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Political Economy Section

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Title: Neuroeconomics, Behavioral Economics and the Political Economy of Nudge

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: oscar howard gandy, jr.

Email: oscar.gandy-xyz-asc.upenn.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: University of Pennsylvania

Name: Selena Nemorin

Email: S.Nemorin-xyz-lse.ac.uk Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: London School of Economics

Abstract: Transformations in the strategies and techniques of governmentality have been implemented around the globe through different versions of behavioral interventions being characterized as "nudges." Although the variety of areas in which the structuration of this so-called "libertarian paternalism" will occur is considerable, this paper will focus on the implementation of these practices within geopolitical areas being referred to as "smart cities."

Informed by earlier assessments of technologically based theories of communication and social change by Preston, this paper will briefly examine the relationships between technological advances in neuroscience associated with increasingly sophisticated brain scanning technology. It will then examine the impact of these and related technological developments on neuroeconomics and behavioral economics as foundational contributions to the governance of smart cities.

Because of the resonance between these developments and transformations in several areas of governmentality explored by Foucault in the 1970s, and by an increasing number of theorists of late, this paper sets out a program of research and policy analysis organized through the political economy of communications framework laid out by Mosco. Through an emphasis on the contributions to behavioral economics made by Thaler and Sunstein, smart city governance will be identified and assessed in terms of the processes of Commodification, Spatialization and Structuration as defined by Mosco. Part of what is being commodified in support of nudging policies implemented through public/private partnerships are the networked devices that capture cognitive, affective and behavioral information which are being used to alter strategies and targets of contemporary and emergent forms of correct training.

This paper also identifies the dominant firms operating in this rapidly evolving sector, including network providers such as Oracle, and those providing resources for advanced computing and analytics like Microsoft and IBM. For example, in our analysis of spatialization, these initiatives will be characterized in part by the frameworks being developed for implementation within targeted areas and populations through which nudges, varying in intensity and levels of constraint will be delivered, evaluated and altered.

In this emergent governance arena, multiple forms of transaction-generated, and remotely sensed information about persons, devices and the relations between them will be subject to analysis by a variety of interested actors. Information derived from these analyses will play a critical role in the design, management and evaluation of nudges, some of which will used to exploit, rather than to overcome common limitations in consumer decision-making.

The implications of this process for groups within society, especially those already disadvantaged by poverty, segregation and disregard, will be described, and illustrated with examples from around the globe. The paper will conclude with an articulation of public policy concerns, including those related to privacy and surveillance that will call for an organized response at the political level.

Title: A New Political Economy for Social Movements: Popular Media Access, Power, and

Cultural Hegemony

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Lee Artz

Email: artz-xyz-purdue.edu Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: Purdue University Northwest

Abstract: As neoliberal privatization expands, working and middle classes have been economically and socially displaced and atomized. Urban working classes, including the unemployed and underemployed are increasingly displaced from shared industrial sites of production. Identities and actions more frequently are expressed through community affiliations. While the class character of social movements may remain, the socio-political relations, aggregations, and structures have changed. Thus, diverse social movements arise in new transnational regimes of decentralized production, distribution, and hybridized local cultures of consumption.

In large part, new social movements now define and comprise global political conflict: from Cochabamba, to Kerala, to North Dakota. Despite the recurrence of such resistance and their hopeful visions of change, the material limits of governing from below are sharply revealed on every continent, posing challenges for political and organizational strategies. Crossing from resistant opposition to representative majorities in government brings another set of contradictions. As mass social movements realize modest political power, civil society leaderships and memberships frequently flounder in securing decision-making power.

The transition to new political economy for a new cultural hegemony always immediately confronts global market conditions and relations (such as oil or commodity prices) and transnational-national capitalist machinations (including media consolidation and economic disruption), as well as frequently generalized confusion and frustration by working classes, farmers, and small businesses that curb their consent for a new social order as difficulties mount from confronting entrenched interests and global capitalism.

In the process of building mass social movements, especially in the transition to representative or participatory governing power, one key marker of progress is public and popular media access. Research for this paper, from across Latin America, finds that media access is a site for communicative and political participation, knowledge, confidence, and leadership and simultaneously a manifest empirical measure of democratic participation in the production, distribution, and use of information, communication, political persuasion, and new cultural possibilities. Political power, policy, and social movement structures coalesce in the institutionalized practices of media production—initially apparent in constitutional and policy adjustments guaranteeing the legal right of public access to media (as in Bolivia, Ecuador, Argentina, Venezuela)—but more importantly realized through the direct action of securing and controlling the means of communication production and distribution. Venezuelan examples such as CatiaTVe, Radio Primero Negro, and even TeleSUR provide the most powerful confirmation of how content reflects and contributes to the exposition of new cultural values, ideologies, and social relations. Other diverse examples from Bolivia, Ecuador, and Nicaragua are included in this paper.

The findings indicate that public and community media (that move beyond alternative sites of local expression and concerns) provide a startling contrast to the commercial media operations in every nation. Joint ventures and partnerships produce trans-national cultural diversity that hegemonically reproduces capitalist relations by promoting individualism, authority, and consumerism.

In contrast, popular media constructions (illustrated here with community media programming) suggest a new radically democratic cultural hegemony based on human solidarity with collective, participatory decision-making and cooperation offering real possibilities and experiences for increased equality and social justice.

Title: The Tech Lobby: Tracing the Contours of New Media Elite Lobbying Power

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Pawel Popiel

Email: ppopiel-xyz-asc.upenn.edu Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: University of Pennsylvania

Abstract: Since media legislation and regulation impact the capacity of the media system to support democratic discourse and participation, media policy occupies a key focus in political economy of the media scholarship. Such scholarship often emphasizes the roles of media elites, their commercial imperatives, and the neoliberal ideology they invoke and perpetuate in shaping media policy. However, media lobbying, which embodies corporate influence on legislative and regulatory processes, remains understudied and undertheorized.

In an attempt to fill this gap, this paper frames media lobbying as a visible instance of media elite power and of increasing slippages between private and public policy realms. It situates the practice within neoliberal politics, using it as a lens onto the interlocking relationship between media elites and the state, with implications for public interest media policy and democratic processes writ large. To trace the contours of this power, it focuses on the increasingly immense, often-successful efforts of the new media elite, namely large tech firms like Facebook and Google, in lobbying the government on a wide array of issues. Specifically, drawing on federally-mandated lobbying disclosures, trade and news coverage of these companies' lobbies, and the companies' public policy statements, this study provides an account of new media's significant lobbying power and its relationship with the state, its political and economic priorities, as well as the ideological work that underlies them.

Examining where these firms direct their lobbying efforts sheds light not just on their business priorities, but also the extent of their political involvement. Foregrounding the tech lobby, instead of situating it within the context of specific policy, reveals the depth and pervasiveness of its political influence. Exploring the ideological framing of the issues on which these companies lobby offers insights into how this power operates. It also draws attention to the mechanisms by which the public interest becomes subsumed under corporate priorities. Finally, engaging instances of tension between state and lobby interests offers some preliminary insights into the contours of lobbying as an instrument of new media elite power and implications of its political activity. Since tech giants wield considerable power over digital communications, their degree of success in accomplishing their lobbying goals reflects their ability to maintain and expand that power. This, in

accomplishing their lobbying goals reflects their ability to maintain and expand that power. This, in turn, carries significant implications for the increasing commercialization of the Internet, and user, activist, and regulator ability to contest and oppose their influence on a host of significant policy areas, like online privacy. Finally, it underscores the dangers of increasing slippages between private and public realms, with implications for a democratic media system.

Title: Facebook: A Political Economy

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Ope Akanbi

Email: oakanbi-xyz-asc.upenn.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: University of Pennsylvania

Abstract: This paper explores how Facebook, through its enterprise social media platform, Workplace, mediates the power disparities between capital and labor. It combines Gramscian notions of hegemony with de Certeau's articulation of everyday practices. Consistent with a materialist approach, it aims to explicate what actors in the work space do with the platform and how the platform in turn shapes conceptions and cultures of work. The paper employs a two-layered analysis, considering Facebook as: (1) a mediator of capital and labor relations and a site for the reenactment of historical tensions between the two sides; (2) a company with a deliberately crafted brand within a competitive space and an ecosystem managing the engagement of application developers using its application programming interface.

In exploring the role of Facebook in labor-capital relations, the paper draws analogies between work conditions in twentieth century factories and the current work conditions largely mediated by digital media platforms. It shows how modern work flows through enterprise communication platforms mirror twentieth century scientific management techniques like machine pacing; and argues that despite arguments about the possible absence of alienation in current times, more workers across a broader spectrum, are subject to a higher demand for emotional labor in form of communicative practices like networking and social media engagement.

In addressing Facebook's strategy, it zeroes in on its 66 acquisitions since its inception, alongside its creation of an ecosystem for the engagement of application developers within its application programming interface, showing how these contribute to an argument for market dominance. It also explores how Facebook attempts to leverage the success of its User Interface for its enterprise variant, Workplace, while struggling with its close association with leisure. I propose that this incursion into enterprise communication situates Facebook as a key player in the blur between labor and leisure, and also in the broader demand for emotional labor by workers.

The paper derives from two primary data compartments: (1) Facebook's websites and user interfaces including video tours of Workplace, features of both personal Facebook and Workplace platforms, and published testimonials of use (2) Media discourse of Workplace. It analyzes these data with the aim of showing how Facebook, is evolving platforms to shape global industry structures and emerging hegemonies in communication.

Title: The Politics of Precarity: regulating inequality in the cultural industries

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Kate Oakley

Email: k.oakley-xyz-leeds.ac.uk Country: GB (United Kingdom) Affiliation: University of Leeds

Abstract: Any survey of the workforce in the cultural and creative industries reveals a picture of inequality and exclusion along lines of class, gender and ethnicity. This has been apparent for some time and in some cases appears to be getting worse rather than better. In the UK, where some of this research is based, alongside ethnicity and gender-based exclusion, social class origin appears to be a major factor. It is notable that those from privileged backgrounds – with parents employed in higher or lower professional and managerial occupations – are significantly overrepresented in almost every part of the cultural sector.

The issue of precarity – unstable, exploitative and often unpaid working conditions – has been seen as a structuring mechanism of these inequalities, as it restricts access to professional production, particularly for those from poorer households. Trade unionists, activists and academics have been campaigning around these issues for some years now and have had some success both in raising awareness of the issues and in securing some moderate legal and regulatory redress. Lack of what is generally referred to as 'diversity' in the cultural sectors is now a policy priority for arts funders and government sponsors as well as for major media organisations. But while there is broad agreement about the existence of exclusions and the inequality this both represents and perpetuates, there is less understanding of the mechanisms through which it operates.

Drawing on work undertaken as part of the SSHRC-funded project, 'Pathways beyond precarity,' which looks at worker-led responses to precarity, this paper will consider these questions and look in more detail at a particular example of activism – the fight against unpaid internships. Campaign organisations, led by student and graduate activists, with support from some traditional trade unions, have successfully targeted the issue of unpaid internships and won some redress, particularly around enforcement of minimum wage legislation. What lessons can be learned from these, admittedly limited successes? What are the links between an increasingly marketised higher education system and a largely graduate-entry workforce? What are the implications of this for cross-class and cross-national organising around wider issues of exploitation? This paper looks at this case and at the role that internships play in the wider issue of inequality in professional cultural production.

Title: Re-evaluating 'Access': Identity, Entrepreneuring and Cultivating a Professional Scripted Screen Career in the Digital Age

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Emilia Zboralska

Email: emilia.zboralska-xyz-ryerson.ca

Country: CA (Canada)

Affiliation: Ryerson University

Abstract: A web connection, a smart phone and tenacity—these are often depicted as the only ingredients required for success in the digital age. Stories of videos gone 'viral' and web creators amassing vast fortunes are pervasive. According to the participatory culture perspective (Jenkins, 2006), the distinction between 'producer' and 'audience' continues to blur. Individuals can respond to, and interact with content in ways never possible before. Some scholars focus their analyses of the web on its apparent discontinuities from the traditional media system.

In contrast to the 'open' web, the traditional television system is tightly managed: shelf-space is limited and barriers to entry are high. Top-down control, in combination with the televisual dual product logic in which programming is produced for both audiences and advertisers has engendered a system in which certain kinds of perspectives have effectively been 'filtered out'. Women and visible and ethnic minorities have been shown to be underrepresented both on and behind the television screen in Western, English-speaking countries.

Scholars focused on the discontinuities between the web and the traditional media system tend to foreground the democratic aspects of the online space—seeing, first and foremost, greatly expanded opportunities for communication, and access to, and participation in, the media. These expanded opportunities for general participation are said to have opened up new possibilities for screen careers. Scholars document the rise of an increasingly professionalizing group of entrepreneurial online content creators: amateurs who, with increasing skill, exploit their popularity and relationships with audiences to introduce new products, brands, services and partnerships to generate revenue. The creators and their content are said to be 'diverse' on many fronts including gender, race, region and topic. These new opportunities have allegedly created more egalitarian access to the screen media, and have created inroads for those who have so often been left out of screen careers.

Using an expanded critical political economy approach, this paper examines more closely, the contours of the opportunity presented by online distribution for aspiring and established Canadian creators of scripted narrative stories and their careers. Through in-depth interviews with over 40 independent creators of scripted web series, as well as an analysis of gender and race across key creative roles including director, writer and cinematographer in 175 Canadian scripted web series, the paper demonstrates that as much as opportunities for participation have been expanded—who you are still matters on the web, especially in the context of building a professional career in the scripted sector. The paper demonstrates that identity characteristics such as age, race, gender and class continue to be salient mediators of participation. The paper calls for a re-evaluation of the concept of access, and is a crucial corrective to the notion that the increasing ubiquity of the Internet resolves issues of participation and underrepresentation. The paper re-establishes the sometimes-lost connection between political, economic and social realities, and studies of web production

culture. The findings are important for both scholars of web production and culture, and for policymakers in the cultural and entrepreneurship domain.

Title: Who is the Public' National Public Radio and the Ideal Latino Listener

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Christopher Anthony Chavez Email: cchavez4-xyz-uoregon.edu Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: University of Oregon

Abstract: From its inception, National Public Radio (NPR), the United States' largest publically funded radio network, was designed with two clear mandates. First, to cultivate a more active citizenry and, second, to represent the voices of a broader spectrum of the American public. Critics of NPR have argued that the network has failed to deliver on these two mandates. In particular, NPR has had trouble incorporating the voices of Latinos, who currently account for 16% of the US population. This omission seems to be a failure of omission, especially when compared to the efforts of a number of commercial radio networks that have a longstanding tradition of providing their listeners with civic information, facilitating immigration processes, and encouraging political activism. Using a political economy approach, I examine the economic factors that determine how NPR pursues an ideal Latino listener in ways that coincide with their economic interests. NPR has traditionally targeted its programs to an upscale audience of baby boomers. Consequently, today's NPR listeners are disproportionately white, which is inconsistent with their original mission of creating meaningful programs for all socioeconomic and cultural groups, including those communities that have not well served by the dominant commercial radio system. NPR's decision to focus on the affluent, college-educated listener is a function of its own economic realities. Unlike BBC which is subsidized by a license fee tied to the purchase of a television or radio, NPR receives relatively little federal funding, forcing the network to rely heavily on individual subscribers and corporate underwriters. As the US population becomes younger, and more diverse, however, NPR is attempting to expand its audience base. In this study, I examine the ways in which NPR constructs an ideal Latino listener that is congruent with their current target audience. In doing so, I argue that NPR is attempting to reach a Latino audience that is already inclined to engage civically. At the same time, they are excluding those Latinos that are most in needed of civic integration.

Title: Iconomics: Money, Media and the Political Economy of Literacy

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Gilson Liberato Schwartz Email: gilson.schwartz-xyz-gmail.com

Country: BR (Brazil)

Affiliation: Department of Film, Radio and Cinema, School of Communication and Arts, Graduate

Course on Diversity, Faculty of Philosophy and Social Sciences, University of São Paulo

Abstract: From the multifarious subdivisions of semiotics, be they naturalistic or culturalistic, the realm of semiotics of value is a field that is getting more and more attention these days. Our entire political and economic systems are based upon structures of symbolic representation that many times seem not only to embody monetary value but also to determine it. The connection between monetary and communicational interactions is self-evident: the former requires the latter and develops in direct relation to it. In emerging democracies and economies in Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe, and Latin America and the Caribbean there has been massive adoption of digital infrastructures, habits and regulations which places media and information literacy (MIL) at the heart of economic development. This papers aims at the creation and development of theoretical foundations for the open, free and global operation of a media and literacy network of projects, initiatives and events that is emancipatory. The research group "City of Knowledge" and the Institute of Advanced Studies at the University of São Paulo have led the design and implementation of a digital monetization platform on a global scale to support fast prototyping, research and development and last, but not least, full accountability and metrics as to the effectiveness and sustainability of creative monetization with technological, institutional and social agendas. From na original "iconomic" perspective on Money, Media and the Political Economy of Literacy a new framework of public infraastructures is proposed so as to challenge society into becoming an interactive, playful movement of civil society involving the youth, journalists and media owners, self-regulation agencies and other stakeholders on a global scale. The first steps towards the design and implementation of such na iconomic platform by UNESCO are reviewed as the MIL CLICLS movement comes to life. A critical analysis of the political economy of literacy in the periphery of contemporary global capitalism is a new frontier for development economics, monetary systems and media regulation agencies.

Title: Transformation in Latin American Television

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: John Graham Sinclair

Email: j.sinclair-xyz-unimelb.edu.au

Country: AU (Australia)

Affiliation: School of Historical and Philosophical Studies, University of Melbourne

Abstract: How are the television industries of Latin America dealing with the global transition from the age of mass media to the digital era? This paper will examine the major national television markets of the region with regard to the adoption of new technologies of distribution and reception, and the constitution and reorientation of audiences around them. Significantly, the convergence of television and telecommunications also has presented a new and complex landscape for regulation, and opportunities for foreign corporate investment. As well to be considered are the changes in content which television globalisation has brought about, generating new transnational formats and genres, and the national-regional-global corporate ventures which are producing them.

Although the penetration of analog free-to-air television in Latin American countries has been quite high for decades, subscription services were relatively restricted until the digital era. Convergence now has stimulated the take-up of internet access, bundled with cable television services, and also greatly expanded the market for mobile telephony. Also, OTT services Netflix and its Latin American competitor Claro are rapidly gaining ground. These developments have created new and varied forms of reception available to audiences, and also for their participation, such as via social media.

With the balance shifting from broadcast to digital delivery, various Latin American governments are creating a relatively deregulated environment for television as it comes to be seen more as a series of consumer telecommunication services rather than social communication over public airwaves. Such deregulation is attracting investment from US corporations such as AT&T and Viacom.

While the leading content-generating countries of the region continue in active production for their domestic and export markets, there are also some notable ongoing collaborations between production companies based in Latin America, notably in Mexico, Brazil, Colombia and Venezuela, and the Spanish-language networks in the United States, creating a kind of hemispheric integration. Yet a striking issue about television content that needs to be addressed is the unexpected popularity of Turkish telenovelas in most of the main markets, including large exporters like Mexico. Whereas the dominance of its characteristic telenovela form in the Iberoamerican world had previously been explained by researchers largely in terms of the region's historical, 'geolinguistic' and 'geocultural' similarities, the embrace of apparently alien Turkish telenovelas demands other explanations. These include economic (good quality at low cost) and humanistic (universal narrative themes) approaches.

Finally, the paper will review recent developments in the main national markets, with due attention to their relative situations, similarities and differences, and any specific variations in regional trends.

Title: Panel: Media without Democracy: Contemporary Dilemmas

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Gholam Khiabany

Email: g.khiabany-xyz-gold.ac.uk Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: Goldsmiths, University of London

Abstract: Panel description: Since the financial crisis in 2008, popular uprisings and social movements across the world have indicated a growing resistance to dictatorships and decades of neo-liberal globalization. From the streets of dozen of cities, we have witnessed a new wave of resistance to a system that has failed to generate wealth and freedom for all. The past decade has also provided some of the most evocative moments when power met its opposite; in some cases in decisive and surprising ways. The use of a wide range of media and communication platforms has prompted many commentators to suggest that it is impossible to comprehend the contemporary political sensibility without recognizing the centrality of these new technologies. Yet alongside this sense of democracy as popular power, there is a strong sense of powerlessness highlighting the fact that this proliferation of voices for inclusion and recognition has not led to an expansion of democratic rights. Indeed the contempt of power (in all its manifestations) for democratic rights has been extended to include even the imposition of colonial-style emergency laws in some of the most established democracies.

This contradiction is hardly new. Lest we forget, the idea and the exercise of democracy has existed alongside genocide, slavery, colonialism, and the exclusion of large sections of population, in particular women. Raymond Williams once suggested that democracy was a strongly unfavourable term and was regarded as a revolutionary concept until the middle of 19th century. This is the most striking historical fact about the idea of democracy as it has become one of those words with which almost everyone wants to be associated. Periodic elections are now taking place even in the most authoritarian countries while paying official homage, in constitutions and the media, to competitively elected assemblies, officials and presidents is the norm rather than exception. Using elections to restrain the democratic will of the people and the globalisation of what Karl Marx labelled as 'democratic swindle', however, cannot be understood without reference to the media. If media are constitutive of any adequate theory of democracy or modernity, then careful discussion of the institutions, characters and discursive strategies of mainstream media is essential. This panel explores and examines media power as part of a broader question of power in four specific regions (Europe, Latin America, Asia and the Middle East) in which both the struggle for democracy as well as the democratisation of media take place within concrete historical and social contexts.

Title: Panel: Media without Democracy: Contemporary Dilemmas

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Natalie Fenton

Email: N.Fenton-xyz-gold.ac.uk Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: Goldsmiths, University of London

Name: Des Freedman

Email: D.Freedman-xyz-gold.ac.uk Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: Goldsmiths, University of London

Abstract: Paper Title: The great media swindle

Liberal democracy has, in recent years, been eviscerated, evacuated, hollowed out, reined in, commodified, trivialised and contaminated. The institutions and spaces in which democracy was traditionally practised and contested – for example, political parties, parliaments, law courts, universities and free media – have been significantly diminished in the eyes of citizens and all too often seen as the preserve of unaccountable elites. But if it is the case that democracy is now post (Crouch 2004), when did this degeneration start to occur?

One answer is that many of the conditions for this undermining of democracy emerged with the neoliberal commitment to subjugate all areas of social life to market logic and competition. Media that were once assumed to have important democratic responsibilities – witness the stickiness of metaphors concerning the media's role as a public sphere, fourth estate, critical watchdog and a check on power – have, since the early 1980s, been commercialised, starved of funding, attacked and restructured – such that they have increasingly been drawn into neoliberal logic.

Yet this narrative assumes that neoliberal states inherited fully functioning democratic systems and set out systematically to roll back their democratic functions. Neoliberalism has certainly weakened the relationship between mainstream media and democracy but had this degeneration already started? In other words, to what extent did neoliberalism simply speed up a process that has a much longer history? When were media institutions ever genuinely accountable to publics apart from those moments when publics themselves 'commandeered' media technologies in the pursuit of democratic aims?

This paper argues that the idea of a media working in the interests of democracy was a crucial element of the swindle described by Marx whereby democratic institutions were used to disempower citizens and to anaesthetise movements for change back in the second half of the 19th century. We are now facing a new democratic swindle in which elite institutions are using the crisis posed by the growth of anti-establishment politics to advance the need for consensual, rational, truth-telling media – precisely the same structures that failed in their democratic duties and that are intimately connected to the neoliberal order that has so enraged millions of people. The paper argues that the task today is not to return the media to an imaginary pre-neoliberal bliss that may well turn out to be even less democratic than the forms of media we have now. Instead we need to reimagine democracy and build a radical political project in which truth-telling and communicative capacity emerge from the bottom up and not through paternalistic diktat or market exchange.

Title: Panel: Media without Democracy: Contemporary Dilemmas

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Rodrigo Gomez

Email: rgg28jaguar-xyz-gmail.com Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Cuajimalpa, Mexico

Abstract: Paper Title: Latin American Media (Communication) Systems: Democratic hindrance or vector?

Latin America has experienced a significant democratic period of change since the end of the 20th century. Broadly speaking, the region can be divided into two groups - each of them with unique particularities and differences. On one hand, there are those that challenged the neoliberal hegemonic agenda of the 90s, invariably referred to as the Pink Tide, Progressive Wave or Left Populism: Venezuela, Argentina (until 2016), Ecuador, Bolivia, Uruguay and Brazil; and on the other stand the free market or neoliberal cheerleaders of global capitalism: México, Colombia, Perú and Chile (and from 2016 we have to add Argentina). Paradoxically, the new Trump administration in the US is challenging the inherited dynamics of global capitalism under the flag of right wing populism, protectionism and nationalism (America First) which will have certainly impact on Latin America.

