potentially) play a direct role in policy formation as stakeholders in the policy and through the partnerships to influence the direction and outcome of policy.

THE POWER OF SMEARS IN TWO AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.
Marco Morini - University of Pavia, Italy, and Christian Vaccari - University of Bologna, Italy

Negative campaigning is a communication strategy frequently employed in American elections. However, sometimes personal attacks cross the border represented by the truthfulness of their content and become authentic slanders.
This article compares the two main cases of mudslinging that characterized the American Presidential campaigns of 2004 and 2008. These are, respectively, the attack led by the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth against the military career and the subsequent pacifist turn of John Kerry; and the smear, spread around the Web, that claimed that Barack Obama was Muslim. This research describes the origin and the consequences of the two slanders, focusing on the differences and the analogies of the two smear campaigns in terms of their content and their communication strategies. It then investigates the role played by the different media platforms, the importance of a prompt answer by the recipients of the accusations, and the response of public opinion. Finally, the comparison of the cases allows to point out some conditions for the success or failure of mudslinging in contemporary American political communication.

NEWS MEDIA AND "DON'T KNOWS" PUBLIC OPINION TOWARDS EUROPEAN ENLARGEMENT IN FRANCE, GREECE AND IRELAND
Yioryos Nardis

This paper explores the role of news media exposure on public opinion towards EU enlargement, with particular attention to the existence of attitudes. The latest enlargement wave was the largest and arguably most important in the history of the EU. However, a large number of Europeans could not express an opinion when asked if they support or oppose enlargement. Furthermore, while overall support for enlargement fell between 2002 and 2007, the levels of "don't know" responses

essentially remained the same. Three nations with varying degrees of public support for enlargement (France, high opposition; Greece, high support; Ireland; high indifference) are analyzed using 2002 and 2007 Eurobarometer surveys. I find that in the two countries with high decisiveness, increased television news and newspaper consumption does not predict having an opinion. In Ireland, where indifference is highest, having an opinion is moderated by knowledge of European

affairs. For Irish respondents with low knowledge, increased television news consumption is more likely to lead to having an opinion on enlargement. For those with high knowledge, television and

newspaper consumption does not play a role in holding an opinion. The 2002 and 2007 data sets yield similar results. Implications for the European integration literature are also discussed.

FROM A PRETTY BOY TO A HARLOT: MEDIA METAPHORS AND THE CASTING OF NICK CLEGG DURING THE 2010 UK GENERAL ELECTION
Katy Parry and Kay Richardson

This paper focuses on metaphorical depictions of Liberal Democrat leader Nick Clegg, drawing on a selective audit from television, radio, blogs and newspapers during the 2010 general election period. The unexpected flurry of excitement produced by Clegg's rise in visibility during the already heightened fervour of an election campaign offers a unique opportunity to observe the hasty moulding and re-moulding of a new political persona. Across the mediascape, 'beyond' the news coverage, both professional media outlets and the public employed an expressive range of critique and humour to comment and reflect on Clegg's new-found appeal.

We present examples and analysis of the various mediated attempts to ascribe to Nick Clegg certain characteristics and values through the use of labelling, metaphor, and other literary/popular culture allusions, across a variety of communicative forms (including spoken and written word, music, film and cartoons). Particularly apparent are: the use of emotion-laden language; references to Clegg's physicality; and the dominance of the more unusual political metaphor, not of war or sport, but of sex and romance. It is especially in the unpicking of the sexual metaphor that our research reveals tendencies toward moralistic prurience, and prompts wider queries about the current mediated styling of political culture.

PARTISAN IMAGE IN BRAZILIAN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS: ABOUT ELECTORAL ADVERTISING ON TELEVISION (1989-2006)
Marcia Ribeiro Dias

The Brazilian electoral law guarantees free access to political parties to advertising on television. The "Free Time Electoral Advertising" (HGPE) is devoted to political parties, who

have the task of defining both its format as its content within the limits imposed by Brazilian law. Highly partisan environment, the HGPE usually surprises by the absence of its host. This paper is, firstly, to verify, in quantitative terms, the participation of political parties in presidential campaigns during the exhibition of their television advertising. Secondly, to investigate the quality of that participation, i.e., to determine whether the parties have set themselves the leading or supporting role of the electoral campaign on television. It is intended to (1) describe the evolution of party image which was built by candidates in their advertising on television between 1989 and 2006; (2) correlate and analyze data to make a diagnosis of party size in Brazilian electoral propaganda.

