

**ICA 2016 - BRICS Media Pre-conference – Aoyama Gakuin University,  
Tokyo**

**Session 4 – 2.00 – 3.15 (Informal concurrent roundtables and audience  
interaction)**

Note:

- For works with multiple authors, the author attending the pre-conference is designated in **BOLD**
- No powerpoint necessary

**Slot 1: BRICS media and changing dynamics of audience and power**

**1. Dominique Lemoine**

Biography:

I am a first year PhD student in media studies at Université du Québec à Montréal (UQÀM) and I am working as a news-maker in Montréal since 2008 in the field of business and economics. My thesis project is about news construction mechanisms (such as information sources selection in news-making and Euro-Atlantic news-makers bias) in the coverage of international conflicts and tensions. A joint PhD program with Concordia University and Université de Montréal has given to me the opportunity to learn from and to contribute to a seminar about *Approaches to intellectual property and media piracy*. Its leader was scholar Fenwick McKelvey. During this seminar, I have produced a graded final paper about BRICS medias and I would like to submit its content to roundtable discussions.

Title:

BRICS news-making as uncharted waters for Euro-Atlantic audiences

Abstract:

This paper asserts that disillusion with regard to Euro-Atlantic privately and state-owned medias with worldwide reach led global audiences to consume rising BRICS state-owned medias with worldwide reach. It then also argues that doubts and disillusion with regard to BRICS state-owned medias are feeding hunger for edgy or say pirate news-making alternatives about international conflicts and tensions. Finally, it opens the discussion about the capacity of alternatives (including BRICS medias as alternatives) to really fulfill their game-changing promises and suggests conceptual tools to stay up-to-date with the situation and evolution of medias with global reach.

More specifically, the paper describes the historical hegemonic appropriation of

international news-making through its enclosure by flawed Euro-Atlantic medias. It provides examples of these medias' sustained ambitions and efforts to appropriate for themselves the construction and the definition of the reality about the world, through news-making about international diplomatic tensions and military conflicts. It then describes the rise of BRICS medias and presents them as being flawed ripostes from rival world powers against the appropriation of international news-making by Euro-Atlantic medias. Finally, it describes the rise of news-making and dissemination alternatives as also being flawed ripostes to both Euro-Atlantic and BRICS global medias. Along the way, it describes potential power relations, such as confrontation and collaboration, between alternative news medias and mainstream news medias, from both Euro-Atlantic and BRICS power blocs.

## **2. Dani Madrid-Morales**

### Biography:

Dani Madrid-Morales is a PhD Fellow at City University of Hong Kong. He holds BA degrees in Journalism and East Asian Studies from the Autonomous University of Barcelona, and an MA degree in International Relations from Freie Universität Berlin. His research interests include international communication and popular culture, particularly the global circulation of information and entertainment. He has written on the internationalization of Japanese and South Korean culture in Europe and Latin America, and on Chinese and Russian foreign language television channels. He is currently finishing his PhD dissertation about the impact of Chinese media in Africa on professional norms, discourses and audiences, using CCTV-Africa's broadcasting center in Nairobi, Kenya, as a case study.

### Title:

Statement on BRICS media: Power asymmetries in BRICS media

### Abstract:

Being a heterogeneous group of nations, BRICS countries have far less in common than they do not. Because of the disparity in the size of their territory, population and economy, among other factors, the bloc is plagued with power imbalances. Even though these do not surface in the public rhetoric of BRICS leaders, who reiterate the multipolar nature of the bloc and the idea of a partnership of equals, power imbalances do surface as a potentially disrupting force within the bloc. In the media sector, power asymmetries are most acute. Take, for example, the case of China and its efforts to increase its footprint in the media and telecommunication sectors around the world. China is sponsoring the internationalization of new media outlets like CCTV or Xinhua in order to put forward an alternative news narrative; it is facilitating the expansion of companies such as Huawei or ZTE, and, at the same time, is imposing severe restrictions domestically for similar foreign ventures to take roots. Television and cinema imports to China are highly controlled; telecommunications infrastructure

development is a *de facto* oligopoly of Chinese companies, and the ability of foreign media to challenge the official narrative of Chinese media is consistently curtailed. Making use of its increased economic might, China is imposing an asymmetric relationship in the media sector not only on BRICS partners, but on many other partners (think of Africa, for example), thus raising the question: how much of China's media internationalization responds to a desire to redistribute informational/communication power and how much responds to a new form of media imperialism?

