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“Media Performance and Democracy – The Debate Continues”

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Rodney Tiffen, University of Sydney

Media Regimes and Democratic Trajectories – How Hallin and Mancini Complement Lijphart’s Approach to Democratic Politics

Arend Lijphart’s work transformed the comparative study of democracies. He overturned the earlier Anglo-Saxon bias endorsing the superiority of majoritarian democracies in favour of an emphasis on the importance of power-sharing. He made increasingly stronger claims for what he called consensual democracies, that they were ‘kinder, gentler democracies’.

Lijphart includes many aspects of democratic institutions and processes, but one that receives no attention is the media. Hallin and Mancini’s pioneering work on the different types of democratic media regimes, like Lijphart’s, overturned a previous consensus, which often pictured the Anglo-American model of liberal media as the peak of democracy.

Hallin and Mancini identified three types of media regime: In the liberal model, independence of the news media from the state and from political parties was the key principle, with traditions of journalistic independence and professionalism, growing initially from a strong commercial press. Later, although the state played a central role in the development of television, there was often a strong commercial presence as well. The second group they called democratic corporatist, mainly involving countries from north-western Europe. These countries also had a strong press from early times, independent of government, although tied more closely to political parties and social groups, but with high standards of professionalism. The state played a central role in television, often with a public monopoly, but with strong traditions of autonomy. The third group, the polarized pluralist model, found mainly in Mediterranean countries, did not have an early mass circulation press, and the journalism that developed was strongly opinionated, less oriented to reporting. The state played a central role in the development of television but with less autonomy.

When we combine Lijphart’s and Hallin and Mancini’s typologies and apply them to 21 long-standing, affluent, stable democracies, it yields four main groupings. All six of Hallin and Mancini’s liberal models are also majoritarian democracies. All ten of their democratic corporatist countries are among Lijphart’s consensual democracies. However their third category polarized pluralist cuts across the other two, with three majoritarian and two consensual polities.

When, following and extending Lijphart, the democratic performance of different types are examined, in some ways polarized pluralist seems more basic than either of Lijphart’s models. They perform consistently worse on such measures as corruption and the quality of democracy.

Lijphart looks at other policy measures, finding for example that consensus democracies have larger public sectors, more generous welfare states and less inequality. Some of these are qualified when we include the media variable, and others such as examining budget deficits, net government debt and long-term unemployment yield more mixed results.

While as Hallin and Mancini argue, there are some trends towards convergence, on other aspects of media, such as relative performance on newspaper circulation, transparency and political trust, the democratic corporatist countries out-perform the liberal ones.

Mark Hannah, New York University

Democratic Drivers of ‘Free Flow’ and ‘Fair Flow’ News – The NWICO Debates Reexamined in the Global Era

As geopolitical tensions are mounting between the United States and Russia, this paper will examine a recent historical case in which the culture of the Western, commercial model of the press and the culture of a socialist, public interest model of the press came into stark contrast. Specifically, this case consists of the international debates over the “New World Information and Communications Order” (NWICO) which were hosted by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) during the 1970s and 1980s. These debates provided the democratic rationales for and against the commercial press and, more important for the purpose of this analysis, they clarify the various and competing beliefs, values and assumptions about media performance which animate ongoing debates. The paper will draw in recent case studies involving national media systems which have more recently transitioned, or are currently in a stage of transition, from the socialist, public interest model of the press, and so a contemporary reflection upon the NWICO debates will help examine the stakes, and values at the root, of current debates over the core democratic function – and responsibilities – of news organizations.

“Globalization” has been a watchword among political scientists, international relations experts and communication scholars for well over two decades. For many who try to stay at the vanguard of their discipline, looking forward more intently than they look back, its meaning has become internalized, naturalized, taken for granted. That certain economic or informational networks have, in the contemporary era, gained a global reach is beyond dispute. Technological progress has unencumbered the transportation of people and ideas, which circulate with unprecedented rapidity and recurrence. States have negotiated to loosen restrictions on trade and migration. This has led capital, cultural products and crime to flow among international syndicates ever more freely. These “free flow” process are often interpreted as the natural extensions of globalization. Yet, not that long ago, the free flow of communication internationally was a political doctrine of the United States and a few Western countries, and not a human rights principle enjoying a nearly global consensus. The globalization of information, which followed a path of political and economic deregulation, could just as easily have followed the path of regulation – spreading standards of journalistic professionalism, curbing media companies’ ambitions for economic expansion, and compelling national media systems toward certain political principles and social responsibilities.