Key-words: political parties, presidential campaigns, television advertising, Brazil.

BEHIND THE BACKS OF PUBLIC POLITICIANS: POLITICAL CONSULTANTS, TECHNOLOGISTS AND SPIN DOCTORS IN RUSSIAN POLITICS
Susanna Pshizova

Post-communist Russia missed the initial stages of the evolution of political consulting, which originated in the bowels of the old democratic systems in response to changing social and communicative context. The finished product was imported along with other patterns of western political institutions in the course of democratization in the early 1990-s. But unlike, say, a multiparty system, alternative elections or some other elements of the cultivated model of representative democracy, the advent of political consultants and "new political technologies" to the political scene has not been considered by reformers as a target or an indispensable prerequisite of the democratization. On the contrary, proclaiming standards and ideals of political life, even to some extent, contradicted the very possibility of successful development of such business.

Integration of political consultants, technologists and spin doctors in the process of political communication of post-Soviet Russia occurred spontaneously, without much publicity, without any ideological justification , solely as a response to the pragmatic demands of elite groups. Moreover, Russian socio-political context has generated more developed, "complete" forms and methods of operation of this relatively young political institution, unknown to countries with historically more durable and strong democratic traditions. For example, here we can see not only the use of spin for control of information in the mass media, but also a focused management of the entire political enterprise, including the creation of political parties.

The paper will be devoted to the comparative analysis of the role of these characters in Russian politics.

GOVERNMENT COMMUNICATION STRATEGY AND QUALITY OF DEMOCRACY: ARGENTINA, CHILE AND URUGUAY 1990-2010
Matías Ponce

In the present article there will get the processes of management of the communication of government in Latin America (realizing review of countries of the south: Argentina, Chile, Uruguay) and his influence in the types (and levels) of political representation. How is legitimacy constructed from the management of communications of government in Latin America? Does this management of the communications of government of what way affect in the democratic governance of the system?

The aim is to describe the strategies of communication of government on the basis of the behavior of other two variables: political representation and democratic governance. There exist two paradigms of communication of government, one that it emphasizes in the unidirectional communication and other one who conceives to the communication of government as strategic and in network. Each of these strategies associates to a type of political representation and to a level of governance of the political system.

POLARISATION OF POLITICS AND NEW TYPE OF TELEVISED DEBATE IN SWITZERLAND

Sébastien Salerno - University of Geneva, Switzerland

A new form of televised political debate did not emerge on Télévision Suisse Romande (TSR) until it scheduled Infrarouge in 2004. The timing for the appearance of the new programme was not insignificant. Swiss political life at the time was marked by confrontation between the Social Democratic Party and Swiss People's Party. The on-going contest between the leftwing and extreme right parties polarised the country's political life and encouraged the leading public television channel to schedule a new political debate programme: Infrarouge. The public service channel's bosses wanted debate to take the form of a duel with two clearly identified sides confronting each other.

Our paper will show that the subjects chosen, guests selected and the way speaking time was managed were all designed to shape debate as a confrontation, a terrain until then almost exclusively inhabited by foreign television channels. The paper will also describe how the country's political leaders adapted to Infrarouge, which became TSR's flagship political show. It will close with thoughts on the significance of this political debate within the public broadcaster's overall schedules. The research draws on analysis of the content of televised debates shown on Infrarouge between 2004 and 2010 (244 programmes), and on two series of interviews, the first with TSR representatives, the second with governing party presidents.

MASS MEDIA DISCOURSE OF EXTERNAL ILLEGAL AND LABOR MIGRATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF KAZAKHSTAN

Lyubov Sartakova

The increase of migration activity either in Kazakhstan or other countries has resulted into having migration an integrated part of a country's policy and economy, also resulting that the migrants who came from abroad have become a part of society.

The mass-media is the subject that actively produces a certain perception that aids in the receiving society's acceptance towards migration in general and about migrants in particular. The given attitudes can be defined by having analyzed the content of the newspaper publications devoted to migration issues. In the given paper the author represents the results from the materials (articles and news stories) by the printed media completely devoted or mentioning indirectly the theme of external labor and illegal migration in Kazakhstan.

