





## **IAMCR 2017**

## **Global Media Policy Working Group**

Abstracts of papers presented at the annual conference of the International Association for Media and Communication Research<sup>1</sup>

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**Title:** International organizations in the global media governance: The 'creative economy' policy agenda making for whom and for what'

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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Abstract: Since early 2000s, several international organizations (IOs) have elaborated a new approach related to the links between 'culture and development', based on the concept of creative economy, which is seen as a 'feasible development option' (UNCTAD 2010). In this respect, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and United Nations Development Program (UNDP) took the lead in preparing the 2008 and 2010 creative economy reports, whereas UNESCO and UNDP notably executed the 2013 report. The reports brought together contributions from UNCTAD, UNDP, UNESCO, World Intellectual Property Organization, International Labour Organization and International Trade Centre. The aim of this policy-oriented report was to make a contribution of UN agencies to the discussions of creative economy with a view to assist governments in formulating policies and to reshape the development agenda with creative industries in mind (Isar 2008). The report gives a central role in the linkage between media and cultural industries, intellectual property, knowledge and access to information (Garnham 2005, Flew and Cunningham 2010). Besides, the last few years have seen a boom in interest in the idea of 'creative industries' and the creative economy policy strategy was manifested in initiatives across several countries.

The main question of our paper is based on the exploration of the link between IOs and 'creative economy' policy agenda setting. The paper aims to understand the making of the 'creative economy' policy agenda through the IOs, which are poorly researched by dominant approaches. The paper opts for a socio-political analysis, favouring an actor-centred institutionalism (Vlassis 2015) in order to understand how the IOs act and interact each other vis-à-vis the 'creative economy' policy agenda making. On the one hand, the paper seeks to highlight why and how the IOs include the creative economy within their priorities and they use the concept, influence or challenge its orientations. On the other hand, it aims to examine their ability to act in common in order to globalize the 'creative economy' policy agenda and create new forms of media and cultural industries global governance. That said, the paper seeks to emphasize the asymmetrical resources and the hierarchical positions of the IOs, analysing how the emergence of a transnational policy-making influences the 'creative economy' policy agenda making.

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Vlassis, A., 2015. Culture in the post-2015 development agenda: the anatomy of an international mobilization. Third World Quarterly, 36(9), 1649-1662.

Title: Structuring Nigeria's Movie Industry in a Minimal Policy Environment

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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Abstract: What is successful cultural policy? Does it look the same across national contexts? Current cultural policy research catalogues a broad spectrum of efforts national and local governments have taken to spur and support sustainable creative industries, from subsidies to quotas on the importation of foreign content. Yet Nigeria's prolific English language movie industry, known popularly as Nollywood, emerges from a policy environment that was not designed to be supportive to the formation of cultural industries. The types of policy that form the infrastructure of many formal cultural industries around the world exist nominally at best for the Nigerian movie industry: neither copyright enforcement, contract enforcement, governmental training initiatives, nor government grants to burgeoning filmmakers are reliable institutions, and those controlling the industry generally attempt to evade governmental attention as much as possible. The only reliable governmental intervention in the industry has come through the Censor's Board, which has at times expanded its focus well past censoring content and has looked (unsuccessfully) towards restructuring power dynamics in the industry.

This paper asks if we can think of successful cultural industry policy as being an absence of governmental infrastructure, as we examine the development of Nigeria's prolific movie industry in such a context. Though those on the creative side of the industry often advocate for more government regulation and support, the entrepreneurs running the Nigerian movie industry prefer to remain hidden from any policy attention and, for this reason, constantly pursue opacity in their business dealings. As new technologies continue to make cultural production and distribution more inexpensive globally, the cultural policy environment that shapes Nigerian movie industry will become more relevant as a potential model.

This paper first reviews the existent regimes of copyright, contract enforcement, and other government initiatives that have proven to be quite weak, with the exception of censorship functions. It then analyzes the alternative structuring institutions employed by the industry that circumvent governmental oversight or intervention, marked by the strength of the industry's informal guilds and the strength of personal and ethnic ties in the industry. The paper concludes with reflections on the relevance of Nigeria's cultural policy environment to other cultural production arising globally in similar policy environments. Research for this project was performed in Lagos and Abuja (Nigeria): on site observations and interviews with workers at Nigerian government ministries in Abuja and with movie industry workers from guild leaders to aspiring entrants in Lagos, all analyzed through a political economic lens.

**Title:** Turkey's Internet Policy: The Emergence of a Distributed Network of Online Suppression and Surveillance

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** This paper offers an examination of the evolution of internet policy in Turkey from the early 2000s to the present time and explores the legal, technical, political and social dimensions of the country's sprawling surveillance-control-censorship regime. In response to the Global Media Policy CFP, the authors present a regulatory analysis of the Turkish context with emphasis on emerging forms of internet governance. They highlight the shift from formal, direct, hard forms of control (e.g. legal and technical restrictions) to informal, indirect, soft ones (e.g. throttling, cloud restrictions, government-sponsored propaganda campaigns). As such, they explore the governmental strategies that aim to de-centralize and distribute control across platforms and amongst different entities (government agencies, courts, ISPs, etc).