This paper will offer an updated investigation of the NWICO debates, situated within the context of contemporary media freedom debates, as well as a new cultural analysis of the MacBride Report, the controversial 1980 report which led to the United States withdrawal of UNESCO.

Vietnam Journalism Ethics: Somewhere In-Between

The Report on Media Obstructions in Vietnam 2011-2016 pointed out that the numbers of journalists are obstructed are increased. However, the lack of proper practices of common ethical and professional standards is known as one of the main reason. As a deeper research, News Performance Index (NPI) is an initiation to understand to what extend the Vietnam journalism (mainstream media) satisfy the requirements of common ethical and professional standards.

NPI utilizes content analysis, reader surveys, and in-depth interview with experts as the main methods in its piloting phase. The reader surveys are employed on 300 audiences in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh city, where the samples are chosen in one rural commune and one urban district in each city. The selected samples are stratified by ages and genders.

This paper argues that, in the view of the audience, the journalism in Vietnam (mainstream media) have not fully satisfied the requirements of common ethical and professional standards (CEPS). First, the rural audience tends to believe than the satisfaction of the journalism on the CEPS better than the urban ones. Secondly, the older the audience is, the more they believe in the satisfaction of the journalism on the CEPS. Finally, the loyal audience of television and print newspaper believe better on the satisfaction of the journalism on the CEPS than the audience of online newspaper and social media.

Linards Udris, Mario Schranz, Jörg Schneider, Lucie Hauser & Mark Eisenegger, University of Zurich:
“Media Performance, Stratification and Segmentation – Main Findings from the ‘Yearbook Quality of the Media’ in Switzerland”

It is a truism that media performance is contested. But while the related functions of the media (e.g. forum, legitimization, integration) and possible trade-offs among them have been triggering constant scholarly debate, for instance in the debates about the “burglar alarm” and the “full news standard” model, there is hardly any debate about which types of social differentiation media performance addresses or should address. In social theory, it is clear that any society is shaped by processes of differentiation and de-differentiation in three different but interlinked dimensions: the functional, the stratificatory, and the segmentary dimension. But in research on media performance, scholars tend to focus on one dimension only, sometimes not even making explicit why they leave out the other two dimensions. For example, a majority of the comparative literature on media performance addresses mainly the functional dimension, focusing on the relationship of the media with the political system (mediatization research). At the same time, it neglects the stratificatory dimension, i.e. the “question of power”, and also the segmentary dimension, for instance how media performance relates to different user segments on the level of the audience or to different geographical scope segments (e.g. foreign news reporting vs. national news) on the level of media content.

Against this background, our presentation will show how these three dimensions could be linked and examined empirically. It will provide results from an ongoing large-scale research project in Switzerland on news performance, where an annual “Yearbook Quality of the Media” has been published since 2010. The project relies on survey data and our own content analyses of more than 60 different news outlets of various media types and channels.

Combining data on the audience and the content level and using an encompassing approach capturing all three differentiation dimensions, we will present findings on user segments and their according news repertoires. One of the findings is that a specific cluster of news users has been growing rapidly in Switzerland; these users clearly differ from other user groups in socio-demographic terms (segmentation), and they use precisely those news outlets of measurably lower-quality content which are also more prone to instrumentalization attempts by populist actors (stratification) and that are highly commercialized (functional dimension).

Josef Seethaler & Maren Beaufort, Austrian Academy of Sciences

“Putting the DEMOS Back in Democracy: Theoretical Considerations on the Role of Journalism and the Media in a Democratic Society”

Not at least since the “third wave” of democratization, but also along with the revolutionary innovations in communication technologies which have created an electronic backbone for globalization (and are thus expected to lead to a new, economy-driven cultural imperialism), democracy-oriented research approaches which regard news quality as essential for safe-guarding democratic quality are gaining ground in research on quality of news (Curran, 2000; Ferree et al., 2002; Zaller, 2003; Strömbäck, 2005; Albaek et al., 2014; Jandura & Friedrich, 2014).