The author focuses her attention to the different discourse types that are formed in the printed media about the labor and illegal migrants in Kazakhstan, with attention to processes of migration as a whole.

The main result shows that the newspapers are actively popularizing a lot of negative stereotypes about migrants in Kazakhstan. The prevailing mass media discourse towards the

migrants is «defensive» in two of the largest newspapers in Kazakhstan. Thereby the local media actively appeals to the receiving masses by expressing the need to exclude the migrants from the rest of society.
Key words: media discourse, migrants, newspaper

WHAT'S POLITICS GOT TO DO WITH IT? THE DYNAMICS OF EVERYDAY ONLINE POLITICAL TALK
Richard Scullion, Dan Jackson and Mike Molesworth - Bournemouth University

Despite the reported benefits of political talk for a healthy democracy, evidence to date suggests that for most people political discussion is usually avoided and marginalized. Yet there are questions regarding political talk that remain worthy of detailed analysis. We argue that a greater understanding of everyday online political talk is significant because of its links with other expressions of political engagement, and more grandly, because we need to honour the importance of people's ability to control what is 'publicly sayable' as an essential part of what power is (Scott 1990).
In this paper we ask the following questions in the context of the burgeoning online spaces where people talk about their everyday reality: to what extent and under what circumstances does everyday online talk become political? How does such talk respond to political events, political communication and media coverage of politics? What is the nature of such talk: when is it edifying, cynical, informed, purposeful or shallow? Do citizens make connections between their lived experiences and public policy, and if so, how? In order to capture the everydayness of political talk amongst citizens, we deliberately shift the focus of much previous research in this sphere away from overtly political online spaces and draw data from a qualitative and quantitative analysis of three popular general interest UK-based discussion forums over the course of six months in 2010. The paper will present some of the headline findings from this study, which will be considered in the light of ongoing debates about the nature of political engagement in the UK, and the role of the media and political communications in fostering a democratic culture.

THE CULTURAL POLITICS OF COPYRIGHTS IN TWO EARLY SOCIAL MEDIA CASES
Zoetanya Sujon - London School of Economics and Political Science

Henry Jenkins' argues that media convergence creates a cultural logic shaped by participatory culture and peer production. For Jenkins' the link between "new participatory skills" and the technical affordances of social media are instrumental for "new models of cultural production" (Jenkins 2006: 246). Indeed, user-generated content is understood to blur the boundaries between producers and users, resulting in power shifts from institutions to individuals. Yet, there are also concerns that there are exploitative relationships fostered through the use of user generated for private profits. This paper calls attention to such imbalances in the cultural politics of user generated content, asking "what are the terms and conditions for participation" in two early social media platforms? Based on an analysis of the terms of use in two case studies, the BBC's "iCan" and Proboscis' "Urban Tapestries," I argue that formal distinctions between producers and users are actively maintained. The terms of use allocate rights to producers and their organizations, guaranteeing that producers retain rights to control, own and distribute all user generated content. In contrast, users forfeit all rights to any content,

event content they have generated. These findings demonstrate a stark gap between collectively oriented, participatory, user-oriented rights and exploitative rules and practices within each case.

RETHINKING THE ROLE OF LEGITIMACY IN SOURCE-REPORTER RELATIONS.

Ian Taylor - Loughborough University

Questions of legitimacy are central to source-reporter relations since the matter of legitimacy lies at the heart of the levels of access to the news media that any given source can be expected to attain on a regular basis, and because legitimacy is also key to the measure of influence that a source may exert over media discourses. Despite this, questions of media legitimacy remain under-theorised in media research.

A useful starting point was made by Daniel Hallin (1986), who proposed that there were several different 'spheres of legitimacy' into which competing political agents may be placed. But the model has its shortcomings and is in need of further refinement so that it can be more productively applied in research. This paper suggests a number of modifications to Hallin's original formulation to this end. It does so by drawing upon various examples from the reporting of the Iraq War and opposition to it in order to illustrate and justify the proposed modifications.

Key words: source-reporter relations; legitimacy; Iraq War controversy.

