

iamcr2010portugal.com

Book of Abstracts: Political Economy Section

North-South Bilateral negotiation on Trade and Intellectual Property Protection: A Political Economy Approach Bernardita Escobar — Instituto de Políticas Públicas Expansiva-Universidad Diego Portales, Chile · bernardita.escobar@expansivaudp.cl

This essay develops a theoretical model of the political economy forces determining regulation outcomes of North-South bilateral Intellectual Property and trade negotiations. In particular, the model considers the relationship between acountry's political and economic framework and the ability of its diverse stakeholders to successfully convey togovernments their points of view during international negotiations. The essay tests some of the hypothesis derived from the model by resorting to the recent experience of the US bilateral Trade Agreements (TAs) with a range of small and mostly "South" economies, undertaken during the G.W. Bush administration throughout the 2000 decade. The analysis finds empirical support for the hypothesis that standards of IP protection agreed internationally in a North-South negotiation are responsive to the ability of South's stakeholders to impose costs to its government for deviating from their preferences. This ability appears positively translated by extent of democracy in South countries; the more democracy in the South, the greater the ability of consumers and competing industries to those protected by IP to refrain from increasing IP protection, and the lower the extent of IP protection agreed internationally.

#### transformations and tensions: the case of FTA and IPR

Eunkyoung Choi - Loughborough University, United Kingdom · choice77@hotmail.com

Communication systems around the globe are currently undergoing rapid transformation. The most obvious, and more publicised, dimension of this on-going shift is the move from analogue to digital technologies and the resulting convergence of telecommunications, computing and media industries. However it is the argument of this transition is taking and the tensions it is generating can only be properly understood and analysed if digitalisation is related to two other contemporary shifts- marketisation and globalisation- which intersect with and shape it in complex ways. These relations are examined through a detailed case study of the development of digitalisation and its impacts in South Korea. South Korea is a particularly pertinent site for research since it can claim to be the nation where digital technologies have been deployed more extensively and intensively than anywhere else.This reorientation of policy has not been driven solely by national dynamics. However it has also been shaped in fundamental ways by South Korea's shifting position within the new global economic order and by its involvements in various international bodies and agreements. Korea became a member of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development(OECD) in 1996 but the most concerted influences have come from its involvement with the World Trade Organisation(WTO). The disputes over the multilateral agreements governing Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) has been particularly central since they impact directly on digital media markets. At the same time, the United States, which many observers see as the prime force shaping WTO policy, has become increasingly frustrated at the slow progress in securing binding multilateral agreements, and has devoted increasing energy to developing to bi lateral agreements with particular





countries. The proposed Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with Korea is one such move but has been fiercely resisted within Korea prompting mass street demonstrations in 2006. In my research, therefore, the tensions of FTA are fundamental discussion but also the case of audiovisual service trade and intellectual property rights will be the key debates which are still controversial issues in the US led FTA with developing countries including Korea. This main field work was supported by online questionnaire with broadcasting people and observed by interviewing during 2007  $\sim$  2008 in Seoul, Korea and Geneva, Switzerland.

#### From Financialization to Freedom: Emerging Media Business Models

Nuria Almiron — , · nuria.almiron@upf.edu

Advertising crises, corporate media, and financialization have had a tremendous real impact on media companies and journalism throughout the last decades. Professional independence, values, investigative reporting and quality-control routines have been progressively undermined by advertisers, the market, and financial capital interests. Unfortunately, none of these interests have Democracy as a priority. During this journey, the media industry became driven by financial logics instead of by productive aims and democratic values. Thus, instead of advances in the traditional division that is a must for quality journalism, i.e. protecting the autonomy of the newsroom as it faces outside pressures, the last decades have seen the opposite trend: a progressive narrowing of the gap between the journalistic company and advertisers, bankers, financiers, and industrial businessmen. As a response to the effects of financialization, many have called for a profound reform of the system. Nevertheless, the main demand has been for more of the same, that is, more barriers and controls, on the one hand, or more free market, on the other. However, for many others it is undeniable that if capitalism fails, the solution is not more capitalism. This is why voices for a real reform of the media system have started to be raised loudly in the recent years. Their call is for a complete change of the media business model. A change in its true core. The interesting thing is that for the first time these are not isolated proposals pushed by a few voices, but a chorus of ideas increasingly tuned in the same direction while coming from very different places. Significantly enough, most of them share the same triple Nots when defining the new model: Not with advertising, Not with financial capital, and Not for capitalistic profit. In brief, they are calling for a journalism devoid of capitalism. The author of this paper is gathering the main emerging models and ideas based on these three Nots, as well as their authors, to provide a view of what can be considered the most important intellectual movement against corporatization and financialization of media and journalism up to now. Altogether they add up to a strength and deep conviction that a real alternative to the market option is possible. The models go from a public and foundation-funded journalism to shared-user networks or citizen-funded projects. Many of them are already functioning nowadays, proving what has also been a claim of the movement: turning the old financial capitalistic models into new business based on democratic values is not a matter of economics, but of politics – i.e. of human willingness. This paper will set forth the common traits shared by all these new emerging models, a classification of types or models proposed, a list of ideas already being tested and the main centres, institutes and individual promoters of this journalism devoid of profit, capital and advertising. It is not irrelevant to stress that for many of them this is not a mere business alternative but the only chance journalism has to survive as a real, free, watchdog of power.

#### The Three Dimensions of Advertising Regulation: A Proposed Analytical Framework

Avshalom Ginosar – the Emek Yezreel Academic College, Israel · avshalomg@yvc.ac.il

Advertising Regulation is an inter disciplinary research field, which is interests scholars from various academic subject-matters – such as Communication, Public Policy, Economy, Marketing, and Law. In addition to these fields, researchers who investigate the professional dimension of advertising address various aspects of regulation, in particular the limitations regarding professional and artistic creativity and with respect to





commercial speech. Each of the above academic disciplines addresses Advertising Regulation from a specific and a narrow point of view and consequently a holistic framework is absent in the literature. Such a framework is essential for understanding, analyzing and assessing a certain advertising regulatory regime as well as for comparing advertising regulatory regimes of different countries, media, technologies or eras. The main aim of this paper is presenting a framework which is based on the various components of advertising regulation. The proposed framework consists of three dimensions reflecting three main features of advertising regulation: multicontent, multi-level, and multi-media & technology. These three dimensions are inter-connected and affect each other. Referring to the first dimension – the contents of advertising regulation – two main domains are relevant: (1) regulating the content of advertising (topics such as accuracy, fairness, honesty, harmful products, advertising to children, etc.); and (2) regulating "technical" issues of advertising (topics as the amount of advertising, the separation between advertising and editorial content, the identification of advertising, etc.). As to the second dimension - the levels of advertising regulation authorities - it is worthwhile to differentiate between two continuums which create four main types of regulatory authority. The first continuum spans between statutory authority (state/legal regulation) and voluntary authority (industrial self-regulation); the second continuum is between national authority (within the boundaries of a certain country) and supranational authority (international and/or regional authority). In most advertising regulatory regimes worldwide, an incorporated regulatory system exists, in which a statutory regulation on the one hand and self-regulation on the other, co-exist (the co-regulation system in the United Kingdom is the best example of such systems). The third dimension – the variety of media and technologies - addresses two main issues: (1) the adaptation of advertising regulation for traditional media (print, radio and television) to the new media (the internet and cellular in particular); and (2) the adaptation of advertising regulation for the traditional media (referring to "spot-ads" on television in particular) to new advertising technologies and methods (such as digital advertising, split screen, product placement, etc.). The three dimensions relate to each other in several ways. For example, the question of authority level addresses the issue of the content of regulation as well as the issue of the type of medium and technology; it refers in some cases to all media while in other cases only to a certain medium; there are technologies which are regulated and others which are not; etc. Therefore, it is argued that a comprehensive framework consists of these three dimensions, might be useful for describing, analyzing and comparing advertising regulatory regimes.