Most basically, two conceptualizations can be distinguished (to use Blumler and Coleman’s (2015) insightful dichotomy): one acting as “a visionary destination” of “what the system would look like if communication, citizenship and democracy were firmly and securely harnessed to each other”, and the other as “a journey” towards this destination, “taking as its point of departure certain evident inadequacies of the prevailing system and proposing ways to counteract, eliminate and improve upon them”. Obviously, the first approach evaluates media quality (purely) normatively, while the second approach tries to reconcile norms with reality. Both approaches deserve prominent positions on academic road maps (as Blumler and Coleman have noted).

In our presentation, we will argue along three lines:

- (1) Rejecting the assumption of a sole model of democracy to be imposed on all societies, opens the way to notice different mechanisms of realization of democratic principles, including the role of the media.
- (2) Because different notions of democracy are not only present in different societies, but exist alongside one another within *one* society, different media can be viewed as having different functions within the democratic system, calling for different criteria of quality.
- (3) When the quality of media reporting depends on notions of democracy shared by an essential part of the population, then the views of these citizens on how the media should operate to ensure what is considered a ‘public good’ have to be taken seriously.

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Journalistic Quality and Ethnic Media: Which Quality for Which Media?

The concept of ethnicity is focused on different approaches how to deal with ethnic groups in societies. Integration and identity interact with each other; both concepts are mostly communicative categories and are embedded in social interactions among different members of ethnic groups (majority and minorities). Hence, these communicative processes enter the public sphere. Immigrants are not only a part of the national territory, they are also involved in a “moral” community with rights and obligations (Anderson 1983).

For immigrants, community involvement means not only entering a community but also being accepted by the majority. Journalists are transporting different attitudes and values by their reporting on ethnic minorities. Hence, journalistic quality is an issue that affects the whole public. Defining quality of journalism “is not merely a question of increasing the value of a product to consumers. Rather, quality is a central element in achieving the social, political, and cultural goals asserted for journalism in democratic societies” (Picard 2000, 97).

Ethnic media are produced for immigrant, ethnic or language minority groups, and play different roles for the ethnic community members. The presentation discusses how to define specific criteria of journalistic quality for the ethnic media. The ethnic media have to fulfill specific aims, they have “important social, cultural, and political roles” (Matsaganis et al. 2011, 266). Ethnic media are a resource for immigrants, and are published in the language of the ethnic group, bilingually or in the language of the majority. One attribute of the journalistic quality thereby is how comprehensible the articles are written in respect of contextualization and of the readers’ language proficiency. Additional quality attributes to be discussed are:

- financial independence from the home country
- ideological independence from the home country
- neutrality against religion
- information concerning the host country
- consideration of diversity of the ethnic group (e.g. cultural diversity)
- intercultural issues
- empowerment of the members of the ethnic group (self expression)
- participation of the members of the ethnic group

The approach of defining quality attributes of ethnic media has an essential function for the public and serves the idea of a democratic society. These mentioned attributes represent a first step in developing additional journalistic quality dimensions for the ethnic media, and of course further research is needed to elaborate specific journalistic quality attributes for ethnic media. The ethnic media constitute special possibilities for communication, representation and imagination. Additionally, ethnic media have the chance to encourage members of different ethnic groups to be more engaged in the society and to perceive their status as a positive contribution to the host country.

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Youth in Revolt: The Democratic Potential of Campus Newspaper Protest Coverage

In fall 2015, a series of events largely related to racial tensions rocked the University of Missouri in Columbia, Missouri, culminating in a campus-wide protest led by a group of African American students (Weinberg & Blatchford, 2015). The protest ended with the resignations of the university system president and campus chancellor (Weinberg & Blatchford, 2015). Students at other U.S. universities organized their own protests in support of the Missouri students and to draw attention to race-related problems on their campuses. These events drew news coverage from national and international media outlets as well as student-led campus media.

Social movements rely on the news media for mobilization, validation, and scope enlargement (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993). Protestors may also adopt the language and cultural codes of media outlets to attract attention and favorable coverage (Gamson & Wolfsfeld, 1993). However, mainstream media coverage of protests largely reinforces a protest paradigm (Chan and Lee, 1984; Gitlin, 1980; McLeod, 2007), or an “implicit template for the coverage of social protest” (McLeod & Hertog, 1999, p. 311). Summarizing literature on the protest paradigm, Xu (2013) describes six key elements: an emphasis on lawlessness and violence; depicting protestors rather than protest goals; highlighting internal dissent; covering public disapproval of the protest; quoting official sources to explain the protest; and emphasizing negative implications of protests.