Latin American countries, to varying degrees, at different speed and facing specific national and international contexts, have struggled to consolidate their status as democratic societies. According to this paper, however, one institution that has failed to keep pace with democratic developments are the region's media and communication systems because their private ownership hinders rather than helps the democratic cause. In fact one could argue that the media, rather than acting as an independent body holding power to account, is itself part of the hegemonic power structure. The media reflect and contribute to the polarized nature of Latin America with severe consequences for political culture and processes in the region. Needless to say, a large section of the political establishment (leaders, presidents, political parties, etc.) have favored, supported and promoted the market and business logics of the media. Yet despite this the entire region has witnessed a renewed struggle for media reform.

At the same times, the opportunities offered by new technologies of information and communication have opened up the field of the dynamics of communication systems. The assaults on popular rights have not gone unchallenged as the internet has managed to foster boundless political conversation and democratic voices have spilled over from the internet into the streets. This has allowed alternative voices to emerge, to communicate and to organise horizontally, and in some cases to challenge the practices and logics of the mainstream media companies and governments.

This paper argues that the maturity of Latin American democracies and their political culture has to be build and reshaped according to democratic principles and the rights of citizens to communication systems that tackle democratic deficits and addresses the failures of the past.

Title: Panel: Media without Democracy: Contemporary Dilemmas

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Paula Chakravartty Email: puc1-xyz-nyu.edu Country: US (United States) Affiliation: New York University

Abstract: Paper Title: Mediatized Populisms: Illiberal Futures from the Rest of the World Across the globe today, we are witnessing the emergence of new political movements passionately advancing the claims of "the people" against the ruling "political classes". Such populist vocabularies are not just confined to the domain of street or protest politics, but are also harnessed by governing incumbents and aspirants to political office, whose bid to join the political establishment is paradoxically furthered through anti-establishment claims and stances. Media of various kinds, from television and social media to camera-enabled mobile phones and text messages, play a key role—whether as tool, site, or agent—in enabling and extending such a politics.

Extant scholarship on media and populism has focused primarily on the European, and to a lesser degree, Latin American "pink tide" examples—covering the rise of new right and new left political forces that have emerged since the 1990s. In contrast to both the European and Latin American contexts, the mass-mediated spectacle of popular politics is a relatively new phenomenon across much of Asia, the Middle East and Africa, where it was only since the last decade of the 20th century that the government-monopolized propagandist architectures of television were replaced by commercial television news. In the intervening years, media—both old and new—have become privileged domains of politics for the first time. What, if any, difference does this relatively late arrival of mediatized politics in these regions make to the logic of populism in particular? To what extent do the institutional dynamics of media commercialization and economic liberalization shape the terrain of populist politics across what we might think of as the Inter-Asian region spanning Asia and the Middle East and North Africa?

In examining the differently democratic contexts of postcolonial India, Turkey and the Philippines, this paper considers how mediatized populisms plays out in practice in postcolonial polities under the political leadership of Nardendra Modi, Recep Tayyip Erdogan and Rodrigo Duterte. In each case, there is little popular nostalgia for a previous era when the media served the people. Instead, we see increasing polarization across new intersectional class divides and often aimed at the fading power of elite liberal media institutions. In comparing media-political dynamics in each setting, we find both the persistence of the ability of the state to manipulate new media technologies, alongside the prospect of what we might think of as illiberal commercialization of media fields.

Title: Panel: Media without Democracy: Contemporary Dilemmas

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Gholam Khiabany

Email: g.khiabany-xyz-gold.ac.uk Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: Goldsmiths, University of London

Abstract: Paper Title: Capitalism and Media without Democracy: The unexceptional case of 'Arab Exceptionalism'

One of the numerous effects of recent popular uprisings in the Middle East has to do with changing perception about the region. The region has been perceived as being in the grip of an authoritarian spell that had slowed down the flow of time; citizens incapable of challenging their rulers, and remaining content with their fate. The myth of authoritarian survival in the region is so deep and strong that the uprisings came as a shock. One colourful description of the uprisings was "Arab Awakening" which considering the long struggle for democracy in the region begs the question of who was sleeping?

The uprisings indeed resulted in some changes in regime but not a regime change as such. The Arab uprisings remained a 'passive revolution' (Gramsci, 1979), a revolution without revolution, as it left the existing social relations intact. The failure of Arab uprisings is equated with the "Islamic failure to democratise" (Massad, 2015) and the myth of "Islamic" exceptionalism keeps marching on. Needless to say that this presumed inability of significantly large population of the world to embrace democracy (previously Japan, India, much of Asia and Latin America) is hardly 'exceptional'.

In addition the old polarity of the cold war and the assertion that democracy is essentially capitalist raises an uncomfortable question of the relationship between capitalist development and democracy in the Middle East. Lerner (1958) was famously careful in putting the "institutions of participation" right at the end of causal change of 'modernization' of the Middle East. Since then the 'development' of courses has taken place even in the remotest part of the region, and the media (one of the key indices of modernization) has expanded. The region as a whole has developed not in isolation from but within the development of global capitalism. Global capitalism is not 'external' to the region and indeed is part of the actual essence of the most undemocratic (and most favored by liberal democracies) part of the region: the Gulf. In examining the relationship between media and democracy in the region this paper argues that in all cases the development, expansion, and consolidation of media companies have been an integral part of development of state capacity in the region. The economic and political links of media companies to the ruling elites, therefore, is simply not a matter of some ties to the state or particular lobbying efforts. Trends that have usually been reduced to 'economic liberalization,' including within the media industry, are entirely facilitated, maintained, and controlled by the state. It suggests that the species of capitalism that are allowed to develop in the region do so under a particular political context, under which the biggest media companies deriving its economic power from the state while functioning as private capital.

Title: Panel: Pacific Alliance countries and the third sector of the media. Battles and challenges.

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Rodrigo Gómez

Email: rgomez-xyz-correo.cua.uam.mx

Country: MX (Mexico)

Affiliation: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana

Abstract: Title: The Long Run to Democratize the Mexican Communication System: From community radio stations to digital media and platforms.

This paper addresses the structural historical conditions of the Mexican Communication System in relation with the process of its democratization. In order to analyses this process of democratization, the research focused in the struggles of the third sector of the Media -

citizen/community/popular/free/radical- to make room in that Communication System, with the idea to highlight the structural inequality conditions of this sector and the hegemony of the private/commercial -first- sector. This paper understands, from a normative perspective (McQuail, 1998) that a democratic and pluralistic communication system must have a fair and equity conditions in relation with the specificities of their three sectors of the Media (Private, Public and Citizen).

The Mexican media system has been characterized in the orbit of the clientelism model (Hallin & Papathanassopoulus, 2002) and limited pluralism (Segura & Waisbord, 2016) with liberal aspirations and, at the same time, as one of the most concentrated systems in the world (Gómez, 2016). However, since the end of the XX century and the beginning of the XXI have been showing some signs of change in order to be democratized. These changes are in some way in parallel with a wider process of political democratization that the North Latin American country has been experience since then.

However, the dominance of the private sector in the Mexican communication system still unbalance and the third sector of the media continue in the margins and a grassroots levels.

It is important to understand that the third sector of the media, until the 2014 Telecommunications and Broadcasting Act, has not had any legal figure in the former Mexican Radio and Television Industry Act -1960-. In fact, during many years the majority of this media operated without licenses. Thus, the struggles to have access to operate media, particularly small community radios stations, has been complicated and literally a battle with federal authorities, local politicians and private radio stations. As a matter of fact, this small radios operated, from some periods of time, at the clandestinely. Thus, the present paper proposes to think three main historic communicative battles by the Mexican third sector of the media: a) the recognition of the right of communication; b) the exercise of the freedom of expression, and; c) the practice of a communicative citizenship. The process of media reform and the issued of the Mexican 2014 Telecommunications and Broadcasting Act has to be read in the context of the emerging democratic processes of Mexico, and, in a wider debate at Latin American level, because in the region it has been issued many reforms regardless with media and telecommunications from two main different perspectives – market logic vs. communication and social rights from 2000 to 2016-. One important sign about these reforms is that, in some cases, have been accompanied with media movements. Thus, in my view, these changes in the Latin American media systems are central to understand the democratization processes of the region.

Title: Panel: Pacific Alliance countries and the third sector of the media. Battles and challenges

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Chiara Saez Baeza

Email: chiara.saez.baeza-xyz-uchile.cl

Country: CL (Chile)

Affiliation: Instituto de la Comunicación e Imagen (ICEI)Universidad de Chile

Abstract: Paper title: Media concentration, third media sector and democracy: the involution of the Chilean communications system in a convergent scenario

This research presents a critical review of communication policies in Chile, which focuses on the situation of community radio, television and Internet initiatives in the country. The hypothesis is that the legislation and the type of communication policies implemented since the end of Pinochet's dictatorship follow a privatizing inertia that results in a lack of recognition of the specificity of communitarian and / or non-profit communication initiatives and the impossibility of being sustainable in the time, pressed to remain in the scarcity, to disappear or to become commercial initiatives. Ultimately, the main result of the describe before is its negative impact on the diversity of the communications system. This situation is exacerbated as it occurs in the scenario of increasing media concentrationin terms of ownership and content generation, in the context of convergence (Breull, 2015).

In the scenario described, the public interest perspective has been introduced by civil society organizations and the proper community media organizations rather than by state and government agencies charged with ensuring fair competition and equitable access to spectrum. However, the instances of citizen participation are also weak and do not have the capacity of incidence necessary to transform this situation in a structural way. In this sense, it is possible to observe an institutional coherence in the treatment of the third media and the treatment of civil society organizations from the state.

Title: Socio-economic Interpretation of Korea's Mobile Technologies: a historical approach

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Dal Yong Jin Email: djin-xyz-sfu.ca Country: CA (Canada)

Affiliation: Simon Fraser University

Abstract: known as IBM Simon, was developed in the U.S. in 1993 and the most successful commercial smartphone, iPhone, was made, again, in the U.S. in 2007, Korea's smartphone revolution was belated. Korea's smartphone market was not significant until 2009 when the country started to produce and sell several smartphones. When the country entered into the wireless telecommunications business in the early 1980s, it was 10 to 30 years behind compared to other wireless companies in the Western markets, and the early smartphone era was not much different. However, the Korean mobile industry eventually advanced its own mobile technologies and began to compete with Motorola and Nokia. For the country, it did not take much time to take over the global markets, surpassing Apple's iPhone in terms of the smartphone market share. The phenomenal growth of Korea's smartphone technologies in the 2010s came after a two-decades long evolution, as the two major handset makers, Samsung Electronics and LG Electronics, went through several trials and errors prior to creating cutting-edge smartphones. Until the end of the 1990s, these local-based transnational companies did not attain a tangible market share, both domestically and globally; however, they made huge progress to compete with global mobile telecommunications giants, such as Nokia and Motorola, and finally developed their smartphones to compete against Apple in the global markets.

Therefore, it is crucial to understand backgrounds and rationales behind the recent emergence of the smartphone industry and culture, which can be explained by addressing several key elements, such as mobile telecommunications policies, competition among handset makers and service providers, and enthusiastic mobile technology consumers. This paper is to document the evolution of Korea's mobile technologies. By using a historical approach, which is useful to determine the causes behind the changing process of new technology, we examine the pre-smartphone era, focusing on the growth of mobile technologies before the successful launch of Korea's smartphones in 2009. We divide the pre-smartphone era into three major periods, including the early mobile technologies era (between the 1980s and 1996), the CDMA era (between 1996 and 2007), and the iPhone era (between 2007 and 2009) before the introduction of locally-made smartphones. We investigate multiple causes that led to the rise of the smartphone, both technologies and systems, surrounding the development of the early smartphones, by analyzing not only power relations between several major players, such as the government, corporations, and global forces, but also the crucial role of mobile users as customers. We also map out the relationship between socioeconomic transitions and accompanying changes in mobile technologies, which are becoming part of contemporary smartphone technologies.

Title: American Woman: Nicki Minaj, Transnationalism, Neoliberalism, and USA Values

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Sholnn Freeman

Email: sholnnz-xyz-gmail.com Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: Howard University- Washington, DC- USA

Abstract: This study connected Nicki Minai's lyrical content to her transnational biography as an Afro-Caribbean immigrant. Lyrics in songs, like other communication artifacts, often provide insight into particular cultural and political eras. This study employed a political economy frame of analysis to uncover societal contradictions in the era of Neoliberalism. Such contradictions may go unrecognized without the tools of social science. The study applied a thematic categorization-based content analysis to Nicki Minaj's debut album, Pink Friday (2010). The goal was to discern the American value types embedded in the Trinidadian-born rap star's lyrics. Verses in each of the album's 13 raps were categorized on the basis of a typology of American value clusters developed by Rybacki & Rybacki (1991). Findings from the study showed that while Minaj was capable of eloquently expressing progressive American values, her lyrics rarely did so. The ascendant aspect of Minaj's lyrics was a view of the American spirit that had more to do with occupational ruthlessness and defending individual economic turf. The study's analysis drew from media accounts of Minaj's background and contemporary research that sheds light on the lives of young transnational females in the United States. Such analysis has exposed the complex linkages of global trade regimes, such as the North American Free Trade Agreement, to the mass migration into North America of Latina/o and Caribbean people. The Caribbean has long been a leading region in exporting workers, particularly women. Many transnational scholars have traced the heavy toll that migration takes on families. Neither of Minaj's parents, nor Minaj herself, emerged unscathed from this experience. Thus, in taking a broad view of society, the rapper's embrace and rebroadcast of capitalist values is loaded with contradiction. Minaj can be viewed as an offspring of neoliberalism, a victim of neoliberalism, and as an instrument of neoliberalism. Angela Davis (1990) argued that Black music has often captured the mood of the times, for both Black people and the wider society. When Jim Crow laws at the end of the nineteenth century reversed many of the gains of Reconstruction, Black people in the United States responded with the Blues to sound out their collective sorrow. If today's times are indeed neoliberal times, then Minaj, like the Blues musicians before her, may one day be credited with providing the soundtrack of the age.

Title: Go big or go home' Globalization of Chinese Internet Companies

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Lianrui Jia

Email: lianrui.jia-xyz-gmail.com

Country: CA (Canada) Affiliation: York University

Abstract: With the world's largest internet population, China is home to a handful of internet companies (namely Baidu, Alibaba and Tencent) that rival U.S- born global internet behemoths in terms of traffic, revenue, user population, and stock valuation. However, the globalization of Chinese internet companies falls well behind compared to US counterparts, such as Google, Amazon, and Facebook, as their users and revenue mainly derives from home market. Therefore, contradictions and contestations between the national and the global are negotiated, mediated, and conflicted as leading Chinese internet companies explore overseas markets. For example, Alibaba struggles to brand itself as a global ecommerce company based in China, instead of China's largest ecommerce company, and Baidu advertises itself as world's largest search engine in Chinese, not China's largest search engine. These leading Chinese internet companies best manifest and animate the contradictory dynamics looming large between forces of globalization and the buildup of a strong national communicative space in the context of Chinese internet.

This paper critically analyzes the complex and contested globalization processes of Chinese "national internet champions" by focusing on the dynamic interactions between state, cyber giants, and capital. Through first-hand documents such as corporate annual reports, government white papers, regulatory decrees and guidelines, and financial news reports, this paper horns in on the interaction between state-capital, state-corporates, and corporates-capital respectively and examines how these agents negotiate, contest, and cooperate with each other in facilitating the globalization of Chinese internet companies that is of cultural and economic importance to both Chinese state and internet companies.

In state-capital relationship, I look at how different government agencies attempt to mitigate the lack of capital investment in the (historical) development of the internet through preferable tax policies, government supports, regulatory opinions on encouraging companies to list on domestic stock market, in order to create a favorable environment for the inflow of capital. For state-corporate interaction, I examine how sets of government policies pertaining to issues of ownership, licensing, convergence, concentration, and globalization of internet companies create enablers as well as frictions for company's global expansion. I also showcase how companies transcend these barriers or work their way around it. Last but not least, zooming in on the dynamics between cyber giants and capital, I look at how processes of financialization and capitalization express through corporate behaviors of cyber giants in China (such as heightened merger and acquisition activities, rampant overseas listing and delisting in order to maximize the corporate's stock value as set of financial portfolios).

Dan Schiller once argues that: "the promise of market entry for foreign capital is tied... to a build-up of aspiring Chinese companies into transnational corporations (Schiller, 2005, p. 91)". This paper further contributes to the political economy of the globalization of Chinese internet companies, by focusing on the role of state, capital and private companies as globalization, or

"going out" policy, has been assigned strategic importance by the Chinese state and a necessary next step for companies that have achieved a leading position in the country.

Title: Toward a Critical Political Economy of the Digital Commons

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Benjamin J. Birkinbine Email: bbirkinbine-xyz-unr.edu Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: University of Nevada, Reno

Abstract: The commons (Ostrom, 1990; Thompson, 1993) has been used as a conceptual framework to both inform and understand various social movements that are actively working against the enclosure of public goods or commons-based resources. These range from natural resources like water, fish, grasslands, forests, or the atmosphere to human-created resources like education, housing, or ideas and their expression. Whatever the resource, these movements are linked by their attempts to escape the ever-expanding tentacles of capitalistic enterprise that seek to commercially exploit these goods which, in turn, leads to either overconsumption or the imposition of artificial scarcity upon the resource.

The current paper provides a critical examination of some of the foundational political economic work that undergirds our understanding of "the commons." Specifically, I revisit the work of Elinor Ostrom (the commons and the knowledge commons) and Yochai Benkler (commons-based peer production) to expose what I argue is a faulty reliance on the assumptions of liberal political economic theory that inform their work. This project not only explores the theoretical shortcomings of such theorizations, but also asserts the need for a critical political economic understanding of the commons that foregrounds (digital) labour, class struggle, and uneven power distribution within the digital commons as well as between FLOSS communities and their corporate sponsors.

Title: La convergencia periférica. Impacto sociocultural y nuevos modelos de negocios en el sector audiovisual de la Economía Social y Solidaria en Argentina

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Daniela Inés Monje

Email: danielamonje70-xyz-gmail.com

Country: AR (Argentina)

Affiliation: Yes

Abstract: La convergencia como cualquier proceso de introducción de innovaciones define centros y periferias (Amin, 2001). En el sector infocomunicacional los procesos convergentes -sean estos regulatorios, tecnológicos, de actores o de servicios- en general tienen lugar sobre la base de asimetrías preexistentes lo cual implica -de no mediar intervenciones estatales- sólo la supervivencia de algunos agentes económicos en un mercado que naturalmente tiende a la concentración y la exclusión. El sistema predatorio que se consolida a nivel global adquiere sin embargo características nacionales específicas (Becerra 2016; Bustamante, 2003; Raboy, 2002) y produce actores periféricos diversos. Es el caso argentino, identificamos el sector de la Economía Social y Solidaria (ESS) cuyos volúmenes de capital son acotados y de ningún modo competitivos con relación a los grandes players, aunque como contrapartida poseen identidad y arraigo en sus comunidades locales o regionales de referencia e inscriben sus actividades en un horizonte de desarrollo social.

En este país, la intervención del Estado mediante políticas públicas de compensaciones, subsidios cruzados o ayudas del Estado tuvo un primer impulso durante la década pasada y se concretó a través de reformas legislativas y fondos de fomento orientados al fortalecimiento del sector no lucrativo audiovisual con cierta proyección hacia los procesos convergentes de triple play. Sin embargo se trató de un proceso inconcluso y con escaso impacto sociocultural y económico. De modo que las transformaciones tecnológicas, regulatorias, económicas y culturales operaron sobre un sector precarizado en términos de recambio tecnológico, infraestructura y recursos humanos. A partir diciembre de 2015, la nueva gestión del gobierno nacional impulsará una política que se impone por decretos y por tanto no es consensuada ni debatida en sede parlamentaria, que desconoce las plataformas conceptuales y de derechos humanos preexistentes en este territorio y avanza hacia la reestructuración de mercado de las comunicaciones convergentes fortaleciendo a los grandes players, habilitando el ingreso de capitales extranjeros y difiniendo un modelo de pago excluyente para todos los servicios. El refarming en curso se orienta asimismo a la expansión del mercado de las telecomunicaciones y ha puesto en riesgo el fortalecimiento y continuidad de los desarrollos en televisión digital terrestres, en el marco de los cuales se inscriben los proyectos de desarrollo de la ESS. De modo que como afirma Van Audenhove (1999) se proyecta abundancia mientras se fabrica escasez, y se restringe severamente el acceso (Van Cuilemburg y McQuail, 2003). Presentamos en este trabajo una reflexión teórica vinculada a los resultados preliminares de una investigación en curso en la que se exploran modelos de negocios propuestas desde la ESS frente a la convergencia y al tiempo que proporcionaremos datos que permitan evaluar el impacto sociocultural de la migración digital en curso en comunidades de referencia para los actores de la ESS. Nuestra propuesta se ordena en base a la matriz analítica de Lessig (1998) con relación a la cual se consideran como variables significativas los aspectos legales, culturales, de configuración del mercado, de acceso y de arquitectura del sector.

Title: Panel: Pacific Alliance countries and the third sector of the media. Battles and challenges.

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Gabriela Martínez

Email: gmartine-xyz-uoregon.edu Country: US (United States) Affiliation: University of Oregon

Abstract: First line of abstract: Paper title: Media development and community radio in Peru's

post-Fujimori era

Second line of abstract: Peru has a long tradition of community radio, and with new technologies entering the market we see the emergence of community web-TV stations that, in addition to radio, are an alternative voice to that of mainstream broadcast, cable and digital information outlets. In this expanding media landscape, radio remains the most prominent medium in terms of accessibility, especially in the provinces and remote rural areas of the country. Community radios have been usually unsupported by the state, and in many cases they have been attacked for voicing serious concerns of the population, including human rights issues. Since the end of the the Fujimori regime in 2000 when it was discovered that most of the commercial media was totally corrupted and many new popular newspapers had been created by the Fujimori regime, to create the illusion of a more vibrant free press, the following governments have passed new legislations to improve the media and information environment. This study will analyze the media environment in the post-Fujimori era, particularly that of community media (radio); and will be assessing the new legislative framework and its impact on community media at a moment in which new technologies and the expansion/convergence of commercial media are taking place. In addition, this study will probe the level of civil society's participation in the development of media content and in capacity building.

Title: Questions of Success and Failure: The alt right and political economy of communication

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Marcus Jonathan Breen

Email: marcus.breen1-xyz-gmail.com

Country: US (United States) Affiliation: Boston College

Abstract: "Perhaps without being much noticed yet, a fundamental transformation in the history of Marxism and Marxist movements is upon us," wrote Benedict Anderson in the Introduction to the 1991 edition of "Imagined Communities." The sentence needs revising. A transformation in the history of Marxism and the Marxist movement is here, and it has been noticed. This paper will consider how the political economy of Communication, specifically Social Media, transformed previously minor, irrelevant and unknown reactionary groups into the "alt right," thereby directly turning upside down the Marxist belief in the relationship between progress, revolt and communication-media. The global shift in politics with the election of Donald Trump and the UK's Brexit vote, prompts the question: is communication a failed project of the progressive movement generally and of Marxism specifically? Was media and communication approached with the wrong assumptions about its progressive characteristics? What were those assumptions? An examination of some examples from the "Alt Right" will be used to indicate how the "transformation of history" was successfully achieved using communication-media against expectations. These include the liberal-democratic claim to market-based solutions, which theorized the success of neo-liberalism within the Washington consensus model and the rapid emergence of hyper-personalized Social Media systems of communication. The question will also be posed – what can be done?