The Creative Economy: Creative Industries, of Experience and Digital Contents. A conceptual exploration. *Carlos Guzmán Cárdenas* — Instituto de Investigaciones de la Comunicación UCV, Venezuela · carloseguzman@cantv.net

TITLE: The Creative Economy: Creative Industries, of Experience and Digital Contents. A conceptual exploration.In the last decade, an increasing recognition has been generated on the importance of the Cultural and Creative Industries (ICCs) and of Digital Contents (ICD) like contributing sectors to the economic development of the regions or countries. Against this background, the coming of a creative economy and experience would cause the appearance of practices that conjugate technological, economic and cultural creativity, like more and more powerful combinatory elements, constituting this way as true generators of value and experience. Owing to this fact, there have been carried out a considerable amount of studies to measure the impact of these industries in the regional or national economies. However, the recent debate over the creative industries, as well called industries of experience, is now occupied by the epistemological confusion, which avoids a clear understanding of the complexity of such industries, essential for the academic research and the design of communicational and cultural policies. Therefore, this article aims at contributing with the exploration of the concepts of creative industries, industries of experience and industries of digital contents within the international context of the development of the creative economy; there were analyzed different diagnostic casts of it in national and supranational contexts from a comparative perspective; and the specificity on the Politic and Economy of Culture is recognized. The information in this research is delimited on the projects carried out by the line of investigation "Society of Information, Politics and Economy of Communication and Culture" over the creation, creative economy and technological innovation of the digital culture, as well as the Group Investigation





Project, number 070066522007 (I Stage) titled "Creative and Cultural Industries in Venezuela of the Research Institute on Communications (ININCO, in Spanish) of the Universidad Central de Venezuela, funded by the Board of Scientific and Humanistic Development (CDCH-UCV).

The media construction of the urban competitiveness: what role rankings play in the global positioning of cities? *Alberto Carrera* — Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Mexico · albercp@servidor.unam.mx

The paper analyzes the role of journals in economics and business (The Economist, BusinessWeek and AméricaEconomía) in building and disseminating the concept of urban competitiveness as well as the positioning and the global projection of cities, from publication of various rankings, indices and measurements. The paper is part of a research project which examines the shift that has had an economic precept (like competitiveness), towards the agenda of urban management, its conceptual development in the field of urban studies and its inclusion as part of the contents offered by journals in economics and business.

#### Forget the Joystick? Examining Video Game Hardware Production

Randy Nichols — Bentley University, United States · rnichols@bentley.edu

As consumer products, video games draw their logics of production from a number of industries. From the toy industry, video game production has learned to work on seasonal schedules, while from the entertainment industry - particularly Hollywood film - it has learned to cultivate key demographics and brands. And from the computer industry, video games have learned the benefits of planned obsolescence. This combination has resulted in globalized production of a highly popular cultural commodities. Unfortunately, the variety of commodities produced by the industry is rarely reflected in the literature of game studies, which has tended to emphasize only the game itself as worthy of study. When consumption has been discussed, it has been of the products themselves rather than of the resources needed to make them, and when labor and production are addressed, they are analyzed primarily as creative labor in an information economy. Thus, while it is known who the main producers of video game software are as well as who consumes most of these products on a global scale, very little attention has been given to the other side of the process: the production of chips, consoles, and other platforms. As a consequence the power relations represented by the various technologies needed to make the game play – in particular, platforms – have been largely unexplored. This project seeks to address a void in the research of video game studies by undertaking a critical political economic examination of the hardware production sector in order to begin to address questions about the power relations these technologies embody, particularly questions of globalized inequities represented by this system and environmental impacts.

#### Systemic Propaganda: A Political Economic Approach

Gerry Sussman — Portland State University, United States · sussmang@pdx.edu

In this paper, I analyze U.S. foreign policy toward Eastern Europe through the lens of systemic propaganda, by which I mean the embedment of professional promotional activity within what Castells calls the new informational mode of development. Propaganda is more conventionally understood as organized communication in the service of state or other powerful interests, but I treat propaganda conceptually as residing more essentially within the underlying political economy, most routinely employed by commercial interests in advertising, marketing, public relations, and other promotional requirements of the contemporary informational exchange economy. The United States and other leading industrial states are increasingly becoming nations of sellers, and this characteristic has "organically" transferred into the foreign policy arena. The central question is: How are the discursive practices of





U.S. foreign policy toward Central and Eastern Europe rendered through state and media exposition about the "transition" of this region toward becoming market economies and reliable allies in matters of international security.

## Privacy practices and dataveillance in social computing: empowering and/or disempowering users of social network sites

Jo Pierson — Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium · jo.pierson@vub.ac.be

Current transitions in the media and technology landscape go together with a shift from mass media and personal media to media for 'mass self-communication'. This is illustrated by the way that Web 2.0 or social computing tools (like social network sites and micro-blogging) are becoming engrained in Western everyday life, and the belief that the user is in the driver's seat of socio-technical innovation. However we observe a paradox. On the one hand the instruments and means for empowering users through social computing are proliferating, reinforcing the idea of users effectively becoming empowered. On the other hand we find that (1) empirical evidence about what user empowerment really consists of is too a large extent missing and (2) a risk of denial of the empowerment downside exists. After all user empowerment can also mean disempowerment. The latter is particularly visible in the relation between social computing, privacy and dataveillance. People's private activities are being increasingly exposed publicly due to digital traces left behind in the use of internet-based media. Surveillance and data mining techniques create a risk of diminishing the users' participation in society and hence the possibilities for empowerment. User empowerment is enhanced only insofar that users are aware and agree of their public-private status, and are able to protect their personal data. Research shows that many people are definitely aware of online privacy issues. Although many users are conscious of the threats for disempowerment related to governmental and commercial (re)use of personal data, they are not acting accordingly and/or do not always have the capabilities to control their online privacy. There are also substantial differences between various user groups, leading to a possible 'privacy divide'. As a consequence an in-dept investigation into the agency perspective of users, privacy and social computing is valuable. We need to understand how users adopt and 'domesticate' these interactive technologies within a particular political-economic setting. The paper focuses on the commercial monitoring, processing, profiling and commodifying of personal information, in an explicit way (e.g. electronic forms, digital footprint on social network sites) as well as in an implicit way (e.g. behaviorial advertising, cookies). A critical user-as-consumer perspective in a commercial digital context (of digital advertising and online direct marketing) is particularly relevant, since the everyday usage and practices are often absent. The paper is based on a literature review to deconstruct and define the different key concepts: social computing, user empowerment, privacy, dataveillance and profiling. This is complemented with empirical findings from different user age groups. We investigate their everyday practices and experiences of privacy and surveillance in social network sites (Facebook, MySpace and LinkedIn) through a multi-method research approach. We test if and how users experience a trade off between convenience, monetary benefits and personalisation in an online environment of information abundance on the one hand and the risks of re-use and misuse of personal data on the other hand.