The paper focuses on policy developments in the aftermath of three major political legitimacy crises (anti-government protests in 2013, massive corruption scandal also in 2013, the coup attempt in 2016), and discusses various forms of control deployed by the AKP government to contain the online public sphere. Among these are the interception of digital communications via decree laws, facilitation of social media censorship by means of Twitter, and Facebook content removals, direct control of commercial ISPs, and coordinated online harassment campaigns against political opponents.

The findings presented in this paper are based on data collected via quantitative and qualitative methods: 1) Analysis of the activity of different user groups on Twitter in the months before and after the coup attempt, 2) open source data on social media censorship, 3) document analysis of internet legislation and decree laws, 4) semi-structured interviews with internet activists and legal scholars.

The paper primarily builds on the literature concerning online control, manipulation and information management in authoritarian regimes (Deibert and Rohozinski 2010, MacKinnon 2011,

Greitens 2013, King, Pan and Roberst 2013, Gunistky 2015, Kylueva 2016), and discusses the similarities between Turkish, Russian and Chinese governments' efforts to create a proactive censorship regime that aims to manipulate online debate instead of a reactive regime that is simply geared towards blocking dissent. Its theoretical contribution is associated with its emphasis on governmental techno-disciplinarian practices that emerge in response to political legitimacy crises in authoritarian regimes ruled by populist, right-wing leaders.

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**Title:** More civil society participation in public media: Implications for global media policy

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** The crisis of public media is developing actively. Even when nationalism is spreading in the world such as the appearance of President Trump in the United States, and the Brexit, public media have not played their roles. Crisis of public media is now an important agenda in global media policy.

The way to overcome the crisis of public media is no longer sticking to the elite model of public service media, but the further integration of civil society participation. As media cannot represent the public interests by the elite model, the distance from the public becomes farther away and the public interest cannot be protected. Therefore, in order for public media to overcome these crises, media should be changed in order to increase the participation of civil society. Online media and mobile technology are contributing to increasing citizen participation.

It can be found in two ways. The one is to expand citizen-led media, namely civil society is participating in the media operation. OhmyNews, which was launched in Korea in February 2000, has been promoting civic media. It was made possible by the Internet. It destroyed the formula of traditional journalism. OhmyNews stated that 'all citizens are reporters'. Citizens write articles in person, which shows new forms of media that enable two-way, real-time communication. Anyone can join as a citizen reporter and post an article. Full-time employees are responsible for collecting and editing articles. Only 20-30% of OhmyNews is written by 55 professional reporters, and the rest is written by citizen reporters. Thanks to the success of OhmyNews, other Internet newspapers were lining up. However, these Internet newspapers could face financial difficulties. Therefore, the government has made policies to support small and medium sized internet media. It established Newspaper Development Fund program. As a result, Internet newspapers have grown even larger. The other is to create a model in which existing media reflect citizens' opinions more. It creates a new model to abandon the elite model on the existing public media and communicate directly with the citizen. Joongang media group, which is one of the largest media groups, has recently opened a citizen microphone (www.peoplemic.com) project. Citizen Microphone's objective is to create public agenda through articles and reports that people and professionals cooperate with. Citizens can access this tool via mobile and PC. At the top of the web page, one can see the hashtags given so that citizens can freely raise their thoughts, arguments and ideas from 100 to 1,000 characters. This service differs from social media in that social media remains a place for users to raise their opinions. This new model is for citizens and professionals collaborate together to create an agenda. This study is based on the theory of civil society participation in media. It addresses a case study on the civil society participation in Korea. By dealing with cooperation and/or conflict with the government, this case will show implications of global media policy.

**Title:** Back to where you once belonged: el discurso del odio y el sistema de medios para el fortalecimiento de las élites nacionales-conservadoras en Brasil

**Session Type:** Individual submission

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**Abstract:** El artículo discute la interación entre los sistemas de medios y político en el contexto del juicio político de Dilma Rousseff de la Presidencia de la República de Brasil. Para verificar lo anterior, se analizó la estructura de la propiedad de los medios de comunicación y sus redes de relación de poder y representatividad. La análisis tiene por base la propuesta de categorización, a partir de cuatro patrones generales, de los líderes políticos relacionados a los medios de comunicación: 1) famílias que mantienen el control político en determinadas localidades y/o regiones por largos períodos históricos; 2) trabajadores empleados en los medios que son elegidos o nombrados para ocupar cargos públicos; 3) propietarios de empresas de medios que son elegidos o nombrados para ocupar cargos públicos; y 4) líderes aislados que concentran sus negocios en diferentes sectores y derivados de la actividad política (educación, transporte, construcción civil, salud y comunicación vinculados al Estado, por ejemplo).

A continuación se discute como el discurso del odio y la descaracterización de la actividad política por los medios han contribuído para el surgimiento de fuerzas nacionalistas y conservadoras, que aparentemente entraron en decadencia luego del fin de la dictadura. Al mismo tiempo, es fundamental observar la interseccionalidad entre las distintas fuerzas sociales – élites tradcionales, líderes religiosos neopentencostales y el capital internacional. En esse contexto, también es necesario considerar las identidades sociales y los sistemas de opresión y discriminación de clase, de género, de raza y de religión para comprender como las dinámicas de poder y negociación actuaron en los niveles local, regional y nacional. Por fin, se argumenta que el proceso de juicio político de Dilma Rousseff puede ser entendido como una convergencia de intereses locales en oposición a los movimientos globales de gobernanza colaborativa y pluralista, los cuales son observados como amenazas tanto para los medios, cuanto para el sistema político.