Title: Paper: Music Video and Human Rights in Guatemala: Challenging the Structural Power of

Media via YouTube

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Gabriela Martínez

Email: gmartine-xyz-uoregon.edu Country: US (United States) Affiliation: University of Oregon

Abstract: The creation of horizontal spaces embracing new collective discourses about human rights has accelerated through new technologies that allow production, dissemination, and consumption of audiovisual creations at much lower costs and to a certain extent bypasses some systems of media regulations. Traditional mainstream media structures are now constantly challenged by non-mainstream and alternative production of content that fills the void left by corporate media, and that in many instances it is more attractive for younger audiences. This work focuses on the production and circulation of audiovisual content via YouTube and other social media counteracting mainstream information (or lack thereof), pushing the boundaries of politics and culture in the Guatemalan context. I focus on the production and dissemination of La Cumbia de la Memoria (The Cumbia of Memory) by Guatemalan rap artist and sociologist, Rebeca Lane. Her music video reveals, first, the will of citizens and the international community to resist political impunity and social injustice; and second, the fact that YouTube allows the circumvention of mainstream media and media regulations that may prevent the dissemination of open affirmations of genocide in Guatemala, a country where former generals and others remain somewhat protected by systemic corruption and impunity. The production, at low cost, of Lane's music video and its free dissemination thorugh YouTube, advances the cultural and political transformation of Guatemala, highlighting the genocide trial against former Guatemalan President, Efraín Rios Montt, and challenging official discourses through artistic production of information using music and "new media" technologies. I argue that La Cumbia de la Memoria asks (and forces) citizens to bear witness of the past, charting new cultural and political territories for Guatemala's present. Furthermore, digital technologies and YouTube as a platform provide the spaces to do so, challenging the structural power of mainstream media.

Title: Merging on the Ridiculous' The Political Economic Implications of the NZME- Fairfax NZ Merger Application for Newspaper Market Competition in New Zealand

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Peter A. Thompson

Email: peter.thompson-xyz-vuw.ac.nz

Country: NZ (New Zealand)

Affiliation: Victoria University of Wellington

Abstract: In May 2016, New Zealand's two dominant newspaper groups, New Zealand Media & Entertainment (NZME) and Fairfax NZ applied to the market competition regulator, the Commerce Commission for authorization to merge. The proposal stemmed from the confluence of deregulation, convergence, and financialization which together have undermined the traditional business models of the newspaper sector. Although both NZME and Fairfax NZ currently remain profitable, an increasing proportion of their advertising revenue streams has been coopted by the providers of navigational architectures for news content discovery, notably Google and Facebook. Although both groups have explored the option of paywalls these are not considered viable in a small market.

Unsurprisingly, there were numerous parties critical of the merger. These included the smaller newspaper group, Allied Press, the E tū union (which represents newsworkers), public interest groups and critical media scholars. A key concern was that the merger would see an unprecedented level of concentration within the news media sector. Combined, NZME and Fairfax NZ would control almost 90% of the daily newspaper market, two of the largest online news websites, and half the commercial radio stations.

NZME and Fairfax insisted that cost efficiencies gained through the merger would allow all their titles to be maintained and permit continued investment in quality journalism. However, merger opponents warned that the merger could bring not only a significant reduction of competition but also compromise editorial plurality and independence. They also questioned NZME and Fairfax's assurances that the merged company would invest in quality journalism, given the pattern of newsroom budget cuts and redundancies following recent consolidations and restructures. Established by the 1986 Commerce Act during New Zealand's far-reaching neoliberal reforms, the Commerce Commission's track record suggested an institutional aversion to market intervention, especially when protracted litigation was anticipated. Nevertheless, its preliminary determination (November 2016) was to decline the merger, citing a range of market and public interest concerns. Fairfax and NZME immediately challenged the decision, arguing that the Commission had exceeded its scope of jurisdiction by taking account of intangible public interest factors not covered by the Commerce Act. The final decision is expected in March 2017.

Taking a critical institutionalist political economy framework, this paper will analyse the structural and contextual pressures behind the NZME and Fairfax NZ merger application, including the priorities of offshore financial shareholders, the impact of convergence on the print news value chain and New Zealand's historically loose regulatory provisions. It will also consider some preliminary evidence of NZME and Fairfax's own coverage of the merger issue, which raises questions about their editorial independence in reporting issues in which financial shareholders have a vested interest. With the final decision still pending, the analysis will highlight the importance of critical praxis and alignment with other progressive voices in providing regulators with the empirical and normative resources to legitimate and defend decisions favouring civil society over corporate interests.

Title: The Rise of the Misinformation Society: Market Failure and the Decline of Journalism

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Victor Pickard

Email: vpickard-xyz-asc.upenn.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: University of Pennsylvania

Abstract: Donald Trump's election exposed a number of structural pathologies in America's media system that undermines democratic society. This paper addresses several broad media failures and considers potential remedies. In particular, it focuses on the lack of financial support for journalistic institutions in the US. The American newspaper industry has lost approximately 40% of its staff since 2007. Newspaper revenue and circulation are in steep decline, bankruptcies are on the rise, and some major metropolitan papers are reducing home deliveries or going online-only. As readers and advertisers migrate to the web where digital ads generate less revenue and increasingly go to Facebook and Google, the American newspapers' business model—which has always been overly dependent on ad revenue—is in a state of gradual collapse.

The newspaper industry's decline is of particular concern because the US funds only a very weak public media infrastructure. Therefore, the entire American news and information system continues to rely on the deeply-stressed commercial newspaper industry for original reporting. With no other revenue model commercially viable at a systemic level, non-market-based models should take on a more significant role in the coming years, but this future remains uncertain. Various experiments that rely on foundation support or wealthy benefactors show some promise, but they cannot replace the tens of thousands of news jobs lost in recent years. This predicament leads to less overall reporting—especially local, investigative, and policy-related news—which create "news deserts" across entire regions and issue areas.

The ongoing journalism crisis calls for a new media reform strategy, one that seeks to decommercialize news media and replace the profit imperative as the sole criterion for media production and dissemination. This will require a social-democratic vision of journalism that seeks to uncouple commercialism and democracy. After outlining theories of market failure, positive freedoms, and public goods, this paper will conclude by drawing from historical and international case studies to outline a structural media reform project for the Trump era.

Title: Panel: Infrastructures of Empire, Title: Decolonial Infrastructures and US Empire in Decline

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Paula Chakravartty Email: puc1-xyz-nyu.edu Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: NYU

Abstract: This paper provides a critical and historical overview of the curious dearth of scholarship on Empire in the field of media studies in the 21st century, over the course of one of the longest US-led wars in global history. In cognate fields the US-led invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan in 2003 spurred a surge in critical scholarship that attempted to draw continuities and disjunctures between 19th and 20th century imperial expansion and decline in relation to current articulations of US Empire and Empire more broadly conceived. Within Media Studies, scholars of media imperialism from an earlier period had focused disproportionately on the machinations of media and emerging information industries and the US and Western state's role in shaping policy and practice, with less analytic interest in the actual "Third World" itself and the manifold contradictions of internal colonization and racisms in the first World, postcolonial nationalism freedom versus authoritarian modernization agendas. In this paper, I draw instead on more radical and contested versions of the cultural imperialism critique which were initially articulated against the backdrop of international socialist and decolonization movements alongside the civil rights movement, which imagined new political communities promoting decolonial infrastructures against "racialized capitalism". These intellectuals from socialist, feminist and decolonization movements emphasized self-reliance and ultimately liberated infrastructures to combat colonial and colonized propaganda and build transnational circuits of transport and communication (radio and newspapers) in the service of the commons. This paper asks what these decolonial struggles over media infrastructure and racial capitalism might teach us in the contemporary moment of the US' empire in decline?

Title: Panel: The political economy of China's Internet; Paper Title: In search of sexual desire:

Social media, market and state policy in China

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: weishan miao

Email: weishanmiao-xyz-gmail.com

Country: CN (China)

Affiliation: Institute of Journalism and Communication, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Name: Zhi`an Zhang

Email: zhianzhang-xyz-163.com

Country: CN (China)

Affiliation: School of Communication and Design Sun Yat-sen University

Abstract: Since China's economic reform from last century, complex social context has produced great changes in both media and personal relationships. People who are emancipated from the traditional socialism norms, experiment with various social practices to shape new social relations, including the sexual desire. With the booming capital in media industry, various social media dedicated to love, sex, desire and intimacy are mushrooming these years, including online chatroom, matchmaking websites and hook up applications. These social and media practices not only shape the new sexual culture but also are shaped by the complex interaction between state censorship and market logic. Base on the case of Momo, China's largest dating app with monthly active users of 15.48 million, this paper attempts to investigate the historically specific and local context in which hook up app has emerged and then transformed in association with the social change in neoliberal China. By identifying the three stages of Momo's development: as a genius tool for getting laid, as an interest-based social networking and as a live streaming platform, this paper discusses the roles that the Chinese government and the market have played in the process of shaping of Momo's function over time, and how Momo has influences people's perception and practice of sexual desire. By examining the sexual desire in social media platform, this paper highlights the political economy dynamics should be fully taken into consideration of China's internet studies.

Title: Panel: Pacific Alliance countries and the third sector of the media. Battles and challenges.

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: María Paula Martinez

Email: mp.martinez132-xyz-uniandes.edu.co

Country: CO (Colombia)

Affiliation: Universidad de Los Andes

Abstract: Paper title: The transformation of Colombian media landscape at the web of the armed conflict.

second Line of abstract: Colombia is witnessing a definitive momentum for its media industry. The country is facing the digitalisation process and the media convergence (multiplication of the screens, new terrestrial digital signal, the radio-podcast and the Netflix phenomenon) at the same time when the armed conflict is ending. Between 2012-2016, the FARC guerrilla and the national government agreed to improve pluralism and diversity for colombian media. They agreed to open new calls for the award of new community radio frequencies, technical training (digital take up) for workers in the community media, to fund content aimed at fostering a culture of peace with social justice and reconciliation. They also said that the policies and regulations regarding the allocation of advertising will change in order to protect transparency. What impact will these commitments have? To what extent will they truly benefit the community media? What risks and what opportunities do they represent? What are the main problems of freedom of expression that were not addressed? Will it suffice to ensure pluralism and diversity? The article will address these questions.

The current media ecosystem indicates that it is not only a matter of accessing or being represented in media, but of understanding the symbolic value of community and public media channels and radio stations and the role they can play as scenarios of peace, to rebuild social bonds and for the strengthening of democracy.

Title: From analogue to digital cinema cultures: questioning change in structured audience practices through an empirical comparison of Flemish youth film consumption in 2001 and 2015

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Philippe Meers

Email: philippe.meers-xyz-ua.ac.be

Country: BE (Belgium)

Affiliation: University of Antwerp

Name: Daniel Biltereyst

Email: daniel.biltereyst-xyz-ugent.be

Country: BE (Belgium)
Affiliation: Ghent University

Name: Aleit Veenstra

Email: aleit.veenstra-xyz-uantwerpen.be

Country: BE (Belgium)

Affiliation: University of Antwerp

Abstract: The advent of digital video technologies and the subsequent shift from analog to digital cinema is seen as the end of traditional cinema culture, and the beginning of the digital age of audiovisual media convergence. There is a group of scholars, with Henry Jenkins as a prominent voice, that describes the switch to digital as a revolution in the audiovisual landscape. They stress the importance of the active (fan) audiences, claiming that the habits of loyal media users will become typical of the wider media audience. New means of access to media – through a wider variety of screens and platforms that defy the limits once set by time and place – are found to characterize film consumption of contemporary audiences. They would no longer be bound - as they were in the analogue era -, to the availability of films in local cinemas, video stores or to what is programmed on television or stored on videotape. Scholars such as Nick Couldry, however, are much more skeptical of convergence culture. They question that the media audience practices have changed fundamentally and point to structural continuities. Others (Biltereyst & Meers) have called for a renewed political economy of audiences. This paper looks beyond the celebratory discourses on change, stressing the need for structural contextualization and a long-term perspective. In the empirical part, recent representative survey data from 2015 from a large scale ongoing project Screen(ing) Audiences on film consumption of Belgian-Flemish youth are compared to data of a quasi-identical large-scale research project, conducted by the same team in 2001. We examine young film audience's concrete consumption practices from two distinct periods: at the beginning of the millennium in a still mainly analogue world - before Facebook, YouTube and countless other online platforms existed - and 15 years later, in a fully digital age. This allows for a comparison over time, bridging the switch from analogue to digital. The similarities in the way the industry constructs boundaries and audience practices develop within these, are striking. The continuity in structured film audience practices thus calls for a political economy recontextualisation. This approach allows us to develop concepts that inform new research trajectories, bringing a political economy of film and critical audience studies together.

Title: The Productive Capacity of Commercial Television: An Approach for Analyzing Media

Systems in Society

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Lee McGuigan

Email: lmcguigan-xyz-asc.upenn.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: University of Pennsylvania

Abstract: Some scholars maintain that all media research is "effects research." This paper is motivated by a curiosity about the effects of commercial television on culture, politics, and economy in the United States. Unlike most "effects research," my goal is not to understand the influence of specific messages on individuals' attitudes, opinions, and behaviors, but rather to evaluate the effects of commercial broadcasting on the allocation of resources in society, including capital, labor, household expenditures, symbols and meanings, and, most fundamentally, human time, attention, and energy. An exhaustive inventory of these effects is beyond my ability. Instead, I hope to provide a framework from which to embark.

I argue that productive capacity can be developed as a critical lens through which to investigate and conceptualize the political economy of television in the United States, and to foster a line of study at least proximately sensitive to habits of thought, lived experience, meaning-making, civic engagement, and other dimensions of culture and society. At some level, this paper considers how we fathom television—a sociotechnical system comprising technical and administrative infrastructures—as an "agent" of continuity and change. Productive capacity, as a heuristic, offers a set of analytic tools and lines of historically-inclined inquiry that help us investigate and understand how media systems construct, and are constructed by, symbolic and material realities. Television has always been a hybrid assemblage of technologies and cultural forms, and it has become increasingly difficult to define, as its apparatus, business models, texts, and reception practices are made to converge with other elements of computing and telecommunications. To outline a productive capacity approach for analyzing media systems, I focus on "television" as a sociotechnical system, an assemblage of technological, social, cultural, political, and economic elements—what I call technical and administrative infrastructures—that are oriented around the production of consumers, both as information-based commodities (i.e., packaged evidence of attention and consumption behavior) and as social actors. "Capacity" implies the maximal limits of industrial output; but in my usage the term also refers to biases and pressures encoded in technical and administrative infrastructures. Productive capacity, in short, is a diagnostic of the conditions of possibility set by particular configurations of a sociotechnical system.

This approach combines insights from political economy, cultural studies, and social studies of technology. Applying it to recent historical developments related to television, I argue, may be particularly helpful since stakeholders have responded to industrial and technological shifts by laying bare their ambitions and strategies as they struggle to assert visions of development that favor their interests. Such moments of conflict and controversy, as sociologists of technology have taught us, provide opportunities for analyzing the political and cultural elements of sociotechnical phenomena. Productive capacity represents an attempt to integrate these perspectives into a holistic approach for understanding media systems in society, which can, with due sensitivity to contextual specificities, be adapted for application to various media in various times and places.

Title: Panel: Pacific Alliance countries and the third sector of the media. Battles and Challenges

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Rodrigo Gómez

Email: rgomez-xyz-correo.cua.uam.mx

Country: MX (Mexico)

Affiliation: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana

Name: Gabriela Martínez

Email: gmartine-xyz-uoregon.edu Country: US (United States) Affiliation: University of Oregon

Name: Chiara Sáez Baeza

Email: chiara.saez.baeza-xyz-gmail.com

Country: CL (Chile)

Affiliation: Univesidad de Chile

Name: María Paula Martínez

Email: mp.martinez132-xyz-uniandes.edu.co

Country: CO (Colombia)

Affiliation: Universidad de los Andes

Name: Toby Miller

Email: tobym69-xyz-icloud.com Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation:

Abstract: Participants: Gabriela Martínez (PER), María Paula Martínez (COL) Chiara Saez Baeza (CHI) y Rodrigo Gómez (MX)

Chair: Toby Miller (AUS-GB-US)

This panel addresses the different trajectories of the third sector of the media in the Pacific Alliance countries -Mexico, Colombia, Peru & Chile-. This Alliance is fostering a regional integration with these Latin American countries through the main vector of the free market logic with the idea to build a free trade zone.

Latin America has been experience a significative democratic period of changes and debates during the end of the 20-century and the beginning of the 21-century. The geopolitical and geocultural region has been organized, in general political terms, in two groups -of course, each of them with particularities and differences-. On one hand, those that challenged the neoliberal hegemonic agenda of the 90, named as: the Pink Tale, Progressive Wave or Left Populism -Venezuela, Argentina -until 2016-, Ecuador, Bolivia, Uruguay and Brazil-. And, in the other, the free market or neoliberal cheerleaders of Global Capitalism -México, Colombia, Peru y Chile (from 2016 we have to add Argentina)-.

In that context, this panel looks to understand how that context of free market logic is shaping the communication systems of the Pacific Alliances countries. At the same time, this proposal will set with its results a comparative study in communication policies. In this particular session, it will focuses in the different trajectories that the third sector of the media has been experience. In our view, the development of the third sector it is a positive sign of freedom of expression, pluralism and diversity. Thus, if the communication systems generate room and certitude to this sector it is possible to talk that those communication systems are presented some changes in the line to be democratized. However, we have to recall that one common particularity of the Pacific Alliance communication systems is that the commercial sector is the dominant player and their concentrated structures. Thus, the panel will, mainly, addresses the social relations of power regardless with battles and challenges of the third sector of the media in the context of the dominance of the structuration of global capitalism.

Title: Panel: Infrastructures of Empire

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Miriyam Aouragh

Email: m.aouragh-xyz-westminster.ac.uk

Country: GB (United Kingdom) Affiliation: University of Westminster

Abstract: Infrastructures of Empires and its complacent discontents. This paper reconsiders debates about media and information infrastructures through the logic of "empire". The paper considers techno-infrastructures as embedded within a material global capitalist system that crosses spatial and cultural continents and is defined by a multi-polar competitive imperialism. It aims to reorient discussions of media and information infrastructures by problematizing the exceptionalism of US Empire and considering BRICS the harbinger of discontent. Rather, while pointing to the Western (US) dominance in contemporary imperialism this paper considers 1) techno infrastructures as embedded within a capitalist system that crosses spatial and cultural continents, 2) and the struggle over infrastructural hegemony as a multi-polar competitive dynamic rather than bi-polar. In the past scholars of media imperialism focused on the machinations of media and emerging information industries form the west and this discursive approach continues with BRICS. But what it represents is a far cry from the 'liberated infrastructures' based on anti-imperial assumptions of revolutionary movements. For BRICS access to and autonomous ICT infrastructures are a lifeline for its own capitalist accumulation. Albeit leaning heavily on the discursive heritage of anti-colonial struggles, the policies and investments of BRICS contributes little to none to the liberation for peoples for what was previously known as Third World. The resistance by BRICS has made consumption and growth become a synonym for sovereignty and solidarity. Where can we find pride in the economic growth of India and China, if oppression and exploitation through its own capitalist accumulation and regional geopolitical violence is the price? The chasm between advocating for autonomy and equality o infrastructures on one hand, yet quelling internal domestic demands for equality on the other is staggering. This paper shows that such perspectives have little to say about the intense collaborations between Israel and India in cyber warfare. By exposing the banality of the west/non-west binaries, this paper posits that 'the rise of the BRICS' does not challenge Euro-American dominance because it does not offer an ideological alternative to neoliberalism but are the exponents and meanwhile obscures the message and silences the dissent of those who do (try to) offer this alternative.

Title: Media movements in times of pushback of human rights: Is everything lost'

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: María Soledad Segura

Email: maria.soledad.segura-xyz-gmail.com

Country: AR (Argentina)
Affiliation: UNC / CONICET

Abstract: In this century, an unprecedented number of media policies grounded in the right to communication was passed in Latin America. This is a landmark in the history of the region's media policy-making. Where those policies were passed, civil society organizations (CSOs) played critical roles. No similar period of intense mobilization and visibility is found in the past. As a result, most of the 11 broadcasting and telecommunication laws, the 17 access to information laws, and the 9 repeal of insult laws or removals of criminal penalties for defamation passed in Latin American countries during the last 15 years contain aspects that meet civic demands and international standards of communication as human right. Unquestionably, reforming regressive policies are long-term processes, but these advances are singular. (Segura & Waisbord, 2016)

Nonetheless, during the last two years, new conservative rulers came to power and started reforms that pushback the advances in communication and culture rights, and revoked key aspects of the freedom of speech and information laws passed with social participation. These are the cases of Michel Temer in Brazil, who became president after the impeachment of Dilma Roussef, and Mauricio Macri in Argentina, who is the first right wing party leader elected in the history of the country.

The questions I try to answer are: Is there any possibility for media movements to impact on policy-making process in these conditions? Is there still alive any of their achievements? How can CSOs defend and enlarge communication rights?

If we accept that media policies are the result of complex processes that involve not only political and economic elites, but also social organizations, and public policies are not completely controlled by the State, but are also influenced by dynamic relations of state, market, and civic actors (Freedman, 2008), even in unfavorable contexts, CSOs may have the chance to impact –at least to resist and avoid part of the regressions- on communication policies.

Which are the fundamentals of this possibility? Besides the intended impact of CSOs on the content and implementation of new laws, there is another important contribution of media movements: strengthening institutional competencies of civil society related to media policy-making. It includes the honing of competencies related to mobilization and advocacy: individual and organizational expertise related to technical matters, policy-making process, and strategic thinking. (Segura & Waisbord, 2016)

The hypothesis I try to demonstrate is that, amid pushback policies from conservative governments and worsening conditions for public expression in several countries, these "unintended outcomes" (Giugni, 1998) of media movements are critical to stop human rights regressions and to expand them in communication policies.

To demonstrate this, I study the case of media movements in Argentina during the last year. I interview their leaders and members, and analyze organizations and state documents and press information.

This analysis can contribute to understand the strategies and opportunities of progressive media movements in contexts of pushback of human rights not only in Latin America, but also in other regions of the world were conservative rulers rise to power.

Title: Media concentration in Latin America: Towards a new scenario with digitization and convergence'

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Guillermo Mastrini

Email: gmastri-xyz-yahoo.com.ar

Country: AR (Argentina)

Affiliation: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes / Conicet

Name: Martín Becerra

Email: aracabecerra-xyz-gmail.com

Country: AR (Argentina)

Affiliation: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes / CONICET

Abstract: In recent years there has been a series of research that has updated the knowledge on the concentration of media ownership and telecommunications at the international level (NOAM, 2016; Birkine, Gómez, Wasko, 2016). They don't just update the existing information, but also pose new perspectives and methodologies to analyze media concentration. Taking as a reference the above mentioned works, this article presents the results that update our previous analysis (Mastrini & Becerra, 2006; Becerra & Mastrini, 2009). Methodologically it continues using the CR4 coefficient that analyzes the market share of the top four operators.

The article presents, for the first time, a historical series with data obtained for 2000, 2004, 2008 and 2014. The latest data reaffirm the increase in media concentration in almost all countries and markets.

From the data collected for 2014, it outstands that media industry is less concentrated than telecommunication industry. However, the concentration indexes found are very high in relation to other regions of the world such as Europe and the United States, and constitute a restriction for the diversity of voices

The average concentration in the press industry is 80%. This means that the top for newspapers in Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Chile and Mexico hold four out of five readers. Free to air TV maintained its highly concentrated tendency from previous studies, reaching an average control of 90% of the market by the top four media groups. In all the countries except from Brazil, concentration has increased.

The scenario is pretty similar for Pay TV, cable and satellite, but with slightly higher metrics. It should be noted that in the region there is an important growth in this type of services, with a significant increase of subscribers in Colombia and Mexico that follow the great penetration reached during the first decade of the 21st century in Argentina and Chile.

It's worth mentioning that the same companies tend to have dominant position in fixed and mobile lines and broadband. In some countries such as Colombia this dominant position involves cable industry as well.

Concentración de medios en América Latina: ¿Hacia un nuevo escenario con la digitalización y la convergencia?

En los últimos años se han sucedido una serie de investigaciones que han actualizado el conocimiento sobre la concentración de la propiedad de los medios y las telecomunicaciones a nivel internacional (NOAM, 2016; Birkine, Gómez, Wasko, 2016). Ambos trabajos no solo actualizan la información existente, sino que plantean nuevos enfoques y metodologías para el análisis de la concentración. En este paper, se plantea tomando como referencia las investigaciones indicadas, se presenta los resultados que actualiza trabajos anteriores de los autores sobre concentración de la propiedad de los medios en América Latina (Mastrini,Becerra 2006; Becerra, Mastrini 2009). Metodológicamente se continúa utilizando el coeficiente CR4 que analiza la participación en el mercado de los cuatro primeros operadores.

