

# **University of Cambridge – Al Jazeera Media Project Conference**



مركز الجزيرة للدراسات  
ALJAZEERA CENTER FOR STUDIES

## **‘Media in Political Transition: the cases of Tunisia, Morocco and Turkey’**

**Doha, 07 - 08 January 2017**

## CONFERENCE CONCEPT

This final conference brings together original research by two separate academic teams, one based in Morocco and the other in Turkey, who are engaged in the University of Cambridge-Al-Jazeera Media Project. Launched in 2013, the project's first research programme, entitled "Media in Political Transition in the Southern Mediterranean", focused its initial year of research on media in Tunisia after the Arab Uprisings. In 2014, the project was extended significantly as a result of the generosity of Al-Jazeera Media Corporation, enabling two teams of scholars to conduct similar research on media in political transition in Morocco and Turkey. The mid-study workshop brought their work together for the first time. The purpose of extending this research to Turkey and Morocco is to enable a comparative study of media systems along the breadth of the Mediterranean littoral, based on the same research definitions employed in Tunisia and following many of the same themes: internet freedom and surveillance, political narrative, social media use, gender issues on television and within the larger public sphere, the professionalism and partisanship of the sector, the rise of Islamic media, and the internal competition of political elites to utilise the media for particularist purposes. By looking at Turkey and Morocco, a more complete picture is emerging of how government-media relations in the region have responded to new political tensions and shifts in popular narrative in response to the events of 2011 and 2013. Indeed, the strength of this project lies in the ability it offers to investigate change in three very different forms of state organisation – Turkey's fast transitioning semi-democracy, Morocco's monarchy, and Tunisia's pluralistic post-revolutionary experiment after severe dictatorship as well as their interpretation of media as an instrument of state power and mechanism of social expression. This will provide original comparative analysis on the subject of the political-media nexus in these Mediterranean states, something that has not been conducted previously in any depth. Additionally, analysis of media as a reflection and tool of power (whether utilised by government, military, secret service, private sector or civic groups), sheds light on the structures and drivers of these states' politics and modernisation processes from an important new angle.

Having the conference in Doha will add a unique dynamic to the project's final period before realising the publication of a monograph in early 2017. The invitation of scholars, journalists and other relevant stakeholders based in the media/education hub of Doha, who will also give feedback on the respective papers, will contribute to building an outstanding network of media scholarship in the MENA region.

## PROGRAM

### Day 1

#### **1. OPENING AND WELCOME**

**09h30 – 09h45**

**Dr. Salah Eddin Elzein**  
**Dr. Roxane Farmanfarmaian**

#### **2. PROJECT OVERVIEW**

**09h45 – 10h15**

**Dr Roxane Farmanfarmaian** *Media in Political Transition in Comparative Context in Tunisia, Morocco, and Turkey*

#### **3. PANEL I      How the Media Functions**

**10h15 – 12h15**

**Professor Aslı Tunç** (Istanbul Bilgi University): *All is Flux: A Macro Analysis of the Turkish Media Scene from a Hybrid Media System Perspective*

**Professor Driss Ksikes** (Centre d'Études Sociales, Economiques et Managériales [CESEM], Rabat), **Abdelfettah Benchenna** (Université Paris XIII), **Dominique Marchetti** (Centre Européen de Sociologie et de Science Politique [CESSP], Paris): *The Media and Power Landscape in Morocco*

**Dr. Ali Sonay** (University of Cambridge): *Local Media in Turkey: The Development of the Radio Landscape in Konya.*

**Respondents: Dr. Noureldine Miladi (Qatar University)**

**Moderator: Martine Dennis (Al Jazeera English)**

**COFFEE BREAK 12h15 – 12h30**

**4. PANEL II      Surveillance**

**12h30 – 14h00**

**Samia Errazzouki** (Morocco Field Researcher for the University of Cambridge – Al Jazeera Media Project): Under Watchful Eyes: Internet surveillance and citizen media in Morocco, the Case of Mamfakinch

**Assistant Professor Erkan Saka** (Istanbul Bilgi University): Social Media in Turkey as a space for political battles: An introduction to AKTrolls and other politically motivated trolls in Turkey

**Respondents: Dr. Illhem Allagui (Northwestern Univ. Doha)**

**Moderator Dr. Suzi Mirgani (Georgetown University in Qatar)**

**LUNCH 14h00 – 15h00**

**5. PANEL III      Agency and Representation**

**15H00 – 17H30**

**Dr. Ayşe Seda Yüksel** (Kadir Has University): Representation of Terror and Ethnic Conflict in the Turkish Press: An Analysis of the Peace Process in Turkey