#### Communication policies in Mexico. 22 years under the neoliberal logic (1988-2009).

Rodrigo Gomez — Universidad Autonoma Metropolitana, Mexico · rgg28jaguar@gmail.com

This paper address from a structural-historical perspective, the development of communication policies and telecommunications in Mexico driven by the Mexican administrations of Carlos Salinas, Ernesto Zedillo, Vicente Fox and Felipe Calderón. The research objectives are first towards the identification and characterization of communications policies in the Latin American country. Secondly, I analyze their logical, economic trends and political contexts in which they have built and driven. Finally, I assess the impacts of these policies on the





industries of communications and the Mexican communication system, as well as aspects related to the construction of citizenship and cultural diversity in Mexico

#### The emerging media power structure in China

YAN LI - Department of Social Science, Loughborough University, UK, United Kingdom · y.li@lboro.ac.uk

Compelled by the grand scheme of economic reform, Chinese society is changing rapidly. During the course of transformation and the constitution of China's new order, various social forces have to struggle for their own stakes over highly uneven terrains depending on their available sources. The ideology of economic liberalism is gaining momentum as a dominating ideology, but its influence is not without limits. The realm of public communication and media is one of the least liberalized sectors with the result that the impacts of the seemingly irresolvable tension created by the commercialisation of media operations on the one hand and the imperatives of ideological service on the other, has been a constant theme for academic reflection and analysis on the situation of Chinese media. This work has focused overwhelmingly on the role of the media in mediating relation between the party-state and the general public. This paper open a new direction in interpreting the political economy of Chinese media by studying the role of commercial media in mediating relations between the political elites and business elites, focusing particularly on the pivotal role of quasi-private commercial media represented by Caijing, China's leading magazine of critical financial and economic analysis. Due to their lack of clear definition and relatively short history, the phenomena of the kind of quasi-private commercial media in China have been relatively neglected in past research. This paper argues that their development has important implications for new dynamics in the formation of communication politics in transitional China. Drawing on original research, this paper examines the ways journalism mediates relations within the elite strata, specifically the relations between government and the new business class, and argues that the struggle for media power is a contest of not merely of economic strength, but to a greater extent of legitimising a new order of dominance.

Lógicas de uma Comunicação Transfronteiriça. Um estudo de caso na rádio. Reflexão sobre o processo de importação do programa "Janela Aberta", no Rádio Clube Português.

Catarina Sousa — , Portugal · catarinacgsousa@gmail.com

This study has the objective of reflecting about the logics which domain a "transborder" communication process, such as the importation of a radio program. As this is a process of a global nature where the "localness" is very important, we pretend to analyze the involved agents' procedures in this operation, to try to comprehend what is significant in a process of this nature. Through a case study, "Janela Aberta" broadcasted in "Rádio Clube Português", a Portuguese radio station, we will try to identify the different logics that are involved in the process of importation and implementation of this program, to comprehend if in one hand, this was a process that considered the social and cultural aspects of our reality, or in the other hand, if this was a process that was only guided through market forces, that considered social and cultural aspects in a strategic global perspective, only guided by economic interests. Aware of the multiplicity of finalities of the several agents that were involved in this complex phenomenon, we have adopted logic as a guide to interpretate and analyze the internal dynamics that are used in a "transborder" communication process. In the end, we will verify that in the confrontation of the different internal logics and dynamics, what emerges is an action and thinking pattern of economic nature that has a direct influence in the analyzed program course and content.





#### Reorganization in the main Spanish media groups

jose vicente Santamaria — , Spain · įvicente.santamaria@telefonica.net

This work try to analyse the whole reorganization which is taking place in the main Spanish mediagroups. The abundance of regulation changes, especially during 2009, with the approval of the new Audiovisual Law (by Royal Decree) and the state-owned TV financing model, the introduction of DTT Pay TV (50% of channels per player) has given green light to the first agreements between Tele 5 channel (Mediaset) and Cuatro (Sogecable), and also between Antena 3 y La Sexta; and finally to a new public Spanish TV status, which broadcast without commercials. In this new situation is not only possible mergers and takeovers, but since television is the main asset of the great multimedia groups, there will be a deep transformation of the forces and a clear trend towards bigger oligopoly; vanishing perhaps one of the main characteristics of Spanish multimetia groups ("the mutant oligopoly"), with two o three big groups which control the whole scene (always with the permission of the main telephone companies) and the conversion of the multiple familiar groups.

#### Multimedia and Multiplatform: The Rise of the Preschool Content Specialist in Britain

Jeanette Steemers — University of Westminster, United Kingdom · steemers@btinternet.com

Children's television is one of the most globalised programming forms, albeit one that has long been dominated by three US-based corporations (Disney, Viacom and Time Warner) who are expert at leveraging their TV brands across children's entertainment and consumer products worldwide. Yet within the preschool niche US transnationals do not have the market to themselves, as others have sought to engage in preschool content creation, motivated variously by creative, commercial or educational considerations. Within the context of a more globalised media environment, this paper examines how and why a small number of British preschool programming specialists emerged from the mid-1990s to compete internationally for the preschool audience. Focusing on the background and strategies of key players, it demonstrates how the UK preschool sector was transformed from an essentially non-commercial, domestic enterprise into an internationally lucrative one. Particular attention is paid to the strategies of HIT Entertainment (Bob the Builder), Entertainment Rights (Postman Pat), Chorion Noddy), Ragdoll Productions (Teletubbies), RDF Media (Waybuloo) and Chapman Entertainment (Fifi and the Flowertots) in order to ascertain commonalities and differences. With rare exceptions, the paper shows that this has become a market, where companies concentrate on funding, owning and managing rights to preschool brands across multiple platforms, generating global revenues and satisfying investors in much the same way as Disney or Viacom. This has implications for range and diversity, as production becomes more focused on animation rather than live action formats, which are less attractive for international sales or commercial exploitation. The topic is relevant to the conference theme of communication and citizenship because it addresses how childhood and children are constructed by industry practitioners in the interests of commercial as well as curricular or creative goals. In terms of existing knowledge, the paper goes beyond the usual US experience, building on findings from a 2- year project funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council on the 'The Production Ecology of Preschool TV in Britain'. For while there is a rich seam of research on the impact of television on children, there is little on the changing institutional and economic circumstances of children's content production, particularly outside the US. This paper contributes to new knowledge by demonstrating the specific factors that have determined the approaches of British players. The research is based on close analysis of company strategies, supported by interview evidence, which seeks to identify the specific commercial, creative and audience considerations that shape approaches to the preschool market. In terms of findings and lessons it demonstrates the degree to which British producers have adapted to meet the demands of the international market at the expense of domestic prerogatives and policy.