Title: International E-Lancer Resistance: Precarious Freelance Journalists, Their Rights and Contract

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Errol Salamon

Email: errol.salamon-xyz-asc.upenn.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: University of Pennsylvania

Abstract: In 1994, media outlets around the world introduced rights-grabbing contracts for freelance journalists. The contracts had the potential to increase corporate revenues and profits, while decreasing the potential for freelancers to resell their works and maximize their income. By the end of the twentieth century, the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), the world's biggest journalists' organization, recognized the need to create a mass campaign for authors' rights at the international level. In this context, the IFJ held the Authors' Rights Summit in London in June 2000. In a background document prepared for the Summit, the IFJ (2000) stressed that it was important to use digital technology as a tool to collectively organize freelancers. This campaign call illuminates continuity and change in journalists' "industrial struggles over copyrights" with media companies to (1) maintain control of their works and (2) protect the democratic role of journalism as a public good by relying on such technology to "resist the law of copyright" (Bettig 1996).

Foregrounding these struggles at the international level, this paper builds on the concept of "elancer resistance" (Salamon 2016), developing what will be called "international e-lancer resistance." It adopts an international political economy of journalism approach from a labour standpoint. First, the paper considers how authors' rights and copyright intersect with journalism's role as a public good and with the issues of freelance journalists in a digital age—at the centre of which is the rights-grabbing contract. Second, it links rights grabs to the freelancer dimension of precarious work in journalism, highlighting the tensions between worker exploitation and resistance. Third, this paper outlines a brief history of journalists' international collective organizations, particularly the IFJ's role in representing and advocating for freelancers in a digital political economy and its use of information technology tools to do so. Fourth, the paper analyzes two IFJ social media campaigns in 2015-2016: "Fair Rights for Journalists" and "AFP Stop the Rights Grab...Fair Contracts for All." In the Conclusion, it discusses how these industrial struggles provide evidence of the "e-lancer," an internationally and electronically connected group of journalistic workers.

While only some scholarship has focused on freelancer resistance at the national and international levels, this paper builds on this literature, foregrounding the labour organizing, digital advocacy, and activism of freelance journalists at the international level. This paper ultimately argues that, while rights-grabbing contracts devalue freelancers' labour and undermine journalism's role as a public good, the IFJ has taken a key position in attempting to recompose precarity and protect journalism as a democratic institution and practice internationally. However, freelancers cannot depend on international organizations and digital communications campaigns alone and must also use face-to-face communication, organize at the national and local levels, and secure the right to collectively bargain in order to enjoy ongoing labour protection. This paper relies on IFJ organizational documents, personal communication with representatives of the IFJ, archival

materials from the IFJ's digital communications campaigns (e.g., tweets, logos, and photos), media coverage of these campaigns, and a critical review of the published literature.

Title: Policies for the Expanded Audiovisual Space in Argentina. New paradigm or old problem'

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Santiago Marino

Email: sgomarino-xyz-gmail.com

Country: AR (Argentina)

Affiliation: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes

Abstract: This paper is part of "Power, communication and regulation policies" and present an analysis of the process of change in the regulation of the Expanded Audiovisual Space (EAS) in Argentina. It addresses the set of measures implemented since December 10, 2015 in the field of audiovisual media and telecommunications that deactivated the central elements of the design of communication policies of the Kirchner administration. The analysis of the account of the decision-making process and its impact on the system.

In the first place the theoretical and methodological elements that frame the investigation are presented. Secondly, the proposal to think about the EAS concept is taken up again. The actions implemented in the regulatory area are then systematized during the first year of management of Mauricio Macri. Finally, it is proposed to examine the question of whether the new paradigm is configured or the old problems of public management of the info-communicational sector: the concentration of ownership and the generation of content.

The mass media, as social, political and economic actors, have been at the center of the debate in Latin America for more than ten years. In this context, the communication system is approached from the policies of communication, media regulation, as well as from a perspective that accounts for the political economy of the sector, and the dynamics of power and the relationship between Agents and state actors with the communicational.

The paper addresses the question: What policies are shaping global and local industrial structures in the face of technological, economic, regulatory and in the uses of media change?

The communication system is approached from the notion of communication policies understood as the result of a dynamic process of interaction between diverse institutional and non institutional actors that pursue varied interests and resort to formal and informal mechanisms to influence the processes of communication. Regulation and configuration of media systems. (Califano, 2015) The configuration of the EAS is understood from the emergence and expansion of technologies that break inertia and forms of productive organization and consumption in the different cultural industries (Marino, 2015). It is integrated by the sectors of Cinema, Television (open and pay, analog and digital) and the services of distribution of audiovisual content online.

The list of reforms to the normative plexus of the EAS is presented since the inauguration of Mauricio Macri. The institutional mechanism or instrument and the actor involved in the decision will be identified. This will be combined with the applied change effect. The rest of the Communication Policy measures (plans, programs, projects) will be described later. In this way we will have inputs to evaluate if we are witnessing a new regulatory paradigm.

Title: 'New Social Risks' and Non Standard Forms of Employment in the Cultural Sector: the case of Ontario Screen Workers

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Charles H. Davis Email: c5davis-xyz-ryerson.ca

Country: CA (Canada)

Affiliation: Faculty of Communication & DesignRyerson University

Name: Emilia Zboralska

Email: emilia.zboralska-xyz-ryerson.ca

Country: CA (Canada)

Affiliation: Ryerson University

Name: Vanessa Ciccone

Email: vciccone-xyz-ryerson.ca

Country: CA (Canada)

Affiliation: Communication & Culture, Ryerson University

Abstract: Post-industrial societies (characterized by the decline of manufacturing, the rise of the service sector, and proliferation of non standard forms of employment) entail 'new social risks' (NSRs) (Taylor-Gooby, 2013; 2004). In the context of debates on social policy and the future of the welfare state, the issue is that these social risks are not addressed by the post-WW2 welfare settlement, which ties core social welfare provisions (such as minimum wage, payment for overtime, compensation for occupational injuries, insurance against unemployment, retirement benefits, rights to collectively bargain, and protection against discrimination and wrongful dismissal), to the standard employment relationship. Most non standard forms of employment (NSFEs) such as freelancing, temporary, on-call, part-time, or dependent self-employment do not provide protection against these risks. The term 'new social risks' thus refers to known risks incurred by growing numbers of the population. It can also refer to newly emerging risks, however, when it is interpreted in terms of risks arising from larger social changes, notably the diminishing demand for low-skilled jobs, the entry of women into the labour market, the growth of the elderly population requiring care, and the privatization and marketization of services such as pensions and caregiving (Taylor-Gooby, 2004). Overall, the concept of new social risks points to the growing individualization and privatization of risk and the search for social policies that are effective in countering these risks, as in the turn to social investment policies and the search for new bases of collective action among workers.

In the Creative and Cultural Industries (CCI), non standard forms of employment are widespread. In this paper, we seek to contribute to critical consideration of options that effectively lessen insecurities for workers in the CCI, with possible broader application to the discussion around the rise of contingent, atypical work in the digitized gig economy. We critically examine the concept of new social risks as well as its implications for welfare and collective action. Drawing on interviews with more than two dozen workers in the Ontario screen industry, we construct a typology of risks incurred by these workers, assessing these risks against the current situation in Ontario regarding protections of workers and social investments in the creative industries. We then examine recent proposals for creative labour policy reform submitted by CCI trade unions and guilds in recent

policy consultations in Canada. We show that currently, access to a range of protections and benefits turns on the definition of "employee." We argue for a general solution to exclusion of non standard employment from social investments and protections, while recognizing that sector-specific initiatives and policies are essential to tackling systemic insecurity in the CCI.

Title: Regulatory convergence. A comparative study of Argentina, Brazil and Mexico media reforms

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Ana Bizberge

Email: anabizberge-xyz-gmail.com

Country: AR (Argentina)

Affiliation: Universidad de Buenos Aires

Abstract: The aim of this article is to analyze from a comparative perspective the structuring of "convergent" regulatory frameworks in Latin America, based on the cases of Argentina, Brazil and Mexico through the theoretical perspective of political economy of communication which allows understanding how technological changes and new media deepen and extend existing trends such as media concentration, commercialization of culture, among others.

The dominant regulatory tradition states the obsolescence of the vertical regulation model (by service or technology) and the transition toward a horizontal model, which involves the possibility of providing any service over any network regardless of the technology in question. This approach tends to create a level playing field for different players that provide similar services. But this discourse hiddens a debate that states the pre-eminence of General Regulation (Defense of Competition) over specific or sectoral regulations and thus, the limitation of the State's regulatory power under the premise of technological progress.

While Mexico, through the amendment of the Constitution and following the recommendations of the OCDE, deployed a regulation that established a single license for broadcasting and telecommunications and a convergent regulatory agency which soon became a model for the region, Brazil took a different approach with the enactment of different rules for different services (Marco Civil de Internet; Telecommunications Act and Seac Act of 2011 for Pay TV). Some of these regulatory instruments have opposite understandings about the role of communication and technologies. For example, the deregulatory approach of the recent changes introduced in the Telecommunications Act by President Temer contrast with the perspective of human rights of the "Marco Civil de Internet" and the Guidelines for VoD services elaborated by ANCINE. In Argentina, primarily through the enactment of decree 265/2015 and decree 1340/2017 that modified core principles of Audiovisual Communication Services Act (ACSA) and the Telecommunications Act (known as Argentina Digital), President Macri's media policy favors media and telco giants by removing media concentration limits, allowing cross ownership concentration, relaxing licensing periods, as well as creating a reulatory agency governed by the excecutive, among others. The excuse for this is to have a modern regulatory framework suitable for the digital convergence environment.

Considering that the focus of media policy is changing from concentration to convergence, the comparative analysis of regional experiences can provide a better understanding of how different countries are discussing media regulation and on what grounds.

Title: Panel: Infrastructures of Empire

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Adel Iskandar

Email: adel_iskandar-xyz-sfu.ca

Country: CA (Canada)

Affiliation: Simon Fraser University

Abstract: Paper Title: Between Collapsing Categories and Emboldened Empire. With the Arab uprisings serving as a popular confrontation with the neoliberal legacies of colonial, political rentierism, fascist militarism, and individuated identitarian politics, the possibilities of intersectional solidarity against the residues and vicissitudes of empire were both abundant and ascendant. Some six years later, the landscape of political discourse in the Middle East, North Africa, the global south and globally, has been so disrupted by normative critiques of various conflicting tropes and modalities that it has dispersed the contiguity of not only national and subnational solidarity, but also shaved off transnational social mobilization with a resurgent ultranationalism. While on the surface, it appears the rise of fascist populism both in the West and the Global South appears to present a confrontational resource-oriented competition between competing statist interests, a global political economic examination of neoliberal imperatives demonstrates that despite the collapsing categories, this fascist populism is complimentary to the infrastructures of imperial power and its surrogate outposts through national authority, global capitalism, and financial interdependence. Whether it is through population control and management, tribalized unevenness in access to and distribution of resources, and the endorsement of and financing proxied conflicts, the emboldened imperial impetus now has a populist grounding in nationalist agendas--not unlike its colonial antecedents. This paper examines these phenomena in relation to the reconstituted imperial infrastructures and their local and regional manifestations in the form of the parallel rise of fascist militarism in Egypt, the entrenchment of monarchical power in the Gulf, the ascendancy of populist Islamism across the region, the coalescence of whitesupremacist nationalist movements in Europe and the United States, the return of Russian expansionist nationalism, and the amalgamation of nationalism and capitalism in China.

Title: Panel: Infrastructures of Empire

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Omar Jabary-Salamanca Email: omar.jabary-xyz-ugent.be

Country: BE (Belgium)
Affiliation: Ghent University

Abstract: Paper Title: Unsettling Colonial Infrastructures

From America to Asia, infrastructural unrest is thriving as grassroots movements resist the privatisation of water, electricity, health, education and food systems; mobilise to stop the construction of prisons, walls and military bases; confront the laying of oil and gas pipes; challenge the expansion of highways, dams and airports; occupy banks, government buildings and squares; battle against telecommunication surveillance; and fight precarious labor conditions. These struggles—which are simultaneously local, regional and global—coalesce around and aim at the infrastructure that makes accessible, extractable, and governable resources turned into commodities, from land and water to information and bodies. As such, these communities are targeting the very foundations that enable imperialism, colonialism, capitalism and the nation-state to extend its reach and sustain through time and space. Drawing on two settler colonial cases --namely Palestine and the US-- this essay looks at the ways infrastructure constitute critical sources of oppression and social injustice by shaping racialized, classed, and gendered-based social orders. Yet, it also considers how infrastructures become a modality and language of political practice that challenges established modes of settler power. In doing so, this contribution complicates and problematizes the entangled materialities of settler colonialism and capitalism -their shared genealogy and its contested nature—to illustrate the ways infrastructure provide a terrain to think critically about politics and the political.

Title: Panel: Infrastructures of Empire

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Angela Arias Zapata Email: aaz273-xyz-nyu.edu Country: CO (Colombia)

Affiliation: New York University

Abstract: Paper Title: Media Infrastructures and Right Wing Popular Movements in Colombia Clemencia Rodríguez has argued that indigenous and peasant communities in regions devastated by the armed conflict use media technologies to resist violence and restore their social fabric. Following this logic but focusing on the analysis of social media, Hernando Rojas and Alcides Velázquez have studied online communities as a new path towards a non-violent engagement with politics, through a successful participation in a digitally mediated public sphere. In this paper, I challenge the notion that media technologies are, per se, guarantors of an effective participation of vulnerable communities in the Colombian democratic project, or a democratic alternative to politically motivated violence. I argue that media technologies' role in the political debate should not be measured exclusively in terms of their alignment to the democratic project or the notion of development. Their role is rather shaped by material conditions and linked to social and economic dynamics of global relevance; specifically, to what Achille Mbembe recently referred to as the end of the alliance between neoliberal capitalism and liberal democracy. This perspective will allow me to contrast how, on the one hand, social media has galvanized social movements struggles, which was the case of the national farmers' strike on 2013. On the other hand, it has been used to disseminate fake news and hate speech, which is the case of the NO option campaign, in the context of the plebiscite that took place on October 2, 2016 —when the peace agreement between the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia and the Colombian government was rejected by a narrow margin (4%).

Title: The Growth of Domestic Search Engines and the Development of the Online Content Market

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Sung Wook Ji

Email: mediaecon3-xyz-gmail.com Country: KR (Korea, Republic Of)

Affiliation: Hankuk University of Foreign Studies

Abstract: Extended Abstract:

A few global search engine platforms, notably Google, have achieved worldwide dominance in the search engine market. This dominance, however, raises questions about information-sharing power imbalances among countries that search engines inadvertently perpetuate. In this vein, some scholars have argued that because of Google's prominence, American content has become more easily accessible and readily available than that of other nations, ultimately perpetuating an ethnocentric worldview.

This study quantifies the economic value of domestic search engines in information-sharing. In the light of previous studies examining large countries' dominance within the media and ICT industries, this study considers this dominance in the context of Internet platforms, especially search engines. Drawing on the two-sided market theory that economists have recently proposed, the study hypothesizes that domestic search engines lead to an increase in the size of the online content markets. Utilizing various econometric techniques, this study estimates the changes in the sizes of the various online content markets caused by domestic search engines.

The results of various econometric estimates showed that the existence of a domestic search engine is a significant factor leading to an increase in the size of the domestic online content market. Taking the most conservative results, the size of the online content market in a country with a domestic search engine is, on average, 0.12% larger in terms of GDP than those without domestic search engines. This result implies that a domestic search engine may create a new economic value by boosting the domestic online content market.

The study's findings, as well as its cultural and policy-making implications, are discussed within the context of current scholarly debates about the dominance of the U.S. in the global media and ICT industries.

Title: Mapeando la diversidad del sector musical digital en España

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: J. Ignacio Gallego

Email: jigalleg-xyz-hum.uc3m.es

Country: ES (Spain)

Affiliation: Universidad Carlos III de Madrid

Abstract: A finales de 1999 se lanzaba la primera versión de Napster, el primer servicio de distribución digital de música en MP3 que transformaba de manera radical la cadena de valor de la industria musical convencional. Esa transformación se enmarcaba en un tiempo de grandes promesas alrededor de Internet y de su capacidad desintermediadora. Pero esta transformación tecnológica, como ya alertaban Jason y Mansell (1998:2), no ha operado sola y las relaciones marcadas por los intermediarios se han multiplicado, entrando en una era de remediación en la que, a las grandes multinacionales de la música, se han sumado los nuevos transatlánticos digitales de la mediación.

En España el mercado de la música grabada ha crecido en 2016 por tercer año consecutivo con una facturación que supera los 100 millones de euros en digital y con un 87% de estos ingresos provenientes de los servicios de streaming (Promusicae, 2017).

Con este punto de partida el objetivo de esta comunicación es presentar un mapeo de las relaciones que se establecen en la actualidad entre los diferentes agentes que conforman la industria musical en España en el actual proceso de transición al paradigma digital. De esta manera serán descritos, se explicarán sus relaciones y se analizará el rol y el peso que tiene cada uno dentro del sector dentro de la lógica de la diversidad.

Los artistas, las empresas productoras, los agregadores digitales, las editoriales musicales, las redes multicanal, los nuevos minoristas o plataformas transnacionales, las tiendas online y los medios de comunicación con sus nuevas herramientas de webcasting establecen nuevas relaciones con capitales de diverso origen en un entorno globalizado.

Por último hay que tener en cuenta el rol de lo que llamamos agentes anexos digitales. Intermediarios que utilizan de una u otra manera la música como uno de los elementos clave de su negocio en su interacción con los actores previamente citados. Los servicios de provisión de acceso a Internet (ISP) y los centros de datos que soportan todo lo relativo al mito de la Nube y que suponen la autopista y el almacén del contenido musical, los fabricantes de dispositivos, las aplicaciones de identificación y las empresas relacionadas con la gestión de big data serán tenidos en cuenta en el reordenamiento de la diversidad del sector musical en Internet que desarrollará esta comunicación.

Title: Stopping the spies: learning from activist campaigns about effective anti-surveillance work

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Jane Duncan

Email: jduncan-xyz-uj.ac.za Country: ZA (South Africa)

Affiliation: University of Johannesburg

Abstract: In the dying days of 2016, the British Parliament passed the Investigatory Powers Act, a law that gives the intelligence agencies sweeping powers to conduct various forms of communications surveillance, including bulk hacking. The civil society-led campaigns against this law were largely ineffective in stopping this law. In the United States, activist attempts to check mass surveillance in the wake of the Snowden revelations have met with limited success, and it is possible that any gains made will be reversed by the Donald Trump administration. In the 'brave new world' of 'Brexit' and Trump, progressive social forces that oppose the expansion of the surveillance state appear to be in retreat.

At the same time, successful struggles have been waged against unaccountable and privacy-invasive state security powers in the global South. In South Africa, civil society led an impactful campaign to stop a Protection of State Information Bill (otherwise known as the Secrecy Bill), which threatened to draw a cloak of secrecy over the country's security cluster. While the Bill has been sent to President Jacob Zuma to sign it into law, it has languished on his desk for the past three years. In Mauritius, a series of campaigns against the government's intentions to introduce a biometrically-based 'smart' identity card has forced the government to dismantle the national database that enabled 'one-to-many' searches.

Drawing on these positive and negative examples, this paper will seek to answer the following questions: Why have there been such major setbacks to anti-surveillance struggles in the North, and what has it been about the character of these struggles? What resistance practices have succeeded in engendering effective opposition to surveillance and privacy violations? What social forces and actors are most likely to mount successful resistance and under what conditions are they most likely to succeed? What organising concepts are needed to galvanise mass opposition to these practices: is the concept of privacy, for instance, up to the task?

In exploring these questions, it contributes to a growing body of literature on privacy, surveillance and resistance, but from a Southern perspective and with a particular bias towards working-class political and social movements as actors. These questions are important because - in spite of some gains - the public outrage in the wake of the Snowden revelations has not translated into sustained collective action against mass surveillance, which has exposed some of the limits of Nongovernmental Organisation-led privacy advocacy. In this regard and drawing on the work of Fuchs (2011), it will consider the contributions that political economy theory can make to shaping resistance concepts and practices, with a particular emphasis on theory that is agentially-focussed.

References

Christian Fuchs, 2011, 'Towards an Alternative Concept of Privacy', Journal of Information, Communication and Ethics in Society 9(4): 220-237.

Title: An Analysis of Agencies in the Field of Taiwanese Detective Novels Production

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: LIOU RAY JING

Email: ss12516.cts97-xyz-g2.nctu.edu.tw

Country: TW (Taiwan)

Affiliation: ss12516.cts97-xyz-g2.nctu.edu.tw

Abstract: Since 2000 A.D, lots of translated detective novels have being published in Taiwan, and noted American and Japanese novelists come to Taiwan to do signing for new novels, which demonstrates that translated detective novel is popular in Taiwan. Nevertheless, seldom local detective novels are published in the large market of detective novel. The paper quoted the theory of field of cultural production by Pierre Bourdieu, and analyzed how the creators and cultural intermediaries' form of capitals have constructing the production mechanism and logistics process of local and foreign novels in order to understand how the market of detective novels in Taiwan are dominated by foreign products.

The significance of research is to reflect the structure and limit of popular novel publishing industry and to analyze the creative writing through the approach of political economics. The result attempts to understand the limit of local detective novel industry, hoping to provide much possibility for local writers while confronting the dominance of foreign products in the tendency of globalization. The paper also intended to explore the way Western genre influenced the creating of popular literature in a Asian country like Taiwan.

As for the research method, the paper adopts second documentary analysis and in-depth interview. The former is to calculate the published detective novels from 2001 to Sep. 2015 sold in the dominant on-line bookstore, "Books", in Taiwan to understand the trend in recent 15 years; the latter is to interview 15 related agencies including writers, editors, translators, and managers of bookstore to explore the process of every agency interact with each other through their own capitals and form the production mechanism and logistics process.

The results contain 2 following issues. First, local production has re-starting since 1980's after a long-time decline, while the publishers in West and Japanese have developed into matured system and produced well-known novelist every years. In contrast with spending large money to cultivate local writers, domestic publishers prefer to produce noted foreign works and select the novels through their taste. Secondly, literary awards serve as the way local writers enter into the field of cultural production and dominate the aesthetics of detective novel in Taiwan. The creators receive symbolic capital through awards, and even obtain the social capital through more opportunities of publishing or cooperation with other related organization. Nevertheless, the publishers mainly promote those local works through the reputation of awards, so the novelists are still little-known in the popular market.

As a consequence, the market of local detective novels is forced to be the field of restricted production as a result of being supplanted by translated novels. The local works can only be published through literary awards, causing the production of local detective novels to become popular literature of niche market.

Title: CONDICIONES DE PRODUCCIÓN DE LA NOTICIA EN LAS REGIONES DE COLOMBIA Y SU INCIDENCIA EN LA CALIDAD DE LA INFORMACIÓN Y LA FORMACIÓN DE OPINIÓN PÚBLICA

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Daniel Guillermo Valencia Email: dvalenci-xyz-javeriana.edu.co

Country: CO (Colombia)

Affiliation: Pontificia Universidad javeriana

Abstract: Esta propuesta surge de dos proyectos de investigación en el campo de la economía política de la comunicación que se realizaron entre 2012 y 2015: el primero, fue un estudio enfocado en lo que se conoce como Bogotá – Región Centro, titulado Industrias Mediáticas Regionales en Colombia, con el apoyo de COLCIENCIAS. El segundo abarcó diez ciudades capitales de departamento de Colombia, titulado Indicadores de Desarrollo Mediático en Colombia, con el apoyo de la UNESCO.

Entre los hallazgos y conclusiones a que se llega en ambos estudios, teniendo en cuenta la diferencia en tiempos de recolección y análisis de la información, y en los espacios geográficos donde se realizaron las dos investigaciones, llama la atención el tema de las condiciones laborales, sociales y políticas de los periodistas, que en el desarrollo de ambos proyectos denominamos los productores de la noticia. La situación laboral de la mayoría de los periodistas (130 entrevistados en total) se puede resumir como precaria y lesiva. Pero además de que son presa de presiones políticas, muchos de ellos están en condiciones de vulnerabilidad, en tanto en el cubrimiento de la información actúan inermes frente a las amenazas que provienen de diferentes actores armados ilegales que operan en las diferentes zonas del país.

