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## Table of Contents

Ideological and economic motivations in Flemish cinematographic coproduction policies from the 1960s until the 1980s .....	5
Chinese Game Industry in the Media Globalization: the Tension of Discourse in the 1990s-2000s7	
International Cooperation on (Counter)Publics between Tradition and Reorientation: Social Democracy and its Media in the Cold War Era .....	9
“Like a small trip back to the GDR“? East German viewers, historical truth claims and the TV serial Weissensee .....	11
Rewrite Film History: Creative Media in the Context of Sensory Ontology.....	13
Censorship and deception: Portugal's role during the onset of the Spanish Civil War .....	15
White Normativity, Slavery, and “the Charming of that Spirit of Lying”: Revisiting Public Occurrences and the Origin Story of America's Early Press.....	16
How Telegraph Scrambling the Ottoman Empire: A Study of Crimean War Telegraph System.....	17
Encuadre a la memoria mediática chilena: El cara y sello de las muertes y funerales de Aylwin y Altamirano.....	19
“AA Stage Show”: “Old” and “Young” as Pioneers of Criticism of the Early Hebrew Press Press in Europe .....	21
Ukraine and Russia: How did an elite Russian newspaper argue Russia’s case in 2014? .....	23
Cosmotechnics: Archaeologies of the once and future AI media.....	24
History Education as Revolutionary Ethos: The 1776 Curriculum as a Lieu de Memoire Reactif..	25
First steps of Recoletos Media Group in 1970’s Spain: from young reporters to self-made owners .....	27
Revisiting Dallas Smythe’s “Cultural Screening”: Maoist Class Politics and the “Technology Revolution” in Socialist China .....	28
Reinventing the Master Sage: History and Fiction on Confucius in Heroic Children in History (1995) .....	30
‘The Voice from the Homeland’: uncovering the ideological meaning of the Afrikaans programme of Radio Netherlands Wereldomroep (1949-1977) .....	32
Potential Soldiers or Modern Citizens: Media Construction and Actual Control of Children by Japanese and Communist Forces in China (1930-1940) .....	33
Revisiting Journalistic Roles in Socialist Eastern Europe .....	35
Historical Dimensions of Media Control in Turkey: The Ebb and Flow of Fear of Media .....	37
Media System transformation in a context of stable instability: developing and capturing Guinea-Bissau’s media since independence.....	39
Captured by Elites: The Portuguese Media System in Liberalism (1820-1926) .....	41

Republican Imagination and National Identity: An Analysis of the Thoughts of Overseas Chinese in Australia before and after Yuan Shikai's Restoration .....	42
A narrower EU or deeper European integration? The views on European integration of 15 leading Austrian, German, French, British and Spanish newspapers when reporting the Cyprus bailout (2013) and the Greek referendum (2015) crises. ....	44
The Idea of India in the 21st Century: Postcolonialism and (Re-) Orientalism .....	46
An archaeology of Marxism: the impact of Marx on the study of media and communication ....	48
A kaleidoscope of lies – Partisan realities and adaptable conspiracy myths in the 1920s German Nationalist Press.....	49
Efervescencia de medios nativos locales en Galicia: estudio de caso con perspectiva histórica ..	51
Un âge d’or perdu ? Financiarisation et globalisation des milieux publicitaires européens (1974-1990) .....	53
Singapore as "entrepôt" and "hub": Analytical difference and insights into histories of technology and globalization .....	55
For nobody’s eyes: The politics of the seized Palestinian film archive – 1982 .....	57
@ichbinsophiescholl Remembering and forgetting resistance to National Socialism .....	58
The Biopolitical Management of Media and Medicine in the U.S. and Canada, 1920-1940.....	59
Industrialized Propaganda: How State-Aligned Info Ops Leverage AI to Undermine Information Integrity .....	61
Patterns in Political Propaganda: Big Lies, Alternative Facts and Controlled Language .....	62
Believability: Propaganda, Media and Sexual Violence .....	63
How Cold War Logic Hides Propaganda in Democracies .....	64
Spanish memories of a violent and authoritarian past: study of the press representations of the Franco Exhumation and the removal of the Francoist memorial in Tortosa .....	65
Colonial histories on social media: Discursive constructions of the “other” in user comments...	67
Symbolic Construction of Melbourne Chinatown in Transition: An Analysis of Chinese-Language Newspapers during 1902-1922 .....	69
Media Remains in Japan's Tokai Area: Radio Pagodas Built by Citizens .....	71
In the Pursuit of Social Benefits: the Cantonese Pictorial in the early Twentieth Century China .	73
Journey, War and Team: A Metaphorical Analysis of the New Year Message in People's Daily (1979-2023).....	74
The Women’s Liberation Movement from the Perspective of Overseas Journalists in Yan’an: Centered on the Northwest Tour of Chinese and Foreign Journalists in 1944 .....	76
Research on Image-narration of Macao in The Illustrated London News (1842-1992) .....	78
Decolonising media and communication studies through history .....	80

Neglected Agency: African Thought and Practice in the Evolution of Development Communication History .....	82
Crisis and trends of innovations in the private sector: Portuguese press and the shift towards a market driven editorial policy. ....	84
Anniversary as a dramaturgical principle of totalitarian media.....	85
Dieciséis años de periodismo móvil: lo móvil como espacio .....	86
Media Technology and Human Experience: French media studies under the influence of Pierre Schaeffer in the mid-twentieth century.....	87
From Number to Data: the Origin and Evolution of Data Governance Ideas in China .....	89
Radio and Nation Building: Edmonton's contribution to Canadian networks in the 1930s .....	90
The history of the magazine "7 dias na TV": the first publication specialized in television in Latin America .....	92
Reel Mughals: Role of Medieval Themed Films in Majoritarian Agenda Setting.....	93
Networking Academia: The Role of National Social Science Foundation in the Institutionalization of Mainland China's Communication Studies (1986-1997) .....	95
Raising Little Mujahideen: A Discourse Theoretical Analysis of the Militarism in Turkish Cypriot Children's Magazines .....	98
Gendered histories and oralities in Arabi Malayalam: How the Mariyakutty Kathupatt ('letter song') foregrounds women's voices in Kerala Mapilla history.....	99
Digital technology and/as colonialism .....	100
Teorizando la captura de medios: condiciones, grados y rupturas durante el régimen autoritario de Fulgencio Batista en Cuba (1952-1959) .....	101

# **Ideological and economic motivations in Flemish cinematographic coproduction policies from the 1960s until the 1980s**

## **Authors**

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## **Abstract**

When in the 1960s cultural film support was introduced in Belgium, this was immediately a regionalized affair: in 1964 a film support system was established to support Flemish or Dutch-language films and in 1967 a very similar system started to support francophone Belgian films. This is quite remarkable because the initial cultural film production policy plans were seen within a unitary, Belgian framework. The negotiations on the establishment of a Belgian Film Institute at the beginning of the 1960s, however, failed because of growing Flemish emancipation and its striving for cultural autonomy in the Belgian political context. After giving a general outline of the film policy situation in post-war Belgium, this paper focuses on the Flemish coproduction policies from the 1960s until the 1980s.

The paper shows how the Flemish co-production policy was primarily aimed at increasing the limited investment sources and distribution opportunities for Flemish films. For co-productions with Flanders, the Netherlands (because of the common language, Dutch) and the French Community of Belgium (because of the common Belgian framework) were the most logical partners. Until the beginning of the 1980s, important cultural-ideological motives were involved in the co-production policy towards these regions. This stimulated Flemish–Dutch co-productions, whereas the opposite was true for the cooperation with the French Community.

The co-production policy towards the Netherlands was inspired by a ‘Greater Dutch’ cultural idealism. Particularly in the early years of Flemish film policy, this resulted in a fairly large degree of openness in Flemish–Dutch cooperations. However, it did not take long before both regions started being more protective with regards to the regional specificity of the film content. After all, a recognizable Flemish cinema had to be created, which was also the first concern in the co-production policy towards the French Community. The Flemish policy actors saw cooperation with the French Community as a violation of the principle of cultural autonomy. They did not want a francophone presence in Flemish films to create the perception of a ‘Belgian cinema’ instead of the desired ‘Flemish cinema’.

From the 1980s onwards, ideological motivations in the co-production policy towards the Netherlands and the French Community faded into the background. Because of the practical advantages, both regions were now privileged partners in the broader co-production policy. This policy was characterized in the first place by an evolution towards supporting an increasing number of co-productions, which formed ever larger alliances with various international partners. This tendency was part of a wider internationalization trend in the European film industry, stimulated in part by European film policy.

Drawing upon original archival research in the records of official film policy bodies, interviews and film analysis, this paper investigates the evolving role of Flemish ideological concerns and economic imperatives. At the same time, the Flemish case will be put in a broader European perspective, making comparisons with coproduction tendencies elsewhere in Europe from the 1960s until the 1980s, which was a crucial period for the future directions of coproduction policies.

**Key Words**

Film policy; Coproductions; Belgium; Flanders; The Netherlands

# Chinese Game Industry in the Media Globalization: the Tension of Discourse in the 1990s-2000s

## Authors

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## Abstract

In 2004, two voices about video games coexisted in a seemingly contradictory way in China. This rising “Games Industry Capital of the World” first overtook the U.S. in 2015 with \$24.4 billion in revenue. The Chinese government implemented the “National Online Game Publishing Project” to vigorously support “China Made” and “Made for China” games. However, Additionally internet addiction experts, worried parents, and cultural commentaries often called games “electronic drugs” or “spiritual opium”. The 1990s-2000s witnessed the dramatic evolution of video games, the boom of the market economy, China’s integration into the world, and the flourishing of nationalism in China. In the Chinese video game industry, there are two main discourses in this period, which respectively and contradictorily represent the stigmatization and legitimization of video games: digital drug discourse and nationalist discourse. Digital drug discourse, regarding video games as virtual drugs, represents panic about game addiction and games’ negative influence on the body and morals of young people. Nationalist discourse indicates panic toward the exotic narrative, capital, and ideology (Zhang, 2013). What had given rise to this tension and how did this tension, in turn, shape the Chinese game industry? I dive into the development of these “conflicted” discourses between the state and society about video games in China to better understand the impact of discourse on the media industry, the power structure of the Chinese game industry, and the history of Chinese games. Studying the Chinese game industry through nationalist and digital drug discourses shows how discourse affects the power dynamics of the media industry, how different stakeholders struggle in the construction of the media industry, and how nationalism is embedded in consumerism and entertainmentism. My study analyzes the changes in the media industry in post-socialist China and aims to figure out what had given rise to the tension between the two discourses and how this tension, in turn, shaped the Chinese game industry.

Using historical and political-economic methods, this study mainly conducts discourse analysis on three newspapers (*People’s Daily*, *Guangming Daily*, and *Southern Weekly*) and three magazines (*Play*, *Popsoft*, and *Electronic Game Software*), which are the main battlefield of public opinion about video games in the 1990s and 2000s. My work provides an intersectional perspective of media globalization and media territorialization and nationalism with the existing literature in Media Industry Studies. Western research on game industries is rooted in global capitalism, and games are generally considered to be media of global hypercapitalism rather than national products (Dyer-Witthof & de Peuter, 2009; Havens & Lotz, 2012; Nieborg, 2021). Thus, in the game industry studies, the regional industry (Nieborg & de Kloet, 2016; Ruffino & Woodcock, 2021; Williams, 2002) or regional inequalities (Cohendet et al., 2018; de Prato et al., 2014) are analyzed

from the different positions in the global industrial chains, as well as various production or consumption structures. The struggle and fusion of power, culture, and ideology are not fully assessed from a national perspective. Zhang (2013) pointed out that the nationalist surge in the Chinese video game industry unleashes their cultural and economic productivity. Showing the boycott of foreign games by Chinese players, the competition between Chinese game companies and foreign game companies, and the government's restrictions on foreign capital, this study lends a composite lens to critique the mainstream media/state's nationalist and territorialized transformation of the media industry in the context of media globalization.

**Key Words**

Media Industry History, Game Industry History, Chinese Game Industry



# International Cooperation on (Counter)Publics between Tradition and Reorientation: Social Democracy and its Media in the Cold War Era

## Authors

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## Abstract

Since the early days of the European socialist labor movement, it has considered itself to be surrounded by a hostile bourgeois public and sought to counter this with a party press (Löblich & Venema, 2020). In view of the Cold War, Western social democratic parties abandoned in part their traditional beliefs about demarcation from bourgeois society. Nevertheless, with the International Federation of the Socialist and Democratic Press (Callesen, 2001), an organization emerged from 1951 to 1982 that manifested separation from the dominant public sphere.

Drawing on an analytical framework derived from counterpublic theory (Fraser, 1990; Fuchs, 2010; Negt & Kluge, 1993), this article analyzes ideas and practices developed by members of the organization linked to the Socialist International. The categories that guide the analysis comprise media system structures (societal context, legal regulations, media economy), organizational media structures (role of publishers as well as external organizations and their members), media product structures (style and content regarding experiences and interests of subaltern), journalistic production (profession, role and employment), and reception (addressees and the role of audiences regarding needs of subaltern).

The qualitative analysis of sources from the Archive of Social Democracy (Bonn, Germany) and the International Institute of Social History (Amsterdam, Netherlands) reveals three phases of the history of the IFSDP and their ideas and practices of (counter)publics. The first phase comprises the years from 1951 to 1965 characterized by the international exchange of experience to maintain the socialist press by adapting it to social and media change as perceived by the protagonists. The second phase from 1966 to 1975 shows fading international cooperation in view of crises of social democratic newspapers. In a third phase from 1976 to 1982 a short revival was undertaken.

The analysis shows that social democratic journalists and publishers in Europe basically remained convinced of the idea of a socialist press countering liberal, conservative, and communist media in a hostile public sphere. Nevertheless, besides this traditional conviction, the members of the international press organization followed the programmatic reorientation of their parties by abolishing Marxist analyses of class antagonism. Thus, they did not specify the postulation of a socialist press with more specific ideas and practices of (counter)publics. Although they blamed capitalist media structures for their press problems, they saw no alternative and approved of liberal notions of press freedom, such as the lack of state intervention. The IFSDP representatives rejected close party ties, and while they criticized the influence of party functionaries, they did not consider other options such as participation by party members. The ideas and practices were mostly limited to strategies aimed at adapting to the existing media structures. With social

democratic parties in government, appeals for market restrictions through legal regulations would also have been conceivable. The situation only changed around 1980 when the rise of private television could no longer be abated.

**Key Words**

Public sphere; Counterpublics; Communication history; Media change; Political economy

# **“Like a small trip back to the GDR“? East German viewers, historical truth claims and the TV serial Weissensee**

## **Authors**

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## **Abstract**

The German TV serial Weissensee (2010-2018) tells a story about a Stasi family and a dissident family in the late German Democratic Republic (GDR). In view of the authenticity claims of this successful serial and knowing that depictions of history are said to be particularly fascinating to people if they promise authenticity, we were interested in historical truth claims from the audiences' point of view. More exactly, we were interested in how witnesses of this past dealt with the serial's "it was like that" claim. One reason for this interest is that the collective past of East Germans has been devaluated by the public discourse in reunified Germany by reducing GDR to a dictatorship. Our aim was to carve out different East German understandings of what Weissensee pretended to depict as "true".

Our study is relevant in several regards. 1) We expand (historical) audience studies by studying authenticity as a way subjects relate to media discourse in order to negotiate the historical identity ascribed to them by discourse. The identification potential of Weissensee is ambivalent: The main subject of the serial is Stasi but Stasi usually remained in the background of everyday life. However, the Stasi issue is wrapped up in two family stories and includes complex characters and everyday life. Thus, there is a certain spectrum of identity anchors. 3) Finally, we shed light on the temporality of truth claims. Whereas the discourse about GDR has focused until recently on "SED-dictatorship", in the last few years, a more diversified remembrance landscape appeared.

The theoretical basis of this study are Stuart Hall's Encoding/Decoding Model and an identity concept rooted in the sociology of science and discourse theory. This framework led to categories guiding the research process (discussion guideline, analysis and interpretation). We conducted five focus groups with 20 participants, additionally a questionnaire and material about the serial. We included people who had been living in the GDR and who were born until 1973. This line was drawn to include individuals who experienced at least school in GDR and who were at the threshold of their adult life in 1989. Participants were selected with the goal to cover a broad range of different East Germans.

Our findings demonstrate that the so far dominant media discourse operated within each reading position, leading the ones to affirm it, others to object it and still others to negotiate it. Following Hall and other literature, we distinguished three positions. 1): The hegemonic position judged the main story line to be "real" and "true". Viewers reproduced the dictatorship memory. 2) The oppositional reading rejected Weissensee's main story line and established an alternative framework, emphasizing positives sides of GDR. 3) We found a range of negotiated readings.

Negotiating readers relativized and questioned Weissensee's focus on repression, at the same time reproduced and justified it. In all cases, participants referred to their personal experience. They also drew on what they had heard from other people and from the media to produce "proves".

**Key Words**

audience, history tv, authenticity, identity, group discussion, media discourse, memory

# Rewrite Film History: Creative Media in the Context of Sensory Ontology

## Authors

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## Abstract

In the mainstream narratives of film history, the question of whether cinema is art, and what kind of art cinema is, was at the center of debates between theorists and filmmakers in the first half of the 20th century. Ricciotto Canudo (1911) declared cinema to be a comprehensive art, explaining the characteristics of these moving images that express emotions and act on the human mind. Around the art of film, montage theory and realism theory developed the ontology of cinema from different positions. These ideas became the main components of classical film theories and profoundly influenced people's understanding of the definition of cinema. As modern film theories flourished, scholars paid more attention to film content and the relationship between film and audience. The development of specific forms of cinema as a medium was left in abeyance, so that whenever new technologies were introduced and modes of film production and consumption changed, "the decline of cinema", "the decay of cinema", "cinema is dead" would gradually return as popular themes.

With the proliferation of the internet and digital technologies accelerating the complex and multidirectional transformation of cinematic forms, many scholars believe that cinema needs to be redefined and reinterpreted. Thomas Elsaesser (2016), who proposed to write a new film history from the perspective of media archaeology, argued that technological developments and the entire media ecology should be taken into account in the process of understanding cinema. From silent to sound, black and white to color, isolated to interactive, and 2D to 3D, sensory impact and perceptual experience have always been the most intuitive basis and reference in the process of people's ontological cognition and aesthetic understanding of cinema. Based on the concept of media archaeology, the relationship between cinema and human bodily perception has been emphasized, and a sensory-centered film theory system has been gradually filled and improved.

In the days of "early cinema", the visual world dominated the sensory perception of film viewers. Today, with technological innovations such as stereo sound, 5D, VR, and metaverse, the senses of hearing, touch, smell and even taste have been fully incorporated into the media forms still called "cinema" and even "film". The perceptual expression of this seventh art has become more abundant, and this transformation seems to have implicated the essence of human aspiration in the media of cinema. Starting from the discussions related to the sensory experience of films, this paper sorts out the core ideas of Paul Virilio, Marshall McLuhan, the Tactile School, and the "the brain is the screen" theory. Taking a fresh look at the development of cinematic ontology, cinematic apparatus, and cinematic expression, and drawing on the theory of sensory integration from clinical psychology, this paper focused on how the coordination between the eye, ear, skin,

and brain has influenced the positioning and evolutionary trends of creative media forms derived from cinema in history.