MONARCHY, JESTERS, POLITICIANS AND AUDIENCES COMPARISON OF TV SATIRE IN UK AND SPAIN

José Luis Valhondo Crego - Rey Juan Carlos University. Madrid. Spain

Satire programmes have become a frequent form of political communication on TV. After the liberalization of media and the globalization of formats, countries like Spain have adopted satirical formats derived from earlier ones, which relied on old traditions from nearly the inception of television similar to the United Kingdom.

The goal of this article is to build a definition of the genre, taking into account the examples of the two mentioned countries and, also, referring to both periods, before and after liberalization. We will use a comparative methodology relative to the profile of the audiences, of the jesters of satire and the role played by the politicians through the short history of television satire.

The results point to an evolution. During the sixties in the past century, the genre targeted the middle classes, writers tried to popularize politics for a society respectful to the Establishment and politicians censored the program in case it created an imbalance between ideological options during elections. In the nineties, satire jesters acquired the main role in the show and the politicians not only immunized themselves against satire but seemed to take advantage of it.

YOUTUBE AS A POLITICAL ADVERTISING TOOL: CASE STUDY OF THE USE OF YOUTUBE IN THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT ELECTIONS 2009

Lucia Vesnic-Alujevic, Sofie Van Bauwel

Political campaigns are made to attract citizens' attention. The beginning of the use of

YouTube in political communication is linked with the appearance of web 2.0 generation, namely social media sites and user generated content. Since the number of users of social media sites in Europe constantly grows, the first time that these websites were used in political marketing purposes for the European Parliament elections, was in 2009. By means of quantitative content analysis, this research has focused on the electoral campaign for the European Parliament elections held in June 2009, led by several political parties (members of EPP, S&D, ALDE groups in the European Parliament and also Newropeans) in four EU states (France, Italy, Ireland, Slovenia) on YouTube. It has tried to answer several questions about the video production elements, party strategies and response of the online audiences on them. Results have shown that despite a raising interest in web 2.0 among citizens in Europe, this way of campaigning still needs further development.
Key words: political campaign, European elections, content analysis, political parties

CELEBRITY POLITICIANS: THE HOLLYWOOD-WASHINGTON NEXUS AND THE POLITICS OF SHOWBIZ

Mark Wheeler - London Metropolitan University

John Street's work has the value of seeking to characterise how celebrity politics is consistent with a liberal democratic ethos. He contends that such a usage of fame is neither an exceptional or exaggerated form of representation, but a vital characteristic of modern political culture. Thus, Street's analysis has proved vital in defining the distinction within the field of Celebrity Politicians (CP) between those politicians who have used their celebrity to encourage their political worth (CP1s) and the growing significance of celebrities lending their fame to political causes (CP2s). Most especially, it provides an analytically sophisticated typology through which to identify how celebrity operates as a form of political capital.
Consequently, Street's approach concerning CPs 1 and 2 may be employed, along with the work of other scholars such as Douglas Kellner who define the 'media spectacle', to consider the interplay of Hollywood-Washington relations in terms of celebrity activism, political engagement and diplomatic initiatives. With reference to Hollywood, the CP 1 and 2 distinction leads to an analysis of how the political classes have historically and contemporaneously embraced celebrity values in US election campaigns and have utilised Hollywood film stars as visual metaphors for their worth and advisors for their own performance. Similarly, these distinctions will enable this analysis to consider the history of and current dynamics of CP2 activism in Hollywood and discuss how this has been orchestrated through partisan campaigning, political activism with varying outcomes (e.g Civil Rights, Anti-War Movements and Environmentalism) and an engagement in celebrity diplomacy as film stars have lent their support to the United Nations' and international non-governmental organisations' (NGOs) causes.
Further, in the American experience, the distinction goes beyond the rhetorical and Street's work will enable this analysis to explore the irony that while Hollywood remains a predominantly liberal-centrist political constituency (CP2s) its most successful celebrities come elected politicians have been conservatives and Republicans including Ronald Reagan and Arnold Schwarzenegger (CP1s).