### **3. Winston Mano**

Biography:

Winston Mano is Director of the Africa Media Centre, Reader and Course Leader of the MA in Media and Development at the University of Westminster, London, United Kingdom. Mano has edited *Racism, Ethnicity and the Media in Africa* (2015) and co-edited *China's Media and Soft Power in Africa* (2016). He is the Principal Editor of the *Journal of African Media Studies*, published by Intellect Ltd. He has contributed chapters to books such as *Global Media and National Policies: The Return of the State* (2015), *Internationalizing Media Studies* (2009) and published in journals such as *Media, Culture & Society*, *The Radio Journal*, *Critical Arts*, *Communicare* and *Global Media and Communication*. Mano's research interests include African radio, music, media audiences, new media, China-African media relations, development and democratisation. Mano is also a Research Fellow at the University of Johannesburg, South Africa.

Title:

A unique perspective on the reception and impact of the BRICS soft power

Abstract:

I could contribute a unique perspective on the reception and impact of the BRICS soft power (including media overtures in Africa). I'm particularly interested in how China's rising soft power in Africa is contested within local responses. Using the case study of Zimbabwe, I could contribute to debates on international development premised on new power blocs, especially between countries in the global South (BRICS). Power between states in international relations is often perceived as a system of total domination, with one country in complete control of another. Using Foucault's (1980) concept of power as a "network of relations", I could expand the perception of power between countries by considering the way it works uni-directionally and at multi-levels. The power exercised by states over each other, as seen from findings from the Sino-Zimbabwe state relations, is not only power directed by China over Zimbabwe and other similar African states but we can also argue that African governments also have power over China, at multi-levels. As a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council and as the world's second largest economy, China wields immense economic and political global power. Resource-rich Zimbabwe is by far weaker but nonetheless it is significant regionally, especially in political and economic terms. The troubled

state in Zimbabwe has power over its people, including power over its resources. State power, therefore, is not total as it is contested by others in society. These groups include opposition political parties, workers union, activists, students, journalists and other elements in the civil society. The paper is significant in the context of concerns and responses to the rise of the BRICS countries and their increased role in the global South. BRICS countries need to listen to locals, to develop more effective communication channels and to help counters charges of new colonialism.

#### **4. Randy Kluver, Jacquelyn Chinn, and Robert Hinck**

##### Biography:

Randy Kluver (Ph.D) is Associate Professor and Director of the Confucius Institute at Texas A&M University, Jacquelyn Chinn (Ph.D., Texas A&M University) resides in Chicago, and Robert Hinck is a doctoral candidate in the department of Communication at Texas A&M University.

##### Title:

Geopolitical Visions in Chinese Media

##### Abstract:

In recent years, China has sought to reframe global power relations, by building up its economic and cultural power. The nation has sought to leverage its increased economic power into geopolitical influence, and establish a role as a major regional and global power, while not provoking existing powers into conflict. This shift in global positioning has happened quickly, within the space of two decades, and has entailed important changes to the national narrative. To move the nation forward in this time of transition, the government sought to develop new frameworks for understanding its global role. This study analyzed Chinese media (broadcast and web) from a broad set of media outlets (including governmental, private, and independent media) to uncover the key themes that outline China's new geopolitical stance. The study three specific issues and themes, including China's relationships with its regional neighbors, the geopolitical dimensions of the "China Dream" (中国梦) discourse, and a summary of Chinese discourse around "New Style Great Power Relations" (新型大国关系). This research provides insight into China's new national geopolitical narrative as a way of understanding how the nation intends to participate in the new global order.

#### **Slot 2: BRICS media and important perspectives from China**

##### **1. Ke Ze**

Ke Ze is Professor in the School of Journalism and Communication at the Northwest University of Political Science and Law in Xian, China

Title:

Adapting American communication research for China

Abstract:

Liberalism, pragmatism and social psychology are interpenetrated in the tradition of communication research in the United States. The basic value in the communication research in America, this paper suggests, is liberalism. How can BRICS nations benefit from this tradition of research? Focusing on China, this paper will explore possibilities of localization and adaptation of the US tradition for the construction of Chinese communication research, which should and can draw from the American experience and expertise. The paper argues that it is important to infuse modern elements into the localized construction of communication research and its theorization in a rapidly growing and globalizing communication arena in China.