#### Towards a Three-Template Model of Television News

Joe Atkinson — University of Auckland, New Zealand · j.atkinson@auckland.ac.nz

By Joe Atkinson University of Auckland, New Zealand. Recent tendencies, toward journalistic self-absorption and celebrification on the one hand, and toward more variegated and populist modes of news presentation on the other, reflect growing pressures for contemporary journalism, particularly on television, to meet three overlapping (but conflicting) goals: to serve democracy, to cut costs and to maximize audiences. Journalists and their editorial managers are now beholden to standards of performance built into industrial performance templates imported from outside what used to be regarded as the journalistic 'field'. As the new styles of journalistic performance win acceptance and are internalised, older conceptions of the public interest are stretched to accommodate them. This paper distinguishes three sets of criteria for journalistic 'performance': ethical (P1), commercial (P2) and theatrical (P3). These are elaborated in turn with respect to their industrial origins, their underlying conceptions of the public interest, and their productive consequences. The three-template model extends Franklin's (2003) critique of McJournalism by: a) providing a fuller account of the (P2) McDonaldization of television news, b) more precisely demarcating backstage (P2) and frontstage (P3) elements of journalistic performance, and c) elaborating a new P3 news template with reference to Bryman's (2004) work on Disneyization. The model is then employed to pose new theoretical questions about the tensions between P1 journalism and its P2-P3 encrustations, about potential conflicts between P2 and P3 modes of behaviour, and about which P3 characteristics might be more or less compatible with P1. The paper concludes with a New Zealand case study highlighting tensions between P2 and P3 modes of performance and harmful audience effects.

#### Cosmopolitic, Media, and New Sensibilities in Latin American

Sebastião Costa — Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Norte, Brazil · sgac@ufrnet.br Maria Lima — Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Norte, Brazil · mariaerica@cchla.ufrn.br

Cosmopolitics, Media, and New Sensibilities in Latin America This study takes the concepts of cosmopolitics and media culture to examine some contemporary Latin American social practices and contents that can be articulated within the notion of new sensibilities. Despite the global view of society articulated by this implied project, we consider a certain amount of regional idiosyncrasy in terms of it being a strategy to face the so-called information society. An historical overview highlights an increasing tendency for politics, the economy, and the media to converge in order to stablish identities. In the 19th and the early 20th centuries identities was embodied by nationalism, a significant system that shaped state institutions and the social meanings.

Nationalism was based on state ownership of a very large range of industries, enterprises and, mainly, natural resources. The tipe representations regime that emerged in order to legitimize this kind of social squeme is not feasible in today's world. Given the complexity and interations among the local, regional, and global dimensions of social life, media and arts discourses are not longer able to sustain the same system of representation and will have to forge a new system that provokes positive outcomes in negotiations among those trhee dimensionals motifs. Thus, instead of a nationalistic policy, we propose the term cosmopolitics, which includes the institutional support upon which the very local cultural forms hold them within the global framework.

## Convenient fictions? A critical communicative perspective on financial accumulation, autopoiesis and crisis in the wake of the credit crunch.

Peter Thompson — Unitec Department of Communication Studies, · pthompson@unitec.ac.nz

Recent turmoil in the financial markets following the sub-prime mortgage crisis and the credit crunch has repercussions in many other spheres of society. Governments have spent trillions of taxpayer dollars propping up the banking system in order to avoid systemic financial collapse. Significant public policy questions are being





raised about the sustainability of the monetarist macroeconomic paradigm and the dogmatic neoliberal faith in financial deregulation. Media discourses have included open criticism of the finance sector. However, the right of private banks to create money through the issuance of credit and the generation of fictitious values through the securitisation of anticipated future revenue remain peripheral to policy debate, even though they lie at the heart of the recent crises. Although Marx provided the seminal critique of capitalism's internal contradictions, his work on credit-money and financial accumulation processes were never fully developed. However, the more recent work of Hyman Minsky emphasises the role of credit systems in financial markets' endogenous tendency toward crisis. This paper proposes to extend a Marxist critique of contemporary financial crises using Minksy's financial instability hypothesis. However, this requires emphasis on the reflexive communicative processes underpinning credit-money and fictitious financial values. In doing so, it will highlight the role of media and communication systems in accumulation regimes and the risks posed to the lifeworld as financial processes become increasingly self-referential and autopoietic.

#### Financialization of the Asian Game Industry in the Midst of the Global Recession

Dal Yong Jin - Simon Fraser University, Canada · djin@sfu.ca

The online game industry has become one of the most dynamic in the global cultural and financial markets in the early 21st century. Due to the potential of interactive games as an ideal-type commodity of post-Fordist capital, the online game industry in Asia has been rapidly transnationalized primarily in two different ways, which are the financialization of the online game market. One is that the global integration of online game corporations in a form of mergers and acquisitions (M&As) has been enormous in Asia. Transnational capitals have become the global mega game giants by acquiring smaller Asian developers and publishers. The other is that several Asian online game firms directly finance through the U.S. stock market as well as the domestic stock market. The new financing system has brought a vast amount of money to these online game firms; however, it also proves that more or less Asian online game industries are increasingly dependent on or integrated into a system of transnational commerce, including foreign capital, as well as distribution channels, management expertise, and technology. This particular study is a critical analysis of the recent trends of financialization mainly to ascertain whether these trends are confirmation that financialization plays a pivotal role in the game market in the midst of globalization, in particular, in the midst of the global economic crisis. The major focus will not only be on capital flow but also on financing, meaning that it is to map out the way in which the Asian online game industry has developed its financialization process, in order to fully understand the nature of globalization. Eventually, it discusses whether the financialization of the game industry has promoted a shift of traditional interpretations of cultural dominance by Western countries in the global market in the midst of globalization.