El análisis, y la propuesta de esta ponencia no se limita a la descripción de las condiciones descritas atrás, sino que estos hallazgos se interpretan desde el enfoque de la economía política de la comunicación, a partir de las teorías expuestas por David Harvey, en su obra sobre la Breve Historia del Neoliberalismo, útiles para analizar el contexto histórico y político del conflicto capital/trabajo en los actuales tiempos. También se elabora el análisis teniendo en cuenta los desarrollos teóricos de Christian Laval y Pierre Dardot acerca de cómo, en la nueva razón del mundo que impone el neoliberalismo, la flexibilización laboral direcciona las políticas laborales y sociales en las sociedades capitalistas. Un tercer autor, que se usa para el análisis de esta ponencia es Richard Sennett y sus tesis sobre la corrosión del carácter en la globalización neoliberal y las nuevas formas de trabajo que han surgido con el desarrollo tecnológico. Por último, el análisis se apoya en las teorías del brasileño César Bolaño sobre la subsunción del trabajo en las industrias culturales, y cómo esto hay que estudiarlo a la luz de la estructura de propiedad de los medios de comunicación. El análisis se cierra describiendo cómo esta situación laboral, social y política, tiene una fuerte incidencia en los relatos periodísticos de las regiones, y cómo los productores de la noticia en Colombia se ven abocados a sortear diariamente la precariedades, los riesgos y amenazas que les circundan, en desmedro de la información que reciben los ciudadanos, lo cual se refleja en una débil contribución del periodismo regional a la formación de la opinión pública en dichas regiones.

Title: PANEL: Money Drives' Conflicts and Contestations in China's Market-Oriented Internet

Growth

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Changchang Wu

Email: wuchangchangpkk-xyz-163.com

Country: CN (China)

Affiliation: Eastern China Normal University

Name: Fandong Meng

Email: m275912619-xyz-163.com

Country: CN (China)

Affiliation: Eastern China Normal University

Abstract: Paper title: The Chinese Snipe-Hunting of Didi Chuxing: Policy, Financial Capital and the Uncertain Future of the Sharing Economy

In the first decade of the 21st century, China witnessed the seemingly boundless rise of two forces: the information revolution and financial capital. As a matter of fact, China has already been associated with optimistic predictions on the advent of the new economy characterized by relentless growth and entrepreneurship, which poses a sharp contrast to what Dan Schiller has depicted as "digital depression" around the capitalist world.

The rises and (uncertain) falls of the Unicorn Company Didi Chuxing, which enters into China's vast market, competes and then merges with UberChina by virtue of its astonishing cash flow through financing, have been the epitome of the sharing economy under implosive government regulations. This is a topic that worth academic reflection.

The article examines the power relations behind the recent policies regulating and delimiting the taxi-hailing online services such as Didi Chuxing. It further elucidates the complexities, uncertainties and inherent paradoxes of sharing economy euphoria and financial excitement around China in the past decade. The main argument is that the recently successive snipe-hunting Didi Chuxing by the local governments, compared to the central government (including the Department of Transportation) that preferred to classify it into the sharing economy, embodies the gradually deeper conflicts between local and central politics. More profoundly, it depicts a typical scenario faced by the governments and commercial capital, in which the new economic strategy launched by the central state has not been welcome but sometimes boycotted by the parochialism of the autonomous and separate local governments. In addition, the reinforcement of trade barriers against taxi-hailing services shows how local taxi corporations that had enjoyed the long-time political privilege "wins the primary" against the high-tech companies. A political economic research of China's regulations on the new economy that are inherently multi-constituent, cross-field and transsectoral can illustrate the geo-political, institutional and societal dimensions of this "critical moment."

Title: Audience activities on digital media: leisure or labour'

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: gabriela raulino

Email: gabrielaraulino-xyz-yahoo.com.br

Country: BR (Brazil)

Affiliation: universidade federal do rio de janeiro (UFRJ)

Abstract: The concept of audience labour was introduced to the political economy of communication by Dallas Smythe four decades ago. In the twenty-first century, this interest has resurged among scholars, especially through the concept of Digital Labour. However, the unclear distinction of audience labour features has leaded to either its generalization or denial. After all, what are the boundaries between leisure and labour? The aim of this paper is to discuss the conditions that delineate such different audience's experiences on digital media. It argues that digital media's capacity of surveillance and the monopoly of database generated from it have benefits capitalism, but do not implies on generalization of labour. The monopoly of audience practices' environment can be useful at least in two ways: a) to boost consumption and shape experiences; b) to transform consumption also in production (Alain Toffler).

Talking about labour and consumption-becoming-production requires to consider a well-defined

Talking about labour and consumption-becoming-production requires to consider a well-defined framework. Departing from the Political Economy of Communication, and following Karl Marx's theories, audience labour can only be explained by clarifying the link between exploitation and capital accumulation – which is missed in several approaches of Digital Labour, as will be showed along this research. In this sense, we argue that audience labour occurs on advertising-based media such as Facebook, Google and Youtube. The access is free of charge because the economic model is based on selling targeted ads spaces, which directly depends of user activities' surveillance. Without audience activities (sharing pictures, liking post, watching or downloading videos) there is no "source" of trade. So, audience create value along with contract employees (developing platforms) and, therefore, are unpaid labour.

On the other hand, this paper will also discuss model of capital accumulation based on selling of products (access, commodities), which uses audience surveillance to "improve" their service and sales. One example is Netflix using big data to give users the programs they want. Even usergenerated-data helping companies, audience are not labouring because are not producing value: they are consumers. The same applies to Pandora, Itunes, among others. The selling of cultural products depend of audience to be sold, but not to be created. In this point, such restructuration of media corporations towards a perspective of "walled gardens" will be briefly discussed. The main argument in this research is that audience labour is not revealed from the practice's features or from audience's feelings about exploitation, but from the way practices are subsumed into a capital accumulation process — most of times without the consent of users. Through this whole discussion, this paper aims contribute to comprehension that digital media has increased capitalism potential in different ways, therefore, understanding audience involvement is an important subside for thinking alternatives and struggles against exploitation.

Title: Creative Clusters and the Struggle of Migrant and Ethnic Economies in East London

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Patria ROMAN VELAZQUEZ Email: P.Roman-Velazquez-xyz-lboro.ac.uk

Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: Loughborough University London

Name: Shinjoung Yeo

Email: S.Yeo-xyz-lboro.ac.uk Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: Loughborough University London

Abstract: "Cultural clusters" within the "creative" or "new" economy have been much promoted by policy makers around the global North and increasingly the global South as a strategy for urban redevelopment. With the promise of economic prosperity and salve from chronic poverty, these clusters are often built around old industrial sites in inner urban cities where the urban poor reside and migrant and ethnic communities are attracted to establish their businesses and informal networks of communities. However, the consequence of the boosterism of "cultural clusters" has resulted in the displacement and destruction of the working poor and local micro-economies that have long been the fabric of these communities. This paper deploys the case of Stratford and its surrounding areas in East London -- some of London's most deprived and ethnically diverse neighborhoods -- to demonstrate how cultural cluster-led urban redevelopment impacts local micro economies and the urban poor.

Under the rubric of "creativity" and "innovation", Stratford, part of post-2012 London Olympics urban development, is undergoing radical change as the area is being rebranded as an "Heritage and Cultural Quarter (HCQ)," assembling established museums, universities, and art venues alongside the Westfield Mall, one of the largest malls in the UK. This culture-led urban redevelopment on its face is supposed to enrich the lives of local people, celebrate diversity, and open up new social, cultural and economic opportunities for the surrounding communities; however, in reality it has been designed to attract fresh foreign capital investment, urban middle- and upper classes, and those diverse ethnic communities branded as "authentic" and the creatively surviving local micro economies by ethnic minorities and working class are being marginalized if not completely displaced.

This paper, in particular, focuses on the intersection between urban redevelopment within a rapidly changing political economy, working class, micro-migrant- and ethnic economies in inner urban areas to seek to understand the strategies that are deployed as these stressed communities attempt to survive and remain economically viable and relevant to shifting populations.

Title: Donald Trump and Affective Media Power

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Olivier Jutel

Email: olivier.jutel-xyz-gmail.com

Country: FJ (Fiji)

Affiliation: University of the South Pacific

Abstract: The emergence of Donald Trump as president of the United States has defied all normative liberal notions of politics and meritocracy. Attempts by journalists and politicians during the campaign to fact-check, debunk and shame Trump proved utterly futile or counter-productive. He revels in transgressing the rules of the game and is immune to the discipline of his party, the establishment and journalistic notions of truth-telling. This paper will argue that Trump's rise can be explained by his wielding of affective media power. Trump is not simply a media savvy showmen, he embodies the centrality of affect and enjoyment/jouissance to contemporary political identity and media consumption. He draws on the affective labour of an audience movement to defy the strictures of the professional fields of journalism and politics.

Affective labour through media prosumption is dependent upon new media discourses of empowerment and critical political potential. Fox News and the Tea Party were early exemplars of the way in which corporate media can utilize affective and politicized social media spaces for branding authenticity (Jutel 2013). Trump is an affective media entrepreneur par excellence able to wrest these energies of enjoyment and antagonism from Fox and the Republican party. He operates across the field whether narcissistically tweeting, appearing on Meet the Press in his private jet or as a guest on Alex Jones' Info Wars. He is a product of 'mediatiaztion' (Strömbäck & Dimitrova, 2011), that is the increasing importance of media across politics and all social fields but the diminution of liberal journalism's cultural authority and values. In wielding this affective media power against the traditional disciplines of journalism and politics, he is analogous to the ego-ideal of 'communicative capitalism' (Dean, 2009). His own improbable run to the presidency personified the neo-liberal ethic to publically enjoy, become an object of desire, be open to new possibilities and ruthlessly maximise opportunities (Hearn, 2016).

The success of Trump has not simply revealed the frailties of journalism and liberal political institutions, it undermines popular and academic discourses about the political potential of affective media. The optimism around new forms of social media range from the liberal fetishization of data and process, to left-wing theories of affect in which affect presages a latent humanism (Papacharissi, 2015). Where the political impact of social media was once synonymous with Occupy Wall Street, the Arab Spring and direct democracy we must now add Donald Trump and the so-called "alt-right". While Trump's politics are thoroughly retrograde his campaign embodies what is "new" in the formulation of new media politics. Trump's campaign was based on a thoroughly mediatized constituency with very little "ground game" or traditional political machinery, relying on free media coverage and the labour of social media users. Trump's campaign is fuelled by the jouissance of hacker nerd culture synonymous with the "weird Internet" of Twitter, 4-Chan and reddit. For Trump's online alt-right army he is a paternal figure of enjoyment elevating ritualized transgression to the highest reaches of politics.

Title: Modos de vida, conocimiento y capitalismo en perspectiva histórico-estructural. Para una crítica de la comunicación para el desarrollo en América Latina.

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Cesar Bolaño Email: bolano-xyz-ufs.br Country: BR (Brazil)

Affiliation: Federal Sergipe University

Name: Mauricio Herrera-Jaramillo Email: mauricio.herreraj-xyz-gmail.com

Country: BR (Brazil)

Affiliation: University of São Paulo

Abstract: Dos movimientos sucesivos marcan el proceso histórico que lleva del pre-capitalismo, bajo el comando del capital mercantil europeo, a la Revolución Industrial y la implantación del modo de producción capitalista: uno de acumulación primitiva de conocimiento que, en el caso de la producción mercantil marca la transición del artesanado medieval a la industria, en el periodo manufacturero, y otro, de subsunción por imposición de conocimiento, en que el capital se vale de los desarrollos tecnológicos para revertir la relación sujeto-objeto e implantar su propio modo de producción.

Al contrario de lo que ocurriera en los países del centro, en América Latina, el progreso tecnológico hizo de la dependencia cultural un problema estructural del subdesarrollo. Es Celso Furtado quien aclara este problema, al incorporar el concepto antropológico de difusión cultural para entender la histórica dependencia cultural que América Latina ha vivido desde el momento mismo de la reconfiguración de su inserción en el mercado mundial durante la segunda mitad del siglo XIX y posteriormente, a lo largo del siglo XX, cuando para acompañar la diversificación de patrones de consumo, se hizo necesario canalizar parte del excedente hacia la compra de tecnología, promoviendo el enraizamiento de la dependencia cultural en el sistema de producción, enmascarando este problema bajo una suerte de dependencia tecnológica.

Este trabajo parte de la idea de que, para el mundo rural, el proceso histórico en mención se da en un periodo más amplio de tiempo y de que, específicamente en el caso latinoamericano, el segundo movimiento sólo pudo desarrollarse con la consolidación de la hegemonía norteamericana tras la segunda postguerra. Ese movimiento de reconfiguración de las relaciones internacionales comandado por EEUU estuvo sustentado en una doble estrategia de difusión científica y penetración cultural, lo que hará con que la combinación de diversos actores institucionales (capital privado, gobiernos, banca, etc.) promuevan a través de novedosos modelos de educación y comunicación, formas de desintegración de las comunidades, vía reorganización social y productiva (transformación de los modos de vida), todo esto basado en la deslegitimación de las prácticas y conocimientos tradicionales, con el objetivo de incrementar la productividad y con ello la explotación del trabajo.

Al menos tres cambios institucionales sustentaron este movimiento: la implantación del Plan de Desarrollo Agrícola para América Latina, en 1941, la creación del IICA, en 1942, y la creación del CIESPAL, en 1958. Convergiendo en lo que se conocerá como la Revolución Verde, a través de una serie de proyectos de alfabetización, extensión rural, programas de crédito, entre otros, apoyados en los medios masivos de comunicación y la educación, primero, serán deslegitimados los conocimientos tradicionales, para en seguida, imponer una comprensión del mundo preestablecida.

Se demuestra así el eufemismo de que el subdesarrollo es resultado de la difusión del progreso tecnológico, pues en realidad lo que se difunde es una forma de vivir, que implica la desarticulación del sistema de valores preexistentes.

Title: The Invisible Machinery of Digital capitalism

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: ShinJoung Yeo

Email: sjdiscordia-xyz-gmail.com Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: Loughborough University London

Abstract: Today, digital capitalism grips every sector of the world's economy as it reorganizes everything from agriculture to manufacturing to transportation to finance to education to health to entertainment. As the political economy is being restructured toward information, social and economic activities are increasingly mass digitized, computed, commercialized and commodified. Every day, 2.5 quintillion bytes of data are generated as we search, exchange emails, post messages on social media, watch movies, use mobile phones, take transportation, scan credit cards, operate web businesses etc. The question arises: where are these data physically located? In some "Cloud"?

The term "cloud," in fact, conceals the massive industrial scale of the physical network infrastructure that drives digital capitalism, as if our activities over the Internet transcend the physical realm and turn to vapor on the Internet; but every bit and byte is firmly rooted in physical infrastructure. (Yeo, 2016). This paper seeks to investigate the political economy of network infrastructure centered around large-scale data centers where much of the world's produced data are stored and processed.

There is an arms race going on among Amazon, Microsoft, IBM and Google (AMIG) in building data centers. These 4 companies control more than half of the global cloud infrastructure which enables them to deliver various computing services at scale -- servers, data storage, databases, software, networking etc. While their concentration of power, facilitation of state surveillance and environmental consequences are rightly criticized (Mosco 2014); there is little research on the actual physical infrastructures and their role in supporting capitalist economy.

To facilitate their myriad digital consumer-, governmental-, and enterprise businesses, US Internet giants are investing millions of dollars every year to data center infrastructure, associated technologies and equipment as well as land, electrical power and policy grabbing, even establishing submarine cables to speed up data traffic by interlinking distributed mega data centers strategically located in the Americas, Asia, Europe and Africa.

Currently, Amazon runs 38 data centers, IBM 50, Microsoft 18, and Google 15 respectively. And this number does not include their leased colocation facilities that are provided by data center companies like Equinix which owns more than 100 data centers around the globe. This paper examines AMIG's data centers – the machinery of digital capitalism – to elucidate how physical network infrastructure, physical landscape, and related policies are being organized to serve capitalism's new accumulation projects within a changing political economy.

Title: Consuming justice: Technology news and electronic waste

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Brenna Wolf-Monteiro Email: bwolf-xyz-uoregon.edu Country: US (United States) Affiliation: University of Oregon

Abstract: The social and environmental impacts of consumer electronics and information communications technologies (CE/ICTs) reflect dynamics of a globalized and interdependent world. During the recent era the global consumption of CE/ICTs expanded greatly while the infrastructure behind CE/ICTs, especially the extraction and disassembly phases, became more integrated. My research examines how messages about the social and environmental impacts of CE/ICTs changed during this period and explores the discursive power of actors involved in environmental justice campaigns surrounding the disposal and disassembly of electronic waste (e-waste). My paper works towards expanding Parks and Straosielski's (2015) question, "What would it take to arouse greater public interest in media infrastructures?" by assessing a key period in media history. For a brief time, the social and ecological injustice behind the infrastructure of CE/ITC consumption was covered regularly by the media. Consequently, there was a period of more public interest in media infrastructure issues.

This research explores how environmental justice activists tried to change the unjust "circuits of exploitation" surrounding CE/ICTs during the early 21st century through media and policy campaigns (Brophy & de Peuter, 2014; Chen, 2006; Dyer-Witheford, 2015). This paper, as part of a larger mixed-methods research project, presents some of the results of a quantitative content analysis of twelve years of media coverage of electronic waste. The analysis examines almost 800 articles from eleven media outlets between 2002 – 2013 and examines differences between legacy media coverage (e.g. The New York Times, USA Today) and coverage from digital news outlets focused on technology (e.g. Ars Technica, CNET, Gigaom, Gizmodo, and IDG publications). These popular technology news sources are under studied in communications scholarship but are an important location of the "naturalizing process" in CE/ICT infrastructures (Acland, 2015).

When the story of e-waste began to gain traction in media outlets, the haze of commodity fetishism cleared for a brief moment and the social relations of exploitation behind the wonders of technology were included in media narratives. While the media coverage about e-waste initially examined environmental justice issues of pollution and labor exploitation, the coverage evolved into focusing on the technical and business solutions to managing the environmental problems and the growth of a private sector profiting from mineral reclamation through electronics recycling. This paper presents some of the findings of the study which show that over time, issues of exploitative e-waste labor conditions, environmental injustice surrounding electronics disposal and structural critiques of mass consumerism of CE/ICTs became absent once again in media coverage of e-waste. One of the aims of this research project is to investigate how quickly, what actors and which narratives were used to encourage a redirection of attention – away from the exploitation and back towards the future and the continuation of consumption of CE/ICTs.

Title: Dealing with imaginaries and dispossession. Two cases in Cartagena de Indias

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Santiago Alberto Burgos

Email: santiago.burgos-xyz-utadeo.edu.co

Country: CO (Colombia)

Affiliation: Universidad Jorge Tadeo Lozano

Abstract: El Papayal neighborhood and the settlement of Barú have been scenarios of two different forms of dispossession and marginalization within the unequal development model of Cartagena de Indias, Colombia. They are two cases of local version of [modern] capitalism imposed on certain classes to generate its own conditions of reproduction, mainly from what David Harvey calls accumulation by dispossession. They share a common feature: the management of the imaginary to justify or cover up violation of the right to the city [inhabit the city]. This common feature is also a contradiction in the urban planning discourse of Cartagena and in the means and resources related to its circulation: two confronted forms of the imaginary that Daniel Hiernax calls Patrimonialism [historic, cultural preservation, and museum] and Postmodernism [privatization, tourism, recreational and spectacular industries), respectively. El Papayal was deprived of its space and of its memory, by managing a historical patrimonialist imaginary; and Barú is being banished "in the name of" the wealth and potential of a coastal marine ecosystem. This paper shows how the management of two opposed imaginaries relates to the dynamics of dispossession, in favor of the construction of an unequal geographical-urban development model in the city. Thus, it compares two dynamics of marginalization that reveal segregation movements in development and their discursive equivalents, with their respective institutions and information and communication apparatuses: the exclusion from central areas occupied by popular classes, and the marginalization of segments of population that occupy these suburban zones. It also allows us to cross two conditions of marginalization within the structure of relations of the city: ethnicity and class. Taken together, these two allow a portrait of the pyramid-like socioratial structure, managed by the local urban model where the imaginary management is equivalent but differentiated.

Title: Networked control and networked resistance in Turkey's authoritarian neoliberal turn

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Aras Coskuntuncel

Email: ac7682a-xyz-american.edu Country: US (United States) Affiliation: American University

Abstract: In Madrid, Istanbul, Rio de Janeiro, and elsewhere across the globe, recent protests are part of a wave of anti-neoliberal struggles that bear core similarities in mobilization, repertoire, demography, performances, and the use of networked information and communication technologies. They are urban. They largely rely on relationships of affinity and emphasize decentralized and networking modes of resistance. They use networked communication technologies and challenge the neoliberal politics of a decentralized, flexible production regime, in which control and surveillance are increasingly centralized with the employment of the same technologies. And—importantly—these protests expire soon after they start, often without any significant achievement in reversing the neoliberal project.

In Turkey in 2013, frustrated by what was happening in the streets, the government's brutal response, and mainstream media coverage, the masses turned the Gezi Park protests into a nationwide anti-government and anti-neoliberal movement marked by the use of digital technologies. The authorities also used the same technologies to surveil, suppress, and control. In addition to state surveillance and state-sponsored propaganda campaigns, the ruling elites are privatizing governance by outsourcing censorship and surveillance to private intermediaries on behalf of their own interests: In the aftermath of all recent turmoil and upheavals in Turkey, police found and detained many dissidents based on their communications on networking sites, and Twitter, YouTube, and Facebook shuttered accounts and censored statuses per government requests. The relationship between these companies and the government, based on the privatization of governance, since the Gezi protests has developed enough that in five months after the failed coup in 2016, 1,213 users were arrested during the purge while, according to the state-run Anatolia news agency, these intermediaries provided real-time data to help Turkish authorities identify them. Focusing primarily on Turkey's neoliberal authoritarian turn and the 2013 Gezi protests as part of a larger global trend, this paper analyzes new tactics of information control while exploring the dialectic relationship between the changes in the organization of capitalist accumulation (from Fordist to flexible/neoliberal), the process of urbanization, the changing emphasis in the mode of resistance (from centralized to networking), and the role of networked information technologies within these processes. Based on personal interviews, this ongoing project also aims to explore how protesters experience, negotiate with, and resist the realities of surveillance, exploitation, and privatization of governance. The cycle of value from production to realization ties these moments and processes together, and what emerges is the social origins of technological change and network technology's contradictory roles in the rate of profit, control, and resistance.

Title: A historical critque and reappraisal of public sphere theory. 17th Century Pamphlets as Constituents of a Public Communications Space:

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Pascal Verhoest

Email: pascal.verhoest-xyz-vub.ac.be

Country: BE (Belgium)

Affiliation: Vrije Universiteit Brussel

Abstract: Historical literature on pamphlets and pamphleteering in the 17th century is characterised by contradictory interpretations. An important difference concerns the notion of the public sphere. For some, pamphlets contributed to paving the way for the 17th century public sphere. For others, pamphlets were mainly an instrument for the manipulation of public perceptions. In exploring these contradictory arguments, this article reviews Habermasian public sphere theory and in particular his failure, according to his critics, of establishing the 'bourgeois public sphere' as an historical category. This paper argues that the 17th century's culture of pamphleteering created the space for a proto-public sphere, characterized as a complex network of discursive practices mixing commercial doggerel, state-sponsored propaganda and reasoned argument. These practices were part of contradictory but mutually constitutive processes in the context of religious and political struggles that coincided with the gestation of parliamentary democracy and capitalist market economy.

Title: Panel: Class, Culture, Resistance, and the Media

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Milly Williamson

Email: milly.williamson-xyz-brunel.ac.uk

Country: GB (United Kingdom) Affiliation: Brunel University

Name: Andrew Calabrese

Email: calabrese.andrew-xyz-gmail.com

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: University of Colorado, Boulder

Name: Deirdre O'Neill

Email: dierdre.oneill-xyz-brunel.ac.uk

Country: GB (United Kingdom) Affiliation: Brunel University

Name: Lisa Blackman

Email: l.blackman-xyz-gold.ac.uk Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: Goldsmiths College, University of London

Name: Annabelle Sreberny Email: as98-xyz-soas.ac.uk Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: SOAS, University of London

Abstract: After decades of neoliberal insistence that class no longer exists, class has once again become a salient issue in Anglo-American media, but its re-emergence is shot through with complications. From the rise and spread of reality TV formats that vilify working class participants, to the circumscribed class depiction of Trump and Brexit supporters, to the portrayal of the displacement of working class communities as 'regeneration', and attempts to misinform working class consumers about the very stuff of life – food – the media have played an important role in framing the re-entry of the category of class into the wider cultural lexicon. This panel examines these manifestations of class in the context of the ongoing (failed) project of neoliberalism, the continuation of austerity (punishing the working class for the failures of financial and government elites) and the growth of the authoritarian right. It challenges the media construction of essential elements of working class life in this context – food, shelter, politics and identity – and considers the difficulties of, and possibilities for, working class resistance. For, despite these complexities, the return to class also brings back into focus questions of resistance, alternative futures and hope. This panel wants to open up a conversation about how new resistant forms of class consciousness might come into being by proposing different approaches to class identity and resistance.