**Professor Michelangelo Guida** (Istanbul 29 Mayıs University): Corporatism and fears: Islamist press in Turkey after June 2013

**Dr. Ali Sonay** (University of Cambridge): Liberalizing Media in Authoritarian Contexts: Radio Listening in Contemporary Morocco

**Dr. Roxane Farmanfarmaian** (University Cambridge): Mediapreneurship in Morocco (Tunisia and Turkey): Web Resistance 2.0

**Respondent: Galip Dalay**

**Moderator: Thembisa Fakude (Al Jazeera Centre for Studies)**



## CONTRIBUTORS

**ALLAGUI, Ilhem** is an associate professor at Northwestern University in Qatar. She holds a PhD in Communication Studies from the University of Montreal, Canada. Her research focuses on the social integration of new media in the Arab region as well as the evolution and development of the media and communications industry in the Middle East and North Africa region. In 2007, she launched the Emirates Internet Project (EIP).

**BASKAN, Birol** is an Assistant Professor at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar. He received his PhD in Political Science from Northwestern University in 2006. Baskan taught at the State University of New York-Fredonia in 2006-2007 and at Qatar University in 2007-2010. His research looks at the roles religion, religious institutions, and grassroots religious groups that play a role in creating, maintaining, undermining, and destroying political order in the Middle East.

**BENCHENNA, Abdelfettah** is a Lecturer in Information Sciences and Communication at the University of Paris XIII, a Researcher at the Laboratory of Information Sciences and Communication (LabSic) at Maison des Sciences de l'Homme Paris-Nord. His work focuses on issues related to the integration of information technology and communication (ICT) in the sectors of education, culture, administration in African and Arab Countries.

**BURUL SEVEN, Yeşim** is an Adjunct Lecturer at Istanbul Bilgi University, teaching courses in Media and Film & TV studies. She received her MA in Media and Communication Studies at Goldsmiths College, University of London. She gained a BA in Psychology at Bogazici University, Istanbul. She is currently writing her PhD thesis at Amsterdam School for Cultural Analysis (ASCA).

**DALAY, Galip** works as a research director at Al Sharq Forum and a senior associate fellow on Turkey and Kurdish Affairs at Al Jazeera Centre for Studies. He previously served as a visiting fellow at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) in Berlin, and as a political researcher at SETA Foundation in Ankara. He is a regular writer for the German Marshall Fund of the United States' Turkey policy brief papers and book-review editor of the quarterly magazine Insight Turkey. In addition, he is a columnist for *The Middle East Eye* and a blogger for *The Huffington Post*. He also hosts a weekly foreign policy television show on the Turkish channel, *TVNet*.

**DENNIS, Martine** is a principal presenter for *Al Jazeera English* in Doha. She was a news presenter for *BBC World TV* for many years and has interviewed many world leaders and high profile personalities. She received her BA in English and American Studies from Keele University. She has covered the United Nations (UN) in New York for *BBC World Service Radio*.

**ELZEIN, Salah Eddin** is the Director of Al Jazeera Centre for Studies. He was involved in academic research and teaching at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. His research and teaching was focused on citizenship and development challenges in South Africa, Brazil and Sudan. His research activities included publications, commissioned research and studies, and participation in seminars, workshops, and research networks. He was also a member of the National Assembly in the Sudanese Parliament, representing youth during 1996 – 1999. He later became president of the National Federation of Sudanese Youth during 1998 – 2000. He is the former President of the General Sudanese Student Union for the term 1992 - 1994.

**ERRAZZOUKI, Samia** is a Morocco-based journalist and researcher. She has been involved with *Jadaliyya* since 2012 through her work in creating and managing *Jadaliyya's* Maghreb Page—the only online publication exclusively dedicated to publishing on the Maghreb region in English, French, and Arabic. She received her MA in Arab Studies from Georgetown University. She is the Field Research Associate for the University of Cambridge – Al Jazeera Media Project, based in Rabat.

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**FAKUDE, Thembisa** is a Researcher and Head of Research Relations at Al Jazeera Centre for Studies. He has written and published extensively on the geopolitics of the Middle East and Africa. He is a regular contributor and analyst on *Al Jazeera English*, *Al Jazeera Arabic*, *The Peninsula* and *The Middle East Monitor* (MEMO). In addition, he is the former Bureau Chief of Al Jazeera Media Network in Southern Africa and former Chairperson of Foreign Correspondent Association of Southern Africa (FCASA).