**Key Words**

film history, media archaeology, sensory experience, film ontology, creative media

# **Censorship and deception: Portugal's role during the onset of the Spanish Civil War**

## **Authors**

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## **Abstract**

On July 17, 1936, after five years of the Second Spanish Republic's rule, Spain saw the start of a military coup that would extend for almost three years, later becoming known as the Spanish Civil War. Across its borders, in part motivated by the fear of having a communist regime so close to home, the Portuguese authoritarian regime New State, under the rule of its dictator António Salazar, saw fit to support the side of the Spanish general and future dictator Francisco Franco. This operative alignment meant that Portugal covertly played a part in the conflict by effectively capturing Republicans and refugees escaping through the border, as well as helping the Nationalist forces have access to logistics and ammunitions throughout the conflict.

For the Portuguese dictatorship's relationship with news media and foreign countries, however, there was another fight to be had, one where Portugal was not to be seen as actively playing a part in helping the Nationalists perpetrate acts of cruelty and authoritarianism in Spain, while still showing a side of strength and peacefulness within national borders. It achieved this through active propaganda and effective misinformation towards Portugal's press, as well as through censorship of any dissenting voices that sought to bring to light the troubling news that multiplied across the border and the Portuguese role in changing the tide of war.

To further explore this subject, this study will examine the early days of the Spanish Civil War focusing particularly on Portugal and how it actively influenced public perception of the conflict. Additionally, through an analysis of Portuguese journalism during this timeframe, particularly regarding the coverage of the Badajoz conflict in August 1936, we hope to show how deception and censorship effectively played a role in shifting public opinion in a time of growing authoritarianism, not just in Portugal but also abroad. In this way, this study hopes to approach this subject with different examples of misinformation and political influence during the Spanish Civil War and how these actions were intrinsic to Portugal's authoritarian ideology and foreign policy.

## **Key Words**

Censorship, Dictatorship, Journalism, Portugal, Spain, Spanish Civil War

# **White Normativity, Slavery, and “the Charming of that Spirit of Lying”: Revisiting Public Occurrences and the Origin Story of America's Early Press**

## **Authors**

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## **Abstract**

The origin story of American journalism has historically privileged narratives which sanction whiteness as truth and fail to scrutinize hegemony in past and contemporary iterations of newspaper culture. This intervention rejects accounts of the early press that de-emphasize, and at times, outright ignore race, and instead refocuses toward a story that prioritizes the critical inquiry of structures of power. This paper incorporates ways of thinking and knowing from historiography, critical archival studies, journalism studies, political economy, and sociology and emblemizes three examples within journalism history. The first example discusses the proceedings of the first colonial newspaper, Benjamin Harris' *Publick Occurrences Both Forreign and Domestick*, drawing from tenets of “truth” and “truth-making,” as well as ideologies of un/spoken authorship and slavery in the undiscussed relationship between Harris and Boston Clergyman Cotton Mather. The second example further explores the connection between enslavement and newspapers 14 years later by homing in on the role of early profit models and policing, pointing to the ways in which journalism history, and more broadly, journalism as an industry profit(s)(ed) from advertisements for enslaved people. The final example takes up the possibility for recuperation by examining discourse surrounding *The Cherokee Phoenix*, the first Native American newspaper, which functions as an early artifact of resistance. This last example is important not as something that settlers on Native land can rely on as a “move toward innocence,” in the words of Tuck and Yang, but as evidence that opposes the erasure of Indigenous histories. This analysis ultimately suggests that academics stop viewing the early white press with romanticized visions guided by the current subterfuge narratives which characterize early news-makers as scrappy groups of “truth” tellers. Instead, it asks journalism scholars to prioritize a more focused and full origin story for US journalism that holds power accountable by presenting the early white press as largely hegemonic agenda setters, writers, and custodians of history.

## **Key Words**

Journalism, History, Press, Slavery, Race, Newspapers, Power, Culture, Hegemony, Narratives



# How Telegraph Scrambling the Ottoman Empire: A Study of Crimean War Telegraph System

## Authors

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## Abstract

With the development of the Internet, communication infrastructure plays an increasingly important role in the development issues of the Global South. Therefore, many communication studies focus on how communication technologies such as television, radio and the Internet interact with the politics and economy of the Global South, and a large number of scholars study how western countries and their capital power, which have mastered media hegemony, intervene and colonize the development process of other countries under the surface of communication globalization. However, looking back at the history of the 19th century, we can find that these cases emerged one after another as early as when communication technology first connected the world on a large scale.

Therefore, this paper will focus on how Britain and France used capital and communication technology to help the Ottoman Empire fight against Russia in the Crimean War (1854), thus opening a history of "colonizing" the empire by telegraph, and gradually turning the Ottoman Empire into a member of the Global South dependent on western countries. Specifically, the Crimean War in 1854 was regarded as the first modern war in the true sense. The important reason was that a large number of brand-new industrial technologies were used. Besides some important inventions of military weapons and military medicine, three subversive means of communication and transportation were also put into use, that is, steam ships, railways and telegraph.

If we understand the 19th century war from the perspective of communication, we will find that today's global information communication order is not divorced from the power interaction 200 years ago. In order to achieve rapid communication, the Ottoman Empire, Britain and France joined forces to extend the telegraph line from the Balkans to Crimea. During this process, the interaction between the state and capital continued under the concert of great powers and its rebels (Perry Anderson, 2018), which brought a series of political and economic shocks. Britain and France, which had absolute technological and capital advantages, realized what Charles Tilly called "coercion capital" (1992) during this period, which provided powerful impetus and support for colonizing the Ottoman Empire, which was in financial crisis. Issues such as national sovereignty, information security and communication infrastructure, which are hotly debated today, actually appeared in the 19th century. By tracing back to this modern war and the colonial history of the Ottoman Empire, it will help us to re-understand the power relationship between communication and the Global South.

**Key Words**

Telegraph, Empire, Colonial, Ottoman Empire, Global Communication

# Encuadre a la memoria mediática chilena: El cara y sello de las muertes y funerales de Aylwin y Altamirano

## Authors

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## Abstract

En Chile la polarización política de los años sesenta y comienzos de los setenta, y la posterior dictadura militar de diecisiete años, dieron paso en los años noventa al comienzo de un periodo democrático que se mantiene hasta la actualidad. En estos lapsos de tiempo, hubo una serie de protagonistas políticos cuyos roles y actuaciones fueron decisivas para los cursos que tomaron estos procesos históricos. Si bien, muchos de estos actores se encuentran retirados de la política contingente desde hace años, la memoria colectiva sobre ellos se reaviva en conmemoraciones o aniversarios, tales como cada 11 de septiembre, el día del Golpe de Estado de 1973 y los 5 de octubre, cuando en 1988 se realizó el plebiscito ciudadano que puso fin al régimen militar.

Los medios de comunicación desde sus propias dinámicas mediatizadoras se han ido transformados en verdaderos agentes de la memoria de la sociedad (Angel, 2016; Olick y Robbins, 1998). De esta manera, a partir de sus propias lógicas mediáticas evalúan el pasado, donde aspectos como las líneas editoriales y relaciones de poder hacen imposible postular la existencia de una memoria neutral (Edy, 1999; Neiger et al., 2011; Zelizer, 2008).

Utilizando la teoría del *framing* mediático y su aplicabilidad metodológica mediante marcos (Iyengar, 1996; McCombs y Ghanem, 2001; Sádaba et al., 2012), esta investigación postula que la prensa escrita chilena, con sus determinadas características ideológicas (Del Valle, 2020; Godoy, 2016; Monckeberg, 2011), construyó una memoria mediática y promovió lecciones de un deber ser político a partir de las muertes en 2016 de Patricio Aylwin, primer presidente del retorno de la democracia (1990-1994), y de Carlos Altamirano en 2019, senador y presidente del Partido Socialista durante la Unidad Popular (1970-1973). Esto teniendo en cuenta, y como señalan Antezana y Cabalin (2018), que la memoria sobre el pasado reciente de Chile está aún en cambio permanente y tiene un impacto en la discusión de la esfera pública.

Si bien, la prensa escrita ha perdido preponderancia en su consumo en el sistema de medios chilenos (Suenzo, Boczkowski y Mitchelstein, 2020; Digital Reuter, 2020), resulta pertinente para esta investigación la selección de los periódicos El Mercurio de Santiago y La Tercera. Esto debido a que no sólo ambos medios poseen aún relevancia para la formación de la opinión pública chilena (Navia y Ulriksen, 2017), sino porque tuvieron papeles preponderantes como actores políticos en la historia reciente de Chile, tanto como opositores a la Unidad Popular, proclives a la dictadura militar y principales medios escritos durante la transición a la democracia (Garay y Willicke, 2007).

Esta investigación es la continuación de otros estudios realizados sobre la memoria que construyeron los medios de comunicación en Chile a partir de la muerte y funerales de personajes como la del líder revolucionario cubano Fidel Castro (Tagle y Solà, 2018) y la del director del principal órgano de seguridad del régimen chileno Manuel “Mamo” Contreras (Tagle y Zúñiga, 2020).

**Key Words**

Memoria mediática; Patricio Aylwin; Carlos Altamirano, prensa escrita, *framing*, Chile

# “AA Stage Show”: “Old” and “Young” as Pioneers of Criticism of the Early Hebrew Press in Europe

## Authors

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## Abstract

The rise of periodical literature changed the face of literary criticism in Europe between 1660 and 1800. However press self-critique came much later. Press criticism, says Wendy N. Wyatt (2019), is- or should be- an ongoing process of exchange and debate about the role and performance of the press. But still in the 1970s James Carey (1974) called it “an undeveloped profession”.

Shalom Yaakov Abramovich, otherwise known as “Mendele the Bookseller,” and Abraham Uri Kovner, appear to symbolize two opposites, two poles in the last generation of Hebrew 19<sup>th</sup> century *Haskalah* (Enlightenment) movement in Europe: one, a figure revered and respected as the official “grandfather” of Hebrew and Yiddish literature; the other – the “accursed” rebel of Hebrew society and literature, who “concocted” scathing and scandalous criticism and behaviour.

Nevertheless, both are entitled to be designated “the first critics of the Hebrew press,” and in this field they actually showed great similarities to one another in positions, analyses, and conclusions.

The first critiques of the Hebrew press were, in fact, a by-product of the initiative of the Russian government in Ukraine, which sought to encourage books of the Jewish Haskalah. (Enlightenment movement). On November 14, 1864, the newspaper *Kievlianin* – published in the capital city of Kyiv, addressed “wise men of the Jewish people” with questions of the local authorities, which revolved around the Hebrew literature of the Haskalah and its promotion among the public. However, both Mendele-Abramovich and Kovner, who answered the survey, also referenced the Hebrew press in their responses.

Kovner hurried to publish his answer, which included a pioneering critique of the Hebrew press in a pamphlet titled “Investigating the Matter.” His text was a “bombshell” on the small world of Hebrew literature due to its combative and uncompromising style and its attack on some “sacred cows” of the period. He targeted the three Hebrew newspapers, *Ha-Magid*, *Ha-Carmel*, and *Ha-Melitz*.

Abramovich wrote his answer in a “notebook,” which he delivered to the governor’s office. It appeared in a series in *Ha-Melitz*, even before the publication of Kovner’s booklet. He referred only to the two periodicals appearing in Russia at the time, *Ha-Carmel*, and his host, *Ha-Melitz*.

The two critiques were similar in writing technique: expectations from the newspapers, followed by disappointment. Both saw the problem of the economic situation of the newspapers – and their readers – as central and there was no difference between the willingness of the two to rely on the Russian government, while believing in its good will and its non-interference in opinions and content. Ethics, general politics, or freedom of the press could not be openly leading criteria in

their criticism within the boundaries of the Jewish communities' status and existence in 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe. .Therefore, they concentrated in literary traditions and modernization, relevance to social problems, the “spirit of the time” and technical aspects of press genre writing.

Their articles fit into the sharp debate that broke out at the time in the Haskalah camp on the question of Hebrew literature. Among the variety of opinions expressed, it was possible to distinguish clearly between two prominent factions in the literature of the Hebrew *Haskalah*, that of the “veterans,” led by D.B. Gottlover, Abramovich's teacher, and that of the “youth” led by Kovner.

Alexander Zederbaum, the editor of *Ha-Melitz*, whose newspaper served as host for this historical literary struggle, preferred to treat it as a media show. “There are neither old nor young here,” he commented, “neither a battlefield nor the drums of war ... just a stage show.”

### **Key Words**

Press criticism; Hebrew Press; 19th century; Eastern Europe; Jewish communities

# Ukraine and Russia: How did an elite Russian newspaper argue Russia's case in 2014?

## Authors

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## Abstract

The Russian – Ukrainian conflict dominates the political landscape, not only in Europe. But this is not the first time that Russia invaded Ukrainian territory in the past decade. In 2014, when then president Yanukovich fled the country, following wide-spread protests and a protest camp being erected on Maidan Square in Kyiv, Russia had lost its supporter in Ukraine.

The loss of its ally in Kyiv prompted Russia to instigate pro-Russian and military activities in Crimea, culminating in Russia formally incorporating the Republic of Crimea as a Russian republic on 18 March 2014, after a disputed referendum was held on 16 March, in which allegedly 95.5% of voters were in favour of joining Russia. This course of events is generally referred to as the annexation of Crimea (Pikulicka-Wilczeweska & Sakwa, 2016).

The events of 2014 have been overshadowed by Russia's invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, yet they can be clearly seen as an antecedent to subsequent developments. This paper investigates the articles published in the Russian weekly newspaper *Argumenty i Fauty* (*Аргументы и Факты* – *Arguments and Facts*) in the months prior and subsequent to the annexation of Crimea. *Argumenty i Fauty* addresses primarily politicians, businesspeople, and other members of the elite. Its status as an opinion leader and influential information tool makes *Arguments and Facts* an apposite case study to examine the contentions put forward by Russia before and after the annexation of Crimea.

In the period December 2013 to May 2014, *Arguments and Facts* published 231 articles and opinion pieces on the Ukrainian and Crimean events. This presentation analyses *Argumenty i Fauty's* reasons to justify the annexation of Crimea, such as the plight of the *sootchestvennik* (literally “those who are with the fatherland”), referring to ethnic Russians and Russian speakers residing outside the Russian Federation, Ukraine's inferior quality of life compared to Russia's “powerful economy” and nostalgic recalls of common history during Soviet times and in earlier centuries. This paper pays particular attention to the arguments put forward for the Russia's intent to “Return to Empire” (Grigas, 2016) as this aim touches not only on Ukraine but also other parts of the former Soviet Union, such as the Central Asian states. An assessment of these articles will help to understand Russia's mindset and determination, almost a decade ago, to use any means necessary to redraw borders to its ends.

## Key Words

Russia, Ukraine, Crimea 2014, Argumenty i Fauty

# Cosmotechnics: Archaeologies of the once and future AI media

## Authors

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## Abstract

“Metaverse” drew heated discussion, promoting development in ICTs (Information Communication Technology), accelerating platform construction, and fostering new trends in financial investment. The compound made by “meta” and “universe” also introduced great inspirations to media studies, while there is an absence of its philosophical reflections. It might be vital that the crucial concept of “universe” is automatically considered metaphor, resulting in a rupture between indication and materiality. The discontinuity between indication and materiality caused metaverse to be interpreted simply as an extension of digital technology such as VR (Virtual Reality), leading to the ignorance of the connection between different historical contexts. Such myth is yet to be exceeded, and the discussion of metaverse should be expanded to a philosophical level. In the direction of media materiality, using the methodology of media archaeology, and under the frame provided by philosopher Yuk Hui’s *Cosmotechnics* (2020), this paper inspects the history of the idea of artificial intelligence media through a reciprocal analysis between history and future, indication and materiality, and technology and culture. This paper concentrates on two essences of artificial intelligence media. One is anthropomorphism, taking media as an extension of organs and an externalization of memory. The other is “Being-in-the-world”, putting media in between existence (*Dasein*) and the world (*Umwelt*). Combining the two essences, this paper reviews ancient China’s Bagua (eight trigrams), Pottery Figurine of Singers and Dancers, Muniu Liuma (The Wooden Ox and Gliding Horse), Pingfeng (screens), automatic water clock, and Zhigongtu (Illustration of Tribute Missions), providing an understanding of human existence in the field of a mythological and imaginational world. These ancient Chinese “*technē*” can also correlate with modern technology such as binary, virtual idols, brain-computer interfaces, wearable devices, and social media platforms. This paper follows the non-linear trace, remaining or vanished, of the reflected world that “the anthropomorphist being-in-the-world” has constructed. Through philosophical analysis, this paper aims to set a new milestone for the media practice of metaverse and artificial intelligence.

## Key Words

Cosmotechnics, media archaeology, media materiality, artificial intelligence media, metaverse



# History Education as Revolutionary Ethos: The 1776 Curriculum as a Lieu de Memoire Reactif

## Authors

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## Abstract

One of the more intriguing elements of the January 6<sup>th</sup>, 2021 insurrection in the United States involves the invocation of “1776” as a mobilizing discourse for violent political action. As a revolutionary ethos, “1776” served as both a hashtag and rallying cry on *Twitter* prior to and after the insurrection and as an expression of far-right sentiment and group identity. It also served as the title of a document outlining the tactical plans for a domestic terrorist group heavily involved in the insurrectionist violence.

Less public attention has focused on the structural underpinnings of the rhetoric of “1776,” particularly the ways in which it represents the weaponization of memory in the service of shaping the need for—and nature of—future violent revolutionary action. In the months prior to the insurrection, then-President Donald Trump created a commission to produce a report promoting what he referred to as “patriotic” education. The resultant *1776 Report* served as a reactionary response to the publicity generated by the *New York Times’s 1619 Project*, which relocates the nation’s founding away from 1776—the date of the Declaration of Independence—toward the year that enslaved Africans arrived in Virginia and evinces a collective willingness to reassess all of American history from that standpoint. The *1776 Report* was put forward as a “corrective” to structural critiques of the U.S., particularly the notion that it has fallen short of its expressed commitment to democratic ideals, equality, and human rights. As such, it reflects broader anxieties over multiracial democracy and the critical historical narratives it brings to the fore. The *1776 Report* was followed by the production of the *1776 Curriculum*, a product of the conservative Hillsdale College, which focuses on a “classical liberal arts core curriculum” and values the “spiritual and intellectual inheritance of the Western Tradition.” The *1776 Curriculum* borrows heavily from the *1776 Report* and is currently being disseminated in a growing network of charter schools in the U.S.