#### Newspapers, Popular Music and Young Readers: Does Cross-ownership really affect Media Content?

Yehiel Limor — Shenkar College, Israel · hilik32@013.net.il Ines Gabel — The Open University, Israel · inesga@openu.ac.il

Criticism of centralization in mass communications, of which cross-ownership is a common manifestation, focuses mainly on two issues: • Centralized control of numerous media vested in only a few hands limits the free market of opinions and ideas and adversely affects democratic quality of life and helps perpetuate the hegemony of existing elites. • Media conglomerates are using their power and enormity to promote their overall business interests, including but not limited to media and communications, through the media they control. We attempt to trace and assess the exploitation of cross-ownership or the synergetic power wielded by the conglomerates to promote their varied business interests. This case study examines two media conglomerates that control most of the mass media market in Israel. During the research period each conglomerate possessed a flagship daily newspaper, along with extensive media enterprises, including periodicals, local papers, partnership in commercial and cable television firms, billboard agencies and publishing houses. Each also owned





youth weekly and a music production company. According to the prevailing critical view, each of the conglomerates would be expected to use its youth weekly to promote its music company, as young people are the principal consumers of popular music. This was not the case, however. A systematic examination of musicrelated content in the two respective weeklies over a one-year period reveals no significant differences between them in journalistic handling of artists and popular music – including reviews, feature articles, cover photos, posters, lyrics, new CD recommendations and the like – nor any overt bias attributable to cross-ownership. Contrary to the commonly accepted theory, cross-ownership apparently does not affect content. At least two explanations are offered to explain the findings: • Weak central conglomerate management that failed to compel subsidiaries to cooperate in overall synergetic efforts. • Economic factors motivated conglomerates to grant autonomy to their respective subsidiaries, enabling each to maximize profits accordingly. In the case under study, each of the youth weeklies focuses on the music world's most popular artists, promoting their respective business interests independently of the music companies with which they are affiliated. The findings thus show that media conglomerates do not necessarily lead to content homogeneity - with all its social and cultural implications - and the dangers inherent in the power of media conglomerates are not always as extensive and comprehensive as might be imagined. Nevertheless, the conglomerates may intentionally grant some freedom of activity to their subsidiaries as a kind of fig leaf, obscuring the sophisticated and at times latent economic and political control they wield.

## Defining childhood through media policy

Maire Messenger Davies — University of Ulster, United Kingdom · m.messenger-davies@ulster.ac.uk

In the context of the conference theme of communication and citizenship, Maire Messenger Davies, author of Children, media and culture (Open University Press, forthcoming, 2010) addresses the definition and re-definition of childhood by media policy-makers and practitioners. Historically, such (re)definitions usually come about in response to changes in new communications technology; currently political and public concern focuses on the internet (see Selwyn, 2003). Messenger Davies discusses how attempts to redefine childhood recur whenever a new communications medium is introduced (c.f. print, film, broadcasting, television). The presentation will look at the implications of this constant public reinvention of what 'a child' is for children's own media provision. For example, since 2006, the main British public service broadcaster, the BBC, has decided that its children's services - the broadcast schedule on BBC1, CBBC, and the digital children's channel, CBBC - should only be targeted at under 12s. What lies behind this major public service broadcaster's decision to end childhood at 11? Is this based on changing notions of contemporary children within society at large (the popular perception that, thanks to new media, they are 'growing up too soon' - Palmer, 2006?), or is it a decision more motivated by specific economic considerations within the broadcasting industry? Is there evidence for the belief that the young teen audience no longer needs broadcast material, now that it has Facebook and Bebo? Is television, particularly, no longer seen as having a civic function for the young? Does the BBC's decision reflect, or shape, public perceptions of childhood? The paper discusses how these changing constructions of childhood, reflected in media policy, are consistent - or not - with political discourses within the sociology and psychology of childhood about children's agency and rights as well as their safety and security. REFERENCES Messenger Davies, M. (2010) Children, media and culture, Maidenhead: Open University Press/McGraw Hill Palmer, S. (2006) Toxic childhood, London: Orion Press Selwyn, N. (2003) 'Doing IT for the kids': re-examining children, computers and the 'information society', Media Culture and Society, 25 (3) 351-378

### Neoliberal Newspeak and Digital Capitalism in Crisis

Paula Chakravartty — UMass Amherst, United States · pchakrav@comm.umass.edu

Dan Schiller — University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, United States · dschille@illinois.edu

In this paper we situate the current financial crisis in relationship to the transformed domestic and transnational field of business and financial news, encompassing traditional and new media and across the blurred boundaries





of infotainment. After briefly reprising the transition to a neoliberal digital capitalism and the crisis to which it has led, we show that economic journalism has been no mere reflection but a constitutive element of the crisis. Our objective here is to provide a political economic overview of the evolution of the dominant business and financial news field primarily in the US and provisionally in terms of linked transnational transformations. We find that a new financial- and market news frame emerged as the field of economic news began to be rearranged and enlarged. We show how this arose out of practical business decisions reflecting political economic and cultural changes, not through some trans-historical or technological imperative. The process of constructing what we may call a speculative news frame reconfigured news production in three specific ways. First, we try to show that that the sheer ubiquity of financial news and infotainment since the 1990s, played a direct institutional role in legitimating the larger financialization process, by transmuting the "possibilities for increasing commercialization of risk in contemporary financial practices—and the massive growth in derivative markets" (De Goede, 2005, pp. 142-143) into common sense (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2001). Secondly, we demonstrate that the ascent of this news frame was predicated on a major redeployment of economic resources, as communications industry capital channeled investments into market- and financial news – this on a transnational scale. Third, we argue that in the last three decades, stories prominent on the pages and screens of the globally integrated financial news field exerted a powerful form of symbolic violence, normalizing and depoliticizing what was not too long ago understood as fringe economic theories. This dominant practice effectively closed off perspectives from competing genres of economic journalism addressing readers and viewers as workers, as opposed to consumers, (potential) entrepreneurs and investors. News coverage, we argue, constitutes a complex but patterned speech act within an ever-ongoing social drama. We begin this article discussing the moment that many within the business news field identified as a turning point in the history of neoliberalism in the US, and by extension, the world. Upon reflection we contend that it is certainly too early to tell what, if anything, has changed in terms of the continued dominance of neoliberal newspeak. In this paper, we try to make sense of the meaning of this drama, and contend that we must do more than accord scrutiny to media representations of a process that is supposedly occurring someplace else. Without casting into question the continued centrality of communications and information as a pole of market growth, therefore, the collapse underlines this role's basic bipolarity: today it has been demonstrated that the "new economy" of digital capitalism is as starkly susceptible to the mood-swings of capital as was its ancestor.

### Privileged Consumption Space: The Communicating Space for Brands' Consumption.

Viviane Riegel - ESPM/SP, Brazil · vriegel@espm.br

The nineteenth century saw the growth of cities before the industrial system of mass production. Within this process, the bourgeois class redefines the private space, turning their homes and families the place where one could keep his individual rights. At the same time, the public space of cities was going through changes, developing new contexts of social mediations. Walter Benjamin portrayed the city of Paris, with its new streets and boulevards, its area of enjoyment and reverie, before news of modernity. In this space appears the figure of the flâneur, who walks through the crowd "like a personality" (Benjamin, 1985, p.81), with its own pace, challenging the division of labor, living for leisure and consumption of the city that affects his eyes. By consuming the city, the flâneur walks through spaces where goods are commercialized - stores - and he delivers himself to the phantasmagoria of their windows and packaging that reach its symbolic potential of social mediations in this context. From the modern context to the contemporary, stores are important elements of urban settings that compose a place where advertising communication has its synthesized expression, creating a home for their own brands (Semprini, 2006, p. 205). From the functional point of view, stores are brand placements, or spaces for marketing of goods. In this sense, it has been incorporated into marketing strategies, including the location where products are sold. Amongst marketing strategies, brand placement has the role of giving consumers access to the product offering. But can we say that stores have only a commercial role, since in its spatiality mediations take place through visual aspects and communicability of signs of the brand, consumed beyond goods that are being offered? In the privileged consumption space, communication flows are present, and they