Andrew Calabrese opens the discussion with an examination of 'agnotology', - a way of understanding the cultural production of ignorance. Calabrese examines the corporate and government public relations efforts to suppress knowledge about food safety and to instil doubts

and confusion about the science on this fundamental aspect of life. He examines the negative impact of campaigns of distortion on the formation of working class consciousness and suggests that agnotology affects the most vulnerable most deeply. Dee O'Neill examines another fundamental of life, shelter, to suggest that what government and media define as 'regeneration' and 'gentrification' are actually processes of colonisation in which working class neighbourhoods and communities are broken up and displaced by more dominant cultural classes. She examines the role of the media in normalizing the colonization of everyday space by redefining it as regeneration. Milly Williamson focuses on the media construction of working class identity in three key areas - the vilification of welfare 'scroungers', the portrayal of working class youth on reality TV as feckless, vain and excessive, and through Brexit, the portrayal of the working class as 'white', xenophobic and uninformed. She contrasts this to the growth of intersectional class solidarity and new forms of resistance which reject this class denigration. Lisa Blackman concludes by proposing 'radical indeterminacy' as a way of imagining alternatives to the reactionary politics of the present. She explore the capacity of media and media aesthetics to shape new imaginaries that can anticipate futures different to now and proposes that we must attend to classed understandings of who we are that include the often neglected effective and bodily experiences of class subjectivities.

Title: PAPER: Shields and Swords: Media Industry Trade Associations in the 21st Century

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Patrick Jones

Email: patrick.jones4-xyz-gmail.com

Country: US (United States)
Affiliation: University of Oregon

Name: Janet Wasko

Email: jwasko-xyz-uoregon.edu Country: US (United States) Affiliation: University of Oregon

Abstract: In 2014, the Sony Corporation's email hacks revealed the Motion Picture Association of America's (MPAA) "attorney general project." According to the emails, the MPAA was using its enormous influence to influence State Attorney Generals to promote SOPA* and PIPA** style antipiracy legislation at the state level in the US. However, the real target of the MPAA's maneuverings was Google (codenamed "Goliath"), whose voluntary compliance with some of the MPAA's demands fell short of the trade association's expectations.

The ensuing struggle between the MPAA and Google exposed the extensive and subterranean role that media/information trade associations (MITAs) often play in the policy process. The example also illustrates the diversity of interests represented by MITAs. For instance, the MPAA lobbies on behalf of the motion picture industry, however, Google is a member of the Internet Association. How are we to reconcile a media environment where the issues of Google are profoundly at odds with interests of content-providers like the film studios?

While the importance of trade associations is anecdotally clear, there has been little systematic engagement with them either empirically or theoretically in media/communications studies literature. This paper addresses this blindspot by delineating the diverse activities pursued by these MITAs. We discuss the ways that these activities clash and coalesce as MITA's try to coordinate the interests of powerful corporate actors within a specific industry, weaponize those actors' resources in a variety of policymaking structures, create and institutionalize policy problems, provide political cover for their membership, and struggle to define the policy boundaries of the media industry. The study focuses on the MPAA, the National Association of Broadcasters, and the Internet Association as case studies.

Through this analysis, we argue that MITAs have institutionalized themselves as formative power players in the media industries with broader political goals than the specific agendas of their corporate partners. Overall, we offer this paper as a provocation for further research on these important issues by other scholars.

^{*} Stop Online Piracy Act

^{**} Preventing Real Online Threats to Economic Creativity and Theft of Intellectual Property Act of 2011

Title: Class, Brexit and Trumpism

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Lisa Blackman

Email: l.blackman-xyz-gold.ac.uk Country: GB (United Kingdom)

Affiliation: Goldsmiths College University of London

Abstract: We are witnessing and living through the re-entrenchment of nationalisms, fundamentalisms, conservative masculinities and femininities, a reactionary politics of white supremacy, and the possible extinction of the planet or at least the human as a species. In this context, how can we imagine alternatives? This paper will explore the capacity of media and media aesthetics to shape new imaginaries that can anticipate futures different to now. I will suggest that in contrast to reaction, spaces such as universities, galleries, art schools, in queer forms of activism and engagement, on the streets and in our own private miseries we might be drawn to philosophies of radical indeterminacy (politics that recognise the radical indeterminacy of the human). I explore what is often disavowed, disqualified, or made obsolete by some versions of this politics – the question of subjectivity or subjectification to use a Foucauldian term – the processes and practices through which we come to particular understandings about ourselves and others. My argument will be that if we are going to realise the potential of radical indeterminacy we must attend to the classed forms of subjectivity and the psychosocial – those classed understandings about what and who we are, which profoundly shape thought, feeling, action and reaction right to the bottom – to the visceral, the affective, the bodily. They urgently need our critical attention too, and are so often overlooked in theorising which presumes communication is fundamentally rational or about the development of spaces that facilitate communicative rationalities. The paper will offer some examples from my forthcoming book, Haunted Data: Transmedia, Affect, Weird Science and Archives of the Future, to explore what is at stake for media aesthetics of the future that are able to offer alternative imaginaries that can deal well with class, race, gender, and sexuality.

Title: PANEL CARBON CAPITALISM AND COMMUNICATION

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Benedetta Brevini

Email: benedetta.brevini-xyz-sydney.edu.au

Country: AU (Australia)

Affiliation: THE UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY

Abstract: PANEL DESCRIPTION Chair: Professor Graham Murdock

Panelists: Dr Benedetta Brevini, Professor Justin Lewis, Professor Richard Maxwell, Professor

Patrick Mccurdy

There is now widespread agreement that even if increases in carbon emissions are kept to the 2 degree Celsius international target, there will still be severe ecological impacts and there is no certainty that this target is achievable under current conditions. The initial surge of optimism that followed 2015 Climate Summit in Paris (COP 21) has increasingly given way to pessimism about the prospects of a concerted response. As a result there is now a mounting consensus that we are likely to face a continuing and intensifying climate crisis. Communication systems are playing a central role in this crisis, for four reasons

Firstly, as the major spaces of public representation and debate they are the key agencies organising, and disorganising, public understanding of causes, consequences, and possible solutions. Secondly, as predominantly commercial enterprises dependent on advertising revenues they actively promote an ideology of accelerated consumerism that sustains the ecologically destructive pursuit of economic growth.

Thirdly, as assemblies of machines and infrastructures they deplete scarce resources in their production, consume increasing amounts of energy in their use, and exacerbate problems of waste and disposal.

Fourthly, in their 'alternative' and oppositional forms they play important roles in organising and sustaining opposition, protest and resistance and in securing support for ecologically supporting sustainable practices.

Media and communication researchers have responded to the growing centrality of climate change as a public issue by developing environmental communication as a recognised focus of teaching and research, as evidenced by recent anthologies and the launch of a dedicated journal. Most work in this area to date however, has focussed on mapping media coverage and public debate around climate change. As recent commentators have noted, this concentration of effort has left other major links between communications and climate crisis less well served. There are growing bodies of work on corporate strategies for influencing debate and public perceptions, on the role of commercial media in promoting an ethos of consumerism that sustains environmentally destructive ideologies of growth, on the problems of resource depletion, energy consumption and disposal posed by communication technologies, and the on role of communications in climate activism, But these contributions have tended to appear in separated locations and across a range of disciplines outside communication and media studies, from political science and alternative economics to risk research.

This panel will present findings from an edited volume Carbon capitalism which will be published by Palgrave in August and aims to provide a comprehensive, authoritative, overview of the current state and future challenges for research and debate on communication and climate crisis.

Title: PANEL CARBON CAPITALISM AND COMMUNICATION

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Benedetta Brevini

Email: benedetta.brevini-xyz-sydney.edu.au

Country: AU (Australia)

Affiliation: THE UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY

Name: Terry Woronov

Email: terry.woronov-xyz-sydney.edu.au

Country: AU (Australia)

Affiliation: University of Sydney

Abstract: Paper title: Nothing but truthiness in Australia: public discourses on the Adani

Carmichael mine

Post-truth has been celebrated by the Oxford and Maquarie Dictionaries as the 2016 Word of the Year, after dominating media and political discourses during the American Election campaign and the Brexit debate in the UK. Defined as 'relating to or denoting circumstances in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief' (Oxford dictionaries, 2016) post-truth politics has thus identified as a hallmark of the current era in the US and UK, thus downplaying the fact that forms of political communication and spin that favoured feelings and emotions over policy are spreading globally. To explore some of the ways that post truth politics and "truthiness" are not only "American"/British phenomena will look at the way in which politicians and the media in Australia have debated the establishment of the one of the biggest coal mines in the world, the Adani Carmichael mine in central Queensland (Taylor and Meinshausen,2014: Amos and Swann, 2015). We suggest that post-truth politics is not merely a replacement of 'truth' with 'lies', but instead a complex, overlapping set of discursive strategies that work together to produce very particular political effects.

Title: PANEL CARBON CAPITALISM AND COMMUNICATION

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Patrick Mccurdy

Email: pmccurdy-xyz-uOttawa.ca

Country: CA (Canada)

Affiliation: THE UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY

Abstract: Paper Title: Bearing Witness and the logic of Celebrity in the Struggle over Canada's Oil/Tar Sands

Referred to as "oil sands" by industry proponents and "tar sands" protestors, this chapter examines how environmental movements against bitumen development have set out to navigate a media saturated political environment and secure both visibility and legitimacy for their claims. The chapter's empirical material is based on analysis of 96 96 acts of political contestation pertaining to Alberta's bitumen between January 2007 and January 2016. Drawing on della Porta and Diani's (2006) concept of activist logics, the chapter charts the use of "bearing witness" as a media-orientated and media conscious protest strategy used by environmental groups to contest the bitumen sands. However, the chapter also documents the wide use of celebrities in tar sands protests including celebrity interventions and celebrity site visits. Specific attention is paid to the anti-tar sands actions of celebrities Neve Campbell, Neil Young, James Cameron and Leonardo DiCaprio. The chapter concludes by arguing that "the logic of celebrity" must be acknowledge as a fourth activist logic which underwrites, orient, facilities and constraints political action.

Title: PANEL CARBON CAPITALISM AND COMMUNICATION

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Justin Lewis

Email: LewisJ2-xyz-cardiff.ac.uk Country: GB (United Kingdom) Affiliation: Cardiff University

Abstract: Paper Title: Digital Desires: Mediated Consumerism and the Climate Crisis
The media and communications industry is not commonly considered among energy and transport
as one of the world's biggest climate culprits. Yet the media sector is almost uniquely destructive in
that it is structured to profit from creating as much electronic waste as possible through planned
obsolescence. This business model relies on selling hardware with a built-in expiry date, becoming
outdated and requiring replacement within two years. Some companies have gone further by taking
measures to prevent consumers from extending the life of their devices. The environmental
consequences of resulting hyper-production cycle are crippling, with the majority of CO2 emitted
by such devices being produced in the manufacturing stage. Meanwhile, advertising is seeping
further into media content to promote rampant consumerism, extolling the pleasures of consumption
as a balm to any environmental impact. Curtailing this consumption presents a more difficult sell

Title: PANEL CARBON CAPITALISM AND COMMUNICATION

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Richard Maxwell

Email: richard.maxwell-xyz-qc.cuny.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: Queens College CUNY

Name: Toby Miller

Email: tobym69-xyz-icloud.com Country: GB (United Kingdom) Affiliation: Loughborough University

Abstract: Paper Title: The struggle for green citizenship: environmental organizations between activism, advocacy and policy

This paper focuses on the environmental impact of media and information and communication technologies (ICTs) and the challenges that green citizens and environmental groups face in greening their use of ICTs. For most of us, media technologies hardly seem like the kind of human creation that could cause any significant environmental harm. Media certainly appear to be a clean industry, especially electronic and digital media. Books too seem to provide low wattage entertainment and enlightenment, while movies and TV shows emit no apparent exhaust. Smartphones glow with an aura of clean energy as they link us to networks that have come to epitomize the post-industrial era, a time far removed from the realities of smokestack capitalism. With this benign view of media technology, it's no wonder that media scholars, commentators, and school curricula have virtually nothing to say about media technology's impact on the environment. In response, we began a research project over a decade ago that we hoped would disabuse media and communication

Title: De las Encuestas Nacionales de Consumo Cultural a las Cuentas Satélites de Cultura. Economía de la Cultura y Consumos Culturales.

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Carlos Enrique Guzmán Cárdenas Email: cguzmancardenas-xyz-gmail.com

Country: VE (Venezuela)

Affiliation: Instituto de Investigaciones de la Comunicación de la Universidad Central de Venezuela

(ININCO-UCV)

Abstract: El consumo cultural como problema objeto de estudio desde la mirada de los públicos, audiencias y/o receptores tiene un espacio propio de conocimiento y desarrollo investigativo en América Latina y el Caribe en los últimos 25 años. En el marco de la formulación de políticas públicas culturales y comunicacionales, los países latinoamericanos han procurado por definir el perfil de la demanda cultural con la aplicación de Encuestas Nacionales de Consumo Cultural hasta el diseño de Cuentas Satélites de Cultura que tiene como finalidad reunir en un cuadro contable coherente el conjunto de flujos económicos relacionados y establecer los vínculos entre las diferentes manifestaciones del campo cultural. De allí, que Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, República Dominicana, México y Brasil se incorporen en la construcción institucional de una visión prospectiva sobre los cambios en la producción, circulación y consumo de nuestros productos culturales, proporcionando información general sobre hábitos, prácticas/asistencia y gastos realizados por los hogares en la adquisición de bienes creativos-culturales. Aunque en la tradición norteamericana y en algunos países de Europa los estudios de públicos, consumo cultural y economía de la cultura tienen una larga tradición, en América Latina y el Caribe solo a partir de finales de los años ochenta comienzan a desarrollarse -de manera más o menos sistemáticainvestigaciones con sustento empírico en este campo de las ciencias sociales, influenciados por ciertos nexos críticos que van desde los análisis de los contenidos y mensajes producidos por los emisores (grandes medios de comunicación e industrias culturales) hasta lo que hoy puede referirse a un abordaje de las prácticas e imaginarios culturales de los latinoamericanos desde una compleja perspectiva de lo que entreteje la comunicación en este ejercicio de producción, circulación, apropiación de significados y sentidos que se liga a lo cultural. Particularmente, el reconocimiento de la importancia cada vez mayor de la implicaciones económicas de la cultura y el impacto productivo del sector cultural-creativo impulsaron a instituciones regionales y nacionales a ocuparse por identificar la oferta y la demanda cultural, algunas cuantificables y otras no, con el fin de configurar patrones de usos y apropiación simbólica en nuestra geografía cultural latinoamericana. Pero también, desde la teoría económica del consumo cultural surgirán inquietudes centrales para el diseño de unas políticas culturales genuinamente democráticas e incluyentes: ¿Qué diferencia a los hogares que gastan en cultura de los que no lo hacen? Entre los que gastan, ¿qué diferencia a los que gastan mucho y los que gastan poco? En otras palabras, ¿qué dificulta la activación (o una mayor activación) de la demanda cultural?. De esta forma, algunos desplazamientos fundamentales facilitaron el inicio y tratamiento conceptual en torno a lo que entendemos por consumo cultural pero hoy se hace necesario examinar en forma conjunta, desde la Economía de la Política Cultural, las múltiples dinámicas y tendencias en la producción, circulación y consumo de la cultura en el espacio latinoamericano.

Palabras claves: Economía de la Cultura, Consumos culturales, Cuentas Satélites de Cultura, Economía de la Política Cultural.

Title: Trabajo, cultura y creatividad: autonomia/heteronomía de los "emprendedores de la música"

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Verlane Aragão Santos Email: velorca2010-xyz-gmail.com

Country: BR (Brazil)

Affiliation: Universidade Federal de Sergipe

Abstract: Expresiones como "economía creativa" y "emprendimiento cultural" comenzaron a poblar el vocabulario de los trabajadores de la música en Brasil recientemente, pero crudamente. Insertadas en un más amplio marco ideosocial reflejan, al analizar las diversas dimensiones de los fenómenos que combinan, las contradicciones que definen la realidad de los artistas actualmente en el mundo. Las transformaciones técnicas que han llegado al mercado de la música en general y al "hacer música" en particular se toman con gran optimismo por agentes que operan en el sector. La digitalización, como un proceso más profundo que es la reestructuración del modo capitalista de producción en sí mismo, y con ello la reestructuración de la industria de grabación, como conocida en todo el siglo XX, dibujan un escenario complejo donde se puede ver las posibilidades de autodeterminación, en que la relación artista/público puede darse sin la mediación de la industria cultural tradicional, sino de una nueva : el internet. El presente trabajo pretende analizar la contradicción autonomía/heteronomía de los trabajadores de la música bajo la lógica de la Internet (BOLAÑO et al, 2007), teniendo em cuenta las etapas de producción, distribución y comercialización de contenido musical (PRESTES FILHO et al, 2004; SANTOS et al, 2014), desde las afirmaciones incrustadas en las nociones de "economía creativa" (BOLAÑO, LOPES, SANTOS, 2016) y de 'emprendeduría cultural' (BRAGA, 2015), que son ejes estructurales de las propuestas de las instituciones supranacionales, como la UNESCO, las instituciones nacionales como el SEBRAE, y políticas públicas para la cultura en el país, del partido de los trabajadores, con los gobiernos de Lula y Dilma. Para ello, es necesario recuperar el proceso histórico de la música, en términos de una economía política de la música (ATTALI, 1995), destacando la transición de la fase la representación para de la repetición, con la aparición del fonograma, es decir, de la mercancía. Además, comprender el músico/artista como trabajador (MENGER, 2003), destacando la heterogeneidad de su inserción en la sociedad, su especificidad en relación con el proceso de creación y su acercamiento a los trabajadores en general, experimentando la flexibilidad y la precariedad en sus relaciones laborales.

Title: Moving hegemony in the Mexican television scene

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: ENRIQUE ERNESTO SANCHEZ-RUIZ

Email: enrisanchez-xyz-prodigy.net.mx

Country: MX (Mexico)

Affiliation: UNIVERSITY OF GUADALAJARA

Abstract: Moving hegemony in the Mexican television scene?

Enrique E. Sánchez-Ruiz

Paper proposal.

It is well known that the Mexican twentieth century developed under the sign of concetration, especially television. Besides the market power that ensued from the oligopolistic market structure, the tight links of the leading company, Televisa, with the Mexican governments, generated political power for this firm. Analysts described it as an important de facto power. There is even the version that Televisa's support was a fundamental factor for Enrique Peña Nieto's winning the presidency in 2012.

The paper tries to ascertain whether or not the 2013 Reform of Telecommunications and Broadcasting, along with the technological changes that have occurred during the last decade, have weakened the power position of Televisa. In the economic arena, the leading media firm has had to make plenty of organizational and programmatic changes, in order to keep up with new conditions of competition, brought about by both the Reform, but especially also by the new platforms that the technological chance has allowed to enter the country, from abroad and from within the nation.

Title: Los tiempos largos de los medios indígenas en Latinoamérica: transformaciones político identitarias desde mediados del siglo pasado

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: María Magdalena Doyle

Email: magdalenadoyle-xyz-gmail.com

Country: AR (Argentina)

Affiliation: Centro de Estudios Avanzados de la Universidad Nacional de Córdoba

Abstract: La participación indígena en medios masivos de comunicación reconoce, en Latinoamérica, una trayectoria cuyo origen puede situarse a mediados del siglo pasado. Desde entonces, muchos pueblos y organizaciones comenzaron a ser parte de radios impulsadas principalmente por la Iglesia Católica. Se trataba de emisoras nombradas como medios campesinos, educativos, mineros o populares (sin referencia a la indigeneidad de sus miembros), pero que al mismo tiempo destacaban la centralidad de la presencia indígena en sus producciones y audiencias. Aquellas experiencias se constituyeron en los primeros ámbitos desde los cuales muchos indígenas comenzaron a utilizar los medios como lugares de expresión de la palabra silenciada y, paulatinamente, en tanto ámbito público y referente de la acción política de sus luchas por derechos: principalmente, derechos al reconocimiento como pueblos y al territorio.

A principios de los 90, en el marco del proceso de "emergencia indígena" que tuvo lugar en el continente (Bengoa, 2009), comenzó un período de visibilidad pública de gran cantidad de experiencias de comunicación masiva protagonizadas por pueblos indígenas y que se autoidentifican en referencia a la indigeneidad de sus miembros.

En esta ponencia proponemos abordar las transformaciones político identitarias de ese sujeto político indígena que fue emergiendo en Latinoamérica demandando por sus derechos en relación al ámbito de la comunicación pública mediatizada. Y realizamos dicho abordaje analizando la inscripción de esas transformaciones en los tiempos largos de cambios políticos, económicos y culturales que exceden al ámbito específico de los medios: transformaciones en las disputas en torno a los modos de nombrar(se) la indigeneidad y de concebir la constitución poblacional de las naciones; transformaciones económicas producto del desembarco del neoliberalismo en este continente; y las estrategias que en ese marco se dieron los pueblos indígenas para visibilizar y legitimar sus luchas (De la Peña, 1995;Bengoa, 2009; Menéndez, 2010). En otras palabras, nos referimos a las transformaciones de dispositivos de poder que fueron fijando condiciones de existencia diferenciales para los sujetos desagregados en uno y otro lado de la marcación étnica relativa a la indigeneidad, reconfigurando las modalidades hegemónicas de visibilización de dicho pueblos (Briones, 1998).

Para esta ponencia trabajamos, además de con bibliografía específica, con fuentes documentales (cartillas, libros y páginas web producidas por experiencias de comunicación indígena, donde se describen origen y trayectoria de esos espacios y declaraciones producidas en encuentros indígenas de carácter continental) y fuentes primarias (entrevistas semiestructuradas y observación participante realizadas en eventos que nuclearon a experiencias de comunicación indígena de distintas regiones de Latinoamérica).

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Title: The Complex Terrains of Post-Legislation Media Reform in Ecuador

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Sanjay Jolly

Email: sanjay.jolly-xyz-asc.upenn.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania

Abstract: The communication agendas of South America's left-wing block – Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, Uruguay, and previously Argentina and Brazil – constitute the most ambitious mediarelated political projects in the world today. In the 21st century, each of these countries has pursued constitutional and legislative reforms to reconfigure their media systems. Interested parties diverge considerably in how they choose to interpret this agenda. On one extreme is an embrace of the reforms as a process of democratization while on the other is a rejection of the reforms as repressive, propagandist, and antithetical to democratic governance. Mostly absent from this polarized discourse have been empirical assessments of the community media policies that are a central pillar of the left-wing reform agenda.

Although concerned theoretically with South America as a whole, this paper focuses on the case of media reform in Ecuador. In particular, it analyzes the implementation of Ecuador's Organic Communication Law from the perspective of community media actors. This paper is based largely upon fieldwork conducted in Ecuador from September 2015 to July 2016. Notably, this period includes the government's application window ("concurso") for community broadcast licenses. The field research methods included unstructured and semi-structured interviews with activists, policymakers, and media professionals, as well as participatory observation of the media activist organization Coordinadora de Medios Comunitarios Populares y Educativos del Ecuador (CORAPE). In addition, I rely upon evidence from the relevant English-language and Spanish-language literatures and primary sources including government documents, local commentary and news coverage, and publications from civil society groups.

The aim of this paper is to examine some of the major contradictions of the South American Left's media reform agendas. To that end, this paper uses Ecuador as a case study to interrogate three closely related phenomena. First, it investigates the limitations that arise when radical media reforms are embedded within incomplete and imperfect socialist projects. My fieldwork revealed deep disaffection among community media actors towards the government's implementation of the communication law and frustration with the impenetrability of bureaucratic decision-making. Second, the paper explores the tensions media reformers face as they navigate a dependence upon the state alongside significant antagonisms to the state. The uncertainty of state commitments to media democratization, and the complex relationships between civil society and left-wing populist governments, condition what may emerge from still-immature community media projects. Third, the paper discusses the implications of recent geopolitical shifts for media reform efforts in South America. I argue that shifting government strategies and the potential for electoral swings to the right place severe pressures on the strategic relationships media reformers have maintained with the state over the previous decade.

Building upon work from Philip Kitzberger, Maria Soledad Segura, Silvio Waisbord, and others, this paper aims to contribute to a rich, growing literature addressing the political economy of media

reform in South America. Given the importance of the region for global resistance to neoliberal media hegemonies, critically oriented communications research in Ecuador has promise to inform policymaking and civil society praxis well beyond its borders.