Student journalists produce content for student audiences, reflecting their fears, concerns, and debates. Through engaging with college media content, students come together in a community that is defined as much by physical geography as it is by the mental act of collective imagining (Steenveld & Strelitz, 2010). Moreover, college students prefer the campus newspaper over a professionally produced community publication (Collins & Armstrong, 2008). Analysis of college newspaper content has revealed a strong focus on campus issues (Lyon Payne & Mills, 2015) and indicates that this local emphasis enhances publications’ utility to their readers (Lin, 2000). Campus media may reflect the characteristics of alternative media in their commitment to fostering social and political inclusion among students and influencing public debate to produce active citizens (Harcup, 2011).

Drawing from timelines and summaries published by national media such as *The Atlantic* and *Mother Jones* depicting the trajectory of these events in fall 2015, we have identified campus protests that took place in support of or in conjunction with the University of Missouri’s event. We have identified the student-run newspaper at each institution and searched each publication’s website for articles about protests published between September 1, 2015, and May 31, 2016. We have collected 377 articles from 11 publications. Through qualitative textual analysis, we aim to uncover the themes evident in coverage of campus protests in student newspapers, paying particular attention to the presence of the protest paradigm in these articles as well as the ways content deviates from the norms of mainstream media protest coverage. Ultimately, this study endeavors to elucidate how news content written for college students makes protests visible and presents a space for public discourse, community meaning-making, and civic engagement.

Different Audience – Different Journalistic Style? Tabloid Journalism as Alternative Public Sphere

“Tabloid culture is destroying political reporting”, the British politician Chris Mullin stated in an essay in “The Guardian” in 2009. He claims that in recent years a tabloid virus has spread beyond the traditional tabloids, even into the broadcast media. The underlying normative assumption of this quote is that there is a qualitative “good” and a “bad” tabloidized type of political coverage. Also in communication science, tabloid journalism is accused of lowering the standards of public discourse. Especially, political coverage in tabloid journalism is criticized for its personalized and selective presentation of political actors, processes and outcomes. Since tabloid journalism is also blamed to foster cynicism and political apathy (e.g. Prior, 2005), ignoring the real political issues in favor of superficial political scandal, it is also accused to endanger democracy (e.g. van Zoonen, 2005). However, this normative distinction is questionable because political information and entertainment are mixed nevertheless and tabloids have a wide reach in many Western countries (Johansson 2006; Renger, 2002). Therefore, the paper investigates the political coverage in tabloid journalism to reevaluate its democratic potential and societal functions.

An alternative interpretation of the political coverage’s potential in entertainment oriented journalism offer theoretical concepts that comprehend the public sphere as network, consisting of a multitude of communication and debate forums (Gerhards, 1998). Therein, tabloid journalism serves as an alternative public (debate) sphere for subordinated groups that are underrepresented in the “mainstream mediated public sphere”. Thus, tabloid journalism fulfills a different function within a democratic society and its democratic potential lies in its alternative character, since it covers different issues, uses different forms, gives voice to different participants and enables them to participate in the public discourse (Örnebring & Jönsson, 2004; Johansson, 2006, 2007).

The methodological approach combines a qualitative content analysis with a framing analysis and focuses on Germany, as one exemplary country with a very diverse media market and a high reach of tabloid journalism. To identify long-term changes, the investigation period lasts from 1956 to 2014, contains seven sampling points and includes seven different German tabloid magazines as investigation units (Bild am Sonntag, Stern, Bunte, Gala, Superillu, Neue Revue, Die Aktuelle). In total 129 articles in 36 tabloid magazines were analyzed using an elaborative coding scheme that was partly derived from respective theoretical and empirical studies.

Results reveal, that the political topics presented, quoted actors as well as the use of episodic news frames and the rising degree of narrativity highly differ from quality news journalism. Additionally, the discussed topics and the style of reporting are particularly oriented at the experiences of ordinary citizens, sometimes also advocative in favor of marginalized groups in society (e.g. workers, jobless), and increasingly emphasize social grievances. On the one hand, political coverage in tabloid journalism partly fails to meet quality demands (e.g objectivity, separation of opinion and information). On the other hand, results to some extent confirm the assumption that the political coverage in tabloid journalism can serve as an alternative public (debate) sphere for marginalized or subordinated social groups.