## **2. Jack Kang Liu**

Biography:

Jack Kang Jie Liu, PhD. (Media, University of Sydney), Associate Professor in School of Communication, Guangdong University of Foreign Studies, Guangzhou, China. Former print journalist in China and Australia, papers published in the fields of international communication, media convergence and diasporic media.

Title:

Investigation on the Chinese Diasporic Newspapers in the 31 Countries - "International Bridgeheads" for Chinese New Media Industry?

Abstract:

In the international communication arena, the Chinese diasporic newspapers are special. They are the one of the earliest diasporic media worldwide, published since the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Currently, they are published in the 61 countries in the five continents. However, new media have increasingly provided pressure to newspapers. Moreover, the circulation, scale and income of many Chinese diasporic newspapers are small. Can they survive in the new media age? To investigate this question, this research conducted questionnaires on the 59 Chinese diasporic newspapers and in-depth interviews on the 18 editors in the 31 countries between 2013 and 2015.

Research results suggest: they papers can survive in the new media age, because of the five reasons. (1) Audience. Some Chinese diasporic people, especially senior and unskilled migrants, are not proficient in the hostland languages, either in English or non-English speaking countries, so they find it difficult to use the mainstream media, and become the loyal readers of the diasporic newspapers. (2) Publisher. Some newspaper editors do not get used to a new social environment after migration, and they have to survive by their native

skill - publishing the Chinese newspapers. (3) Medium. Compared with the Internet and mobile phone, the price of newspaper may be cheaper in some situations, even some newspapers for free, which attract low-income Chinese people. In addition, newspapers might be more credible than the Internet on some reports. Then, these newspapers still have audience. (4) Advertisement. The Chinese diasporic communities can be the “ethnic enclave societies” - self-serviced economic system, so some local Chinese advertisers still prefer to advertise in newspapers. This is the stable income for newspapers. (5) Media strategy. A number of Chinese diasporic media groups have actually owned newspapers, websites, WeChat and micro-blogs. The content in these media are similar, but different medium addresses different audiences, so newspapers and new media can exist together. Additionally, some papers’ editing strategies fit into the Chinese governments’ needs, so they can obtain the revenue from them.

Research results also suggest, these Chinese diasporic papers can become the global “bridgeheads” for the mainland new media industry. Most editors interviewed respond, they really need to cooperate with the mainland new media companies, looking forward to help in funding, especially technologies. These newspapers own overseas experiences, audiences and resources, and would be the suitable global partners for the Chinese counterpart with ambition on globalization.

### **3. Zhang Lei; Ji Deqiang and Hu Zhengrong**

Biography:

Zhang Lei is a research professor in communication studies from the National Centre for Radio & TV Studies (NCRTS), Communication University of China. His major interests are cultural studies, media anthropology, social media and society. Contact email: ray@cuc.edu.cn

Ji Deqiang is an associate professor in communication studies, NCRTS, Communication University of China. He is interested in critical political economy of communication and international communication.

Hu Zhengrong is a professor in communication studies, vice president of Communication University of China and director of NCRTS. His research interests include political economy of communication, international communication studies and media policy.

Title:

*Xuanchuan*, market and art: A triangular model for analyzing Chinese film industry

Abstract:

The media in BRICS countries has developed quite different practices beyond the Euro-Atlantic area in recent years. Taking Chinese film as an example, it is

not only a prosperous market-driven industry, but also serves as an important part of the state's *xuanchuan* system. Although the Chinese word *xuanchuan* is generally translated as 'propaganda', it is actually an outcome of both socialists' ideology and traditional cognition of publicity. At the same time, film is also well regarded as a popular artistic production in modern China.

The three dimensions of *xuanchuan*, market and art build up a triangular model for understanding the production and consumption of Chinese film. How does this unique mechanism come into being? This paper aims to explore it by reviewing the historical process of Chinese film policies in the past forty years. We found that the market power has been introduced in early 1980s and gradually became the key driving force in 1990s. However, the government has never loosened the censorship on content, and began to promote public service of film in the 21st century. In 2015, 'The Promotion Law of Chinese Film' identified three standards of best films, namely 'aesthetic', 'ideological' and 'viewable'. With a critical discussion of the ideas and practices of the triangular model of Chinese film, we explore the possibility for an alternative model of media development.