In this presentation, we examine the production and dissemination of the *1776 Curriculum* as a *lieu de memoire reactif*. Borrowing Pierre Nora’s (1989) theorization of “sites of memory,” we argue that the production of reactive memories via school curricula serves two intersecting functions. First, it aids in the formation of ethno-nationalistic memories intended to serve as a bulwark against the more critical, pluralistic memories that destabilize dominant assumptions of American exceptionalism and white supremacy. Second, it represents a long-term strategy of shaping both the form and content of future—and potentially violent—political action by deploying tactical maneuvers centered on the weaponization of history curricula. Offering a close

reading of the *1776 Curriculum* as a site of reactive memory, we situate our discussion within a broader discursive field that has produced targeted book bans and more general attacks on the ways in which the histories of disempowered groups are taught in public schools.

**Key Words**

Reactive memory, *1776 Curriculum*, insurrection, white supremacy

# First steps of Recoletos Media Group in 1970's Spain: from young reporters to self-made owners

## Authors

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Dr. Javier Robles-Izu - PhD

## Abstract

Recoletos Media Group, one of the most influential and profitable media conglomerates of Spain in the 1980 and 1990s, was an unintentional byproduct of late Francoism. Criticism from *Nuevo Diario*, a newspaper created in 1967, toward the dictatorship, forced the government to oblige the publishing company to transfer the ownership to shareholders closer to the regime. As a result, the editor-in-chief Juan Pablo de Villanueva (1943-2008) was dismissed in 1970, along with other young reporters. Some of them soon joined to work together in several initiatives indirectly related to journalism (a relevant PR firm and press clippings services among others) while waiting for better times to launch newspapers on their own. In 1977, two years after Franco's death, they purchased the financial weekly *Actualidad Económica*, the first of a number of initiatives that would eventually shape the so-called Recoletos Group in 1992.

Awareness of the necessity to become owners of their media outlets to avoid what happened in the frustrated adventure of *Nuevo Diario* played a pivotal role in their successful achievements to come. Although working in different projects, they preserved their spirit as journalists at the same time as they started to develop capacities as business managers (something uncommon in those times), which would be essential for their future projects. Based on Villanueva's personal archive along with some interviews to his newsroom mates, we uncover the specific ways and guidelines that they followed to keep up unity while preparing themselves to come back at the forefront of mass media. What they saw between 1970 and 1977, a critical period characterized by precariousness of means and uncertainty about the future, was in the end fruitful because of the on-the-ground experience accumulated, which was beyond merely the practice of journalism by also encompassing media management. This conscious strategy allowed them not only to survive but grow in the mid-term without losing contact with relevant actors in the political and media realm.

Furthermore, in a paradoxical way, this case reflects how repression to press freedom from Franco's dictatorship led to the creation of successful publishing companies based on liberal and democratic principles. In fact, Recoletos would be eventually purchased by Pearson in the 1990s.

## Key Words

Recoletos Media Group, Spain, Franco's dictatorship, Press freedom, Public Relations

# Revisiting Dallas Smythe's "Cultural Screening": Maoist Class Politics and the "Technology Revolution" in Socialist China

## Authors

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## Abstract

Dallas Smythe's concept of "cultural screening" is a significant yet overlooked concept that suggests that socialist and developing countries should filter technology from capitalist nations due to its potential ideological implications. In his seminal book "Dependency Road," published in 1981, Smythe defines cultural screens as "the means by which nations protect and nurture their own culture" (Smythe, 1981, p. 216) and "a national culture or ideological system which serves to protect its cultural realism against disruptive intrusion," which includes "language, religious and mythical beliefs, and customs, together with border control of the movement of people and things" (p. 232).

Smythe argues that cultural screens "are a name for dialectical struggle over the terms of national development-the interests of which class it should serve" (Smythe, 1981, p. 236). However, the subjects of the class lack clarity and definition in regards to what constitutes cultural screening. The majority of elements discussed are those that make up the cultural and geographical boundaries of a nation-state, such as language and border control. Smythe appears to believe that it is unimportant whether cultural screening is carried out by leaders or laborers, and that socialist countries can remain untouched and unsullied by capitalist ideology as long as all western technologies are screened.

This paper, based on my research in Chinese archival institutions, aims to negotiate with and develop Smythe's concept of cultural screening by examining the interaction between the politics of technology and domestic class politics in socialist China, which can also contribute to Chinese STS studies. Contrary to Smyth's proposal that envisions cultural screening as a sovereignty-based project of socialist nations, Maoist contention emphasizes the role of class in the politics of technology and asserts an ongoing process of class struggle within technological development. The participation of the masses in technological development is seen as a manifestation of the socialist path, while reliance on technocrats and intellectuals is criticized as the capitalist road. Thus, the way in which technological development is conducted is viewed as a "line struggle" between socialism and capitalism.

The Maoist idea of contradiction as a driving force of continuous historical development underpins the concept of line struggle, and as such, the popularization of Maoist philosophy became crucial to ensure the implementation of "politics in command" in the technological development of the workplace. In this sense, the study philosophy movement was a socio-cultural mechanism that dynamically mediated the class politics in technological development by redefining epistemological

relationships between knowledge and practice, workers and cadres, and labour and technology/machinery. Although the study philosophy movement failed to achieve a comprehensive and authentic popularization of the Maoist vision of revolution and development among the masses, it endowed the working class with the agency and capacity to participate in the technological process and engage with technocrats and machinery.

**Key Words**

Dallas Smythe; Politics of Technology; Alternative Media; History; Participation

# Reinventing the Master Sage: History and Fiction on Confucius in Heroic Children in History (1995)

## Authors

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## Abstract

Confucius was the most respected and important philosopher throughout the history of imperial China. His ideas about social hierarchy and moral conducts had and still have a strong influence on the Chinese way of thinking and behaving. Throughout the republican period (1912-1949), Confucius was criticized by modern Chinese intellectuals. He was later demonized by the communists under the leadership of Mao Zedong, especially during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). After Mao's death, Confucius gradually restored its image and importance in Chinese society and, starting from the 1980s, has been considered "a great philosopher and a great educator" in official discourses.

In the 1990s, in order to legitimize its regime among the younger generations, the Chinese Communist Party launched a patriotic education campaign. This campaign aimed to increase nationalistic sentiment among the Chinese youth, which has been considered as the "future of the nation" since the republican period. Confucius and Confucianism, which were abandoned and criticized in China until the 1970s, once again become an important component of Chinese national culture and pride.

In 1995, as part of this campaign, the Shanghai Animation Film Studio (SAFS) released a cartoon series titled 自古英雄出少年 *Zigu Yingxiong Chushaonian, Heroic Children in History*. This series features 101 heroic stories about different historical figures, ranging from politicians to artists. These stories are sources for the creation of a collective memory about the history of China and of the world among Chinese children. Despite their intended "historical" content, many of these stories are creations or artistic biographical reinventions with no historical veracity. In an open letter addressed to SAFS, published in January 1996 on the *People's Daily*, 江泽民 Jiang Zemin (1926-2022), then the president of the PRC, stressed the importance of the animation industry in the moral education of children and praised the artists of SAFS for producing this cartoon series.[1]

This paper will aim to identify and systematize the invented collective memories about Confucius in the animation series through the use of multimodal analysis. The main research question is as follows: how and why was the representation of Confucius revitalized in *Heroic Children in History*?

The preliminary findings of the analysis reveal that Confucius was depicted as a filial son, hardworking student, and as a modest and respected master sage. This representation is made through invented narratives based on several Taoist and vernacular texts of different historical periods. However, these narratives are projected as real and convincing and are transmitted to the Chinese children as "history". Filial piety, hardworking, paying respect to elders and teachers, being

humble and modest are qualities which are associated with Confucianism and which are also found in the agenda of patriotic education during this period. Confucius lived in a distant historical time and his words and behaviors in the *Analects* are complicated for children. By inventing pseudo-historical stories about Confucius, the creators of the series used the media as a vehicle for the creation of a collective memory of “a past” which serves the present needs of the communist regime.

[1] Original letter available at the website of People’s Daily:  
<https://rmrb.online/simple/?t1087834.html>, accessed on 05-02-2023.

### **Key Words**

Collective Memory, Nationalism, Animation, Confucius, Patriotic Education Campaign

# **‘The Voice from the Homeland’: uncovering the ideological meaning of the Afrikaans programme of Radio Netherlands Wereldomroep (1949-1977)**

## **Authors**

Dr. Vincent Kuitenbrouwer - University of Amsterdam

## **Abstract**

The heyday of international radio-broadcasting, between 1945 and 1975, largely coincided with the era of decolonization. And the two historical phenomena were interrelated: radio was an important medium in the conflicts that coincided with the disentanglement of European overseas empires and the rise in independent nations and liberation movements led to a greater diversity of voices in the global ether. One of the most contested regions in this respect was Southern Africa, where white minority governments, first and foremost South Africa’s Apartheid regime, engaged in fierce radio propaganda battles with the ‘guerilla radio’ of black liberation movements.

The Dutch international broadcaster Radio Nederland Wereldomroep (RNW) became caught-up in this aerial battlefield after it inaugurated a programme in Afrikaans in 1949. This programme was one of the few broadcasting initiatives in that language outside South Africa during a period when the apartheid-system was gradually installed. In the 1970s RNW came under mounting pressure from the Dutch anti-apartheid movement to stop the Afrikaans broadcasts in order to isolate the white minority government in South Africa. In 1977 the board of RNW decided to do that, as part of a round of cut backs.

This essay will reflect on the nature of the first ten years of Afrikaans broadcasts of RNW and the ideological motives behind it. A key concept that inspired the launch of the programme was ‘Stamverwantschap’, the idea that the Afrikaners and the Dutch were ‘kinsmen’, as a result of the colonial presence of the Netherlands in South Africa in the early modern period and the Dutch solidarity for the Boer republics during the South African War. This essay will critically assess this principle by analysing the material of the ‘advisory council of African broadcasts’ that is kept in the archives of the Zuid-Afrikahuis that show that the transmissions only contained white voices. Indeed, the house (which in the 1950s was called Jan van Riebeeckhuis) in itself is an object of inquiry as the Afrikaans division of RNW regularly recorded broadcasts there.

## **Key Words**

Radio History; Radio Netherlands Wereldomroep; South Africa; Apartheid



# **Potential Soldiers or Modern Citizens: Media Construction and Actual Control of Children by Japanese and Communist Forces in China (1930-1940)**

## **Authors**

Mr. Jiyi Yang - Xiangtan University

## **Abstract**

Comprehensively analyzed the content of newspapers, comics, and films from 1930s-1940s China, as well as political archives, this article examines the process of political subjugation and transformation of children's images in the media by different political forces during this period, and contextualizes it with the socio-cultural history of childhood under the governance of different forces.

By conducting a comparative regional historical study, we found that:

(1) Chinese Soviet areas' media focus on constructing a revolutionary image of productive children, emphasizing children's cultural identity and physical contribution to the communist political system, accompanied by enlightening children scientific and cultural knowledge, and constructing children as productive young heroes who skillfully use what they learn to help Communist-controlled China with powerful revolutionary enthusiasm. And through political organizations such as the Children's League, the Pioneer Youth League and the Youth League, as well as educational institutions such as nurseries, Lenin elementary schools and vocational schools, the Chinese Soviet Republic has been able to integrate the children of the region into the local military, productive and cultural spheres throughout their lives, thus building them into "new communist people" with scientific and cultural knowledge.

(2) In contrast, the media image of children in Japanese-occupied China was daily life-oriented, with more stress on the modern adaptation of children. Through the Japanese-occupied media's emphasis on children's health, scientific and literary knowledge, etc., Japanese-occupied China makes children into modernized people's images with a bias toward local Japan rather than emphasizing children's political loyalty like the Chinese Soviet government. In fact, the Japanese forces, through a whole system of education from elementary school to university, i.e., through a more moderate modern education system, were trying to train children to become "new citizens of Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" who were both obedient and modern, ultimately serving the Japanese Empire's goal of culturally controlling the population of the Japanese-occupied areas.

In conclusion, we argue that these two divergences embody two ideal constructions of children's lives under different political goals. On the one hand, the Chinese Communist Party adopted political organizations in large numbers to absorb children and create typical revolutionary child role models through the media, while on the other hand, the Japanese adopted a soft policy of

cultural discipline in an attempt to reproduce in China the modern Japanese civilized child as an early subject of citizenship.

This study challenges the traditional academic theory which believes that different political forces in twentieth-century China all viewed children as political subjects, thereby marginalizing the idea of transforming children into modern citizens advocated by Chinese liberal intellectuals (Naftali, 2021; Xu, 2011). Moreover, this study corroborates from a media perspective that different political forces in twentieth-century China still highlighted the purpose of converting children from obedient people following Confucian filial piety to modern citizens with modern knowledge, rather than viewing children exclusively as a reserve army to be raised solely for political purposes. This study reconfirms that different political forces share the same quest for a modern China to reach their aims.

**Key Words**

media, history of childhood, China (1930-1940)

# Revisiting Journalistic Roles in Socialist Eastern Europe

## Authors

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## Abstract

This paper is a historical analysis, which examines the role of journalists in the former Eastern Bloc. Specifically, the study draws on archival research and in-person interviews with Bulgarian media professionals who worked during socialism, in order to probe two understudied features of journalism from this era.

The first part of the paper explores the role of journalists as intermediaries between “the people” and the institutions. In the post-Stalinist period, Eastern European citizens felt increasingly more comfortable and safer in communicating their everyday grievances to the media. While criticism of socialism and the Communist Party was still dangerous, audience members alerted journalists about a whole host of day-to-day problems, including bureaucratic hurdles, shortages, and corruption of low and mid-level officials. In turn, journalists had the duty to investigate these issues and sought their resolution. While this system was far from perfect, it brought a level of trust in journalists and turned media into what Natalia Roudakova describes as the “most humane” institution of Soviet power (*Losing Pravda*, 2017, p.51).

The paper’s second section focuses on socialist foreign correspondents. In today’s “global village” it is hard to imagine the oversized influence these media professionals had on the audience’s understanding of the world beyond the borders of the socialist state. Their reports and documentaries structured the view not only of the capitalist countries in the West and the developing nations in the Global South, but also of life in other socialist states in the region. In this part of the paper, I explore how former foreign correspondents conceptualize their role as a window to the world of the socialist citizenry.

This essay builds on recent studies which challenge the portrayal of socialist media as mere messengers of the Communist Party (e.g., Natalia Roudakova, *Losing Pravda*, 2017; Aniko Imre *TV Socialism*, 2016; Sabina Mihelj and Simon Huxtable, *From Media Systems to Media Cultures*, 2018, etc.). But even more importantly, this paper brings the history of socialist journalism in conversation with the growing scholarship on journalistic roles. In recent years, this field of research has seen a push to broaden the understanding of journalistic cultures beyond the dominant Western liberalist view of media as a Fourth Estate and a “watchdog” (e.g. Thomas Hanitzsch, et al., *World of Journalism*, 2019; Thomas Hanitzsch and Tim Vos, “Journalism Beyond Democracy,” 2016). These academics have expanded the analysis to the Global South and societies with authoritarian governments where a developmentalist perspective of journalism is prevalent. This article adds to this scholarship through a focus on a non-Western, authoritarian context. At the same time, through its focus on an extinct form of journalism, it redirects the analysis to the empirically rich and epistemologically crucial field of media history.

At this point in time, I have conducted seventeen interviews with former journalists. In May I have scheduled another research trip to Bulgaria to conduct more interviews and gather additional archival materials. By the time of the IAMCR conference the article should be complete, and I hope that the feedback I receive in Lyon will help me improve its final version.

**Key Words**

socialism, journalism, journalistic roles, foreign correspondents, Bulgaria, Eastern Europe

# Historical Dimensions of Media Control in Turkey: The Ebb and Flow of Fear of Media

## Authors

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## Abstract

Turkish media system is shaped by continuous clash between the journalists and successive governments who wanted to control and tame the news media. The last 20 years of AKP government under President Erdogan witness the attempts to control and capture legacy media intensify. There are now more restrictions on media than before Erdogan came to power. Yet the ebb and flow, the rise and fall of media freedoms in Turkey is far from the repressive machinations of a single man or a political party in power. In fact, it is historical and there are waves of relative liberalism versus waves of authoritarianism that prevent media freedoms. This paper will have comparative historical analysis of Turkish media from the perspective of fear of media of the governments since early 20th century. This paper will examine the historical roots of the role of successive Turkish governments' fear of media and Turkish media's fear of government authority with respect to the development of press freedom over the long run and closely analyzes the historical pressures imposed on journalists through legal and informal means. The paper will focus particularly on the economic and political pressure on the media in Turkey and offer three arguments regarding the fear in Turkish media: (1) Media fear is historical rather than a rupture that happened during the Justice and Development Party era; (2) out of fear of losing power, the governments use structural, legislative and extra-legal factors to the advantage of the ruling party to support a friendly media-ecology; and (3) the repressed media attempt to come out of this ecology of fear by utilizing new tactics of reporting, such as alternative media and citizen journalism.

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## Key Words

Captured Media

# **Media System transformation in a context of stable instability: developing and capturing Guinea-Bissau's media since independence**

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## **Abstract**

A glimpse into a country's media history can provide important insights into the current manifestation of its media system and can help to find explanations for its transformation. This is especially important in the case of formerly colonized countries - in the wake of their independence, they had to find ways to (re-)invent themselves as nation states, including the roles that media should play in these new national constructs (e.g., Frère & Agbobli, 2018). During these ongoing phases of decolonization and determining their political set-up, various actors used or addressed media – either instrumentalizing them as vehicles to support their political, ideological, or individual interests, or supporting them as important drivers of development. Media development actors still are among those actively trying to “impact” the direction of these transformations, following different “theories of change”, often in the tradition of modernism (Manyozo, 2012; Scott, 2014; Harris, 2018).

This contribution explores how these developments played out in the case of Guinea-Bissau, a small, Lusophone country in West Africa characterized as fragile, “least developed” and a “narco state”. Its media grapple with difficult conditions including lack of resources, professional and ethical challenges and restricted press freedom, yet their importance is frequently addressed by local, national and international stakeholders (Sampaio-Dias, 2019; de Barros & Camara, 2015).

To understand the current situation of Guinea-Bissau's media, this presentation searches for patterns in the historical transformation of its media system - throughout the colonial period, independence struggle, one-party-system, political opening in the 1990s and ensuing “stable instability”. Based on literature review, interviews, and focus groups, it uses the lenses of media development on the one hand and media capture on the other hand to delineate different (sometimes colliding?) dynamics of media system change. The example of Guinea-Bissau also invites to re-think methodological and theoretical approaches to media systems research.

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## **Key Words**

Captured Media



# Captured by Elites: The Portuguese Media System in Liberalism (1820-1926)

## Authors

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## Abstract

This paper explores the structures of the media system throughout Portuguese Liberalism, 1820-1926. In the context of Portuguese empire and applying the concept of 'Imperial Public Sphere' (Fonseca, 2021), this case study shows how imperial and colonial elites captured media system to exercise and spread its political and ideological power.