Title: Transforming Culture & Politics: The dynamics of digital divide and exclusionary critique in India's communication and mediascape.

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Sanjay Bharthur

Email: bpssn54-xyz-gmail.com

Country: IN (India)

domestic dispersion.

Affiliation: University of Hyderabad

Abstract: That India has a significant media and communication system is well established. It is evidenced by the sheer volume and spread of media access and consumption. India in the preglobalisation era and dynamics was also an active site for political economy (PE) discourses with regard to development discourses and theories and choice of satellite technology as the hub for such an expansion. The Literature surrounding the textbook case of Satellite Instructional Television Experiment (SITE) demonstrates the range of concerns embedded in that choice.

A new perspective about both the traditional impact of media on politics and the spread of the so-called new media and its significant incorporation into a strategizing factor during the last general election has rekindled a macro policy initiative through digital India. This is in continuation of the legacy of the missing link argument in the 1980s. This inadvertently has crept into the discourse of social, cultural and financial exclusion and inclusion that propels a new communication environment. This context is acute in countries such as India historically arraigned for many forms of political and economy asymmetry. In this emerging context, the terrain between traditionally understood media dynamics and new media has undergone a transformation about content and

Adopting the PE economy framework that analyses the relationships between institutions and the gaps that emerge in implementation of policies including exclusion and marginalisation, this paper will provide a macro framework of the digital India discourse and its implementation. It will follow with an empirical framework of the integrated perspective of traditional and new media. New social movements that question the philosophy of surveillance based communication infrastructure and entitlements are under scrutiny by the civil society. Newer forms of revenue maximization in entertainment and news sector will shift the traditional perspective of media and development.

incorporation of a new constituency that capitalizes on the demographic dividend aspect of India's

Title: Chinese hierarchical network society as a model

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Jan Miessler

Email: jan.miessler-xyz-gmail.com Country: CZ (Czech Republic)

Affiliation: Hong Kong Baptist University

Abstract: While China has emerged as a major alternative to Western paradigm of liberal capitalist democracy, its way of dealing with internet is becoming a model for other non-democratic countries to emulate. The control mechanisms patiently fine-tuned by the Chinese authorities present a surprisingly successful attempt at imposing a "modern" hierarchical Leninist superstructure on a supposedly anti-hierarchical or "postmodern" network structure of the internet. Recent studies often emphasize antagonistic character between the party-state structure, atomized society, and the new communication technologies and present the situation as a "dialectical struggle" between contradictory elements may lead to perceiving these elements as somewhat equal and sustain hopes for eventual democratization caused by that struggle. However, any democratization "caused" by the internet or by the people toppling the regime is quite unlikely as the internet control mechanisms together with other repressive and ideological state apparatuses are now very efficient in surveillance and elimination of potential threats and thus the balance of power has been lately tending overwhelmingly in party-state favor. While any challenge the status quo cannot needs to become visible and materialize in the offline world, becoming vulnerable to the regime's surveillance and repression, the vigilant party-state with its vast resources is able to turn the networked nature of the internet to its own advantage. Therefore, an opportunity for a democratic change can be more likely created by a failure of the imposed hierarchical control mechanisms that would be linked to some future crisis of the party-state itself, rather than by any of the new media technologies, contradictory logic of the marketplace and political control, or direct social activism. The Chinese case suggests that the key issue might be alienation of the workers running the vast control apparatuses. Despite their increasing efficiency, these control mechanisms cannot be made totally autonomous on human operators or on party-state leadership because they are tools of the leaders who themselves need to remain beyond their reach, and because for a successful control of the online communication it is necessary to be able to grasp its meaning. Yet, although there are volunteer activist who perform various tasks related to the control over the online communication because of their political values, the core of operators of the control mechanisms are simply paid employees whose primary motivation is to earn their wages and perform their task of protecting the regime with only lukewarm engagement. At the same time, the Chinese case suggest that online challenges to the regime might be creative and surprising and need active engagement from the control mechanisms' operators. If any crisis of the government would radically raise the level of alienation of the operators, it is possible that the control mechanisms alone – in other words, the structures without the agents – would not be able to deal with a challenge to the status quo coming from the people. It remains to be seen how efficient will be similar designs in other countries that lack the China's political centralization, cultural unification and historical experience.

Title: Learning from Ghost Ship: The Role of DIY Creative Spaces in the Cultural Industries

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Miranda Campbell

Email: miranda.campbell-xyz-ryerson.ca

Country: CA (Canada)

Affiliation: Ryerson University

Abstract: In a post-Richard Florida era, the city is increasingly championed as the key locus of investment for the cultural industries. While large-scale initiatives seek to create creative zones in cities, small-scale and emerging forms of creative practice increasingly struggle to find space in rapidly gentrifying urban landscapes. DIY spaces can often act as launching pads in artists' careers, and are also often inclusive spaces that welcome diverse performers and audiences without a drive to make profit or expand into larger-scale forms of creative practice.

In 2016, a fire at the Ghost Ship warehouse space during an electronic music party in Oakland, California killed 36 young musicians and artists; in his response, President Obama noted that "Oakland is one of the most diverse and creative cities in [the United States]," and the fire was "one of the worst ... in the state's history." The Ghost Ship warehouse operating as a live-work artist space without proper permits or zoning is not atypical for DIY spaces. Using the Ghost Ship fire as a leading example, this paper will survey the conflict between the mandates and practices of the Floridian "creative city" and DIY creative spaces. After identifying the need for DIY spaces, this paper will turn to case studies of Pied Carré in Montreal and Acme Studios in London, two artist advocacy groups dedicated to issues of artist spaces, in order to examine potential solutions to the precarious and dangerous nature of many DIY creative spaces.

Title: Free Trade and Notice and Takedown: Copyrights, Users' Rights, and the Future of Digital Politics

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Justin Francese

Email: jfrances-xyz-uoregon.edu Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: University of Oregon, School of Journalism and Communication

Abstract: Laws that limit internet service providers' (ISPs) liability from copyright violations on their servers rely on a mechanism of enforcement known as "notice-and-takedown" that ensures that copyrighted works are quickly deleted from a given digital platform. As legislated in the Digital Millennium Copyright Act (DMCA) in 1998 in the U.S. and the EU e-Commerce directive (ECD) in 2000, a rights holder submits a short notice to an ISP saying that it is aware that a user has posted copyrighted content and the ISP is obligated to promptly take the content down. In practice, noticeand-takedown has been shown to have far-reaching implications for the rights of users, as it is prone to abuse through use of fraudulent notices and extra-judicial takedowns of non-copyrighted content. An examination of notice-and-takedown's inclusion in free trade agreements, from the U.S.-Chile Free Trade Agreement (FTA) in 2004 to the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) in 2016, not only shows the geographic expansion of a solution established in the political context of the United States, but also represents the transformation of users' rights from the U.S. model. However, noticeand-takedown, as a project of U.S.-led negotiators and other global elite networks, has faced serious political challenges from social movements and from within the free trade negotiations themselves. In these fora, negotiating teams from Chile and Canada have been able to carve out exceptions, built on other mechanisms that are more protective of speech rights. And, negotiating teams from other countries have also challenged the United States Trade Representative in this area. In this comparative study, I will look across time to analyze and interpret how these agreements legislate notice-and-takedown: The U.S.-Chile Free Trade Agreement (FTA), The Australian-U.S. FTA, The Central American FTA, The Korea-U.S. FTA, The Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement, The Trans-Pacific Partnership, and The Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership. Each of these agreements includes a slightly different version of protocols for limiting internet service provider liability in terms of the rights of users to contest a notice and the burden placed on the rights holders to validate their claims of infringement. Secondly, I will examine the implications for human rights and digital politics of each version of notice-and-takedown and review the legal research and analysis available to assess how these issues are being framed in the literature across disciplines.

Title: "Fake news,' "alternative facts,' and shutting up the media: How the rancorous battle between the new U.S. president and the U.S. media impacts democracy

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Kris Kodrich

Email: kris.kodrich-xyz-colostate.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: Colorado State University

Abstract: The U.S. news media and the new U.S. president appear to be increasingly at war with each other. Journalists now routinely label statements by President Donald J. Trump as false, misleading and even lies. Print, broadcast and digital reporters claim the president and his administration regularly make misleading statements and deliver falsehoods in public statements, at press conferences and in interviews. The White House, meanwhile, often accuses the news media of providing "fake news." The president and his staff claim journalists distort, misrepresent and outright make up the news. President Trump's chief strategist says the media should keep "its mouth shut." Another top advisor boasts of the need for "alternative facts." This study utilizes a qualitative content analysis, including discourse analysis and framing analysis, to explore the reporting of such claims of falsehoods by both sides. It examines news stories and editorial comments in both the national media, such as the New York Times and CNN, as well as in the regional media, such as the Denver Post, which strongly criticized Donald Trump for his falsehoods in an editorial titled "Lying Donald Trump can't be trusted, and that needs to stop now." From a political economy perspective, this study closely examines the battle that pits two powerful elite forces against each other: the mainstream press and the presidential administration. Studies have shown that how the media gather and shape the news influences how people perceive the impact of news events on their own lives and also can affect attitudes and behaviors. News coverage can help shape the public's awareness of political and social problems. Likewise, researchers have determined that the selection, emphasis or exclusion of particular facts and ideas provides a certain context – or frame – to the reader or viewer of news coverage. This study examines how the framing of news content involving President Trump and the news media elevates particular aspects of reality that may serve elite societal forces. Some political-economy scholars have noted that the growing power of big media companies can have a detrimental impact on democracy. Media ownership and the profit motive affect the media messages. Political economists argue that democracy is threatened by the interconnections among media, big business and government.

This study concludes that the unprecedented tension and rancor between the national's political leaders and the nation's journalists is a dangerous threat to democracy. It also offers some advice to both journalists, who are eager to report the "truth," and citizens, who are eager to receive news coverage that is accurate, fair and unbiased. The need for media literacy in society is more urgent than ever. Democracy is dependent upon a truthful, courageous press and a well-informed, discerning public.

Title: Sins of Attraction: The Political Economy of Media and Magnets

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Zane Griffin Talley Cooper Email: zane.cooper-xyz-asc.upenn.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: The Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania

Abstract: The cloud is an enigmatic concept. It is at once a singular, ontological place-holder for massively complex, interdependent, and perpetually performative processes, as well as an active relationship with our information that has come to almost ubiquitously usurp previously dominant modes of media relation. However, the popular image of the cloud as a bodiless, perpetually elastic, and scalable entity elides the voluminous mass of concrete, wires, servers, and energy required to construct, maintain, and power the global functionality of these services. This paper critically engages with this material mass in an attempt to disentangle and reveal the political economic complexities of large digital platforms that rely substantially on the viability of enormous physical infrastructures to maintain their presence and value. Focusing specifically on the material role of cloud platforms (like Google, Facebook, and Amazon) as archivers and stewards of the world's information, this study traces the simultaneously expanding and consolidating infrastructural oligopoly within which these services operate. Within this frame, I seek to understand how the wider data storage infrastructure is physically constructed and maintained. Through a structural analysis of the data storage supply chain, this paper considers how the construction of hard disk drives impacts the political economy of cloud computing, attending expressly to the necessity of rare earth permanent magnets to the historical sustainability of the 3.5" Winchester hard disk form factor – still the foundational building block for cloud servers worldwide. I argue that the physical construction and maintenance of data storage and management platforms like Google and Facebook have been and continue to be effectively shaped and driven by the interdependent political economies of the hard disk drive industry, permanent magnet manufacturing, and the rare earth mining and processing industries. This paper will analyze the permanent magnet manufacturer Magnequench (formerly based in Indiana, and now predominantly in China) as a case study to illustrate how a complex web of far-flung companies from otherwise disparate industries connect and rely on each other. Understanding the place of Magnequench within the larger context of hard disk drive construction helps to bring into focus the circuitous dirt-to-data paths that have helped shape the political economy of digital media. In illuminating these relationships, I hope to call attention to not only the structural inequities involved in the construction of our digital world, but also to the invisible, subaltern industrial laborers who manufacture and maintain this allegedly postindustrial age.

Title: Tasas y cuotas: ¿nuevas medidas para salvaguardar la diversidad en el audiovisual digital'

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Luis Alfonso Albornoz Email: laalbornoz-xyz-yahoo.com

Country: AR (Argentina)

Affiliation: University of Buenos Aires

Abstract: Se ha convertido en un lugar común señalar que la expansión de las tecnologías digitales ha transformado profundamente el funcionamiento de la producción, distribución y disfrute de los bienes y servicios ofertados por las industrias culturales. Sin duda, estos cambios traen aparejadas posibilidades de enriquecimiento de la diversidad de las expresiones culturales; por ejemplo, reforzando la difusión de contenidos de todo tipo y ampliando el acceso a los mismos. Sin embargo, al mismo tiempo, el nuevo paisaje digital despliega una serie de desafíos a enfrentar. Como señaláramos (Albornoz 2015), la promoción de redes y soportes digitales reavivó un discurso tecno-determinista que establece una relación directamente proporcional entre tecnología digital y diversidad cultural: a mayor tecnología digital, mayor diversidad cultural. Desde esta óptica, la problemática de la diversidad queda reducida a la conectividad y el papel de los Estados confinado a garantizar un marco de seguridad jurídica a las empresas prestadoras de bienes y servicios. Este discurso, sin embargo, muestra sus limitaciones al desconocer fenómenos como la emergencia de potentes plataformas transnacionales de comercialización de bienes y servicios culturales online, en las cuales con sus particulares lógicas y prácticas pueden perjudicar la diversidad cultural. La fuerte concentración empresarial a escala internacional, las estrategias de evasión fiscal, el tratamiento de ingentes cantidades de datos sobre los usuarios o el rodeo a los dispositivos nacionales de apoyo a las producciones independientes son preocupantes características de la actuación de las plataformas transnacionales en línea. Frente a un escenario que 'calls into question the regulatory and financial (particularly tax) provisions established to ensure the availability of cultural goods and services, for which new policies and measures are required' (UNESCO 2015: 3), delegaciones gubernamentales y entidades de la sociedad civil vienen manifestando la necesidad de examinar el impacto de las tecnologías digitales y promover la modernización de las políticas y herramientas culturales en la era digital (Guèvremont 2013; Beaudoin 2014; Kulesz 2014; Rioux et al. 2015). En este sentido, esta comunicación examina dos tipos de acciones que forman parte de las agendas políticas de numerosas autoridades. Por un lado, comenzar a gravar las plataformas de video-ondemand, independientemente de sus modelos de negocio (subscripción, pay per view o publicidad) y otros servicios electrónicos ofrecidos a través de la nube. Por otro, demandar a las distintas plataformas en línea que sus respectivos catálogos ofrezcan contenidos producidos localmente, y que estos tengan suficiente visibilidad.

A través de la exposición de distintas iniciativas, se concluye, por un lado, que la tendencia a aplicar tasas específicas sobre transacciones digitales transfronterizas y destinadas a consumidores finales aún no está generalizada y su derrotero enfrenta trabas de distinto calibre, y que la implantación de gravámenes en los diferentes mercados irá acompañada de un aumento del precio final de las subscripciones. Por otro lado, en tiempos de los algoritmos de recomendación de contenidos y de la sofisticada elaboración de perfiles de usuarios con fines comerciales la mera inclusión de una determinada producción en un catálogo no garantiza su efectiva visibilidad y, consecuentemente, potencial disfrute.

Title: From Copper Cable Capitalism to the Geopolitical Economy of the Global Internet Infrastructure

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Dwayne Roy Winseck

Email: dwayne_winseck-xyz-carleton.ca

Country: CA (Canada)

Affiliation: School of Journalism and Communication, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada

Abstract: According to many observers, the project of neoliberal economic globalization from the 1980s through to the early 2000s remade the world in the image of the United States. The liberalization of global telecoms and internet policy bypassed the multilateral framework developed by the International Telecommunications Union (ITU) over nearly a century-and-a-half in favour of the World Trade Organization and country-to-country trade agreements, flanked by the multistakeholder model of "Internet Governance" and backstopped by the US Government's control over the Internet Domain Name System. Seen from the angle of Susan Strange's (1988) work, these developments set the framework and rules within which telecommunications and the internet have evolved since. The growing clout of US internet giants like Amazon, Apple, Facebook and Google, and the US State Department's 'internet freedom' agenda, have only reinforced such views, as have the disclosures by Edward Snowden since 2013 of the US National Security Agency-led worldwide internet surveillance program. However, this paper argues that while US-based internet giants dominate some of the middle and top-layers of the internet – operating systems (iOS, Windows, Android engines (Google), social networks (Facebook), online retailing (Amazon), TV (Netflix), browsers (Google Android, Apple iOS, Microsoft Explorer) and domain names (ICANN), they do not rule the 'guts and the gears' of the internet: e.g. the optical fibre submarine cables, bandwidth wholesalers, content distribution networks (CDNs), autonomous network systems (ANSs), internet exchange points (IXPs), and so forth – the hardware, or material infrastructure upon which the internet and everyday life, the economy, finance, governments, business, society and war increasingly depend. In fact, ownership and control of core components of the global internet infrastructure is tilting steadily toward the rest-of-the-world, especially the BRICS countries (i.e. Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa). These trends reflect the fact that the United States' economic and geopolitical position in the world is declining and an evermore multi-polar world arising. As a result, rather than American internet imperialism, the idea of a "Federated Internet" seems to look more realistic all the time (Noam, 2013).

Title: Time, Global Capitalism and the Anthropocene: an ideology critique

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Wayne John Hope

Email: wayne.hope-xyz-aut.ac.nz

Country: AU (Australia)

Affiliation: Auckland University of Technology

Abstract: The first part of this paper explains how the socio-ecological and time-related features of the Anthropocene epoch are intergral to global capitalism. Evidence from geology, climatology, global ecology, atmospheric chemistry, geo-chemistry and oceanography suggests that the Earth as a system has experienced a historic step-change in the relationship between the human species and the natural world. Human action and Earth dynamics have converged, they can no longer be seen as disparate entities. Human inhabitants of the planet have perpetrated, and are facing, unprecedented environmental shifts. They include biodiversity loss, anthropogenic climate change and disruptions to the carbon cycle and nitrogen cycle. In a warmer world and an impoverished biosphere multiple risks emerge; melting ice flows, rising ocean acidity, catastrophic weather events, damage to agriculture and unequal social suffering. Most centrally, the switch from an organic surface energy to an underground fossil energy has widened the gap between the time of the earth and the time of human history. This divergence of natural and human times was coterminous with the externalisation of nature as a resource for humanity. Understanding the relations of power involved here requires, theoretically, that we rethink the emergence of industrial capitalism in the context of a world system premised upon unequal socio-ecological exchange between core and periphery regions. Since the 1980s the emergence of global capitalism has intensified the anthropogenic feedback loops associated with climate change and reconfigured the organisational frameworks of profit extraction and unequal socio-ecological exchange. I refer here to the transnational systems of petrochemical capitalism, agri-business, financialisation and advertising/commodity fetishism. The second part of this paper explains, from a time-related perspective, how conventional representations of anthropogenic climate change occlude the world-ecological fusion of global capitalism and the Earth system. To this end I will discuss ideological discourses concerning climate change which thematise vivid symptoms over structural causes, the global 'we' over differentiations of social suffering, the inevitability of biospheric deteroiration over climate justice politics and the humanitynature opposition over that between fossil capitalism and the ecological commons.

Title: The Skills Training, Corporate Humanitarian Complex and New, Heterogeneous Actors in Reshaping Civil Society

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Sreela Sarkar

Email: ssarkar-xyz-scu.edu Country: US (United States) Affiliation: Santa Clara University

Abstract: In the last decade, ICT-led, skills training programs have been celebrated in policy discourse as a leveling or flattening force that will enable marginalized youth to participate with equity in India's "emerging economy." More than half of India's 1.2 billion people are estimated to be under the age of 25 years. While there is emerging ethnographic research on the subjects for popular ICTD (Information and Communication Technologies for Development) initiatives in the global South, there is comparatively less work on the new cultural producers or initiators of these projects. As the private sector increasingly supplements or even replaces the social service functions of the state, corporations emerge as powerful actors in redefining civil society. My focus on this paper is on a new set of heterogeneous, corporate actors who train subaltern youth in IT and soft skills that include hygiene and self-presentations. These actors include IT, white collar professionals. They also increasingly include a more heterogeneous group of cultural producers and trainers from India's "rising middle-class" who are increasingly re-shaping development enterprises for marginalized youth.

Following the work of feminist and critical ethnographers of globalization and media (Abu-Lughod, 2005; Abu Lughod, Ginsburgh & Larkin, 2002; Mankekar, 1999; Mazzarella, 2003; Rajagopal, 2001), my multi-method study focuses on an acclaimed ICT-led skills training initiative by the world's largest IT education firm ITIT. My research includes in-depth participation observation, interviews, and media analysis of publicity materials to study interconnected institutions, markets, and communities at the urban peripheries of New Delhi in "resettlement colonies" and "urban villages."

Theoretically, my paper draws from debates and discussions on "the growing power of corporate humanitarian complexes (Ong, 2006, p. 24). I engage in debates about new capitalists who draw on an ethos of incorporating the primacy of the market with human values in order to create an entrepreneurial, societal change (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2005; Chakravartty & Sarkar, 2013; Gooptu, 2009; Peters, 2001; Sarkar, 2016). Additionally, my paper engages with growing debates about India's heterogeneous new middle-class and their role in redefining civil society (Baviskar & Ray, 2011; Chakravartty, 2007, Irani, 2015; Harriss, 2006).

I argue that India's new capitalists or white-collar IT workers constitute unsettled subjects who experience the contradictions of flatter management structures enabled by technology as oppressive. Their turn to development work is a result of their search for something "meaningful." Nevertheless, they incorporate the same neoliberal ethos in training programs for subaltern youth that reinforce the structural inequities they seek to eradicate. However, my paper focuses on a new group of less elite, development professionals as part of private enterprises who challenge the hegemony of these white-collar actors in disseminating modernizing messages. These actors belong to more heterogeneous class and caste positions than the white-collar, IT workers, and their

practices and beliefs often inadvertently complicate and subvert messages of efficiency and hygiene for subaltern youth. Ethnographic work on corporate, humanitarian complexes reveals the fissures in ICT-led, societal change in Emerging India.

Title: Clickbait Ate the News: An Alternative Explanation for the Decline of the News Industry

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: David Elliot Berman

Email: dberman-xyz-asc.upenn.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania

Abstract: In recent years, budget shortfalls have forced hundreds of newspapers to fold or sharply reduce the size of their staff. Many scholars attribute the journalism crisis to the migration of audiences to the internet where advertising space is significantly cheaper than in print newspapers. However, this explanation is ultimately unsatisfactory: the news industry is not merely losing out on advertising revenue, they are losing the battle for the clicks that generate online advertising revenue. Indeed, viral content publishers such as BuzzFeed routinely drive more traffic to their website and social media content than even the most reputable legacy news organizations. This paper tells the story of how these digital upstarts have used clickbait to conquer the online attention economy and disrupt the business models of legacy media outlets that are too weak or unwilling to ward them off.

Clickbait is typically associated with sensationalistic headlines such as "28 Shocking Pictures That Prove That The Illuminati Is All Around Us." However, this paper is agnostic with regards to the content and semiotics of clickbait and instead foregrounds the process of creating it. Building on Joseph Turow's emphasis on the industrial logic of mass communication, I theorize clickbait as an industrial production that involves a wide array of actors including content publishers, social media platforms, and online audiences.

As a case study, this paper examines how Upworthy—a company that uses Facebook to promote progressive political content—developed into "the fastest growing media site of all time" according to Business Insider. This case study draws primarily on public presentations delivered by Upworthy employees as well as interviews that I conducted with them regarding the range of practices involved in the construction and distribution of their content. Based on this research, I argue that Upworthy has been pioneering in their efforts to engineer virality through predictive analytics and big data. Before posting on their Facebook page, Upworthy assiduously tests their content to see how different headlines or subtle tweaks in language might affect its virality and, in some instances, to determine whether a given story should be posted at all. In this way, Upworthy's warm, expressive, and sensationalistic clickbait headlines are the product of a cold calculation intended to maximize the number of clicks and shares that they generate on Facebook.