#### **4. Yin Wu**

##### Biography:

Yin Wu is a doctoral student in School of Journalism and Mass Communication at University of Wisconsin-Madison. She received her BA in Journalism from UW-Madison and her MA in Media Studies from Syracuse University. She had experience working for China Central Television (CCTV) in Beijing. Her research interests mostly involve political communication, new media and social networks especially in Chinese context. She recently focuses on studying the interaction of deliberative norms and counter-discourse in the public sphere and the role of new media in this process.

##### Title:

The Occupy Movement in Hong Kong: A Comparison Between Xinhua, Hong Kong, and AP News coverage

##### Abstract:

A series of social protests, named "Occupy Central with Love and Peace" or the "Umbrella Movement," are against mainland China's proposal to intervene the 2017 general election of the primary leader of Hong Kong government. Comparing the news frames of the Hong Kong protests by US, Hong Kong, and mainland Chinese major news agencies, the ideological differences on political issues of the three locations can be implied. This empirical study would contribute literature to global social movement and international journalism studies by providing comprehension about how various political ideologies and identities are represented on Chinese media.

A qualitative news discourse analysis is applied to analyze the news coverage of the event by Associated Press, Hong Kong China News Agency (HKC), and Xinhua News, specifically analyzing the news contents and their meanings about ideologies and power relations. Although various presses are sustaining their pre-existing ideologies in their reports (Xinhua and HKC prioritize the value of social stability, while AP highlights the value of civic engagement and deliberation), comparing to the similar events in Hong Kong, this protests received much more attention than before across all three agencies, potentially showing an increase of media attention to social movements in Chinese context.

### **Slot 3: BRICS media's influence in international Communication, PR, reality TV and citizen journalism**

#### **1. Jia Xu and Yonghua Zhang**

##### Biography:

Jia Xu is associate professor in International Communications at the School of Journalism, Fudan University, China. She was previously associate professor and director of Cross-cultural Communications Research Centre, Zhejiang Sci-tech University. She obtained degrees from Hangzhou Normal University (BA), Goldsmiths College London (MA) and Tsinghua University (PhD) and finished her post-doctoral research at Fudan.

Yonghua Zhang is professor of English and Communication Studies and Director of Center for International Communication Studies at the School of Film and TV Art and Technology, Shanghai University. She was Professor at the School of Journalism and Communication Studies, Shanghai International Studies University. She completed her undergraduate Studies at Yunnan Normal University (Diploma, 1977; China still had not established the degree-conferring system at that time), and obtained her graduate degrees from Shanghai International Studies University (MA) and Fudan University, China (PhD). From March 1995 to Feb. 1996, she was senior-level Fulbright Research visiting Scholar at the Annenberg School for Communication, University of Southern California, USA.

##### Title:

How Organic is BRICS?: Towards the Future of International Communication

##### Abstract:

The phenomena of BRICS are prominent whereas the concept is problematic. As a whole, BRICS has been seeking the institutionalisation of a new political-economic bloc, in particular a new world economic order. Yet the five countries are vastly different in almost every aspect. And, the fact is that BRICS as a communication bloc is currently even more problematic than BRICS as economic or political bloc.

This research therefore seeks to understand how integrated / organic BRICS is within the world's information and communication order. Exploration of three questions constitutes this research. Firstly and empirically, how interconnected are media of the five countries in terms of mutual news coverage, media business alliances and new ICT innovations? Secondly, is digitalisation making BRICS more organic or bringing out more potential of BRICS as a communication power bloc? And will a "digital BRICS" contribute to the formation of NWICO 2.0? Will this new order be alternative to NWICO 1.0, or complementary? Thirdly and in respect to scholarly research, is the BRICS discourse replacing or at least changing traditional discourses in international communication studies such as the "rise of the rest", "flow and contra-flow" which themselves are the embodiment and presumption of centre-peripheral power relationship. Empirical and theoretical methods such as data-analyses, interviews and speculative reasoning will be employed to answer these questions. The ambition of this research, if possible, to seek for the best potential of BRICS as a communication bloc in view of a new international communication order.

## **2. Gilbert Motsaathebe**

### Biography:

Dr Gilbert Motsaathebe (Ph.D) is with the Chief Directorate of Communication in the Office of the Premier, North West Provincial Government. He also serves as Research Fellow in the Department of English at the University of South Africa and as Extraordinary Senior Lecturer in the Department of Communication at the North-West University, Mafikeng Campus. He is an accredited mentor and assessor in the field of Communication and Media Studies with 20 years of media and academic experience. Previously he was Senior Lecturer in the Department of Media Studies at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology and a News Producer and Output Editor for television stations such as Bop TV, SABC and e-TV. His research interests include topics on organisational communication, media and gender, journalism education and practice, post-apartheid cinema, feminisms, multiculturalism accommodation, indigenous knowledge system (IKS), and comparative constitutionalism. He has published numerous journal articles and book chapters and reviewed academic papers for several high-impact academic journals on these topics. He was the recipient of the prestigious SEPHIS Award in 2011. He has lived and worked in three different countries in the Global South, including India and Japan.