Through the analysis of the paradigmatic newspaper *Gazeta das Colónias (1924-1926)*, I show the main structures, actors and political orientations of the Portuguese media system. Sharing the methodology developed by Hallin and Mancini (2004), the paper describes and discuss the following dimensions of the media system: 1) development of the mass press; 2) political parallelism; 3) professionalisation; and 4) the role of the state. The analysis underlines the interaction among media system and political, economic and cultural dimensions of Portuguese Liberalism.

The political functions of mediation and amplification of public debate, the process of integration of the State and society, the negotiation of commitments and the balance of power are among the roles highlighted in Habermas' public sphere theory and played by this imperial media system (1991).

The conclusion reveals that during Portuguese Liberalism the 1) development of the media market was weak and the press was guided from and to elites; 2) a strong political parallelism between media system and political and economic groups; 3) the professionalisation was in its starts and the political actors performed as journalists; and 4) during Liberalism the state played a moderate role regarding the media system.

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## Key Words

Captured Media

# Republican Imagination and National Identity: An Analysis of the Thoughts of Overseas Chinese in Australia before and after Yuan Shikai's Restoration

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## Abstract

The current academic research on Chinese newspapers published overseas in the early twentieth century is mainly focused on Southeast Asia and North America, while in Oceania, some scholars have paid attention to *The Chinese Australian Herald* published in Australia in 1894, there still hasn't been much coverage on *The Chinese Republic News* and *THE TUNG WAH TIMES*. At that time, Chinese Australians were far from mainland politics and lacked representation in the Chinese community but they did not forget their concern for their home country's distance. This paper systematically compares the history of Chinese political parties in Australia and the development of *The Chinese Republic News* and *THE TUNG WAH TIMES*, two political party newspapers, at the beginning of the twentieth century, taking the restoration of Yuan Shikai as the emperor as a nodal point to analyse and discuss the changing political ideology and identity of the Chinese Australians at that time.

In 1914, *The Chinese Republic News* was firstly published, representing the revolutionary faction in Australia in a constant debate with *THE TUNG WAH TIMES*, which represented the reformist faction, on issues such as the political system and statehood, which to a certain extent stimulated the political consciousness of the local Chinese. From December 1915 to June 1916, news of Yuan Shikai's restoration of the imperial system spread to Australia, out of the common goal of maintaining the republic and opposing the imperial system, the two newspapers opposed Yuan Shikai's proclaiming the emperor while reporting on the National Defense Movement, and contributed to raising military salaries for the newly established Yunnan military government and formed a united front against Yuan. Both newspapers also pointed out that the restoration was neither supported by the powers nor approved by the people from the perspective of the attitude of the powers towards Yuan Shikai's claim to the throne, and created legitimacy for the new republican government to replace Yuan Shikai's. In comparison with the domestic political party newspapers, *The Chinese Republic News* and *THE TUNG WAH TIMES* were concerned with the same themes, although they were far away from Australia.

In terms of national identity, the Chinese community at this time embodied a dual identity: in political identity, they accepted the rule of the local government; in national identity, they shared the blood kinship of their homeland. Before Yuan's restoration, there had been calls among

Chinese Australians to boycott goods from a certain country, but the idea was still rooted in affection for Guangdong Province, with more and more newspaper articles discussing the concept of Republic of China and the republican system in this restoration event, the identity of the Chinese-Australians gradually expanded from Cantonese to Chinese, and nationalism began to emerge.

**Key Words**

Chinese Australian republication; political newspaper; national identity; National Protection War

# **A narrower EU or deeper European integration? The views on European integration of 15 leading Austrian, German, French, British and Spanish newspapers when reporting the Cyprus bailout (2013) and the Greek referendum (2015) crises.**

## **Authors**

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## **Abstract**

The media should offer a plural discussion concerning central political issues to help citizens to understand the various alternatives at hand (Donsbach, 2008, p. 196) and, hence, contribute to political mobilisation, opinion formation and the legitimisation of institutions (Eriksen, 2005, pp. 342–345). The euro crisis between 2008 and 2016 was a critical juncture in the European integration process: a systemic crisis that jeopardised the EU's foundations (Parrilla Guix, 2022, pp. 40–49). It hence provided the framework for discussing and reshaping perceptions (cf. Krzyżanowski et al., 2009, p. 5b) about the EU and European integration.

This paper compares the coverage of two critical events of the euro crisis —the Cyprus bailout week (March 16-23, 2013) and the Greek referendum week (July 1-7, 2015)— in fifteen newspapers from Germany, Austria, France, the UK and Spain against the background of the chronological evolution of the newspapers' editorial line concerning European integration. The research question is: *How far did fifteen critical national EU newspapers contribute to a plural discussion about European integration during their coverage of the Cyprus bailout in 2013 and the Greek referendum in 2015?*

The study compares the most-read quality liberal-conservative newspaper, quality progressive daily and tabloid in all countries but Spain, where it is difficult to distinguish quality newspapers from tabloids (Strömbäck & Luengo, 2008), and I chose *El País*, *El Mundo* and *ABC*.

The theoretical framework distinguishes two groups of ideas in the discussion about European integration. First, the ideas about the EU's narrowing —e.g. "Brexit"— or enlargement. Second, based on Conrad (2009, pp. 103–108) and Mair (2007, p. 156f), the ideas (1) supporting or opposing various normative models of *European integration* —intergovernmental, supranational or postnational integration—, (2) *European disintegration* or (3) the *devolution* of competences to nation-states.

The research objectives are **O1**: To outline the historical evolution of the newspapers' editorial line concerning European integration between the mid-20th century and 2015. **O2**: To assess the newspapers' direct owners between 2013 and 2015. **O3**: To assess which perspectives of European integration predominated in the coverage of the two selected critical events.

The results rely on the review of academic literature and company documents to achieve **O1** and **O2** and an inductive core sentence analysis (Kriesi et al., 2006, p. 931) of claims about European integration based on purposeful samples to achieve **O3**. The purposeful samples for **O3** —177 claims in 378 articles and 563 claims in 402 articles during the Cyprus bailout and the Greek referendum week, respectively— comprise up to the five most-salient claims about European

integration within the most-salient articles about the two critical events in each newspaper and day of coverage.

The main findings are three. First, many of the analysed newspapers supported Grexit in 2015. Second, the three German newspapers —*FAZ*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung* and *Bild*— supported a narrower EU led by Germany and, in July 2015, Grexit. However, only *Bild* has, a priori, a nationalistic editorial line. Last, *The Sun* and *The Times*, owned by Rupert Murdoch, clearly supported Brexit during the coverage of the two critical events, in contrast to *The Guardian*.

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### **Key Words**

*euro crisis, press coverage, core sentence analysis, Grexit, European integration*

# The Idea of India in the 21st Century: Postcolonialism and (Re-) Orientalism

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## Abstract

The expression “Idea of India”, which refers to the concept of India as a unified nation, is said to have been invented by Tagore during the Indian independence movement. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, India is an independent nation. However, due to India’s ethnic and cultural diversity, to the rise of neoliberal economics since and Hindu nationalism since the 1990s and to the lingering shadow of Western epistemology, discussions around the “Idea of India” remain alive in the Indian public sphere. Nowadays, there are two main discourses at play in the Indian public sphere: the secularist idea defended by the Indian Congress, which states that India is a diverse nation unified by civic and democratic values, and the Hindu nationalistic idea defended by the BJP, which states that, as a nation and civilisation, India emerged from the Hindu religion.

My paper analyses definitions of and reflections on the Idea of India made by some of the most prominent (American-)Indian intellectuals writing in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Among these are Gurcharan Das, Amartya Sen, Shashi Tharoor and Rajiv Malhotra. Despite their different careers and ideological leanings, these authors have written extensively about what they believe is historically specific to Indian civilisation and how such specificities may serve as a model for contemporary India and for the whole world.

My aim is to ask: what are the specific features of the Idea of India in 21<sup>st</sup> century discourses and how deeply are they influenced by past and foreign discourses? I position myself in the theoretical framework of Orientalism as it was defined by Said (2003, first published in 1978) and, more specifically, in the more recent framework of re-Orientalism (see Lau, 2009). According to the latter theory, several post-colonial nations have inverted pejorative Orientalist stereotypes and reused them as positive ones.

Through discourse analysis, I categorise and analyse the “Idea of India” as consisting of the following features: 1) rural origins; 2) diversity and pluralism founded on an ultimate unity; 3) inclusivity and tolerance of cultural difference; 3) cultural relativism with a tendency for universality; 4) spirituality and imagination with a tendency for rational debate; 5) antiquity and survival; 6) distinctiveness and superiority.

I draw three main conclusions from my analysis. In the first place, despite their constant attacks, Indian secularism and Hindu nationalism share several traits, as both discourses are founded on a Hindu epistemological view. Secondly, their discourses emerge not only as a way of defining the *Self* (India), but also the *Other* (the West, and ideological and economic competitors such as Pakistan and China, respectively). More specifically, they legitimise the *Self* in contemporary global times through the distinctive positive characteristics that India it is supposed to possess and that

the *Other* is supposed to lack. In this way, India is described as different and as possessing a more appropriate approach for contemporary global times, therefore serving as a role-model for other countries. Finally, I conclude that such discourses created, spread and legitimised by elite thinkers are also reflected in the discourses of other personalities (artists, activists, politicians, academics) through different kinds of media, such as the *internet*, television and cinema.

**Key Words**

Idea of India, Nationalism, Orientalism, re-Orientalism

# **An archaeology of Marxism: the impact of Marx on the study of media and communication**

## **Authors**

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## **Abstract**

The theories of Karl Marx remain to this day one of the most enduring and versatile intellectual frameworks aiming to provide an overarching explanation of human history as well as a normative grounding for a political vision of human progress. Marxian concepts are proving fruitful in providing insights into some of the most fundamental challenges facing humanity today, from climate change (Malm 2016) to the impact of digital information and communication technologies and the power of digital platforms (Fuchs and Mosco 2017).

However, Marxism and the study of media and communication have a complicated history, with communication representing a “blindspot of Western Marxism”, as Dallas Smythe (1977) had famously claimed, while on the other hand historical materialism has been said to be a “forgotten theory” (Robes 1990) within media and communication studies. Even though marxian concepts have informed discussions within communication studies (for example the notion of imperialism to make sense of power relations in global communication), marxism seems to not have established itself as a central theoretical tradition within communication studies. Our study attempts to study this complex relationship by utilizing Big Data analysis to assess the impact of Marxism on the study of media and communication.

We commence the study by tracking citations to Karl Marx and other key Marxist thinkers (like Rosa Luxemburg, Antonio Gramsci and Georg Lukacs) in scholarly bibliometric databases since 1970 (for example, the Scopus database contains 6,000 English-language research articles that cite Marx in the "social sciences" category). Further, we identify key Marxist concepts (such as alienation, class struggle, or hegemony) most frequently associated with references to Marxist thinkers by identifying the most commonly co-occurring keywords. By treating the citation data of these articles with the network analysis methods, such as clustering, we will be able to identify the subtle structures between the (most prominent) authors associated with particular concepts, pointing to possible (re)conceptualization of Marxist ideas. In this way we will be able to identify various streams of thought or paradigmatic appropriations of Marxism within media and communication studies and their relationships with each other. Finally, we will track the prominence of Marxist thinkers, concepts and paradigms throughout the last 50 years and contextualize the results with reference to institutional shifts within the field itself (for example the institutionalization of the critical paradigm in Europe), its relationship with other fields within the social sciences as well as broader socio-political shifts that have impacted the history of the social sciences (like the rise of new social movements in the 1960s, the end of the cold war etc.).

## **Key Words**

Marxism, big data, network analysis, history of communication theory



# **A kaleidoscope of lies – Partisan realities and adaptable conspiracy myths in the 1920s German Nationalist Press**

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## **Abstract**

Conspiracy myths have a rich tradition in political agitation and populist communication as they can be used for justification, mobilization or destabilization in the service of a political agenda or in support of an instrumental narrative. An important feature of conspiracy myths is their adaptability: While the core of a conspiracy tale remains stable, it is adaptable to specific communicative needs or multiple context constellations to better match a political aim or disseminate fear effectively. In this study we analyze the conspiracy myth of the stab-in-the-back legend and its evolution relative to varying political constellations and interests of the German far right in the 1920s.

The German defeat in World War 1 came unexpected and as a sudden shock for large parts of the German population. Propaganda had claimed that victory was imminent until only a few weeks before surrender. Military command and high-ranking conservatives tried to cope with the defeat by creating a legend and conspiracy myth 'from above'. According to this conspiracy myth the German army was still undefeated on the battlefield but had only lost since it suffered from betrayal in the own country – the so-called stab-in-the-back legend ("Dolchstoßlegende").

Through partisan newspapers' extensive coverage of a parliamentary investigation into the myth and several defamation trials between newspapers and/or politicians, the question whether there had really been a stab-in-the-back of the German army kept alive in the public arena throughout the 1920ies. Different versions of the myth either blamed the civil population for giving up on their soldiers or more specifically the revolutions that had occurred in different parts of Germany just before the signing of truce agreement on the 9<sup>th</sup> of November 1918. But the myth also included even more conspiratorial versions in which certain politicians were accused of having planned the German defeat several years before 1918 or included anti-semitic narratives. These versions of the myth were especially perpetrated by right-wing and nationalist movements.

In the study we analyzed how the stab-in-the-back legend is portrayed and disseminated especially by the nationalist parties and related press publications in the public sphere. Using qualitative content analysis, we analyzed the *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, an increasingly radicalized right-wing monthly magazine by Paul Nikolaus Cossmann.

We ask:

- Who is given a voice as witnesses and experts?

- Who is accused as the perpetrators of the stab-in-the-back?
- Do the narratives have the characteristics of a conspiracy myth?

Findings demonstrate how the coverage of political events can be used to construct not only a particular view on history but also to build a partisan reality, agitate against political adversaries and to mobilize supporters. They show how the stab-in-the-back myth was perpetrated in nationalist magazines to undermine the social democratic government of the Weimar republic and to mobilize for their own cause years before the NSDAP came into power. Results also show how then recent historical events can split a conspiracy myth into a kaleidoscope of versions, which can be used to sow mistrust and discredit parties, politicians, and parts of the population.

### **Key Words**

Conspiracy myth, far-right, nationalist, Weimar Republic

# Efervescencia de medios nativos locales en Galicia: estudio de caso con perspectiva histórica

## Authors

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## Abstract

La tradición histórica de la comunicación local en Galicia, una región española del noroeste de la Península Ibérica, se ha traducido en un espacio caracterizado por la efervescencia de iniciativas periodísticas nativas digitales locales e hiperlocales que atienden informativamente las principales comarcas y localidades. Aunque en esta investigación presentamos un estudio de caso regional, se enmarca en la tendencia observada a nivel internacional de renovación de los ecosistemas mediáticos de proximidad y los nuevos modelos de medios locales e hiperlocales (Harte, Howells & Williams, 2018; Negreira-Rey & López-García, 2021).

En Galicia, el primer medio nativo digital de información apareció en 1996, pero no fue hasta el año 2007, con el nacimiento de *Que pasa na Costa*, cuando emergió el primer nativo digital claramente comarcal. A partir de ese momento surgieron iniciativas en las principales demarcaciones comarcales del país, con muchas apariciones y desapariciones, lo que constituye una riqueza comunicativa relevante, pero también un riesgo para la conservación de su legado, pues, tras el cierre de muchos, se pierde prácticamente toda su producción.

En 2016 se localizaron un total de 131 medios de comunicación activos en Galicia –el 62% de alcance comarcal y municipal y el 58% nativos digitales– (Negreira-Rey, 2017), mientras que el último mapeo de los medios digitales en España identificó un total de 146 activos en la comunidad (Salaverría & Martínez-Costa, 2021). En los últimos diez años se ha observado un crecimiento importante – de al menos medio centenar de iniciativas– de los medios nativos digitales de proximidad, con alcance comarcal e hiperlocal, que han surgido tanto en áreas rurales como en el núcleo de las principales ciudades. La oferta informativa de proximidad en Internet se ha ampliado gracias a la edición digital de otros medios que hasta el momento solo se editaban en papel. A esta amplia red local hay que sumar los diarios de información general y sus ediciones, radios y televisiones, así como una cadena pública autonómica.

El conjunto de medios nativos y matriciales que conforman el ecosistema comunicativo local muestra una gran riqueza y diversidad en una comunidad autónoma de menos de tres millones de habitantes. Estas características convierten el escenario gallego en un marco idóneo para el estudio de caso con perspectiva histórica para intentar dar respuestas sobre los motivos y las consecuencias de esta efervescencia de publicaciones. Esta comunicación se basa en un proyecto

de investigación de recuperación histórica de la línea del tiempo de los principales medios, sus características, sus aportaciones al ecosistema comunicativo en cada contexto y sus desafíos. El texto, elaborado a partir de material cuantitativo –las fichas de los principales medios de proximidad– y con técnicas cualitativas –entrevistas a algunos de los promotores–, pretende contribuir al conocimiento de los sistemas democráticos y plurales de las iniciativas que, desde la historia local, surgen en diferentes espacios de proximidad. La reconstrucción de la historia de estos medios aporta elementos para el diagnóstico de la oferta comunicativa en unos tiempos en los que abundan los desiertos informativos.

### **Key Words**

digital native media; local media; hyperlocal media; digital journalism; Galicia

# **Un âge d'or perdu ? Financiarisation et globalisation des milieux publicitaires européens (1974-1990)**

## **Authors**

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## **Abstract**

Issue de mon travail pour la thèse de doctorat – consacrée à « Publicité, politique, institutions. Une étude comparative de la communication politique en France, Italie et Royaume-Uni (1979-1989) » et réalisée en cotutelle entre l'Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris et l'Université de Rome « La Sapienza » — mon intervention se focalisera sur le « boom » publicitaire des années 1980, souvent considéré un deuxième « âge d'or » de la publicité globale après celui de la « révolution créative ». Je m'appuierai sur un vaste corpus de sources primaires et secondaires comprenant les rapports annuels de l'agence britannique Saatchi & Saatchi (S&S) de 1977 à 1990, un large recueil d'articles issus de la presse spécialisée entre 1977 et 1992 (notamment les revues Campaign, Stratégies, Pubblicità Domani, Il Millimetro), ainsi que des manuels de publicité italiens, français et britanniques.

L'industrie publicitaire européenne des années 1970 et 1980 a longtemps été marquée par les conséquences et la mémoire de la crise des années 1974-1975. La prudence qu'elle affiche dans les années suivantes n'est pas seulement due à la persistance d'une condition économique peu favorable, marquée par la stagflation, mais aussi à un sentiment de malaise, de crise et de déclin qui touche la plupart des sociétés européennes. Le deuxième choc pétrolier suscite la crainte généralisée d'une nouvelle récession. La capacité de l'industrie publicitaire à survivre – et même à tirer profit, contre toute attente — de cette nouvelle crise restaure la confiance que les publicitaires européens avaient perdue en 1974. Dans la plupart des pays européens, les années comprises entre 1981 et 1989 sont alors caractérisées par une croissance forte et stable des investissements et des marges brutes des agences, qui s'arrête seulement à la fin de la décennie.