How Political Atmosphere Affects Media Performance and Democracy in Turkey: Twitter Users' Reaction

Media has a crucial and dominant role to supply political information for citizens in democratic society. Karlekar and Becker (2014) show that press freedom is a key component to evaluate the level of democracy and there is a positive correlation between democracy and press freedom. It is an important communication channel that shapes up the public opinion. Therefore, a leader's key strategy for gaining domestic political support lies in influencing the content of the news media (Van Belle, 1997). Juergen Habermas (1985), defines media as a space for public discourse which must guarantee universal access and rational debate in a society. When freedom of the press is restricted by regulations or hampered by conglomeration, people start to utilize different communication channels for furthering public discourse. In such cases; social media starts to carry this burden and serves as the main source for information seekers. Thus, we'll discuss how change in the media landscape of Turkey affects social media environment.

Turkish politics has been dominated by the Justice and Development Party (AKP), led by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan for the last decade, winning all of the general elections between 2002 and 2015. However, AKP has been loosing support because of the fact that it has increased restrictions on the freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom of access to Internet. Furthermore, it has developed its own media by using its administrative and legal power against critical media groups and journalists (Fuller, 2013; Yardımcı-Geyikçi, 2014; Gürcan & Peker, 2015). According to recent report (Freedom House, 2015), Turkey's freedom of the press score was 58 in 2002 and it went down 65 in 2015 (0=Best, 100=Worst). The report concludes by highlighting how the freedom of the press in Turkey has deteriorated from "Partly Free" to "Not Free".

On our research, we will look into the changes within the structure of media (media companies' acquisitions, shut-downs and conglomeration) during the years between 2002 and 2015. By focusing on Twitter users' activities throughout the Turkish General Election of 2015, social and political activities will be analyzed. Under these violations of press freedom in Turkey, this study will aim to find out which media outlets are preferred (mainstream and non-mainstream ones), by Twitter users, for providing the political and social information to support their ideas. We will create Retweet and Mention networks and follow cascading (Easley & Kleinberg, 2010) behavior, based on their media links. We will then discuss how current political situation as well as the media structure could influence the Twitter users' atmosphere in Turkey.

Diversity as a Quality Standard of Search Engines. A Comparative Content Analysis of Algorithm-Based Search Results

Following democratic theory, citizens are obliged to stay well informed (Strömbäck 2005) about political and social issues – mainly so they can participate in public discourse and thus strengthen democracy. Therefore, journalism is required to deliver high quality coverage. In this context, diverse coverage – containing many different information elements and opinions – is a central element of media quality. The Internet with its unlimited space seems to be the ultimate solution for a good media performance in this respect. However, a high content diversity does not automatically result in a high exposure diversity (Napoli 1999). This is even more true in the digital flood of information where visibility mostly determines consumption. In this environment news consumers are not only guided by traditional journalistic gatekeepers but increasingly led by intermediaries like search engines who select and assign relevance to specific content while filtering out the rest (Latzer et al. 2016). Thereby, they have a great influence on the consumed content diversity.

Search engines have become an increasingly important news source (Newman et al. 2016). Through them, profit-oriented companies fulfil a function for democratic society which is comparable to that of traditional mass media. Contrary to the latter ones, they are not bound to a public remit – a fact that is increasingly criticized by both scientists and politicians.

However, due to a lack of empirical results, critical claims are mostly based on suggestions that search engines do not contribute sufficiently to a diverse news consumption. This study wants to close this research gap by conducting a quantitative content analysis of five search engines: The quasi-monopolist Google, its “largest” competitors in the German search engine market, Bing and Ask, and two alternative – e. g. concerning data protection – search engines, Ixquick and DuckDuckGo.

For the analysis, we captured ten result pages for every search engine. The search terms were based on political or social issues widely discussed in German media coverage between November 2015 and June 2016 (e. g. TTIP, refugee crisis, Brexit). For each result page, the first ten results including the linked piece of coverage (n=500) were analyzed with respect to 1) geographical diversity (reference to different countries), 2) information and opinion diversity (occurrence of information elements and opinions) and 3) diversity of people and groups (occurrence of people from different public spheres expressing an opinion). The second and third indicators were measured with detailed, issue-specific lists enabling to analyze content diversity on a detailed level.

First results show that Google delivers the highest overall diversity across all issues – but not with respect to each dimension. Bing provides the least diverse content. Besides, diversity largely depends on the issue. In general, each search engine allows a quite diverse news consumption. Further analyses will show whether these results can be confirmed concerning the single diversity dimensions and issues. As most users do not consult more than the first (three) result(s), the presentation will also shed light on diversity measures when focusing the analysis on these first search results.