### Title:

Public Relations entrepreneurship in emerging markets with special reference to BRICS: Challenges and opportunities

### Abstract:

There is no doubt that the confederacy of BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) will provide opportunities for growth and expansion for business investment for organisations operating within this new context of the

Global South. To succeed, these companies will need to stay relevant and at the cutting edge of services while mitigating potential crises and consistently growing their business. Because these countries are very distinct in terms of media landscapes, political, cultural and economic orientation, organisations operating in that context will need to find ways to successfully establish and nurture sound and interactive relationship with stakeholder and lay out plans for growth, taking into account the specific experiences of non-Western societies. As Cornelissen (2014: 15) explains, “all organisations, of all sizes and operating in different sectors and societies, must find ways to successfully establish and nurture relationships with the stakeholders upon which they are economically and socially dependent,” if they hope to succeed. Clearly, the management function suited for this undertaking is Public Relations.

Therefore, this paper moves away from popular theoretical proclivity and attempts to imagine skills required to grow Public Relations as entrepreneurial venture in emerging markets with focus on BRICS countries, bearing in mind that a good public relations is crucial for the success of any organisation. The paper is part of the broader research looking at embryonic opportunities that are being offered by this new world order, and how best to harness them. Using insights derived from the Production of Culture Approach, the paper will further endeavour to identify some of the trends and challenges in these new markets, and ultimately discuss the strategies on how PR can prosper in this rapidly changing world that is increasingly becoming global and commercialized. It is proffered that this approach will have important implications for enriching our appreciation of Public Relations, not only as a profession and discipline but also as a distinct economic activity.

### **3. William R. Davie**

#### Biography:

Dr. William R. Davie is the BORSF Regents Professor of Communication, and Mass Communication/Broadcasting Coordinator for the Communication Dept. of Louisiana at Lafayette. This year, Prof. Davie is a Fulbright Teaching Scholar assigned to Xi'an International Studies University in Xi'an, China (2015-16), and the Edward L. Bliss Distinguished Broadcast Journalism Educator (2013). His research interests in communication law, broadcast journalism, and ethics has produced books and articles on First Amendment law in the United States and Louisiana, and the principles of electronic media. He serves on editorial boards of the Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, and the journal of Electronic News, of which he was one of the founding editors.

#### Title:

Chart the BRICS media landscape through the examination of reality television

#### Abstract:

Each year the BRICS countries confer in summit to consider the issues that bring

them together or threaten to set them apart. These annual events prompt an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses and their accelerating development in terms of emerging media systems. Because BRICS countries shine as the rising stars of the global frontier, their future strength is found in their influence that is reflected by the diverse viewers that are drawn to their various forms of content. It is fortuitous that each of these countries actively challenge the hegemonic order of their Western media influences and yet in some ways must acknowledge that they are re-inventing older formats. This proposal is designed to chart the media landscape through the examination of reality television, particularly of interest given that it transcends borders and in some ways may reflect each state's cultural identity. True some reality television draw upon regional inspiration, such as the Korean/Chinese reality shows, "Daddy, Where are we going?" and "Running Man," but these adaptations also indicate a type of programming exchange that has characterized some but not all BRICS countries. The threat of media isolation would appear to be eliminated by this form of content.

## **Charu Uppal**

### Biography:

Charu Uppal is Senior Lecturer at Karlstad University, Sweden. She obtained her PhD in Media Studies from Pennsylvania State University. She has also taught at various universities in the United States and the University of South Pacific in Fiji. Her research interests include the representation and formation of cultural identity in the developing world in the global era and the role of media and technology in mobilizing citizens towards political and cultural activism.

### Title:

Claiming their Heritage: Concerned Citizens' Communication

### Abstract:

India, though often listed as largest and most diverse democracy, is also the oldest surviving civilization. Although India inherited many social and political issues from British rule, unlike its immediate neighbors, Pakistan and Bangladesh, India, except for two years in the 1970s has been democratic no matter how frail.