C'est dans ce contexte que s'insèrent les stratégies adoptées par les agences européennes et nord-américaines face au malaise des années 1970, qui feront l'objet d'une analyse ponctuelle. Plusieurs solutions sont en effet adoptées : certaines agences prônent l'éclatement et la décentralisation ; d'autres choisissent la concentration, dans la tentative de contrôler des parts de marché de plus en plus vastes. Cette stratégie est notamment mise en œuvre par des jeunes agences européennes, des nouvelles-nées de la fin des années 1960 ou début 1970. Incarné par les britanniques S&S et WPP de Martin Sorrell, mais également par les français Roux Séguéla Cayzac & Goudard, ce modèle assigne une place centrale aux acquisitions et fusions financières et à la création de réseaux internationaux. Ainsi, les banques et les fonds d'investissement deviennent des acteurs incontournables ; les marchés financiers, nouvellement déréglementés, apparaissent comme des sources inépuisables de financement. En 1987, S&S parvient à devenir le premier groupe publicitaire au monde, dépassé peu après par WPP, développant une idéologie publicitaire

fortement axée sur la globalisation croissante des entreprises, des marchés et des goûts des consommateurs. Mon intervention se conclura par l'étude de la crise qui frappe la publicité globale à la fin de la décennie, révélant toutes les limites et les faiblesses de l'âge d'or qui venait de s'écouler.

**Key Words**

publicité; globalisation; financiarisation; années 1980

# Singapore as "entrepôt" and "hub": Analytical difference and insights into histories of technology and globalization

## Authors

Dr. Harmeet Sawhney - Indiana University, Bloomington

## Abstract

Singapore's story is one of repeatedly finding a way of securing in Southeast Asia a regional centrality, wherein the flows of capital, materials, and people are such that Singapore adds exceptional value and keeps a big portion of the income generated by the regional economy. When the neighboring countries catch up in a sector and start "bypassing" Singapore (e.g. Malaysia processing its rubber and exporting it directly), it ups the game by developing capabilities in another sector, wherein the neighboring countries find it valuable to work with and through Singapore.

Soon after Singapore was established as a trading post in 1819, it started serving as a postal hub for Southeast Asia. Mail from one Southeast Asian country to another would go through Singapore and also all their mail to and from other countries in the world. It continued to serve as the postal hub till the late 1800s when its neighbors started joining the Universal Postal Union, which was established in 1874 to facilitate flow of mail between countries. By that time, Singapore had become the regional center for telegraphic communications. Subsequently, it became the regional center for international telephony.

With the advent of computers, in the 1980s, Singapore worked to become an "intelligent island" wherein corporations would locate their high value functions and remotely manage manufacturing operations in neighboring countries. In the 1990s, Singapore established high bandwidth links to the US, the global hub of the Internet, and started serving as the regional center for Southeast Asia. Around this time, its vision moved from "intelligent island" to "knowledge hub."

"Entrepôt" and "hub" are similar constructs in that they share a relational commonality. Herein there is a principal entity (center) and manifold dependent entities (peripheries) and the relationship between them is asymmetrical and principal-centric – the classic center-periphery structure. By definition, things flow mostly through the center. But there is also a major difference, which has analytical import for us.

Given the physical and population geography of Asia, there has always been a need for an entrepôt in the Strait of Malacca area over the long arc of history. At different points in time, different places played this role, as circumstances in their favor gathered and dissipated. In this long running progression of centering and decentering, for our analytical purposes, it is important to note that there was no significant difference in the hinterlands of Singapore and its predecessors. The issue was who would be at the center in that region. In effect, the hinterland was more or less fixed and the center was variable.

In the case of the hub construct, we see the converse – the center is fixed at Singapore and the hinterland is variable. We see a particularly vivid expression of this conception in the ambitions of a senior Singaporean logistics executive: “With the emergence of China and India, the industry needs to explore opportunities beyond Singapore and create a hinterland.” This speaks of a plasticity that an entrepôt does not enjoy, given that the friction of distance is a determinative factor for shipping. When it comes to the cyber realm, there is almost no friction of distance and the possibilities for acquiring centralities are qualitatively higher.

This paper maps out the analytical difference between “entrepôt” and “hub” and uses them as lens to understand histories of technology and globalization, with Southeast Asia as the vantage point.

**Key Words**

globalization



# **For nobody's eyes: The politics of the seized Palestinian film archive – 1982**

## **Authors**

Ms. Hadil Abuhmaid - University of Oregon

## **Abstract**

Since the production of the first Palestinian film in the 1930s, cinema in Palestine has unfolded into four different periods, each shaped by the political climate of its era: (1) *Al-Nakba* or “Catastrophe” (1935 - 1948); (2) *Epoch of Silence* (1948 - 1967); (3) *Al-Naksa* or “Setback” (1968 - 1982) and (4) *Palestinian Individual Initiatives* (1982 – 2020).

My research examines the disappearance of hundreds of hours of archival film material that belonged to the third period of Palestinian cinema, *al-Naksa*. Known as the cinema of the Palestinian revolution, this period witnessed the production of several revolutionary documentaries, mostly with the support of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) under its Palestinian Film Unit. However, most of those films disappeared following the Israeli invasion of Beirut in 1982. The Israeli curator and researcher of visual history and culture, Rona Sela, asserts that those films were looted by the Israeli forces in what we can refer to as a colonial erasure. Sela's release of her film *Looted and Hidden* (2017) ended the suspicions surrounding the whereabouts of the archive - they are collecting dust in the custody of the Israeli army.

Since the beginning, cinema has been playing an integral part in Palestinian memory; a memory that is scattered across space and time. Those films and the stories they recorded are evidence of the identity and history of a displaced nation that, for decades, has been labeled by other people. Thus, it is crucial to look at Palestinian film productions, especially those of the third period, as a tool of resistance and self-representation that aimed at confronting the domination of colonial powers. Therefore, I discuss in this paper the ways in which revolutionary films serve as a memory of a stateless nation and displaced people. Moreover, I examine the implication of the plundered archives as an erasing tool and explore the ways film acts as a repository of collective memory – a memory full of loss in this case. To do this, I borrow from the literature on collective cultural memory, James C. Scott's concept of infrapolitics, and the politics of archives.

The objective of the Palestinian Revolution cinema was anti-occupation and a movement of liberation which carried a political aesthetic. Filmmakers of this period measured the success of productions by their contribution to the revolution and the struggle for liberation, rather than their entertainment value, which parallels other cinema for liberation in Latin America, Asia, and Africa. Those films documented a rare visual history of the Palestinians' resistance, rebellion, and self-representation. Many filmmakers of that time argue that their documentaries were attempts to narrate the Palestinian people's history, present, and future and fight the non-stop erasure of Palestinian history. By shedding light on the loss of this archive, I will attempt to recover the voice of the filmmakers of the Palestinian Revolution period and the histories they told.

## **Key Words**

Palestinian cinema, revolution, archive, politics, collective memory

# **@ichbinsophiescholl Remembering and forgetting resistance to National Socialism on Instagram**

## **Authors**

Prof. Martina Thiele - University of Tuebingen

Prof. Tanja Thomas - University of Tübingen

## **Abstract**

On April 26, 2021, the German southwestern public broadcasting station (SWR) announced the upcoming launch of their Instagram project on Sophie Scholl, a member of the *White Rose*, an activist group who organized non-violent resistance against the Nazi regime. The inspirational model for the “I am Sophie Scholl” (@ichbinsophiescholl) format is based on the “Eva Stories,” an Instagram account by Israeli director Matti Kochavi, which retells the story of Eva Heymann, a Jewish girl who was murdered in Auschwitz in 1944. The project @ichbinsophiescholl is based on fiction: Sophie Scholl (portrayed by actress Luna Wedler) uses the social media platform Instagram in the final months before her arrest and murder by the Nazis in 1943. The concept and its digital implementation attracted a lot of media attention: the SWR’s PR team communicated the number of @ichbinsophiescholl followers (more than 900,000, mostly young people) as a token of success in reaching a young demographic, while celebrating the extensive media coverage on the project.

As we live in a mediatized society where public remembering and forgetting is increasingly digitalized, we are interested in the technological and media-economic, but also the political-historical framings of remembering and forgetting history on social media as well as how this is perceived and negotiated in public debates. This research project focuses on the latter: We will present the analysis of the journalistic discourse surrounding the Instagram project @ichbinsophiescholl. Starting from journalistic controversies about the project, this paper reconstructs the public broadcaster’s ‘doing memory’ on resistance against National Socialism (Offerhaus/Trümper 2023). By proposing the term ‘Doing Memory’, we understand these practices as performative, embedded in a hegemonic basic narrative, and at the same time, potentially intervening in it, as a practice of remembering and forgetting. We engage Maurice Halbwachs’ theoretical observation who stresses that what we know of the past is what society can reconstruct in each era with its present frames of reference.

We employ discourse analysis to examine 98 articles published in German-language media (Germany, Austria, Switzerland) to reconstruct the discursive patterns, strands, and positions in reporting on the @ichbinsophiescholl project from May 1, 2021, to July 30, 2022. We analyze the degree to which the reporting was PR-determined, critical, homogeneous, or diverse in order to draw out the historical-political, media-ethical, and media-economic contexts within journalistic reporting. We interpret the results alongside the extent to which public broadcasters and journalists serve as “memory agents” (Zelizer, 2008) have done justice to its public value task and the various functions assigned to it.

## **Key Words**

Sophie Scholl, Instagram, public broadcasting, critical discourse analysis, historical journalism

# The Biopolitical Management of Media and Medicine in the U.S. and Canada, 1920-1940

## Authors

Dr. Bill Kirkpatrick - University of Winnipeg

## Abstract

This paper integrates two aspects of the History Section's call—the “history of health communication” and “national identities and the media”—to advance a biopolitical interpretation of international media history, primarily through a comparison of U.S. and Canadian health and media policies.

Drawing on extensive archival research, I argue that the divergent trajectories of health policy in the U.S. and Canada are inseparable from the divergent trajectories of media policy in the two countries, *and vice-versa*, i.e., media policy is inseparable from health policy.

My overarching claim is that media and medicine are co-constitutive. Hence, subclaim 1: “Modern medicine” is mediatized medicine. Not medicine that is merely advertised through the media, nor a medical system that simply economically and politically benefits from sympathetic mass-media representations, but *a way of thinking and doing medicine that is now inseparable from, even unthinkable without, the mediatized structures and channels through which medicine emerged in the 20<sup>th</sup> century*. This is extended by subclaim 2: “Modern media” are medicalized media. Not media that simply carry messages about medicine, nor media that reliably return to genres that glorify the medical profession, nor media production that depends heavily on advertising revenue from the pharmaceutical industry, but *ways of creating, consuming, and regulating media that would not exist but for the medicalized structures and channels through which media emerged in the 20<sup>th</sup> century*.

A comparative study of U.S. and Canadian media and health policy helps illustrate these claims; in this paper, I narrow my analysis to medical advertising on the radio. Looking carefully at the history of media regulation in these two countries, I argue that biopolitical concerns—not, as usually claimed, economic ones—were the primary motivation for early radio laws, thereby constructing radio as an instrument of health. This construction intersected with the laws and policies that were increasingly incorporating the medical and pharmaceutical fields into state control. Policies concerning medical advertising, then, became a pivot point around which media and medicine were “thought together” and came to shape each other.

The study uses archival sources from each country's health regulators and media regulators, including, from the U.S., the Food and Drug Administration and Federal Radio/Communications Commission and, from Canada, the Federal Department of Health and the Radio Broadcasting Commission. Through these sources I analyze medical policy (from the U.S.'s 1906 Pure Food and Drug Act to Canada's 1939 regulation of labels on medications), as well as how the respective broadcasting authorities in the two countries imagined and regulated medical advertising on radio.

I show how biopolitical management of media and medicine worked together in ways that help explain the divergent national policy contexts and cultural institutions in both fields.

A comparative study reveals, more persuasively than a single national study could, how electronic media became an instrument of biopolitical management of national populations *and* how biopolitical management (specifically through the medical profession and health policy) became increasingly shaped by the policies, structures, and economies of the electronic media, with profound consequences to this day.

**Key Words**

Media policy, health policy, biopolitics, comparative media, history of broadcasting

# **Industrialized Propaganda: How State-Aligned Info Ops Leverage AI to Undermine Information Integrity**

## **Authors**

Dr. Courtney Radsch - UCLA

## **Abstract**

This paper analyzes how state-aligned influence operations (SIO) leverage the design of communication technology platforms and the AI systems that power them in contemporary propaganda, disinformation, and harassment campaigns, which I collectively term information operations. While efforts to silence critics and manipulate public opinion through propaganda are not new, they are far more sophisticated. Based on empirical qualitative research and historical comparison, this paper unearths the sociotechnical dimensions of contemporary influence operations and provides an analytical framework for differentiating between propaganda, disinformation, and online harassment while also revealing the connective tissue between these three aspects of influence operations. It focuses on influence operations targeting journalism and science as factual, reality-based genres of information and communication. This paper introduces a typology of harassment, and hones in on the role that AI plays in fueling various tactics deployed in information operations. The typology of six tactics includes: abuse, threats, exposure, smearing, exclusion, and gendered disinformation, all of which take on new dimensions with AI and machine learning. This paper finds that state-aligned actors pursue a strategy of undermining, drowning out, and delegitimizing journalism and science and that online harassment and gendered disinformation are a defining but often overlooked element of these operations. It argues that advances in generative AI and machine learning enable industrial scale propaganda campaigns that leverage algorithms which reinforce historical stereotypes, structural racism, and misogyny (Nobel 2018; Garg et al. 2018; Bender et al. 2021; Radsch 2022). This poses a fundamental challenge to the design of our sociotechnical information and communication systems as the volume of propaganda increases and is reincorporated into the AI infrastructure through data and machine learning processes that fail to account for the noxious effects of influence operations.

## **Key Words**

Media and Propaganda; AI.

# **Patterns in Political Propaganda: Big Lies, Alternative Facts and Controlled Language**

## **Authors**

Dr. Nelson Ribeiro - Universidade Católica Portuguesa/School of Human Sciences

## **Abstract**

This paper discusses how big lies, alternative facts and the control of language have been prevalent in the history of propaganda and are at the core of the contemporary (dis)informational ecosystem. Based on concepts developed by George Orwell and Jacques Ellul, I propose to discuss how propaganda techniques that had a significant impact among audiences in different historical settings are used today in contexts of war and political disputes. A particular focus will be placed on how big lies are used to fabricate conspiracy theories and how authoritarian and populist leaders deny the existence of facts, and instead promote the “leader’s truth”. As historical cases demonstrate, the alternative realities created by the Leader, despite being false, have the potential to become true in the minds of its followers and to be transformed into “munitions of the mind” (Taylor, 2003) capable of leading people to act against their own interests. The paper will also debate how the control of language plays a central role in political propaganda, namely through the perverse use of metaphors, but also of pretentious words that serve to “mask simple statements and give an air of scientific impartiality to biased judgments” (Orwell, 1946). Finally, it will be argued that the negative connotation acquired by the word propaganda, mostly after World War II, has led it to disappear from the lexicon of democracies in the West – except when used to characterize operations developed by authoritarian countries. This, I will argue, curtails our ability to understand how propaganda works in the present.

## **Key Words**

Media and Propaganda; Alternative Facts

# **Believability: Propaganda, Media and Sexual Violence**

## **Authors**

Prof. Sarah Banet-Weiser - University of Southern California

Dr. Kathryn Higgins - Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania

## **Abstract**

One of the most concrete changes brought about by the viral #MeToo movement is that it has created a new public appetite for stories about sexual violence and harms—an appetite that has been readily seized upon by Hollywood and the press, a growing market for anti-sexual violence products and services, and a renewed investment in digital media as a space where women are *believed*. Yet, criticisms of #MeToo (and public accusations more broadly) that foreground the power of digital media often hinge on a common complaint: that the hypermediated spectacle of public accusations of sexual violence undermines the criminal justice system as the ‘rightful’ place for the evaluation of accusations of (criminalized) sexual harm and the allocation of punishment. The market for anti-sexual violence that has emerged in the aftermath of #MeToo is one that suggests that if only women can furnish more and better evidence of their assaults (photographs, videos, screenshots, and other ‘corroborating’ digital artifacts) then they will prevail in bids for believability, both in the court of public opinion and potentially in courts of law. At the core of this narrative are struggles over how, whether, and when different forms of evidence ought to bolster believability—especially now that such evidence can be freely circulated online, and highly public bids for belief are made without arbitration or intervention by the state. In this paper, I connect this contemporary hypermediated context with historical propaganda; particularly through the themes of gender and humiliation. Against the backdrop of historical propaganda, I examine contemporary examples of sexual violence to see what actually happens to and with these artifacts in a mediated struggles over believability, and how their evidentiary value—that is, their status *as* evidence—continues to be shaped by familiar structures of power.

## **Key Words**

Media and Propaganda; Media and Gender.

# **How Cold War Logic Hides Propaganda in Democracies**

## **Authors**

Prof. Barbie Zelizer - Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania

## **Abstract**

Why is propaganda so difficult to recognize in democracies? This paper argues that Cold War logic has played an instrumental role in sustaining the illusion that liberal democracies are free of propaganda. Building from the assumption that Cold War thinking underlies much of democracy's self-image and self-presentation in many places around the world, it argues that central institutions in democracies are sustained in part by upholding the myth that propaganda is antithetical to democratic functioning. This involves externalizing propaganda to non-democratic systems and rendering it invisible within democratic ones. The paper focuses on US journalism as an example of this dynamic. Because so much of its relation to propaganda takes shape through ellipses, propaganda's very existence remains unarticulated, facilitating its permutation across the very foundations on which democracy rests.

## **Key Words**

Media and Propaganda, Cold War.



# **Spanish memories of a violent and authoritarian past: study of the press representations of the Franco Exhumation and the removal of the Francoist memorial in Tortosa**

## **Authors**

Dr. Sergio Villanueva - Universitat de Barcelona

Ms. Luciana Sosa - Universitat de Barcelona

## **Abstract**

National identities are deeply pierced by memories of the past. Actually, the relation between collective national identities and historical memories is an actual force that mobilizes societies emotional, cultural and politically. Memory is created and recreated in social institutions, in the media and social networks, and in commemorative events organized by various groups. Within the range of organizations that institutionalize certain versions of historical memory, the media and, in particular, the press, are bearers of stories of historical memory recovered in the light of current events. In addition, in regions deeply marked by a violent and authoritarian recent past, debates about that violent past make emerge deep wounds that are very difficult to heal socially.

This is the case of historical memory in Spain, a country that suffered one of the most violent civil wars in the first half of the European history, followed by almost 40 years (1939-1975) of the national-catholic Francoist dictatorship. In this sense, the remembrance of that period has profoundly marked how the national Spanish identity has built, and how also other regions within the Spanish territory have constructed their own national identities. Following this insight, different memories from the same past have delved different national identities within the same territory. This study will survey how Spanish and Catalan media discuss historical memory when confronting different contemporary events that have dealt with the Francoist dictatorship.