translate the idea of the brand experience, in an organized manner according to the proportion of its project, as well as the construction and reproduction of its spatiality. This space is related to the cultural mediations, following time changes and subjectivity production, and so it becomes the very own brand spectacle, dialoging with the context in which it is inserted. The analysis of a privileged consumption space is developed based on the categories of spatiality (Ferrara, 2008) applied in McDonald's stores throughout the world, in proportion, by means of the brand strategy that limits and orders the look upon them; in construction, by its visibility regiments; and in reproduction, proposing the place as a commodity for consumption. Temporality is also characterized in this study, in its diachronic dimension, which represents the mobility of the semantic space that makes codes change temporarily and procedurally. The production of subjectivity is then underlined, to help us understand this space as the one where privileged consumption of McDonald's brand take place. The analysis is based on the traditional store, inserted on the fast food culture, by the repetition of signs related to the brand; as well as the new stores strategy also searches in comparison the synchrony with new meanings, such as the slow food culture. From the discursive scenes set in this communicating space, it is considered the ethos (Maingueneau, 2008) of the brand, according to the strategic transformations in McDonald's territory. BENJAMIN, Walter. A Paris do segundo império em Baudelaire. In: KOTHE, Flávio (org.). Walter Benjamin. São Paulo: Ática, 1985. FERRARA, Lucrecia D'Alessio Comunicação espaço cultura. São Paulo: Annablume, 2008. MAINGUENEAU, Dominique. A propósito do ethos. In: MOTTA, Ana Raquel & SALGADO, Luciana (orgs.). Ethos discursivo. São Paulo: Contexto, 2008. SEMPRINI, Andrea. A marca pós-moderna. São Paulo: Estação das Letras, 2006.

#### Localisation Strategies of US-owned Children's Television Networks in Five European Markets

Alessandro D'Arma — University of Westminster, · A.Darma02@westminster.ac.uk

Jeanette Steemers — University of Westminster, United Kingdom · Steemers@btinternet.com

Transnational children's networks are today among the most successful players in the global television business. The sector is dominated by three of the world's leading US-based media conglomerates – Disney, Time Warner (Cartoon Network) and Viacom (Nickelodeon). Over the last 15 years these players have expanded the international distribution of their own-branded children's networks, exploiting favourable regulatory conditions and technological advances in distribution giving them direct access to audiences. In different European territories this strategy is visible in the launch of 'localised', or country-specific, versions of their channels. By 2008, for instance, Nickelodeon operated in Europe with 11 localised versions of its flagship channel as well as a pan-European feed. This study is primarily concerned with the extent to which US children's players are prepared to embrace investment in local content, the true test of any financially committed localisation strategy, as opposed to minor adaptations in scheduling and programme links. As has been pointed out, 'going local' does not necessarily involve producing local content. By examining the broadcast output of the leading transnational children's channels in five European countries (Germany, Britain, France, Italy and the Netherlands), the paper seeks to identify those factors that determine and shape their programming strategies linked to 'localisation by local production' in these different countries. Our study shows consistently high levels of wholly-owned US animation on transnational channels. It therefore suggests that the distribution of standardised products for all markets continues to outweigh any perceived advantages of localisation by local production, particularly if local content is not owned by the transnational. This stems from the economy of scale benefits to vertically-integrated transnationals from leveraging wholly-owned universally appealing brands to as many territories as possible in a 'controlled branded environment' (Chalaby, 2009: 125). The study also indicates that, while US programming dominates everywhere, the degree to which US transnationals are likely to adapt their offerings varies significantly across national markets, depending on a variety of market, cultural and, perhaps most importantly, regulatory factors. In particular, it shows that investment in local production by US children's channels is encouraged by regulatory demands for local content placed on all broadcasters, including commercial ones (as in France) as well as by strong competition from public service suppliers (as in Britain).





#### News Reporting on Economy: an overview

Dino Viscovi - Linnæus University, Sweden, Sweden · dino.viscovi@lnu.se

The current economic crisis is probably the deepest recession since the Great Depression of the 1930's. The crisis is global, nearly all economies are affected, large and small, developed and underdeveloped, open and closed. Several goverments have been forced to spend vast amounts of money on banks, financial institutes and industries to avoid an even deeper crisis. The situation brings questions to the fore about economic policy, the future economic order, and democracy. It also raises research questions about the media and news reporting on economy: What do we actually know about media representations of the economy, about news production and audience reception? Compared to other areas of study, such as media and gender, ethnicity, politics, sports etc, the amount of research is limited. The paper provides an overview of the bulk of research (in English and the Nordic languages) from the three to four last decades. It describes different approaches and traditions, and offers suggestions for theoretical development, as well as new research questions. Part one deals with sources and news production. The main nes sources, studys show, represent an elite which, above finacial resources, also possess substantial discoursive resources, which puts news organisations in inferior positions. Part two treats economic news reporting as a genre of text. The genre is charachtarized by a high frequency of theoretical concepts, 'business jargon', and numerical data. The financial markets are given significant attention; experts, from the stock market in particular, participate regularly. Part three, audience reception, describe the audience's willingness to read/watch economy reporting, and the abilities for a lay audience to comprehend it. Finally, the paper raises questions about ideology and ideology production. The paper is a part of the project "Taxes – Media - Citizens" funded by the Swedish Council for Working Life and Social Research, the Riksbankens Jubileumsfond and the Swedish Tax Agency.

#### Economic crisis and new ICT.

Arkady Rusakov - non, Russian Federation · arkrus@rambler.ru

Feature of this economic crisis that it passes in epoch of intensive development of information and communicative technologies. Almost all philosophers writing 15-20 years back about information society did not doubt a radical renewal of the life of mankind in this new formation, but most of them analyzed one-side of problem as a result in too optimistical social prophecy. Group of scientists: F. Webster, A. Giddens, and G. Schiller, and others, who believe that information and ICT have really played a main role in modern society, but believe that the form and function of modern information exchange and interaction are obey to established social principles and practices. Try to trace the changes that actually occurred in society over recent years. Socioeconomic sector is increasingly depends on information, development and implementation of new ICT. Strengthening the role of information and new information technologies (especially information systems) has allowed some researchers said about the appearance of the new economy. It is believed that such a volume of technological innovation should lead to social reconstruction, because its impact on society is significant. The scientific literature said a lot about the dangers of a technocratic approach to social problems. Analyst at the problems have a lot of questions. Thus, F. Webster specifies a vagueness and nebula of technological criteria connected with definition of a concrete society as information. Uncritical attitude toward the theory of information society can not properly assess informational trends in socio - economic sphere. Democratic principles which today have strengthened in political sphere of the majority of the countries, practically have not concerned the corporations. Thus, it is possible to ascertain that «industrial democracy» and «flexible specialization» and so on in a greater degree are obliged by the occurrence not ICT, and to requirements of the modern market, an aggravation of competitive struggle and social problems. Information and communicative technologies here are used as the tool of the decision of complicate problems of corporations in conditions of the modern globalized market. Use of this tool gives inconsistent results from the point of view of use of various models of information-





communicative technologies. As the whole, it can be said that for today any great changes in economic relations and interactions have not occurred. Information-communicative technologies have not led to just a little serious changes in wage labour system, in commodity manufacture, have not cancelled and have not led to just a little appreciable redistribution to a private property. As before, in modern economy market criteria remain to be on the first place, but the corporate organization system dominates. All this testify to remaining of old social and economic relations. The development and application in economy modern ICT does not automatically decide available there problems, and can and create new. The overcoming of the crisis phenomena in economy is impossible without consideration of social aspects and in particular without reasonable "democratization" at acceptance of the important decisions in financial and economic sphere.