**FARMANFARMAIAN, Roxane** is the Principal Investigator and Director of the University of Cambridge-Al-Jazeera Media Project, which is researching 'Media in Political Transition' in Tunisia, Turkey and Morocco, and published in 2014 the first tranche of the research as a special section on media in Tunisia in the *Journal of North African Studies*. Dr. Farmanfarmaian was a co-founder of the Center International Relations of the Middle East and North Africa (CIRMENA) at the Department of Political and International Studies (POLIS) at the University of Cambridge, and teaches in the POLIS Masters programmes, on the modern Middle East and North Africa, media and energy security. She obtained her BA from Princeton University, and her MPhil and PhD from the University of Cambridge.

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**MARCHETTI, Dominique** is Senior Researcher at the National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS) associated with the European Centre of Sociology and Political Science (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales and University of Paris 1-Sorbonne). His work deals with contemporary changes in the relationship between journalism and power, especially in France and Morocco. He is the author and editor of several books about French and pan-European media.

**MILADI, Noureldine** earned his MA and PhD in media and communication from the University of Westminster, in London, UK. Before joining Qatar University in 2012, he taught journalism and mass communication since 2001 in various UK universities such as University of Westminster, Middlesex University, London Metropolitan University and the University of Northampton. Dr. Miladi has published widely in international refereed journals and books and is a member of various international media and communication organizations such as IAMCR, MECCSA and AUSACE. He is editor of an English written international academic refereed journal in Arab media and communication research, the *Journal of Arab and Muslim Media Research*.

**MIRGANI, Suzi** is Manager and Editor for CIRS Publications. She received a PhD in Communication and Media Studies from Eastern Mediterranean University in 2010 with a dissertation on "Piracy as Translation: The Transformation of Commercial Discourse." Mirgani is the author of *Target Markets: International Terrorism Meets Global Capitalism in the Mall* (Transcript Press, 2017); and co-editor of *Bullets and Bulletins: Media and Politics in the Wake of the Arab Uprisings* (with Mohamed Zayani, Oxford University Press/Hurst, 2016), and *Food Security in the Middle East* (co-edited with Zahra Babar, Oxford University Press/Hurst, 2014).

**MUSA, Imad** holds an MA from the University of Missouri, Colombia. He is the current Manager of Online at Al Jazeera Media Network. He was the senior producer at *Al Hurra* before joining Al Jazeera Media Network in Washington DC in 2006. He served as the Senior Producer for Al Jazeera English Programs from 2006 to 2010 before being promoted to Manager of International Operations at Al Jazeera Media Network, a position he held until 2013 before joining Al Jazeera Online.



**ÖNCÜ, Ayşe** is Emeritus Professor of Sociology at Sabancı University in Istanbul and a member of the Academy of Sciences. Her career includes two decades at Boğaziçi University as well as visiting professorships at the University of California (Los Angeles) and University of Ann Arbor (Michigan). Her research interests center on cultural politics, with special emphasis on city cultures and media and public spheres.

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**SAKA, Erkan** is an Assistant Professor at the School of Communication at Istanbul's Bilgi University. He teaches Digital Journalism, New Media Cultures and Cyber Anthropology. He earned his BA and MA degrees at the Sociology Department of Boğaziçi University, Istanbul. He received his PhD at the Anthropology Department of Rice University (Houston, USA). He has been a political blogger, *Erkan's Field Diary*, since June 2004. He is a co-coordinator of a Citizen Journalism Training Programs at Bilgi Eğitim and he coordinated and presented the television show, *SosyalKafa*, on new media.

**SANDERS, Amy Kristen** is an award-winning American journalist and licensed attorney. Before joining the faculty of Northwestern University in Qatar, she earned tenure at the University of Minnesota, where her research focused on the intersection of law and new technology as it relates to media freedom. Specifically, she studies offensive speech on the Internet, social media, telecommunication regulation and media policy in addition to other timely media law and ethics issues.

**SONAY, Ali** is the Al-Jazeera postdoctoral research fellow with the University of Cambridge – Al Jazeera Center for Studies Media Project. After obtaining a Magister Artium in Political Science, Islamic Studies, and Economics from Friedrich-Alexander-University at Erlangen-Nuremberg, including a one-year stay in Damascus for Arabic studies, he submitted his PhD in June 2015 at the Centre for Near and Middle Eastern Studies at Marburg University in Middle Eastern Politics.. His book, *Making Revolution in Egypt: The April 6 Youth Movement in a Global Context*, is forthcoming in July 2017, from IB Tauris.

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**YÜKSEL, Ayşe Seda** received her PhD from Central European University, Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology in 2014. Her PhD dissertation, "The Localization of Neoliberalism: State Rescaling, War and Culture in Southeast Turkey" received the Central European University's Best Dissertation Award for 2015. She received a two-

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