On one hand, the study will analyze how 4 newspapers have covered Franco exhumation, which was carried out on October 24, 2019, after a long legal and political battle. This has been a historic event that put an episode in the history of Spain and its traumas on the front page of all the media, revitalizing the debate around the construction of memory, and also relating it to the present and the social and political future of the country. On the other hand, this study will also analyze the case of the removal of the Francoist memorial monument in the city of Tortosa, a monument built by Franco forces to recall those fallen during the Civil War on the Francoist side. The monument is surrounded by controversy as Catalan nationalism is divided on what to do with it. In this sense, this study will analyse four Spanish and Catalan newspapers to survey how nationalism and nation building are crossed in a debate about violence and past.

With this study we aim to confront how two current worldviews highly confronted within the Spanish sphere (Catalan nationalism versus Spanish nationalism) navigate on the dilemmas that arise with the confrontation among the different Francoist dictatorship memories. Eavesdropping on

how the current Spanish and Catalan societies think of their violent and authoritarian past, and how different worldviews confront in creating memories, constitutes an innovative and creative tool to better understand current conflicts such as the uprising of the Catalan independentist movement or the rising of far-left parties in both Spanish and Catalan politics.

**Key Words**

Memory, Spain, Catalonia, Francoist dictatorship, content analysis

# Colonial histories on social media: Discursive constructions of the “other” in user comments

## Authors

Mr. Mir Ashfaquzzaman - The University of Iowa

Dr. SUJATHA SOSALE - The University of Iowa

## Abstract

The space for user comments on social media has recently been referred to as a public sphere (Lee, 2019), a space in which a variety of discourses is constructed and actively debated by audiences for social media content. This is a quintessential feature of YouTube, where viewers could begin by responding to videos, and pivot to engaged discussion among themselves, thus creating a discursive space. However, online discourses can rapidly move from the rational, as imagined by Habermas for a public sphere, to the passionate, with disregard for facts, verification, or even civility due in no small part to the lack of strict gatekeeping practices more typical of legacy media (Mohammed, 2019).

Drawing on the participatory culture of social media platforms (Jenkins, Ito & boyd, 2015) such as YouTube, and online disinhibition (Suler, 2004) in communicating sentiments and passion about history and identity, we examine user comments about British colonialism as responses to stand-up comedy clips on YouTube. The performers are from South Africa, Malawi, India, and Singapore. User comments in response to their clips re-create, re-analyze, and debate yet again the colonial past in these countries, all serving to keep alive in the community the historical memory of colonial oppression and its (ir)responsibility in creating a systemic world hierarchy. The following questions guide our study: (1) What discursive strategies do commenters employ to create a colonial “other” in present-day politics of colonialism? (2) What discursive strategies do those who counter the othering efforts use to transcend this re-created colonial divide? (3) Is a way past these divides, as postcolonial scholars urge us to think, available in this dialogic relationship between emotion and reason in debating the colonial past in a public space — represented by the comments section — on YouTube?

The study draws on the discourse theoretical understanding of language as (re)constructing realities and, simultaneously, (re)creating identities, and entails analysis of the grammatical and lexical choices (Barker & Galasinski, 2001; Fowler et al., 1979; Fairclough, 2015; Gee, 2014) that the YouTube viewers/commenters make as they produce the text. Analysis of comments can thus demonstrate how users create discursive communities vis-à-vis their position on colonial history. The findings point to multiple discursive communities nestled into the broader community of YouTube viewers/commenters. Contrary to intuition and received wisdom, the findings show that this discursive (re)construction of colonial history does not smoothly fit into a colonial/modernizing vs. anticolonial/antiracist ideological dichotomy. We conclude that properties

and affordances of a social media platform such as YouTube enable such varied and complex discourses about the past in a contemporary public online space.

**Key Words**

Colonial histories, collective memory, participatory culture, YouTube, user comments

# Symbolic Construction of Melbourne Chinatown in Transition: An Analysis of Chinese-Language Newspapers during 1902-1922

## Authors

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Prof. Xiaojie Cao - The School of Journalism and Communication (SJC) at South China University of Technology (SCUT)

## Abstract

As much research has already found, immigrants not only have difficulties in continuing their home cultures, but also face the urgency to integrate into the host society. Ethnic newspapers may play an important role in dealing with this dual perplexity in early histories (Park, 1922), so do physical spaces such as Chinatowns (Lin, 1998). Scholars have explored the construction mode of Chinatown from the perspectives of films, literary works, newspapers and other media (Liu, 2020, Pu, 2006). However, most of these studies stay within the framework of nationalism, showing the difficulties and challenges faced by Chinese immigrants, including the economic and cultural activities with ethnic characteristics - Chinatown being treated in general as an ideological construction. Chinese-Language newspapers, as an institutionalized and regular means of communication, played an important role in the early Chinatown's spatial production. By analyzing texts of Melbourne Chinatown in the Chinese-Language newspapers, this study aims to construct the ethnic-beyond symbol space in transition and reveal the subtle transformation process of early Chinese immigrants from old to new identities.

In the early 20th century, Melbourne, the capital of Australia, had the highest proportion of Chinese populations in Victoria, most of whom were living near Chinatowns. According to local newspapers, the mainstream society often generalized the Chinese living around Chinatown as gamblers, opium addicts, and members of secret societies because of some specific cases, and such ethnic stereotypes were deeply rooted (Couchman & Sophie, 2017). It cannot be ignored as part of the complex overlapping narrative patchwork of Chinatown's history. However, this description does not represent the full picture of all Chinese activities in Chinatown.

A study of the first Chinese-language newspaper in Melbourne, *The Chinese Times*, and the later *Chinese Times*, reveals that Chinese-language newspapers constructed the possibility of symbolic Chinatown in the transition, which transcended native characteristics. Firstly, Chinese migrants' daily life such as food and clothing has gradually the Westernized and localized. In addition to the continuous promotion of Western stores' advertisements, Chinese advertisements combined with Western signboards, constantly introducing Western-friendly clothing, food and drink, and specifically stating in the advertisements that they were applicable to Westerners; Secondly, the localized adaptation of Chinese ways of working, such as the custom of not working and opening on Sundays was deeply implanted in local Chinese, to the extent that newspapers publicized the

names of people who went against this idea; Thirdly, the integration of Chinese ideologies and beliefs, especially in the immersion and implementation of religious rituals. As reported in the newspapers, Chinese studied doctrine and English lessons in Christian congregations and participated in singing and choral activities in chapels, with the participation of Western priests.

The Chinese in Chinatown were organizing their resources in a localized way, gradually transforming new identities, shaping integrated niches, and forming certain links with mainstream society. The above records from Chinese-language newspapers provide a symbolic spatial form of Chinatown that is not entirely ethnic but also includes abundant possibilities. This study is not intended to subvert the nationalism framework of previous research, but to provide a new interpretive perspective, to analyze and describe the neglected aspects of Chinatown. And those aspects may provide a distant historical pavement for the development of the Chinese in Australia, under the adjustment of immigration policies and the sprouting of multiculturalism decades later.

### **Key Words**

Chinatown; symbolic space; Chinese-Language newspapers; transition

# Media Remains in Japan's Tokai Area: Radio Pagodas Built by Citizens

## Authors

Dr. Tomomi MARUYAMA - Fukuyama University

## Abstract

The Radio Pagoda, which stands quietly in the corner of a park or the precincts of a shrine, is now a monument of unknown origin, a media remain that has become a part of the city landscape. The applicant examined the history of its development in Japan in two papers (Maruyama (2021, 2022)). And IAMCR 2022's presentation was about how the media infrastructure of Radio Pagodas was used in Japan's colonial policies and how they proliferated in East Asia.

This presentation reports the results of an analysis of Radio Pagodas built between 1940 and 1943 in Japan's Tokai Area based on additional research. To add the presence of listeners (citizens) to the semantic transformation of Radio Pagodas, it examines them from the following three points. First, it discusses why the locality of the radio pagoda built in 1932 and 1933 as part of a project to commemorate the one million listening subscribers was breached. Second, it identifies the actors who ensured the locality of the Radio Pagoda. Thirdly, it shows how the national event of the Crown Prince's birth in 1933 was transformed into a media event by constructing the Radio Pagoda. What becomes clear from this work is the movement in which citizens proactively created/used the media of Radio Pagodas to significantly enhance the national festival of the birth of the crown prince (now he is a retired emperor).

By transforming national festivals into media events, citizens were supposed to have grasped a new role. In other words, they were to deviate from the "receiver" role of observing events through the media and receiving and consuming information sent to them, and to act as "senders" by building and donating Radio Pagodas and working like the organizers of the events. What is unacceptable in this interpretation of the citizens' donation of the Radio Pagodas is that the attempt neither relativized nor problematized national rituals and events. As a result, Japan's totalitarianism accelerated, and Radio Pagodas became a media outlet that continued to broadcast the propaganda until "100 million death of the nation".

This discussion is not limited to the introduction of Japanese case studies but can also serve as an attempt to reconsider the discussion of "media events" (Dayan and Katz 1992). In the present age, when mass communication has undergone a significant transformation, this presentation looks forward to the future of media by critically examining the "new" age of radio, which is regarded as an "old" media.

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**Key Words**

Radio Pagoda, Media Event, Broadcasting History, Locality



# In the Pursuit of Social Benefits: the Cantonese Pictorial in the early Twentieth Century China

## Authors

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## Abstract

The meteoric rise of Chinese pictorials, or illustrated periodicals in the late 19th century, was usually considered commercially driven and oriented by the urban consumer market. The Shanghai-based print capitalism dominated the pictorial industry and its products were characterized by and renowned for its leisure culture. This paper, however, uses examples from Guangdong and the Cantonese pictorial to elaborate an alternative pattern of regional-based cultural production centered on social benefits, which resulted in an explosion of pictorials in South China but largely ignored in the media and journalism history of China during late Qing and the Republican period. In contrast to the values of commercial pictorials, journalistic activities were seen as part of public services by Cantonese intellectuals and painters, the founder and core members of Cantonese pictorials. Most of them were from local charitable societies and devoted themselves to civilian education and social relief, some of who even established refuges and free schools for young females. In doing so, they sought to reform society by running charitable organizations, schools, and newspapers simultaneously. This paper thus investigates how the pursuit of social benefits was at the crux of the development of Chinese pictorials. Precisely, I will reconstruct how the Cantonese painters and journalists used illustrated periodicals to facilitate multiple social productions. Firstly, they intended to visualize the letters from overseas Chinese, which enabled an ongoing dialogue about social identities and relations. Especially in the Chinese Boycott of 1905, the pictorials gave voice to the suffering sojourning laborers via large amounts of news pictures based on their letters and foreign news, which significantly promoted this national protest against America. Secondly, the pictorials paid special attention to the unprivileged and vulnerable social groups. By working closely with and gaining news sources from local charity groups, the painters and journalists consistently provided first-hand news illustrations of battered women, prostitutes, concubines, peddlers, etc. Particularly, they made severe criticism on the issue of female infanticide and detailed descriptions of the children's protective measures and institutions in foreign countries. Finally, the Cantonese pictorial was utilized to mobilize capital for disaster relief and civilian education, which was exemplified by a special photographic issue of *Shishi Pictorial*(时事画报, The Pictorial of Current Affairs) in 1907. It marked the first time that Chinese pictorials ever employed the exceedingly new-fangled technology of photography to cover a rainstorm disaster and its relief activities. In this way, the pursuit of social good by Cantonese painters generally benefited the development and innovation of the Chinese pictorial at the level of content, form, and technology.

## Key Words

pictorials; social benefits; news pictures; late Qing; Cantonese

# Journey, War and Team: A Metaphorical Analysis of the New Year Message in People's Daily (1979-2023)

## Authors

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## Abstract

### Research Background

The genre of New Year message can be traced back to 1949 when the *People's daily* published Mao Zedong's *to the end of the revolution*, after which the *People's daily* published a New Year message at the beginning of every year. The People's Daily is an important media for China to express its views to the world, and the new year message is not only a review and summary of the past year, but also represents the highest expectations and goals.

### Literature Review

Modern metaphor studies argue that metaphor is essentially an unconscious human act of understanding what surrounds us, and that through intuitively comprehensible originating domains with a holistic structure, people can experience target domains that are vague and difficult to understand. Jonathan Charteris-Black divides it into three dimensions: linguistic, pragmatic, and cognitive. In the cognitive dimension, the user and receiver of a metaphor know the world through it, and to some extent the metaphor is a reflection of the user's cognition and also constructs the receiver's cognition, and the analysis of the metaphor can retrace the user's cognition and the cognition it tries to construct. At the pragmatic level, the user selects the originating domain of the metaphor to highlight certain features of the target domain and to obscure certain features of the target domain in order to achieve unobtrusive persuasion, and at this level the ideology and motives of the use of the metaphor need to be examined.

### Research Sample and Research Questions

In this paper, 45 New Year message published by *People's daily* from 1979 to 2023 are selected as the research samples. This paper refers to the critical metaphor analysis method proposed by Black, which is to analyze metaphors in texts through three key steps: metaphor identification, metaphor interpretation, and metaphor explanation.

The purpose is to explore the characteristics of metaphorical use in *People's Daily's* New Year message from 1979 to 2023? What kind of social picture and process of social change has *People's Daily* depicted through the use of metaphor?

### Research Finding

The New Year message of *People's Daily* mainly involves 10 kinds of metaphors, including journey, war, team, mechanical, building, competition, disease, plant, light and water. "Journey", "war" and

"team" are the most commonly used metaphors in *People's Daily's* New Year message, that is, *People's Daily* tends to see social development as a journey, a war and a team effort.

It can find that *People's Daily* has expanded the connotation of these three types of metaphors through different metaphorical carriers. Its metaphorical intention is consistent in two aspects, that is, to highlight the importance of the country and to enhance the people's sense of belonging. Using the metaphor of journey, war and team, the *People's Daily* emphasizes the close relationship between the people and the state as traveling companions, comrades in arms, and teammates, and highlights the close relationship between the people and the state, to a certain extent, arouse the reader's identity and sense of belonging to the country.

### **Key Words**

*People's Daily, the New Year Message, metaphor*

# **The Women's Liberation Movement from the Perspective of Overseas Journalists in Yan'an: Centered on the Northwest Tour of Chinese and Foreign Journalists in 1944**

## **Authors**

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## **Abstract**

In early 1937, the Communist Party of China established a revolutionary regime taking Yanan as the command center, and thus started the Yanan period for more than ten years. During this period, distorted, discredited and scandalized remarks about the Communist Party were prevalent in the Kuomintang-controlled areas, such as “co-wife”, “chaotic sexual relations”, “nationalized women”, and the combination of free love between men and women was called “illegal cohabitation”. These remarks also had a certain negative impact on the international image of the Communist Party of China at that time. In 1944, the northwest visiting group of Chinese and foreign journalists broke through the blockade of the Kuomintang and arrived in Yanan, including two famous foreign journalists — Israel Epstein (special correspondent of American newspapers) and Gunther Stein (special correspondent of British and American newspapers), who were the frequent research objects of the external communication history of the Communist Party of China in Yanan period. The two men not only wrote many instant reports, but also compiled books from their interviews.

Adopting the perspective of historical sociology, this paper will take an in-depth look at the four books of these two foreign correspondents — “I Visit Yanan”, “My China Eye” and “the Unfinished Revolution in China” by Israel Epstein, and “the Challenge of Red China” by Gunther Stein. Based on these, and supplemented by other archival documents and data, this paper will re-examine the women's liberation movement in Yanan period, which was led by the Communist Party of China and mainly implemented in Yanan and its surrounding areas, and place it in the midst of turbulently political, social and ideological transformation.

During his visit to Yanan, Epstein paid particular attention to women's spinning. Cotton yarn is mainly produced by women's cooperatives. Most of the textile women are middle farmers and below. Their families cannot completely solve the food problem by relying on agricultural production alone, so they must rely on sideline income. In many households, textile income can even exceed male-dominated agricultural income, which greatly improves the status of women in the family. Gunther Stein paid special attention to the party's efforts to transform peasant family life, including the establishment of family production plans, and open discussion of issues between men and women. Stein believes that this reform is neither revolutionary nor interferes with people's private life, but gradually overcomes the old traditions of Chinese families in the

implementation of the new democratic reform policy, so that the democratic spirit penetrates into the family, thus forming a new family life of the new democratic pioneer.

Based on the analysis method of historical sociology, we can examine the narrative concepts, discourses and historical situation expressions of Epstein and Stein on the women's liberation movement, and find the connection between the fragmented presentation of these seemingly accidental choices and the great image of revolutionary history. Since 1943, the Communist Party of China has greatly adjusted the policy of women's liberation. Women's liberation work should be coordinated with the people's war of resistance against Japanese aggression and the mass production movement after 1943. The typical manifestation is that women involved in the folk textile industry and the construction of new democratic families based on Mao Tse-Tung's Concept of Labor Organization, so as to seek the balance between women's "stepping out of the family" and "strengthening the family".

### **Key Words**

Women's Liberation Movement, Yenan period, CPC, foreign journalists, the 1940s

# Research on Image-narration of Macao in The Illustrated London News (1842-1992)

## Authors

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## Abstract

In 1842, British journalist Herbert Ingram has founded the world's first image weekly The Illustrated London News (ILN), which features images as the main content. During the 19th century to early 20th century, ILN used the feature image as the "weapon", to report major events around the world quickly and intuitively. It also shows in detail the social cross-section of the city of Macao in China during the Portuguese colonized period. This study is mainly based on aspect of the ILN portrays a social picture of Macao from an external perspective and 'Gaze of the Other' (China in British eyes and Portugal in British eyes). Due to the peculiarities of modern Chinese history, the construction of the nation and the shaping of the city of Macao is a mixture of modern connotations and sometimes a return to tradition to swear by its own positioning.

This study adopts a content analysis method, which is supported by narrative research and also refers to the theory of semiotics. Based on these methods, the article classifies the content of "MACAO" or "MACAU" into historical stages and summarizes the image narratives of Macao news in the Illustrated London News from 1842 to 1992. The characteristics of the picture narrative of Macao news in the ILN in nearly two hundred years are summarized. The emergence of language establishes a specific contextual framework for images. While linguistic texts specialize in temporal narrative speech, pictorial texts tend to reproduce spatial object relations. The emergence of language sets a specific context for images, and the narrative becomes complete and limited. This paper focuses on the Spatio-temporal view of the pictorial narrative of Macao in the Illustrated London News, the mode of pictorial narrative and the relationship between the language-pictorial narrative. It hopes to explore the narrative style of the pictorial depiction of Macao in the ILN in different periods, and to classify the narrative mode of related images, and finally to explore the pictorial narrative relationship of the pictorial's attention to Macao.