### Re-thinking Change in the Music Industry System. A Pluralist Economic Viewpoint

Jim Rogers — Dublin City University, Ireland · jim.rogers@dcu.ie

Sergio Sparviero — Dublin City University, Ireland · sergio.sparviero@dcu.ie

Economics has been defined an 'imperial science' because economists attempt to 'colonize' other disciplines by investigating various topics with their tools and methodology (Wildman 2008). In this paper, we argue that only the neoclassical economic approach is 'imperialist', while alternative economic theories are more suited to multidisciplinary investigations within the fields of political economy and communication studies. In order to illustrate this point, we first highlight what we consider to be the main shortcomings of mainstream economics. We then introduce and examine the key features of two alternative economic approaches: innovation studies and complexity economics. We draw upon these alternative economic approaches to inform an evolutionary account of the key changes that have taken place in the music industry in recent decades. In particular, we consider the music industry as a system composed of different activities which we divide into three value-chain stages: (1) content making, (2) distribution and marketing, and (3) delivery and exhibition. We proceed to provide two representations of this system: first, we consider the case of the music industry prior to the advent of digitalisation; second, we consider the case of the music industry post the advent of digitalisation. While, in considering the music industry, many authors and commentators relate 'digital' largely to the sphere of distribution with the emergence of the internet, our second 'post-digital' system takes a 'longer-term' view of digitalisation. Thus, our 'cut-off' point between these two systems is the simultaneous widespread adoption of digital technologies in the spheres of music production and consumption in the early 1980s in the forms of MIDI (Musical Instrument Digital Interface) and CD Compact Disc) respectively. So, we first consider the music industry prior to these technologies. Then we consider its evolution subsequent to their advent. We ultimately we compare the chain of activities within these two pre-digital and post-digital systems. We consider how relationships between different activities have evolved from the pre-digital world to the contemporary era. In doing this we draw upon a range of qualitative data obtained primarily from forty interviews conducted with key music industry informants and personnel. Finally, we employ our representations to discuss the implications of the digitalisation of media for the role, interests and power of both corporate and non-corporate actors in the music industry.

#### Communication, Control and Value in Social Media

katharine sarikakis - University of Leeds, United Kingdom · k.sarikakis@leeds.ac.uk

This paper argues that citizens participating in social media are called to provide not only their personal data but also a significant amount of unpaid labour. The ways in which the participation in a socialisation process is being capitalised and monetised by social media companies seem to become more complex and sophisticated and to operate at least on three levels: the visible micro-level of voluntary information provision on behalf of the user-citizen; the level of covert and overt behavioural marketing and the level of policy. These constitute a structural





framework within which citizens capacity and means for intervention and resistance are compromised. The paper takes a close look at Facebook and explores these issues in the light of a series of citizens' complaints and legal actions against the company. The paper argues that underlying privacy policies constitute the supporting mechanisms for securing value out of users' 'leisure' time and activity while on social media. It also argues that control over either private data or the conditions under which citizens communicate is firmly in the hands of interindustrial alliances between the electronics, military, communications industries.

## First National Conference on Communication as a potential way to (un)successful democratization of media and communications in Brazil

Edgard Reboucas — Federal University of Espirito Santo - Brazil, Brazil · edreboucas.br@gmail.com

During the year 2009 thousands of Brazilians had opportunity to discuss a kind of taboo subject imposed by media groups: the democratization of communications. This article describes and analyzes the hard process that occurred since the end of the military dictatorship in 1985 until the realization of the First National Conference on Communication (Confecom), a government mechanism that put together different interest groups to debate and recommend policies to the sector using steps in municipal, state and national levels. It was the first time that a large part of Brazilian society had opportunity to listen – and to talk – about broadcast licenses, community radios, free broadband Internet access, Press Law, communication as a human right, among others subjects. After some months of a lot of noise and rhetorical fights between those that advocacy for public interests against those that aims private interests – both with the same slogan: "freedom of expression" – 672 proposals were approved and sent to some ministries (e.g. Communications, Education, Culture, Justice, Science and Technology) and to National Congress. For those who have hope, this First Confecom is the real possibility to change of scenery in Brazilian media and communications framework, but for those more skeptical it is much ado about nothing. This paper is one of the first steps of a longitudinal research to observe developments and results of this process of citizenship of this hidden matter in next years.

### The citizenship proposed by companies: potentialities and limitations.

Ricardo Camargo — ESPM, Brazil · zagallo@espm.br

The present work, part of a PhD research, aims at understanding how the corporate social responsibility discourse is developed. It inserts this discourse into the dispute of the political and social articulation and also focus on the citizenship concept developed and spread out by the companies. The theoretical references used to develop the object include texts from Hannah Arendt, Milton Santos and Nestor Garcia Canclini. The work has a quality basis and the French line Discourse Analysis (DA) as its method. The corpus is composed by a group of 170 journalistic articles, collected in 2006 and 2007 among the main newspapers from the Brazilian press, including titles emphasizing marketing and marketing communication. The corpus choice is explained by the central role that the means of communication has on the representations development widely accepted in society, as show Marilena Chauí and Guy Debord, among other authors. The results indicate that the corporate discourse about social develops its identity from denying the conflict between the social classes and establishes single answers linked to sustainability and productive chain. Facing this issue, the recognizing of Power differences and the denaturalization of a citizenship based exclusively on the productive chain – being by production or consumption – are considered important elements to establish an effective dialogue with the companies proposals.





#### Mobile Television: between Convergence and Commodification of Cultural Industries

Andreu Casero — Universitat Jaume I de Castellón (Spain), Spain · casero@com.uji.es

Convergence introduces several transformations into Cultural Industries' structures and dynamics. The option to receive television signal into mobile devices with 3G technologies is one of these changes. This article analyzes new phenomenon from Political Economy of Communication focus. As a consequence, all 3G mobile television technologic, economic and political dimensions will be studied, by taking the European context and specifically Spanish market as a reference. The results show that new method of television broadcasting is more positioned to potentiate economic factors than media integration based on convergence logics. This new system is contributing to reinforce the commodification of cultural industries. In this way, it moves television away from public services logics, setting it as a mere complement of media companies' commercial strategies. In conclusion, 3G mobile TV assumes decisive importance since besides placing as the forth screen it is helping to re-define classic concept of television.