POLITICS AS USUAL? REVOLUTION, NORMALISATION AND A NEW AGENDA FOR ONLINE DELIBERATION

Scott Wright - UEA

The suggestion that new media might revolutionise politics persists as one of the most influential and popular discourses. There has been a burgeoning scholarly response, often framed through the polarising "revolution" and "normalisation" "schools" (Margolis and Resnick, 2000; Davis, 2009). This article argues that the schism between revolution and normalisation has negatively influenced subsequent empirical analyses of political conversation online (and of e-democracy studies more generally). First, it will argue that scholars have failed to consider the nature of revolutionary change in any detail, tending to frame and interpret their research findings with the very technologically-determinist accounts of revolutionary change of which they are so critical. Second, it will argue that the revolution/normalisation frame has led researchers to disproportionately analyse existing political institutions and practices, often using narrow definitions of politics and normative underpinnings that simply may not be relevant in the context of new media. Finally, the article argues that the revolution/normalisation frame may have led researchers to interpret their empirical data in an unduly negative way. Combined together the revolution/normalisation frame shapes the selection of cases, the choice of research questions and how subsequent results are interpreted – with the danger that researchers are being unduly pessimistic about the prevalence and nature of political debate online. The critique will lead to a series of suggestions about how scholars should take online deliberation research forward.

VIRTUAL POLITICAL SPACES

Helen Yanacopulos - The Open University, UK

During the past decade, we have been witness to an increase in political activism, focussed on issues of inequality, trade justice, debt cancellation – what has been loosely termed global economic justice. The associated transnational activism and advocacy is diverse and is inevitably located in a 'place'. But what if the place of this activism is changing – what if the place is now virtual? It is well documented that the Internet has enabled transnational advocacy, and has been key tool for social movement organisers to mobilize and communicate with supporters about demonstrations and political actions. However, during the last few years, new developments broadly termed Web 2.0 – a more interactive form of the World Wide Web - have been providing platforms for different forms of engagement and activism. By using Web 2.0 platforms, users are not only able to generate and upload content onto their own websites, extend their social/political networks (such as on Facebook), but also interact and protest in virtual worlds such as Second Life. This aim of this paper is to explore the virtual space of activism and to examine connections with real life activism and advocacy on global justice issues and campaigns.

THE STRATEGIC COMMUNICATION OF HIJACKINGS: SOME LESSONS FROM HOW THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT MANAGED THE CRISIS OF THE ALAKRANA

Rocío Zamora Media - José Carlos Losada Díaz

In early October 2009, the "Alakrana", a Basque tuna trawler was hijacked by an obscure group of Somali pirates near the Indian Ocean, with 36 member crew, 16 of them were Spanish. During the 47 days of the Alakrana hijacking, all the social and political actors had an evident presence on mass media in order to frame this crisis. The main political actor, the Spanish government of Rodriguez Zapatero, showed from the beginning a weak position in the public information flows related the negotiation process with the hijackers and implicates. The political discourse related the Alakrana hijacking was disseminate among mass media and event families quite slow, with contradictory or even no contrasted information, and a lack of message coordination among different Ministers affected. The Alakrana crisis resolution came when the Basque tuna trawler was liberated, after a suspicious pay –no recognized by the Spanish government- and with the failed in the capture of the Somali pirates when they tried to escape.

This paper seeks to shed light on some of the communication management mistakes related to how the Spanish government managed this crisis. For that purpose, strategic communication in crisis approach serves as a base of analysis, taking into account also the framing theory from strategic actors (Entman, 1993) to demonstrate the governmental failure in the definition of the message and the resolution of this crisis. The final reflection deserves to be considered on the part of the political actors working on how managing future kidnappings as a public matter that, as it's been noticed, occupies more and more evidence in the political agenda and also in the media agenda.

MEDIA INSTRUMENTS IN POLICY DEVELOPMENTS AND PROGRAMS IMPLEMENTATION

Juan-Antonio Zornoza Bonilla

This paper proposes to study some media instruments in policy developments and programs implementation in a comparative prospective between local and national governments. Elections and Governments share new media instruments to market their goals. In the first case, every political party drives their jobs trough permanent media mechanisms in order to show their candidates. Government policies and programs also are shown to communities securing their success. The objective of this work is to examine a study case: Medellin and Colombia governments 2004-2008. Colombian President Alvaro Uribe Velez and Medellin Mayor Sergio Fajardo Valderrama often use several communication media to appear in radio and TV channels since their elections until their governments' actions. Really they spent the government time getting the attention of people and persuading them about the forces of their government actions in TV and Radio programs. The Media enterprises examined in this research are Caracol Radio and TV and Telemedellin. The popularity of both grew like foam gradually. This research shows haw new media instruments help candidates and governors to do their jobs.