The image of Macao in the Illustrated London News, as an image of the "other" in the Western perspective, is neither an unaltered reproduction of the colonized Chinese in real life nor a product of the Western imagination. It is also a continuation of Western Europe's glorified and scandalized imagination of Macao's cities and people, and a product of Western European society's collective imagination; it embodies a mixture of the British Empire's ideology and media mission, a mixture of the supremacy of commercial interests and journalistic objectivity, the superiority of the British nation and journalistic neutrality, the orientation of the middle class and the realism of the press. It embodied the contradictory elements of the British Empire's ideology and media mission. In a historical sense, The writing of the image of Macao in the Illustrated London News had influenced

the Western society's perception of Macau society indeed the Chinese, while providing a new reference point for the study of the image of the Chinese.

**Key Words**

Pictorial narrative; Macaology; Illustrated London News; Gaze of the Other

# Decolonising media and communication studies through history

## Authors

Dr. Burçe Celik - Loughborough University

## Abstract

The need to decolonise and dewesternise Euro-Anglo centric media and communication studies has been on the agenda of critical researchers from Global South and North since the 1960s. Despite the achievements this scholarship has made in pushing the discipline to move beyond the Euro-Atlantic orbit and recognise the existence of heterogenous experiences with communications around the contemporary world, the impact on historical writing and thinking in the field has been limited. Not only does the existing media history literature remain overwhelmingly Anglo-European, but also the discipline lacks a viewpoint to consider the historicity of media and communications outside Anglo-European mono-temporal history. However, history is crucial for decolonial approaches as history informs theory and theory is often (mis)interpretations of the past. In this presentation, I will first expose the main normative assumptions in the discipline that render the non-West ahistorical, and propose a model that could overcome the historical pillars of Westcentric media and communications studies.

The foundational assumption is methodological internalism, whereby communications scholarship locates the origins and sources of communications exclusively Anglo-European geography as outcomes of its autonomous and endogenous production of modernity. This internalist narrative depicts a stadial development of communications in which the West appears to be the prime mover of communicative change. This narrative is written with the non-West in absolute absentia. This internalist narrative rests on a second normative assumption that universalises the Anglo-European experience of communications to the rest of the world. According to this assumption, capitalism and modernity developed in mutual dependence on each other to produce capitalist modernity, and modern communications are considered organic constituents of capitalist modernity. This assumption forecloses the possibility of novel production of modern communications outside of capitalist social relations or within a historical social realm that is not driven by capital. In this way, it either renders noncapitalist experiences with modern communications in non-Western modernities *ahistorical* or makes the heterogeneous experiences with communications within the differential transition to capitalism either an *imitation* of or an *aberration* from the generically defined Anglo-European development of communications. A third assumption emerges from within the superimposition of internalist logic on the realm of international communications and culture. This assumption functions through a geographic separation of the West and the East as two fundamentally different socioeconomic cultural and political entities, where each is defined through its difference from the other. In its worst forms, it also suggests a superiority of the West over the East and is therefore used to legitimize Western penetration into the Eastern realms—their social space, governance, economies, and communicative systems.



I will propose that these three main normative assumptions can be best overcome through a global, evidence-based, holistic, longue durée history of national media/communications spheres in the Global South. In contrast to the recent search for a liberal-internationalist perspectives in historical studies, I will argue for the epistemic force of local histories --that takes into account of relationality between geopolitics and social, history of long-run processes as well as slow-moving stories of communicative changes, and the necessary multi-temporalities of time.

**Key Words**

dewesternising media and communication, decolonial history, Global South

# Neglected Agency: African Thought and Practice in the Evolution of Development Communication History

## Authors

Mr. Gang Wang - School of Journalism and Communication, Tsinghua University

## Abstract

Influenced by the developmental myth dominated by the hierarchy of civilization and the linear view of history, the agency of African countries in development issues has been neglected for a long time. As one of the main roles in the updating of the development communication theory paradigm, African countries are also covered by the hegemony of mainstream academic discourse. Based on the background above, this paper explores African thoughts and practices in the evolution of development communication history to elaborate how the concept of development communication has been developed by scholars working in and from Global South contexts, and critiques dominant paradigms in development communication studies and posits new ways forward.

The study finds that, based on the failure of western modernization paradigm in 19, African scholars began the debate between "traditional communication system" and "modern communication system", and changed the development communication path from emphasizing "media" to "relationship". However, with the return of "modern" in the context of telecommunication globalization, the discussion about the utopia of technology showed the trend of the negation of negation in African development communication studies. In addition, this paper brings the concept of "development journalism", which is absent from the existing development communication theory system into the research field, highlights the African alternative journalism models of "Ghana journalism", "Ujama journalism" and "Ubuntu journalism" in history. This is not only an attempt to transcend the dualistic opposite analysis mind of journalism research and communication research, but also a more profound understanding of the African agency, which is to overcome the media centrism and communication essentialism when facing development problems in African context from the perspective of history. Exploring the thoughts and practices of development communication in Global South with the historical evolution of African development communication will help to promote the theoretical innovation with "globalize", "de-westernize", and "decolonize" vision.

It should be emphasized that the historical evolution of development communication is not the theoretical journey of western scholars and the path of reaching the same goal with western modernization, but the fresh creation rooted in the specific practice of the third world countries. This requires us to attach importance to the agency of the third world countries, combine the history of development communication theories with practice, and realize that it is a transcendence of the linear historical view itself. In the future, the history study of development communication can be improved from the following points. First, the existing research on the issue

of development communication in Africa has a certain sense of historical rupture, and it is needed to suture it in the historical period that has not been paid attention to, so as to enrich and improve the existing knowledge production system. Second, Africa as a continent composed of more than 60 countries, has internal differences in the value concepts and practical effects of its development communication. So, researchers need to explore in depth by country and region in the specific historical context. Third, China's role in Africa's development communication is still a gap in existing research. Especially in recent years, under the connection of the "the Belt and Road" initiative, China and African countries have in-depth communication infrastructure cooperation. These contents deserve continuous follow-up by researchers and in-depth discussion on the practical effects of digital communication programs in African countries and development cooperation projects between third world countries.

**Key Words**

Development communication, development journalism, African agency, Global South

# **Crisis and trends of innovations in the private sector: Portuguese press and the shift towards a market driven editorial policy.**

## **Authors**

Dr. Helena Lima - University of Porto

## **Abstract**

The media European market and transformations in technologies and regulations between 1970/1980 brought impacts in the press that performed as negative cycles with different chronologies. Emergence from the crisis was achieved according to different solutions, namely by cutting costs, technological innovations, the end of historical newspapers and the launch of new projects, the merger and concentration of media companies (Artero, Flynn & Guzek, 2020).

For a large period, newspapers suffered losses caused by a series of factors, being the expansion of the audio-visual media a central problem in terms of audiences and advertising income. By the end of the Eighties, the negative causes had increased and the press would have to find new solutions to survive. In the Portuguese case, the crisis can be seen as part of this process of transformation, but was also the result of particular internal contingencies with roots in the major transformation in the property. According to Hallin e Mancini (2012), the polarized South model is marked by the influence of political and economic elites and the frequent intervention of the state in the media system, and that was certainly the case after the Revolution of 1974. For roughly two decades, the national press was mostly within the public sector and endured a crisis that was related to funding, but also due to loss of readers. Newspapers were the centre of the political agenda because they were part of a partisan stand (Mesquita, 1994; Serrano, 2006, Lima, 2013), but also due to the permanent needs of state funding which resulted in a crisscross of accusations by the parts involved. In the 1980s, in a period of very demanding challenges, new projects with different editorial visions emerged. The new launchings would lead to a division between quality journalism and more sensationalist formats which parted with the more conservative tradition. New audiences were built and advertising resurfaced, in a market-driven logic. This study seeks to characterize part of this process of transformation based on three weekly publications from the private sector. The study case tackles the editorial strategies chosen by *Expresso*, *Semanário* and *Tal & Qual*. A comparative analysis of contents during 1983/ 1984 will provide information on how these three newspapers became successful news projects in a context of a very corporative journalistic period and press crisis.

## **Key Words**

crisis, press, innovations, editorial challenges, news formats

# **Anniversary as a dramaturgical principle of totalitarian media**

## **Authors**

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## **Abstract**

This paper explores how the state media in a Leninist party-state use anniversaries as a way to plant a particular understanding of the world into social consciousness of its subjects. An analysis of Czechoslovak Television output between 1953 and 1989 shows that the choices made by the television decision-makers on different levels contributed to creating, sustaining and eventually shifting of the regime's totalitarian mythology. In this way, the paper celebrates the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the start of television broadcasting in Czechoslovakia.

After early experiments with various TV genres in the 1950s, the Czechoslovak Television became a leading media organization in the country and also the main vehicle of the Communist regime's propaganda. However, the principle of working with politically useful anniversaries has been present right from the start. Although media in democratic societies also regularly work with anniversaries, usually without conscious ideological motives, their counterparts in non-democratic countries may use them in carefully calculated ways to attempt to mold the audiences' consciousness. The choice of the anniversary (person, institution, event, form) and the consistent use of anniversaries as a dramaturgical principle creates concrete ties between viewers and events while turning the remembered anniversary into a sign. Every choice of a historical figure, organization, or event worthy of being covered by the television broadcasting plays a key role in maintaining the regime's hegemony by keeping the remembered alive and a part of the lived experience of the audiences.

The paper focuses on three distinct periods: start of the broadcasting in the 1950s, the Prague Spring reform period in the 1960s, and the normalization period in the 1970s and 1980s. It analyzes and compares how the television workers constructed programs dealing with anniversaries from various semiotic elements, using considerable resources (time, space, money, planning, periodicity, programming contexts and contrasts, generality and particularity, etc.) in order to communicate with viewers on many different levels.

## **Key Words**

Czechoslovakia, television, anniversary, politics, propaganda, totalitarianism

# Dieciséis años de periodismo móvil: lo móvil como espacio

## Authors

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Prof. José Sixto-García - Universidade de Santiago de Compostela

## Abstract

Dieciséis años después del primer Iphone (2007) y quince después del primer Android (el primer Android comenzó a venderse por 179 dólares en octubre de 2008 bajo el nombre de T-Mobile G1 en Estados Unidos), lo móvil como espacio ha marcado la evolución y los desafíos del periodismo digital (Hill y Bradshaw, 2019). Las audiencias y los dispositivos móviles ocupan el primer lugar a la hora de diseñar cualquier estrategia (Paulussen, 2016), tanto en los contenidos (Perreault y Stanfield, 2019) como en la difusión y la gestión, y la movilidad es la nueva aportación tecnológica y una de las características principales de los medios de comunicación en la actualidad (Varona et al., 2017). Los medios móviles liberan al consumidor de las limitaciones espacio-temporales a las que se veía sometido en el contexto de recepción de los medios tradicionales (Hemment, 2005) modificando la lógica del espacio físico. La comunicación ubicua (Aguado, 2020) marca un nuevo rumbo en los hábitos de consumo y se abre un horizonte de posibilidades narrativas y de nuevas modalidades de relación con la audiencia, promoviendo la desregulación de agendas y papeles sociales.

En esta comunicación se analiza, con perspectiva histórica, los grandes cambios ocurridos en los últimos quince años en la comunicación móvil, las cinco etapas vividas (primitiva, adaptación, experimentación, emancipación y consolidación) y los desafíos que, al analizar el pasado en su contexto, se advierten para el futuro.

A pesar de la poca distancia temporal para el análisis (2007-23), disponemos, desde una perspectiva de la historia del presente (Soto, 2022), de elementos suficientes para una interpretación que nos ayude a entender mejor el impacto que ha tenido esta tecnología en el periodismo digital y como puede incidir en el futuro, en un contexto de inteligencia artificial y en el marco de lo que algunos denominan la cuarta revolución industrial (Schwab, 2016).

La metodología empleada para la elaboración de este trabajo parte de una revisión bibliográfica que contempla trabajos previos para situar los antecedentes del periodismo móvil (Ishii, 2006; Lorente y Martín, 2004; Geser, 2004), su etapa madura (Lisboa Empinotti, 2018); López et al., 2019; López et al., 2015; Silva et al., 2016) y su consolidación (Silva et al., 2022; Aguado, 2020). El método se completa, basándonos en el marco de la historia del presente, con la recogida de testimonios de periodistas y expertos, así como de responsables de medios que han aplicado la tecnología móvil a sus productos periodísticos. Por último, se analizan los resultados comunicativos de algunas experiencias pioneras en la integración de las tecnologías móviles mediante la técnica metodológica del estudio de caso que, según Yin (2009), resulta útil cuando la investigación está centrada en un fenómeno contemporáneo dentro de un contexto real.

## Key Words

periodismo móvil, periodismo automatizado, plataformas, móviles, medios

# Media Technology and Human Experience: French media studies under the influence of Pierre Schaeffer in the mid-twentieth century

## Authors

Mr. Zhaogu Wang - University of Paris 1 Pantheon-Sorbonne

## Abstract

As a pioneer of French radio broadcasting, Pierre Schaeffer has done a great deal of creative work, conceiving the thesis on the possibility of using the medium as an artistic creation, proposing concrete music, and introducing an experimental attitude to intellectual research. As a polytechnicien also trained in electrical engineering, Schaeffer was able to explain more clearly the technical essence of the medium: an artificial technological product for the purpose of storing, processing, and communicating information. (Schaeffer 1943)

Nowadays, with the rapid development of media technology and its widespread use in society, people have become accustomed to the presence of media but have neglected to understand the ontology of media, and many studies can only scratch the surface of the phenomena that emerge when media are utilised. As a result, media technology becomes overly objectified and antithetic to the human experience. Thus, it is necessary to introduce technical and philosophical perspectives and adopt a naive ontological approach regarding the functionality and application of media. A clear view of the medium as a creation of human technology can be seen through a comparison of the publications and opinions of Schaeffer and his contemporaries. Influenced by Abraham Moles, Schaeffer's thoughts on the relationship between information and meaning are founded on structuralist analysis, the medium plays an expressional function in communication across people, groups, disciplines, and languages.

When it comes to media power, which is the phenomena of the media being used, it seems to have a clear connection to politics. Media power, according to Schaeffer, is the power of the media itself, political power that manifests only when the media is used by power. This is the problem of the recipient of media communication that McLuhan ignores; the fact is that political power does not transmit its message through the media but appropriates it. The mass media is described by McLuhan as having an innately existing property: one-to-many communication, the unidirectional, undifferentiated nature of the message, but at the same time, the message is mosaicked and presented in a predetermined order. But Schaeffer analyzes the communication characteristics of the medium through the medium itself, which must inherently have the ability to communicate the message in its truest state in order to genuinely convey the meaning it needs to convey, a '*art relai*' (P.Schaeffer et al., 2010). Only then do people understand that they have the ability to modify the message and that intentional statements transmitted through the media have a political and social impact. In this process, both radio as a medium and human experience are always involved, which also enables Schaeffer to more accurately predict the future disorientation of the individual

as a result of the expansion of information in society. This was followed by Schaeffer's discussion of intelligent machines that think autonomously.

Schaeffer showed care for human experience, which prompted him to connect the theory to human experience and media technology. At the time, people wondered what it would be like to have some kind of intelligent machine with powerful information processing. Obviously, humans would not view such a machine as any kind of humans extension. The machine would inevitably be viewed othered, or perhaps imagined as a humans replacement-a hostile object that intrudes on humans. However, in Schaeffer's opinion, intelligent machines still represent technological artefacts created by humans, and it is still up to humans to interpret these devices that simulate human intellect.

**Key Words**

Communication studies; Media History; Media Philosophy



# **From Number to Data: the Origin and Evolution of Data Governance Ideas in China**

## **Authors**

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## **Abstract**

The rise of digital technology has prompted the birth of big data. From keeping records by tying knots to creating words, humans have improved ways to record information and understand the world. Nowadays, a large number of data makes countries face the difficult problem of how to interpret and manage. Like other countries, China keeps updating its understanding of data governance and disseminates the data governance system with Chinese characteristics to the outside world through a series of policies, regulations, and news reports.

Historically, China's data governance has experienced the influence of two different ways, "inside and outside". From an internal perspective, the CPC, like other Marxist parties, has a high degree of organizational discipline and clear rules on the dissemination of information. In learning from the Soviet Union, party members realized the understanding of "number" in the collection, and collation of information. They also realized that obtaining accurate numbers and completing the extraction and dissemination of hidden information behind the numbers in statistics and analysis would help promote the process of revolution. From an external perspective, China has achieved a conceptual shift from "numbers" to "data" through international exchanges in economic construction, social governance, and other fields.

Based on the historical analysis of the Chinese issues related to data governance, combined with the interaction of political and economic scenarios in different periods, as well as the government's own adjustment of the ideas of data governance, this research studied the key concept of data governance and tried to summarize the data governance with Chinese characteristics. Furthermore, in the review of related concepts, the research also found that China's data governance, as an idea-complex, was generated and popular based on China's specific social conditions, which promoted the construction of communication technology infrastructure and comprehensively affected social development in the era of China's Internet economy.

In the traditional west-centrism context, China's digital technology seems to have been a laggard for a long time. By combing through history, this research found that the formation of the ideas of China's data governance was not restricted by the backwardness of early technology. On the contrary, the establishment of these ideas not only conforms to domestic economic development but also contains the deep meaning of national independence and cultural self-improvement in modern China, undertaking the mission of China's national rejuvenation movement in the digital era.

## **Key Words**

China's data governance, history of ideas, data, number

# Radio and Nation Building: Edmonton's contribution to Canadian networks in the 1930s

## Authors

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## Abstract

The nation building narrative in Canadian radio broadcasting was serious point of contention and debate in the House of Commons and the newspapers. The debate started in 1928 following the American Radio Act of 1927 and General Order 40 of August 30, 1928, which shuffled the frequencies assigned to stations across North America leaving Canada with six of the highly prized clear channels, which broadcast without interference over a wider territory than the regional frequencies. Four of these channels were occupied by stations that were affiliates of the American commercial networks, NBC and CBS (MacLennan 2018). Concerns over American broadcasting from within Canada and that could be heard over the border, especially in the evenings heightened the discussion of the possibility of a national network. After the original work of the Aird Commission in 1928, five Special Commissions followed in the 1930s. The work of these commissions resulted in the establishment of the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission in 1932, which was superseded by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in 1936. The nation building possibilities of the national network were promoted in 1928, when the replacement of existing commercial stations was recommended. A hybrid system of commercial and public stations was established in the 1930s and still co-exist.

The history of Canadian nation building with respect to radio has justifiably concentrated on policy developments. This work will move beyond the concerns of large cities, such as Montreal and Toronto with larger audiences, American affiliates, then the national network stations, to focus on the development of radio in the 1930s in Edmonton, Alberta. As the provincial capital and a regional centre it had impact on the surrounding region.

In 1922, CJCA owned by the *Edmonton Journal* and was located in the corner of the newspaper's offices and became a CBC affiliate by 1940. CFCK owned by Radio Supply Company Limited, owned by Jim Taylor and Hugh Pearson started broadcasting in 1922, sharing its frequency with CKUA at the University of Alberta. It changed its call letters to CKUA in 1941 and became a CBC optional station. CFRN started broadcasting in 1927, operated by the Christian Missionary Alliance. It was purchased by Taylor and Pearson in 1934 and Dick Rice from CJCA came to work for the new owners. Taylor and Pearson had a huge impact of Canadian broadcasting over the next five decades.