However, today Indian mainstream media (MSM) is at a cultural war with the Indian public, which has lost faith in its credibility. Once hailed as one of the two Asian nations with western model of freedom of press, today MSM in India has become a caricature of tabloid media in the west. As entertainment news fills the print news media, and ratings driven broadcast media labels every news event as 'breaking news', the publics in India are turning away from the MSM.

Digitization/gamification of news which is hailed as a way of democratizing the public discourse, results in a range of effects--from the worst being

commentators getting points/coupons for merely ‘typing’, and are not for the contribution towards public discourse—to creation of online newspapers by concerned citizens.

These specialized media outlets, are maintained mostly by untrained journalists who are professionals in fields other than journalism, and recruit citizens to write for them insisting that their newspaper is ‘Journalism free from journalists’ bias and incompetence’.

This paper looks at about 10 of such online ventures, which openly claim to question the mainstream media, and set the record straight. With names like Awake India, IndiaFacts-truth be told, Swarajya-Self-rule—and writers who range from historians to neurosurgeons –these newspapers are aiming at audiences that wants to connect with its heritage, and sees the culture war as an attack at the core of the oldest civilization. This change is definitely coupled with an economic shift in India’s status in the world economy. The paper will focus on implications of such newspapers for MSM and the biggest challenge that these newspapers face---paying their writers.

#### **Slot 4: BRICS Media – Challenges and relevance in Africa and Russia**

##### **1. Godwin Ehiarekhian Oboh**

###### **Biography:**

Godwin Ehiarekhian Oboh is Associate Professor and Head of Department of Mass Communication, Benson Idahosa University, Nigeria.

###### **Title:**

Examining the influence of ethnicity and religion on the voting pattern of the Nigerian electorate

###### **Abstract:**

This study examines the influence of ethnicity and religion on the voting pattern of the Nigerian electorate, justifying the central objective of the paper, and used the Pluralist Theory to argue why the media should be involved in the Nigerian politics. The paper employed the content analysis approach to review the 2015 presidential election, and found that the Igbo community had the least representation in the office of the president of Nigeria. Since democracy is a game of numbers, it might be relatively difficult ever having a Nigerian President of an Igbo origin without the support of the other ethnic nationalities in Nigeria. Therefore, to create the platform for both the members of the major and the minority ethnic nationalities in the country to occupy the office of the president of Nigeria, the paper recommends among other things that the Nigerian presidency be rotated among the six geo political zones in the country as recommended earlier by Chief Anthony Enaharo, architect of the phenomenon of the six-geo zone structure in the Nigerian politics.

## 2. Yu Xiang

### Biography:

Yu Xiang is a third year PhD candidate of international communication at the University of Westminster in London. Her current researches interests lie in the aspect of theoretical development on cultural imperialism paradigm, international news' audience research and China's media flow to Africa with a focus on CCTV-Africa.

### Title:

Manufacturing Ideological Consent? A Structural Analysis of the Agenda Setting role of CCTV-Africa

### Abstract:

One key relationship within the BRICS nations is between China and South Africa. With the establishment of CCTV's African centre in Nairobi in January 2012, the grand project of 'China's media going out,' launched by the central government of China in 2001, has officially reached Africa. Although China and many African countries are usually regarded as the passive recipients of the Western cultural and media hegemony, the power structure between China and Africa has developed into a far more complex one than the alliance of the 'Third World' against superpowers in the Cold War years. In the age of globalization, China has emerged as a major presence globally including in Africa. China's trade with Africa, mostly for natural resources, has increased dramatically in past ten years. It has been suggested that China's relations with most African countries have evolved into a new dependent economic mode underpinned by China's sub-imperialist expansion (Luce, 2015). Using Johan Galtung's structural imperialism thesis, (Galtung, 1971), this paper will explore whether China's state-owned media, such as CCTV-Africa, are playing an agenda-setting role in Africa, given the power of the dominant structures through manufacturing ideological consent among the central groups both in centre and peripheral countries. This presentation is aimed to answer this question within the dimension of theory, in terms of providing a revision of the frame of structural imperialism developed by Galtung, combining it with the recently revived theories of sub-imperialism developed by Ruy Mauro Marini firstly in the 1960s and in the concrete case of Sino-African economic relations.