Journalistic Role Perceptions as an Expression of Democratic Potentials? Comparative Evidence for the Democratic Orientation of European Journalists

Journalistic role perceptions are – as theoretical and empirical studies have extensively shown – a crucial starting point for understanding the outcomes of journalistic work, although there is no simple linear connection. To explore the relationship between democracy, journalistic role perceptions and media performance, it seems inevitable to start by examining different democratic perspectives, as they are each putting varying demands on journalists. This paper, therefore, introduces three different democratic models according to Ferree et al. (2002) to normatively describe specific responsibilities journalists should internalize in democratic societies. Each model emphasizes different democratic roles of the media and, thus, calls for different journalistic roles. First, the liberal-representative model stresses the detached dissemination of “objective” information which citizens as rational voters need. Second, the deliberative model emphasizes the initiation of equal public discourse to allow consensual decisions. Finally, the participatory model aims to actively motivate citizens to establish democracy as a “bottom-up”-project.

Based on this theoretical framework the paper aims to investigate which of the different role perceptions suggested by each democratic model are perceived to be the most important among journalists in different established democracies and which factors shape journalists’ democratic understanding of their role. This etic approach contributes to addressing the widely uninvestigated gap between journalistic goals and media performance from an actor-centered perspective in a comparative setting. By consulting different understandings of democracy the approach addresses the complex question of normative assessments by not rejecting but rather differentiating a normative perspective.

Empirical evidence is based on a large-scale survey of journalists in seven European democracies: Austria, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Spain and Sweden (N=4.614). It was carried out in 2014/15 to investigate the function of journalism within society. Håkansson and Mayerhöffer (2013) proved that political and journalistic actors in these countries support different notions of democracy and that these are connected with classical role perceptions of journalists. Drawing on these findings the present study covers new ground in arguing that journalistic role perceptions can be seen as an expression of democratic potentials among journalists. Journalists were asked to rate the importance of various potential roles. The roles emphasized by each of the democratic models were combined to three indices reflecting their different democratic orientation. In addition, the study investigates to which extent the importance of the three democratic orientations of journalistic roles vary across different media types in terms of channel, beats and media ownership. Results of this theory-driven deductive approach indicate that country-specifics shape, how different democratically relevant aspects of journalistic role perceptions co-exist. They show that countries substantially differ in the journalists’ identification with specific models of democracy, what has to be seen as an important basis for the potentials of their journalistic work.

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Media and Democratization in Cuba: From 'Poetic Sorcery' to 'Structural Witchcraft'

This paper examines the contradiction between Cuban journalists' demands for professionalization and the failure of those discourses to translate into empirical changes, both in journalistic practice and in the media model. According to official discourses, the Cuban media should go hand in hand with the so-called 'updating of the economic and social model' that Raul Castro implemented in 2011, and with the so-called process of normalisation with the United States. Nevertheless, this process of 'update' and 'thaw' has yet to produce tangible changes in the way journalism performs as practice. The data and previous research reveal the double contradiction that lays at the heart of the Cuban media system, which lags behind not only normative theory, but also official discourses of openness. Whereas some accounts see the passiveness of journalists as the main deterrent to change, a deeper analysis sheds light onto journalists' early awareness of their professional problems, as well as on their efforts to endure political propaganda.

This paper aims to understand the gap between media discourse and journalistic practice in Cuba through the analysis of twenty-five qualitative interviews with Cuban leading journalists, as well as unpublished research papers at the Faculty of Communication (University of Havana). Far from simple compliance, the data reveals that Cuban journalists have historically used a variety of resources to resist Party propaganda, and to serve readers rather than bureaucrats. While the 1980s process of 'rectification' widened professional autonomy, the economic and ideological crises posed by the disintegration of European socialism in the early 1990s dismantled the process of reforms. This weakened journalists' professional identity and status, thus leaving a deeply deprofessionalized media system, damaging journalists' autonomy and agency.