Edmonton's radio broadcasting was, in fact, a microcosm of Canadian national broadcasting. Radio stations owned by newspapers, religious communities, and radio entrepreneurs were among the mainstays of radio operators in the country. This work will be based on a content analysis of the programming available to Regina and development of the schedule over the decade. The

significant differences and commonalities in light of similar development in other Canadian cities will be analyzed. The work will also rely on a content analysis of radio listings in the *Edmonton Journal* from 1930 to 1939, archival research and interviews.

**Key Words**

radio, nation building, broadcasting, history, Canada, Edmonton, 1930s, intermediality, networks

# **The history of the magazine "7 dias na TV": the first publication specialized in television in Latin America**

## **Authors**

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## **Abstract**

The beginning of TV in 1950 caused several changes in society and, from the 1960s, the television industry began to receive several investments from the military power (1964-1985). The use of the media was intensified, expanding the government's feeling of nationalism and for displaying political advertisements, mainly on radio and television. By creating operational conditions for Brazilian telecommunications, mainly for the telephone system, the military regime contributed to the technical development of television as a means of mass communication. Technological improvement and new communication strategies have created consumption habits in viewers. With that, new magazines specialized in television were created, to meet the new needs of the public, in addition to bringing great graphic, technical and editorial innovations. Therefore, we want to expose the history of the magazine "7 dias na TV", considered the first specialized publication in Latin America, product of Setedias Editôra Ltda., created in 1952, in São Paulo. This is one of the many prints that are not digitized and do not have collections in Brazil. That said, the oldest issue I've managed to date is No. 387, referring to the week of January 25th to January 31st, 1960. At that time, the magazine had a leaflet format with, on average, 34 pages – in black and white and colored. Its weekly circulation was 50,000 copies and was sold separately for Cr\$10.00 or for Cr\$270.00 through an annual subscription. This study has, therefore, the objective of rescuing and reconstructing the history of this magazine, but also drawing attention to the ever-increasing importance of preserving collections, means of communication and, consequently, our history.

## **Key Words**

Press history; "7 dias na TV"; Brazilian publishing market; 1950

# Reel Mughals: Role of Medieval Themed Films in Majoritarian Agenda Setting

## Authors

Dr. Mohammad Reyaz - Aliah University

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## Abstract

The historiography or phrasing of history has remained a bone of confrontation in nationalist discourse in India where the medieval past has remained an acknowledgment of not a single but multiple foes (Chattopadhyaya, 1998). Increasingly, films play the role of palimpsest in rewriting history, often compromising on historical facts by crediting myths, rumours, Bazar gossips, and worse - motivated propaganda (Chowdhary, Arora, & Menon, 2019). Although period films are based on the stories of medieval India, sometimes it only reflects an India that was medieval (Zafar & Ahmed, 2021). Folk and popular narratives form the foundation of such period films (*Mughal-e-Azam, Jodha Akbar*) in the name of creative freedom to the extent of distortion of facts and events. The grand narrative of nationalism overpowers the medieval to cater to the majority sentiments and for generating market revenue. The selective exposure, selective perception, and selective retention of the filmmakers, as well as the audience, further the agenda-setting role of these period films set in the medieval era with prominent Muslim characters.

Stereotyping of ethnic minorities like Blacks in Hollywood films remained an area of study (Hall, 1997; Oliver, 1994; Staples, 2011), but since the 1990s – and more prominently since 9/11 - Muslims have constantly been vilified and stereotyped (Aitken and Zonn, 1994; Bucholtz, 2011; Craig, et al. 2005; Devadoss & Cromley, 2018). In Hollywood films, Arabs and Muslims have been stereotyped as inferior, brute and barbaric engaged in combats with the democratic Western societies (Ahmed and Matthes, 2017). Murty (2009, p.279) further argues that Hindi “films mobilize ways of seeing that reproduce and represent social differences as they construct Muslim male as the other.” Besides drawing references from the epics and folk tales, Bollywood has enormously stereotyped Muslims, particularly in the last few decades (Hizri, 2008; Kabir, 2005; Sengupta, 2020a, 2020b; Bhaskar, 2022; Allen 2022). While Hollywood films have used the rhetoric of terrorism to otherise Muslims post 9/11 in its films (Aitken and Zonn, 1994; Bucholtz, 2011; Craig, et al. 2005), Bollywood has equated invader-tyrant-terrorist with either Pakistan, Mughals or Muslims in its discourse (Hizri, 2008; Kabir, 2005; Mukhopadhyay, 2013).

This paper employs Rose’s (2016) visual analysis at micro -level on select films focussing on *mise-en-scène*, lights, colour, gaze, mannerism, and salience of characters used to create the imageries of medieval rulers. Further, Van Dijk’s Critical Discourse Analysis (2009) at the macro level situates these films as “palimpsest” of “monumentalising memories” while also reflecting the “mediated memories.” This paper identifies the representational tropes used semiotically to construct the Mughals in popular Hindi commercial films. In this process, we also try to investigate how the reel

representation of Mughals has changed during the periods. Further, this paper tries to observe the semiotic markers used for otherisation of Mughals through the spectacle of Islamophobia into good Mughals/bad Mughals.

**Key Words**

Mughal, Medieval Films, Muslim as Other, History Rewriting, Muslim Historical

# **Networking Academia: The Role of National Social Science Foundation in the Institutionalization of Mainland China's Communication Studies (1986-1997)**

## **Authors**

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## **Abstract**

This paper analyzes projects of National Social Science Foundation of China (NSSFC) to present its function in the institutionalization of communication discipline within mainland China. The NSSFC, initiated by China's State Council in 1986, concretizes the authoritative attitude and blueprint of Chinese social science development. Under educational system reform and introduction of social science theories in 1980s, NSSFC shed light on scheduled discipline constructions in three paths: 1) the quantity and scale of sponsorship indicates impression of official approbation on certain social theory's practical efficiency; 2) the sponsorship cultivates institutionalized researchers and standardized works; 3) the projects create pluralistic interactional space for academic community.

Communication research in 1950s funded by US government (Cartier, 1989) was criticized as Cold War Ideology and an imperialism cognitive hegemony. (Simpson, 1996; Wallerstein, 2001) This partly accounts for mainland academia's hesitation and disputes since communication discipline first introduced, marked by Schramm's visit in 1982, (Wang & Hu, 2010a; Zhao, 2019) to another milestone in 1997 when the inclusion of Journalism and Communication as first-level discipline in Postgraduate Major Catalog, stands for primary achievements of communication studies' institutionalization. Pursuits for modernization bridge progressivism social transformation plans in American social science (Latham, 2000) and Chinese government's visions on development and revival. From 1986 to 1997, NSSFC sponsored communication-related projects (Wang & Hu, 2010b: referred to appendix table) including advertisement, public opinion, national culture, high-tech and multimedia, cable management and communication psychology. Present historical narratives of Communication Studies in mainland China focuses on these projects' theme and content without inquiries about the systems and institutions supporting intellectual production. Intellectual history studies remind us of various actors in academic communities (Merton, 1967; Crane, 1972; Latour, 1988) and discipline boundaries (Abbott, 1999) worth rethinking. This paper examines Communication studies in China utilizing a more external historical approach (Heilbron, 1995) by regarding national research project as a platform where scholars got networked, incorporated and accumulated their own cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1990).

Therefore, this paper excavates clues following footprints of three different actors in network behind social science research: 1) the policy-making, layout designing and feedback from governmental department; 2) the scholars' educational background, work experience, social network and collaboration relationship; 3) the emergence of project-relevant industries after policy reform. This paper will extract information from multiple materials: 1) open access to

achieves provided by Chinese Academy of Social Science; 2) published reports or papers sponsored by target projects; 3) administrative documents and news; 4) participants' autobiographies, memoirs or lecture records; 5) in-depth interview on several participants for more details. On that basis, this paper accentuates that academic institution itself contributes to transforming paradigms. Some pervasive issues in history of global south communication research will also receive interpretations from this paper: 1) How did institutionalized communication research dominated by empirical methodology strengthen or weaken the capacity of localized knowledge when confronting developmental requires? 2) How could research community incubated by a non-western state-academy power network reorganize and reshape communication theoretical studies ?

### **Appendix Table of NSSF Projects in Communication Studies (1986-1997)**

#### **Initiation Time, Director, Project Theme**

1987, Zheng Beiwei: Communication Theory

1987, Ning Shufan, Communication in Chinese Urban and Rural Modernization

1987, Ju Yan'an, Socialism Public Relations

1987, Tang Zhongpu, Advertisement in Journalism and Media

1991, Chen Chongshan, Sun Wusan, Journalism and Communication in the Construction of Socialist Spiritual Civilization

1993, Wang Jiyan, Transnational Communication of Television and Its Impact on National Culture

1993, Qiu Zhengyi, Transnational Communication and the Transformation of Chinese National Culture

1994, Chen Lidan, Yang Sixun, Direction of Public Opinion

1994, Chen Peiai, Advertisement Studies

1995, Lin Zhida, Communication Psychology Studies

1996, Duan Jingsu, The Development and Functions of Mass Communication in the West-China Less-developed Regions

1996, Zhang Guoliang, Mass Communication Theory

1996, Bu Wei, The Impact of Mass Communication on Adolescents

1996, Wu Tingjun, Multimedia Technology in Journalism and Communication

1996, Wu Xinxun, Cable TV Management under Socialist Market Economy

1996, Hu Zhengrong, Radio and Television Management under Socialist Market Economy

1997, Guo Qingguang, Ideological Orientation of Television Communication



1997, Tang Xujun, Press Industry Management

1997, Dong Tiance, TV Entertainment in the Construction of Socialist Spiritual Civilization

**Key Words**

communication history, institutionalization, academic community, China

# **Raising Little Mujahideen: A Discourse Theoretical Analysis of the Militarism in Turkish Cypriot Children's Magazines**

## **Authors**

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## **Abstract**

Throughout the twentieth century, Cyprus witnessed armed conflicts shaped by two ethnic-nationalist movements. These movements materialised in two paramilitary organisations in the 1950s. The inter-/intra-communal armed conflicts became increasingly prominent in the late 1950s and the following decades, and were followed by a series of external military interventions which eventually resulted in the division of the island into two ethnically almost homogenous sectors. Within this context, the lives of every woman, man, and child on the island were profoundly influenced, and the construction of the other as an enemy remained hegemonic in both communities. Children's magazines of this period reflect not only the intense violence and the hegemonic nationalist discourse that exacerbated the conflicts on the island, but also the ways in which militarism intersects with childhood.

This paper analyses a Turkish Cypriots children's magazine, *Tuncer*, in order to understand the construction of the militarist discourse, which is often entangled with the propaganda of Turkish (Cypriot) nationalist perspectives on the Cyprus problem. The selected data comprise twelve issues published between 1967 and 1968. This period is selected on the grounds that in 1967 the island witnessed one of the most severe inter-communal clashes of its history.

This research mainly relies on Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory (DT) developed in *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*. As a part of a poststructuralist tradition, DT approaches the concept of discourse using a macro-textual/contextual position (Carpentier) that sees discourse as a framework of intelligibility that provides meaning to social phenomena. In order to understand how the militarist discourse is articulated in these magazines, a discourse-theoretical model is developed through the discourse-theoretical rereading of militarism. For the analysis, this research employs the discourse-theoretical analysis (DTA) developed by Carpentier and De Cleen. Since the selected data have visual components, multimodal analysis techniques are also used to support DTA. Methodologically, this research takes a retroductive (Glynos and Howarth) approach, relying on the iterative relationship between the theory and the analysis, which cross-fertilise each other. Thus, the analysis has been developed cyclically. However, for practical reasons, this paper first sketches the theoretical components and then reports on the analysis.

## **Key Words**

militarism, propaganda, discourse theory, childhood constructionism

# **Gendered histories and oralities in Arabi Malayalam: How the Mariyakutty Kathupatt ('letter song') foregrounds women's voices in Kerala Mapilla history**

## **Authors**

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Prof. Usha Raman - UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABAD

## **Abstract**

In recent years, there has been increasing interest in recovering local histories through multiple sources that go beyond the traditional archive—to harvest stories that can bring in voices hitherto marginalized in dominant narratives, including those of women. Kathupatt (roughly translated as letter-song), is a form of personal letter peculiar to the Mappila community of Malabar, in the northern part of Kerala state in India. Kathupatt is invariably in verse form, often written in Arabi-Malayalam. The Mappila community is known for their song culture, and Kathupatt is distinct among Mappila songs in both form and function. This paper examines one of the more popular items, known as Mariyakkutty Kathupatt, which was produced (sung, rather) in Arabi Malayalam arguably in the wake of Mappila rebellion of 1921. The verses appear to contain the personal account of a Mappila woman, Mariyakkutty, and her husband, imprisoned in a colonial jail at Bellary, Karnataka, but in effect it portrays the status of women in the community during that period. It thus goes beyond the personal to become part of the larger community narrative, as Mariyakutty's story could be the story of many of the women whose husbands were incarcerated due to their participation in the rebellion.. This paper, while offering an interpretation of the story embedded in this Kathupatt, also contextually reads it against notions of 'oral versus written' histories an attempt is made to identify different 'layers of oralities' that constitute the journey of what may be considered a literary work to the present form of the text that continues to circulate among the wider Mapilla community. The paper also details how the idea of orality functions as a feature of prison-letters—both in terms of production or later reception through the generations—available in the community to understand its place in the larger Mappila communicative culture. The Kathupatt as a genre enfolds the communal and the private, and while many of the items are written as letters to be read or sung aloud to a family recipient, there are others, like Mariyakutty Kathupatt, that tell a story of the community's history.

## **Key Words**

Community history, Orality, Memory, Mappila Muslims, Kerala, Kathupatt, Women's Voices

# Digital technology and/as colonialism

## Authors

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## Abstract

In recent years, a growing body of literature has emerged which has invoked new concepts such as 'digital colonialism', 'data colonialism', 'coloniality of data', 'tech colonialism', 'technocolonialism', 'platform imperialism', 'information imperialism' and 'Silicon Valley imperialism' (Jin 2013; Kwet 2019; Madianou 2019; Couldry and Mejias 2019). These studies have demonstrated the role of digital technology in inaugurating either a new phase or a revival of what they term 'colonialism' or 'imperialism'. They have argued that the practices and power relations associated with colonialism offer a useful framework to make sense of the way in which digital technology intervenes in societies across the world. While this body of work draw on different theoretical approaches and debates, scholars broadly share the assumption that large US-based corporations, or 'Big Tech', have become key global agents of power. They are also keen to identify a *new* phase of colonialism or imperialism, with the 'newness' either being driven by a change in geopolitics or by a change in technology. These resemble earlier debates in the 1970s and 1980s around what was referred to as the 'media imperialism' or 'cultural imperialism' thesis.

Despite acknowledgements of the continuities between the past and the present, the focus on the 'newness' of the digital colonial and imperial conquest ultimately erases how the afterlives of European settler colonialism shape and are shaped by digital technology. Furthermore, by centring digital technology in the 'new' phase of colonialism, this body of work minimises the omnipresence of the legacy of colonialism in *all* aspects of life in many parts of the Global South, including 'the domain of economy (exploitation of labor and appropriation of land/natural resources), authority (government, military forces), gender/sexuality and knowledge/subjectivity' (Mignolo 2009: 5).

This paper draws analogies between recent work on digital colonialism and imperialism with older debates on media and cultural imperialism. Rather than examining digital technology *as* colonialism or imperialism, this paper proposes a more nuanced and open-ended research agenda which centres the relation between digital technology *and* colonialism. Problematising the totalising and deterministic accounts of digital colonialism, it examines how digital technology intervenes by reproducing as well as disrupting coloniality. The paper briefly illustrates the mutual shaping of digital technology and colonialism with two examples from Southern Africa: (1) socio-technical imaginaries which propose digital technology as a solution to the ongoing inequalities associated with the remnants of colonialism; and (2) digitally constituted publics which have emerged as crucial sites of resistance against the remnants of colonialism.

## Key Words

digital technology; colonialism; history; digital colonialism; media imperialism

# Teorizando la captura de medios: condiciones, grados y rupturas durante el régimen autoritario de Fulgencio Batista en Cuba (1952-1959)

## Authors

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## Abstract

Como un concepto abarcador de múltiples fenómenos y aún en proceso de desarrollo teórico (Márquez Ramírez, 2023), la captura de medios no se ha abordado suficientemente desde una perspectiva histórica, ni con la necesaria precisión conceptual de si se trata de una estrategia o del resultado de una o varias de éstas. En la ponencia se apela al caso del régimen autoritario de Fulgencio Batista en Cuba (1952-1958), para demostrar no sólo cómo el autócrata operaba la captura de los medios mediante dos subestrategias: un arsenal de prácticas clientelares y el cambio en el perfil de la propiedad, sino para proponer una tipología de la captura mediática y evidenciar su ruptura ante la modificación de determinados factores y circunstancias que pueden incidir en su efectividad.

Se argumenta que la captura de los medios es un efecto, y no un equivalente, de la cooptación mediática, considerada una de las estrategias del control de la información. Dada la opacidad de las prácticas que la originan, la captura mediática se manifiesta a un nivel implícito y se traduce en la injerencia de actores de poder en los medios informativos para su propio beneficio y en detrimento del interés público, particularmente observable en las semidemocracias y los semiautoritarismos (Mungiu-Pippidi, 2008, 2013; Schiffrin, 2017, 2018). Aunque es susceptible de implementarse por múltiples actores, esta investigación se ciñe sólo al gobierno y sus engranajes políticos.

Metodológicamente, el estudio se basa en diversos métodos. Uno, se centra en el análisis archivístico del fondo Secretaría de la presidencia del gobierno de Batista (1952-1958), con valiosos documentos como comprobantes de pago a los impresos por publicidad oficial y el intercambio por escrito entre el gobierno y los periodistas. Dos, se complementa con el análisis bibliográfico de memorias de figuras del gobierno y de editores de diarios, el análisis hemerográfico de 366 números de la revista *Bohemia* –la más importante publicación del momento–, y con entrevistas a siete periodistas de la época.

En conclusión, se tipifican tres tipos de captura por el gobierno batistiano sobre los medios cubanos de acuerdo con su grado de intensidad: la *ocasional*, la *intermedia* y la *intensiva*. Estas formas de captura son diferenciables por la línea editorial asumida por el medio hacia el régimen y por rasgos menos visibles como el nivel de dependencia económica del medio hacia el Estado, la función desempeñada y la identidad de su propietario. Finalmente, se argumenta que al alterarse el balance de los costos-beneficios de la relación clientelar entre el gobierno y la prensa, con el inicio de un movimiento insurreccional liderado por Fidel Castro como factor desencadenante,

unido a las presiones del mercado para ser críticos y atraer lectores y anunciantes, se produjeron reforzamientos, desplazamientos y rupturas en la captura en dependencia de su tipo de intensidad.

**Key Words**

captura de medios, cooptación, prensa cubana, régimen de Fulgencio Batista