Title: Problematizing the Transcorprate Franchise: The Case of Pokémon Go

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Randall James Nichols Email: RJNIC-xyz-UW.EDU Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: University of Washington Tacoma

Abstract: While there has been increasing attention to media franchises in recent years, most of the discussion has focused on them as paratexts. The notion of the paratext suggests all the things which add to the initial offering, whether by other parts of industry, the original creator, or even fans. While there are certainly elements of paratexts that require us to see them in political economic terms - primarily their profit earnings potential and their usefulness in extracting additional labor from audiences – the discussion of media franchises needs to move beyond how they facilitate transmedia narrative transmission.

Of central concern is that franchises are increasingly removed from ownership by a single corporate entity. Put another way, a franchise can be transcorporate even when the corporation is transnational. As such, the fate of a franchise can dramatically alter the fortunes of a company involved with it and might even reach a point where its profit potential exceeds that of any single company that owns it. Examples of the former already exist, while examples of the latter seem likely to appear in short order. Moreover, because media franchises are so often branded enterprises, existing almost entirely as tools which can be harnessed for propaganda purposes, the political implications of a franchise extend beyond the purely economic.

This study uses examples from the video game industry – particularly Pokémon Go – to unpack the idea of the transcorporate franchise and to discuss both the problems such franchise pose. The game, released in July 2016, was owned and developed as part of a web of international countries, but its early success was a mixed blessing for some of them. By connecting the transcorporate franchise to both the question of brand while stepping beyond the emphasis of the paratext, this project will suggest implications that move beyond the video game industry to larger political economic concerns.

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Title: The One Dimensionality of Econometric Data and the 'Secret' of the Commodity: An African

Case Study

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Scott Timcke

Email: scott.timcke-xyz-sta.uwi.edu Country: TT (Trinidad and Tobago) Affiliation: University of the West Indies

Abstract: Econometric data appears unassailable and so is employed to produce authoritative facts about the world. The influence of this kind of quantification is so great that developing countries in Sub-Saharan Africa—where statistical capacities are strained—are compelled to divert scarce resources to survey the impact of foreign aid. In these circumstances good data is considered vital for stakeholders to implement evidence based public policy or benchmarking that can help address urgent needs. Yet, as numbers enjoy a central place in modern reasoning, particularly in government as presumed objective neutrality assist impartial decision, it is important that they receive careful scrutiny. Using methodological techniques from the radical political economy tradition—with special attention to Lukacs, Adorno and Horkheimer, and Marcuse—I argue that the emergence of econometrics as a mode of mediated knowledge is a reified practice within the boarder technical administration of social life, a practice that not a transparent representation of social phenomena. This is because when econometrics transforms the thing being measured into a statistical indicator it eclipses political disputes with technical disputes which sidestep good faith democratic deliberation about what goods are worth pursuing. Moreover, there are parallels between the use of econometric models and Marx's analysis of the secret of the commodity: One-dimensional thought cannot perceive the origins of items put into circulation and so ideology is produced. What seems valuefree is value laden. A superior alternative to understand African economies would be return to theories of uneven and combined development.

Title: Los efectos de las políticas lingüísticas y las políticas culturales en la génesis y el desarrollo de las industrias culturales hispanas en Estados Unidos.

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Jessica Retis

Email: jessica.retis-xyz-gmail.com

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: California State University Northridge

Abstract: Esta ponencia propone una reflexión sobre la incidencia de las políticas lingüísticas discriminatorias en la gestación y evolución de las industrias culturales hispanas de Estados Unidos. Con base en la revisión histórica y el análisis crítico de las directrices en torno a la enseñanza y el uso del español en estados con mayoría de hispanohablantes, este trabajo propone examinar comparativamente las políticas públicas frente a las estrategias de comercialización de productos y servicios en español. Se propone también analizar el estado actual de las industrias creativas hispanas tomando en perspectiva los diversos grupos de hispanohablantes en el país y sus disímiles niveles y aptitudes lingüísticas. Se analiza, de manera comparada, el estado actual de la producción, circulación y consumo de la televisión, la radio, y las redes sociales; pero también se analizan las sinergias generadas en entornos hiperlocales, tales como los circuitos de cinematográficos, teatrales o literarios.

A nivel teórico, este trabajo se basa en las aproximaciones de la economía política, los estudios de las industrias culturales y creativas, y los estudios post-coloniales. Además, se sustenta la argumentación desde la perspectiva transnacional, para explicar la condición multidimensional de los grupos latinos, que va más allá de la delimitación de los Estado-Nación. Se propone además analizar no sólo el rol de la administración pública del país de destino de los migrantes y sus familias, sino también el peso significativo de los gobiernos de los países de origen de las migraciones internacionales. La condición transnacional de las familias latinoamericanas con raíces en Estados Unidos y Latinoamérica, demanda una mirada comprensiva sobre las dimensiones de la ciudadanía plena, en palabras de Miller (2011): ciudadanía política (derecho a residir y votar), ciudadanía económica (derecho a trabajar y prosperar) y ciudadanía cultural (derecho a conocer y a hablar).

A nivel metodológico, esta ponencia recoge el trabajo de campo cualitativo llevado a cabo a lo largo de varios años para distintos proyectos de investigación que analizan el consumo cultural y mediático de los inmigrantes latinoamericanos en entornos locales. Durante este tiempo hemos recogido datos a partir de entrevistas en profundidad, prácticas de observación participante o diarios de campo. Se analizan los consensos y disensos de los informantes, todos ellos actores de las prácticas de producción, circulación y consumo de servicios y productos culturales en español.

Title: PANEL: Automation and Labor in New Economy Platforms

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Brian Dolber

Email: bdolber2-xyz-gmail.com Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: California State University- Northridge

Abstract: Enabled by mobile, digital technologies, companies such as Uber, Lyft and AirBnB have sought to remake employer/employee relations through developing what is often called the "sharing," "gig," or "1099" economy. Rather than employing service workers directly, these large transnational corporations reduce their labor costs and legal obligations by claiming their workforce is not only independent contractors for legal purposes, but entrepreneurs running their own small businesses. These business practices have transformed the transport and real estate sectors. In the U.S., Uber now provides 49 percent of all ground transportation services, while taxi companies any, the phenomenon is international, as Uber has extended its reach into over 60 countries.

The rise of app-based transportation network companies (TNCs) has provoked much debate. While TNCs provide efficient and inexpensive services, they have also raised a range of questions regarding the role of regulatory bodies, the nature of employment, and the potential for labor unions and collective bargaining agreements. As TNCs are built on communication technology, both in terms of their operations and in terms of the way they are discursively constructed, they warrant increased attention from communication, media and technology scholars.

Focusing on Uber, this panel will interrogate the emerging and often obfuscated relationship between communication technology and labor in the context of the gig economy. Through a variety of methods, we will aim to draw attention to the ways in which these technologies are shifting the nature of work and the economy, transforming the identity of workers, forging new platforms for isolated workers to connect with one another, while also examining the emerging narratives about the gig economy in the media. Brian Dolber examines the ways in which Uber's brand identity contradicts the ways its technology produces forms of worker alienation. Todd Wolfson focuses on the changing nature of worker identity in the age of the sharing economy and digital platforms. Laura Forlano presents an analysis of mainstream media accounts about the gig economy and the future of work as well as emerging narratives about autonomous vehicles collected over the past two years. Chenjerai Kumanyika examines exchanges in popular international, independent, online forums for drivers and interviews with drivers about their use of these forums.

This panel explores the role of emerging technologies and automation in relation to the "gig economy" and its workers. Focusing on Uber, we draw on a variety of methods to illuminate the shifting nature of work and the economy; the transforming identity of workers; the media narratives about the gig economy and autonomous vehicles.

Title: PANEL: Automation and Labor in New Economy Platforms

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Brian Dolber

Email: bdolber2-xyz-gmail.com Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: California State University- Northridge

Abstract: Paper Title: Uber Alienated: The Sharing Economy and the Fall of the Creative Class This paper examines the tensions between Uber's adoption and perpetuation of an ideology of informationism-- the notion that Silicon Valley companies are paving the way towards a more humane version of capitalism and offer the tools to address its inherent inequalities-- and the alienated experience of Uber drivers in relation to the Uber app. As a prominent and paradigmatic figure within the tech economy-- privately-held, financed by venture capital, and valued at \$65 billion-- Uber's brand identity serves as a mechanism to expand its labor pool among a growing contingent workforce that sees itself as part of a creative class while they perform service work. I examine the ways in which Uber develops this brand identity through its emphasis on data collection and reportage, worker flexibility, and its integration with the larger creative industry through corporate partnerships and promotional programs.

Drawing from autoethnographic research as contingent faculty and a part-time Uber driver in Los Angeles, and from interviews with other drivers, I argue that this ideology stands in stark contrast to the lived experience of driving for Uber. Rather than producing freedom and flexibility, Uber's use of digital communication, GPS technology, and data collection contribute to driver alienation. Rooted in Marx's (1844) understanding of alienation as both an economic and an affective process, I argue that rather than facilitating greater freedom for drivers, Uber's technological basis acts as a mechanism for exploitation (Uber controls pricing to its benefit through algorithms and takes a cut from each fare for access to the network) and control (Uber uses algorithms to manage work flows and to attain information about drivers in multiple ways). Enabled by the collection of data from Uber drivers, the company's recent roll out of four driverless cars in Pittsburgh, and its development of an automated truck, first used in 2016 to deliver 50,000 cans of Budweiser beer 120 miles from Fort Collins to Colorado Springs, CO, indicate how Uber structures labor in particular ways towards its corporate goals, contradicting the claims of independence and entrepreneurialism that it circulates through its brand.

Title: PANEL: Automation and Labor in New Economy Platforms

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Todd Wolfson

Email: twolfson-xyz-rci.rutgers.edu

Country: US (United States)
Affiliation: Rutgers University

Abstract: Paper title: Uberomics: Collective Identity and Resistance in the Gig Economy Across the last 40 years we have seen a seismic shift in the way the global economy operates, which has led to a transformation in the nature of work, employment as well as the dramatic growth of inequality. This transformation has been characterized as a shift from fordism to flexism (Harvey, 1990), and the new system is differentiated by a decrease in state regulation of corporate practices, greater financialization of the banking sector, privatization of what were once public goods and importantly, the casualization of work. This broad economic transition has had profound impacts on our economy leading to the housing crisis of 2008 and the emergence of casualized, temporary, and at times gig-oriented, work force both in the United States and across the world.

Recognizing these broad transformations, this paper—which is based on interviews and participant observation with Uber and cab drivers in Philadelphia—examines the changing nature of work and identity in the "sharing economy." Specifically, I argue that the casualized and "entrepreneurial" nature of "gig" work, and the consequent difference in the type of workers attracted to the sharing economy, leads Uber drivers to have a different sense of identity than their counterparts, cab drivers. Thus, while the work is largely the same (point-to-point transportation), the branding of Uber drivers as "Uberpreneurs" as well as the technological interface through which they get work, leads to a different sense of work and identity. Building on the analysis of worker identity this argument, I then focus on how these differences lead workers to different strategies for building power in order to change the alienating conditions of their labor.

Title: PANEL: Automation and Labor in New Economy Platforms

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Laura Forlano

Email: lef45-xyz-columbia.edu Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: Illinois Institute of Technology

Abstract: Paper title: Working for the Algorithm, Redux: Narratives of Sharing, Collaboration, Substitution and Replacement in the Mainstream Media

This paper will present an analysis of mainstream media accounts about the gig economy and the future of work as well as emerging narratives about autonomous vehicles collected over the past two years, which focus on themes such as sharing, collaboration, substitution and replacement to characterize the relationship between humans and technology. This paper discusses the ways in which the platform economy coexists with other visions about technological progress that seem to do away with labor all together. This is particularly salient with respect to companies such as Uber, which are already moving forward with tests of autonomous vehicles on public roadways. These tests require the presence of an engineer, co-pilot, self-driving equipment and computer, which illustrate the collaboration of human and non-human actors and invisible labor necessary to demonstrate the safety of artificial intelligence in these real-world tests of emerging technology. Autonomous vehicles are interesting from a communication and technology perspective because they combine a number of technologies including software, applications, wireless communication, sensors, artificial intelligence and robotics.

A previous qualitative study of freelance workers in the mid-2000s illustrated the ways in which people with precarious employment status conducted jobs in which there was little human contact and/or feedback. One example of this type of work was Search Engine Optimization (SEO) in which a freelancer wrote "authentically human" but fictional journalistic articles for the purpose of improving the page ranking of websites. The only "readers" of these articles were the Google search algorithms. Over the past ten years, the gig economy has grown substantially, though there are still not adequate statistics about this form of work. By connecting to these earlier themes, it is possible to gain a more longitudinal understanding of the emerging narratives around work and technology, which underpin discussions around autonomous vehicles.

Title: PANEL: Automation and Labor in New Economy Platforms

Session Type: Panel Submission

Authors:

Name: Chenjerai Kumanyika

Email: KKUMANY-xyz-clemson.edu

Country: US (United States) Affiliation: Clemson University

Abstract: Paper title: "Join UberPeople.Net because it's free to be a person": Community, promise, loathing and resistance in online, independent communities of rideshare drivers Uber's resistance to including drivers as employees hinges on a legal (Wogan, 2016) and promotional discourse of the autonomous individual contractor who is rendered self-sufficient and profitable by the affordances of Uber's central application. This narrative of atomized, individual workers, contrasts with the experiences of many Uber and Lyft drivers who in practice rely on a highly collective experience mediated by various social app-based resources to compete in saturated ridesharing markets, understand their rights, suture gaps in training and comradery, and minimize the risks that drivers would otherwise bear in isolation.

This study explores this collective aspect of informal information sharing through an examination of popular international online community platforms such as "Uberpeople.net" and "Sherpashare." With over 70,000 registered global users, regionally organized forums in over 10 countries, millions of views, and over 100,000 archived messages, UberPeople.Net is an independent community of rideshare drivers who drive for Uber, Lyft and other emerging companies. Sherpashare (a startup itself) is a for-profit mobile and web app that provides forums ("sherpashare/pulse") as well as a "dashboard" of financial and metric management resources for drivers. These forums include a broad range of topics and sub-communities that exchange supportive anectdotes and humor, regionally sensitive employment tactics, timely news updates relevant to drivers, and harrowing, desperate accounts of exploitation and alienation.

While studies such as (Rosenblatt and Stark, 2016) rely on the content of similar forums (such as UberDriver) as valuable archives that chronicle algorithmic and informational "asymmetries," this study focuses on the online communities and platforms themselves and the communicative exchanges therein as rich objects of analysis. Beyond troubling the story of independent contractorship in the sharing economy, my focus on the virtual communities and platforms also intervenes in debates about free labor (Jenkins, 2006; Tapscott & Williams, 2006, Andrejevic, 2007; Arvidsson, 2008; Cohen, 2008; Terranova, Hesmondhalgh, 2004), and knowledge production in the worker-focused and branded subset of online communities of practice (Raval and Dourish, 2016).

Title: What does TV Teach Viewers about Internships' A Thematic Textual Analysis of Fictional Internships on Scripted, Prime Time, U.S. Network Television

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Thomas F. Corrigan Email: corrigan-xyz-csusb.edu Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: California State University, San Bernardino

Name: Mitchell Jordan

Email: 004838271-xyz-coyote.csusb.edu

Country: US (United States)

Affiliation: California State University, San Bernardino

Abstract: Ross Perlin's 2012 book, Intern Nation offered a damning exposé internships in the U.S. Shortly thereafter, interns filed several lawsuits against employers, alleging violations of federal labor law and thrusting internships into the national conversation. More recently, critical political economists began "interrogating internships" and situating the institution within neoliberalism's broader trends of precarity and enterprise (e.g., de Peuter, Cohen, & Brophy, 2015). One key finding from this emerging literature is that internships are "ambiguous" (AUTHOR, 2015; Frenette, 2013; Perlin, 2012):

Interns are not yet employees, but not fully students. They receive compensation, but it may not be in the form of a fair wage. Their roles and responsibilities are vague, as is their route to meaningful work and future employment. Internships are part learning experience, part resume workshop, part networking event, part unpaid labour" (AUTHOR, 2015, p. 347).

How have we, as a society, arrived at these ambiguous understandings of internships? With no firm definition or central authority on internships, such understandings are presumably negotiated among interns, their peers, faculty, and supervisors. Popular culture surely provides cues, too. Interns are "an emerging trope in popular media culture" (de Peuter, Cohen, & Brophy, 2015, p. 330), including television interns like "Haley" on ABC's Modern Family, "April" on NBC's Parks & Rec, and "Hannah" on HBO's Girls. These representations are not trivial; popular culture is "the primary pedagogical medium for masses of people globally" – "it's where the learning is" (hooks, 1997, p. 2). Few academic studies have examined popular culture representations of interns, though (c.f., Graziano & Mara, 2014).

So what does television teach viewers about interns? This (ongoing) study answers this questions through a thematic textual analysis (TTA) of fictional interns on 8 scripted, prime time, U.S. network television programs. Do TV interns execute meaningful or menial work? Are those characters slackers or go-getters? How do they relate to supervisors and other employees? Do TV interns eventually secure employment? And how is intern compensation addressed? This study answers these questions by identifying salient patterns (themes) in popular television programming. Studies of TV content can never fully explain how viewers make sense of a given topic; however, TTA can offer likely interpretations. In short, this study furthers our understanding of how we, as a society, have arrived at our ambiguous understanding of internships.

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Title: Social Media and Algortihms: Configurations of the Lifeword Colonization by New Media

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Carlos Peres Figueiredo Sobrinho

Email: carlospfs-xyz-gmail.com

Country: BR (Brazil)

Affiliation: Universidade Federal de Sergipe

Abstract: Social media is pervasive, part of everyday life. That is, new media occupy more and more spaces in individual's lives both in intimate and work sphere. In addition, due to convergence, new media brought together interpersonal and mass communications in same the environment. This fact has caused a wide range of changes in Cultural Industry. This paper aims to unveil how social media have transformed the advertising, propaganda and program functions that the capitalistic Cultural Industry must to carry out (Bolaño, 2015). These functions are central to both mediation between state and citizenship as well as mediation between the market and consumers, both of which are carried out previously only by Cultural Industry. That mediation is vital for the colonization of lifeworld by the system (Habermas, 2012). Bolaño's definition of a "program function" aims to represent the lifeworld determination over the mediating structure. Our point here is that, in the case of Internet and social media, this central function is interaction.

In order to accomplish all its mediation functions in social media environments, a new element is central: Algorithms. According to Gillespie (2014, p.167), '[algorithms] are encoded procedures for transforming input data into a desired output, based on specified calculations'. Algorithms are pervasive and ubiquitous (Willson, 2016) and work to make things like Facebook newsfeed, Google searches, Twitter Trends, and Netflix recommendations work. Even interactions between friends in social media are organized according to patterns determined by algorithms. Algorithms make it possible to track user navigation over the Internet, generating data used to construct highly personalized advertising. Traditional mass media sell the audience commodity, but audience's description is made through surveys, considering its demographic profile (Smythe, 1977). In these surveys, the fact that many individuals not interested in the advertised products are part of advertisers' target reduces the whole system functionality introducing inefficiencies and increases costs. Already in social media, this problem is radically reduced. Therefore, refinement of algorithms can make the mediation between market and consumers carried out by social media to an efficiency never seen before.

Social media is a technology born in a time governed by regime of flexible accumulation, and classic propaganda loses room in that environment. Notwithstanding, propaganda is still made, for example, through profiles maintained by political parties and governments. Currently, in the other hand, the main form of the lifeworld colonization by State is Internet surveillance with technology companies support. McChesney (2013, p. 162) highlights the existence of economic interests that make Silicon Valley companies support citizen surveillance by government agencies. Unlike broadcasting where content is rationally organized on a radio or TV programming by a certain (powerful) sector of the media staff (Williams, 2003), social media algorithms turn this task automatic, organizing content to the user's disposition taking into account interactions with other users and business companies and other organizations profiles. In that way, algorithms are fundamental for maintenance of Surveillance Capitalism (Foster and McChesney, 2014) and to maintain the lifeworld colonization by the system in neoliberal era.

Title: Rethinking Universal Service and Media Reform in Neoliberal Conjunctures

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: Russell Newman

Email: russell_newman-xyz-emerson.edu

Country: US (United States) Affiliation: Emerson College

Abstract: A signal element of the war against working-class people (and this group's intersections with other groupings of power and dominance, including but hardly limited to race, gender, sexuality and beyond) under neoliberalism has been battles over access to communications, often termed in the U.S. as 'universal service.' If media reformers of the last decade in the United States found an apparent fleeting foothold, the election of Trump to the presidency and the ascendency of Ajit Pai to the helm of the U.S. Federal Communications Commission wrenched it loose. Matters become even more complex as Verizon seeks to become an advertising network capable of taking on Google and Facebook; similarly, global giants and powerful upstarts as Alphabet, Airbnb, Paypal, Priceline and others served as President Obama's chosen entourage when he visited Cuba. "Universal service," and perhaps even "media reform," now appear quaint as theorized and practiced.

As previous scholarship by the likes of Horwitz, Mueller, Wu, and others demonstrated, as a concept, the notion of 'access' transformed in use and meaning in the U.S. in the transition from early telecommunications monopoly and dual-service eras involving rural cooperatives to its use as a logic of monopolization by a resurgent AT&T; then yet again it was reclaimed by activists in efforts to connect the unconnected. However, the notion of access is hardly innocent anymore. Political economists have long emphasized that breaching digital divides is quite aside the true function and logic of networking technologies. This paper represents an effort to suggest directions for reconsidering what 'universal service' should mean in the context of internet activism, as well as how such activism might need to shift in and of itself. I outline shifts in the broader online environment and its connections to the broader political economies; in particular, the burgeoning growth of new 'platform capitalist' services which themselves needed to be convinced by activists to become active in these debates. The role of financialization and sources of capital in these struggles is similarly examined, as are other elements of the sales effort in terms of intensified tracking with their relation to network neutrality. Notable are shifting (and increasingly anxious) stances by the like of the Ad Hoc Telecommunications Users Committee and the emergence of the Internet Freedom Business Alliance. Reading ex parte opinions of the likes of the online crafters' platform Etsy is quite revealing: their role in the current 'flexibilization' of labor is argued as reason to support such policies as network neutrality.

For those seeking to provide equitable and just access to communications, "universal service" needs to be both redefined yet again as well as contextualized in the problematic terms of global "internet freedom" promulgated by the U.S., as Dan Schiller's recent work attests. It requires deeper examination if it is to be connected to much beyond dumping new populations into easy reach of the sales effort itself above other priorities. This paper rethinks universal service in light of its history and the present conjuncture.

Title: Digital Formation of Esport Gaming Network in East Asia

Session Type: Individual submission

Authors:

Name: peichi chung

Email: peichichung-xyz-cuhk.edu.hk

Country: HK (Hong Kong)

Affiliation: The Chinese University of Hong Kong

Abstract: This paper studies the digital formation of esport gaming network in East Asia. It examines the growing corporation network in three esport locations of South Korea, China and Hong Kong. The paper examines the structuration pattern in each industry. It also offers historical mapping on the rise of major players that shape the esport gaming flows in Asia.

This paper uses the concept of digital formation to document the shifting structure of media powers in the digital space of East Asia. The paper applies Sassen's idea on the growing presence of new social relationship due to the use of digital technologies in the global digital space. Sassen argues that new constitutive politics arise when local operations can be moved freely to global scales in digital globalization. As new technologies allow more role for civil society organizations to play in global politics, problematics of this socio-digital formation still exist. Local politics on the one hand becomes new type of cross-border politics deeply connected digitally, however, it is yet a progressive social power practice that can overcome domestic restriction and knowledge practice for local resistance.

This paper is based upon research interviews with Esport companies and players in South Korea, China and Hong Kong from 2016 to 2017. The paper intends to identify the emerging internal and external industry factors that shape the new power scene in East Asia's digital regionalization. Esport gaming network has grown to be one of the most popular entertainment businesses in Asia. In South Korea, government and the industry players collectively develop an Esport gaming ecosystem that trains the most competitive professional gamers in the world. In China, the government recognizes Esport as the country's national sport, while Chinese pro-gamers can earn up to two million RMB (290,000 in USD) for winning Esport competition tournaments. In addition, Hong Kong is also seen with Esport players strategically teaming up with Esport players in Taiwan to win global competition in mobile game. A historical review of the inter-regional growth of Esport gaming network is first examined to realise the development of Esport initiated from South Korea, to China and Hong Kong. It then examines the interconnedness of these gaming communities due to the market power of China. The paper lastly uses Hong Kong and Taiwan to present a satellite power structure in East Asia's digital regionalism. The paper concludes with an analysis of growing social inequality that occurs at the levels of state power and labor politics in professional gaming.

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