On the one hand, the data suggests only a limited impact on the way journalism is practiced on the Island due to an unclear political will to change the economic, political and legal structure in which the media operate, as well as to promote a change of mentality that puts democratization and citizen rights first. On the other hand, the findings suggest ground-breaking changes in journalists' perception of their agency, and their ability to go beyond stylistic changes in media content, demanding a 'structural witchcraft' that modifies the political and legal structures upon which the media depend. The slow but steady consolidation of digital, alternative spaces of debate, and academia-led research on the Cuban media model are widening the limits of what is possible. Overall, findings suggest that current debates on Cuban media are being inspired by more economically and technologically efficient models, such as the case of China, but also by Latin American models, more focused on empowering citizens and contributing, at least in theory, to the democratization of communication flows (Lugo-Ocando and García Santamaría, 2015).

Marlis Prinzing, Macromedia University Munich

Quality Research and Media at Crossroads: Constructive Debating Citizen Communities – An Overdue Ethical Commitment and Quality Feature?

The Report on Media Obstructions in Vietnam 2011-2016 pointed out that the numbers of journalists are obstructed are increased. However, the lack of proper practices of common ethical and professional standards is known as one of the main reason. As a deeper research, News Performance Index (NPI) is an initiation to understand to what extend the Vietnam journalism (mainstream media) satisfy the requirements of common ethical and professional standards.

NPI utilizes content analysis, reader surveys, and in-depth interview with experts as the main methods in its piloting phase. The reader surveys are employed on 300 audiences in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh city, where the samples are chosen in one rural commune and one urban district in each city. The selected samples are stratified by ages and genders.

This paper argues that, in the view of the audience, the journalism in Vietnam (mainstream media) have not fully satisfied the requirements of common ethical and professional standards (CEPS). First, the rural audience tends to believe than the satisfaction of the journalism on the CEPS better than the urban ones. Secondly, the older the audience is, the more they believe in the satisfaction of the journalism on the CEPS. Finally, the loyal audience of television and print newspaper believe better on the satisfaction of the journalism on the CEPS than the audience of online newspaper and social media.

Evaluating Media Performance in the Light of Fragmented Audiences

The analysis of media performance focuses media's contribution to the establishment of an integrative sphere of political debate as the basis of legitimization (e.g. Glasser 2009; Ferree et al. 2002). However, to which extent a democratic sphere can emerge does not only depend upon content characteristics: the audience and the question of who uses news media in which way must be taken into account for a holistic approach.

The news audiences' fragmentation and heterogeneity are characteristic traits. With a view towards political communication, processes of a parallel stratification and segmentation of the audience are apparent ("stratamentation", Bennett & Iyengar 2008). The milieu approach takes up this notion: According to this approach, basic political orientations and the closeness towards the political sphere are accompanied by specific news repertoires as well as modes of political communication on the individual level (Weiß 2009). Aggregations of individual data display group-specific patterns of heterogeneous political communication practices (Mahrt & Begeat 2013).

In order to evaluate media performance's role for the establishment of a public sphere, such heterogeneity of audience groups (milieus) must be regarded for two main reasons:

- a) Depending on specific audience groups, the sources of political information and thereby the degree of received media performance will differ.
- b) Depending on specific audience groups, the perception and processing of political news content will vary due to their members' predispositions. Hence, reciprocal effects between content and audience characteristics must be taken into account in order to assess media's potentiality.

In our study, we identified audience groups in Germany on the basis of a representative online survey (n=1.492, quota sample). As typological variables we captured the respondents' basic political orientations as well as their closeness towards politics through their internal and external political efficacy. Besides sociodemographic traits, we considered news media repertoires (13 sources including traditional and online media), modes of mediated and interpersonal communication, forms of political participation as well as individual issue agendas as descriptive variables. Based on a cluster analysis, we identified twelve distinct milieus. These groups can be placed within the two-dimensional typology of stratamentation.

Our presentation will incorporate the following facets:

- Descriptive overview of the main attributes of single milieu types.
- Explanation of the interplay between political orientations and practices of communication with regard to selective exposure, the processing of media content as well as diverging degrees of media performance.
- Discussion of the meaning of stratified and segmented audience groups for the establishment of a democratic and integrative public sphere.

Our typology can further be used as a media external benchmark to assess and interpret different degrees of media performance. For example, with regard to the dimension of diversity, the range of plurality of

value-related political positions could be examined. The comparison with the range of core political values of audience groups reveals how selectively or how pluralistically the media represent political heterogeneity. If media establish a forum for the open competition of positions or rather serve as “echo chambers” of homogeneous worldviews could be answered by such a comparison.