## 3. Ethan Stokes, Ryan Williams and **Skye Cooley**

### Biography:

Ethan Stokes is a Ph.D. student in the College of Communication and Information Sciences at the University of Alabama. His research interests include political communication, public relations, international relations, and public policy. Specifically, he is interested in examining various political dynamics across international news media platforms.

Ryan Williams is a masters student in the Center for Russian, East European, and Eurasian Studies at the University of Texas. He researches how emerging technologies influence Russian civil society. He is interested in how networks create new opportunities for political expression in Russia.

Skye Cooley is an assistant professor of political communication and public relations at Mississippi State University. He holds degrees in International Relations, International Studies, Political Communication, and earned his doctorate in Mass Communication at the University of Alabama. Skye has an array of publications and research awards focusing on Corporate and Political Crisis Communication.

Title:

Putin's War in Syria: Russian Media and the Justifications of Intervention

Abstract:

On September 30, 2015 the upper house of the Russian Federal Assembly granted Russian President Vladimir Putin's request to deploy the Russian Air Force in Syria, formally entering the Russian Federation into a civil war that had been raging since 2011. While Russia's stated mission in the Syrian conflict has been the stabilization of legitimate Syrian power and the creation of conditions for political compromise, Russia's entry into the conflict comes at a time of international economic sanctions over its annexation of Crimea and military activities in parts of eastern Ukraine, a shrinking of the Russian economy, and a massive European refugee crisis stemming from Syrian civilians fleeing the war-torn region. The following paper seeks to examine Russian broadcast and web-based media to identify the central narratives constructed by the state to justify the Russian intervention in Syria and how those narratives fit into larger concepts of Russian political identity, national myth, and international partnerships. The paper also seeks to analyze Russian oppositional media in order to identify and examine potential challenges to these state-crafted narratives. The analysis will examine various Russian media sources using Media Monitoring System (M3S) at Texas A&M University beginning on September 30, 2015 through to January 15<sup>th</sup> 2016. The study aims to understand the evolution of narratives concerning intervention in the conflict and the participating actors across major events concerning the conflict through this time period, including the 2015 terror attacks in Paris and the downing of a Russian fighter jet by the Turkish government. This study employs the categorical-content approach of narrative analysis, which examines various aesthetic or linguistic components of the narrative units.

This research addresses how BRICS member nation Russia presents and justifies its involvement in the ongoing Syrian civil war. The conflict in Syria poses a very real threat of regional instability, and the potential threat of further escalated conflict, in very close regional proximity to a number of BRICS member nations and BRICS member nations' political and economic allies. The

opportunity to show a non-Western led response to the growing global concern over Syria, comes at a particular urgent time for Russia as it combats a serious economic recession and attempts to further its own national identity in modern global politics. Russia's ability to project strength, aid a political ally, and provide leadership in an area where Western leadership has been criticized as lacking, is an important event for BRICS nations to show strength during a time of economic recession for many of the member nations.

#### **4. Ekaterina Kalinina**

##### Biography:

Ekaterina Kalinina (PhD) is a lecturer at the Department for Media and Communication Studies at Södertörn University, Stockholm, Sweden. Her book *Mediated Post Soviet Nostalgia* analyses the changes in media content that occurred in the period between 1991 and 2012. The book highlights the significant transformation in the so called post-Soviet nostalgia and construction of Russian national identity during the studied period by linking it to the political development in the country. Starting from 2014 she has been a research fellow at Swedish National Defence University, where she has continued her research on Russian media and culture, focusing more on strategic communication, propaganda and patriotism.

##### Title:

Russia's potential weaknesses and strengths of communicating power

##### Abstract:

At the conference I would contribute by discussing Russia's potential weaknesses and strengths of communicating power through construction of narratives for domestic and global audiences. My contribution will address the intersection of power, politics and national identity in media by focusing on the highly debated topic of Russia's information warfare. The spotlight will be put on the discussion of the strategic use of ideology, culture and values, which Russia effectively uses both in state supported media and in social networks. More precisely I am going to discuss how domestic narratives are projected globally and what kind of messages they communicate. In more detail I will discuss terminology of information warfare and information operation used in the global media when describing Russia's action, as well as how Russian media use this terminology talking about the global affairs. The questions I will tackle are: *To what extent Russia has a power to shape media agendas and form dominant global narratives? How is Russia's culture and identity are being incorporated into Russia's strategic communication and what role do they play in the formation of powerful narratives which aim to challenge global communication?* The contribution is based on my research at the Swedish National Defense University conducted during 2014-2015.