#### REVAMPING CITIZENSHIP IN COMMUNICATION POLICY: A LESSON FROM PSB 2.0

Benedetta Brevini — University of Westminster, United Kingdom · brevinb@westminster.ac.uk

Quite increasingly in communication policy debates around the world, the notion of citizenship has become out of fashion. Public management studies show for example how the main focus of contemporary administrative reforms in the U.S and, significantly, in Europe (New Public Management) is on consumer sovereignty rather than on citizens' sovereignty (Kettl, 2000: 1-2). The same is true for communication policy where there is a tendency of addressing people not as citizens of nation states but as consumption units of a corporate world. Among the instances of this dangerous phenomenon is the insistence of providing the citizens with broadened consumer choices, neglecting the fact that citizens "might want to make choices that diverge from those that they make in their capacities as private consumers" (Sustein, 2007: 127). Evidently, even when policy makers address citizens, they tend to refer to a notion of citizenship that constitutes just a sum of individual choices whereas they completely neglect the social component of citizenship This paper aims to revamp the debate around the notion of citizenship in communication policy by referring to a media policy instrument that I have named PSB 2.0. By PSB 2.0 I mean a set of new policies regarding online media – a phase 2.0 of PSB – that aims to fulfill the democratic, social and cultural needs of the citizens by transferring traditional Public service broadcasting ethos online. In fact, while the connection between citizenship and PSB has been emphasized very often by European scholarship, a discussion on how to address citizens while developing online media policies has not yet been elaborated. What kind of citizenship should a media policy instrument like PSB 2.0 address? What do we mean by citizenship? If citizenship is seen simply as a collection of individual freedoms – as in the neo-liberal approach – then there is no room for collective rights and solidarity. Consequently, it is necessary to deconstruct the notion of citizenship and to retrieve (and rebuild) an idea of citizenship that is consistent with an idea of democracy that is not simply reduced to market choices.

#### Crisis, what crisis? Media: business and journalism in times of crisis.

Laura Bergés Saura — Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain · laura.berges@uab.cat Rosario de Mateo — Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain · rosario.demateo@uab.cat Anna Garnatxe — Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain · Anna.Garnatxe@uab.cat

Advertising in traditional media is declining, stock market prices of media enterprises are falling, traditional media consumption is going down, and unemployment in media is rising. The economic crisis in the media sector is clear. But, is it only an economic crisis? Or is it also a crisis in journalism and its social function in democracies? And, in this case, is it a result of the economic and financial crises? Or, on the contrary, has it





been set during the years of high profitability and high remunerations in main media firms? The paper analyses this two sides of the crisis —business and journalism crisis—, looking at the evolution of media in Spain. To understand how media have reached such a point, however, it is necessary to look at the economic and political transformations after the previous crisis in the seventies, and the limits of the solutions adopted. Transformations and limits effecting also media industries, as they have become part of the new economic model proposed. So the paper looks first into this economic and political frame, to go then to the analyses of the media business evolution in the last two decades, and its effects on journalism. The paper raises the matter of an overproduction crisis in media markets, similar to overproduction of other consumption goods in the seventies. As a result, there has been a restructuration of advertising markets and an increase and redistribution in media consumption both analysed in terms of changes in offer and demand—. This restructuration has had different consequences for different media. So this is another element in the analyses: whom, and to what extent, is the crisis affecting? To explain that, the paper looks into the transformation in the business models in the last decades, from the familiar monomedia enterprises, to big multimedia groups, based on outsourcing production models and more dependants on advertising income and external financial resources. All these changes, in the political-economic context, and in media markets and industries, have affected the way of making journalism, and the situation of journalism inside the communication and social systems itself. This is the other part of the analyses, where the paper tackle with the conflicts between the marketing, production and financial strategies of media firms and the requirements of journalism: the economic and political dependences of media firms and journalists; trivialization and emotions as a way to reduce costs and raise audiences; job insecurity and precarious employment for precarious journalism; are some of the aspects taken into account to discuss the change in the social function of journalism. A social function which is been partly assumed by citizens and civic organizations offering information; while media firms are exploring new business models, but with more attention on searching new income sources, than on introducing significant changes in the production and financial models which, as is discussed in the text, are a fundamental ingredient of the crisis of journalism.

#### communication transversal corporations: global threat of democracy?

Carlos Galvis – regular, Colombia · cagalvis@gmail.com

In a world convulsed by the power of Communication Transversal Corporations or CTC, not only the social and public come into play but also democracy, which of CTC pretend to defend. The inequality and exclusion in the access to information are affecting democracy and communication. It is a sine qua non condition to have the population as primary actor of political deliberation in the construction of the social and public in order to condition the survival of democracy as a guarantee of human viability. From crisis, chaos and uncertainty, public communication starts to be outlined as a strategy to face this form of social suppression. This article is a product of a completed research titled "Public Communication: a space for the construction of democracy" done by the research team on Corporative Communication –CORPUS–, supported by the Communication Department and the Office of the Vice Rector for Research at Universidad de Medellín (Colombia).

#### Policy structures and the global expansion of transnational children's television channels

*Katalin Lustyik* — Ithaca College, · klustyik@ithaca.edu *Norma Pecora* — Ohio University, United States · pecora@ohio.edu

Grounded in McChesney's argrument that if we are to understand how best to inspire a rich mediated cultural experience for children and young people we must, understand the process under which policy is designed and flourishes (2002). Coupling that with the work by Curran and Park (2000) in De-Westernizing Media Studies, we use a way of thinking about global media systems that "takes account of the experiences of countries outside the Anglo-American orbit" (11). They offer a more complex understanding of regulation that is based on the two





dimensions of democratic/authoritarian and neo-liberal/regulated. While this typology offers us a structured understanding of regulatory principles, we have to acknowledge that the situation is complicated by technologies that allow for satellite distribution and web-site availability. Using Viacom's Nickelodeon, one of the three largest branded children's channels that dominate the global children's media market, we will attempt to explain their positions in the marketplace using Curran and Park's typology in six countries that (1) reflect the global economy and (2) is representative of each continents. Our question seeks an answer to McChesney's (2002) call to understand the process under which children's policy is designed and flourishes while attempting to explain the growth of transnational television channels targeting children in a global marketplace. References: Curran, J., Park, M. (2000). Introduction. In De-Westernizing Media Studies. Eds. James Curran and Myung-Jin Park. NY: Routledge. McChesney, R. (2002). Children, Young People, and Media Policy. In Children, Young People, and Media Globalisation. Eds. Cecilia von Feilitzen and Ulla Carlsson. Goteborg Swedent: UNESCO International Clearinghouse.

#### The new strategy of the Mexican TV moguls

German Sanchez — University Autonomous of Queretaro, Mexico · yomeros666@hotmail.com

Before 2007, Mexican parties used to collect private funding for campaigns. This is the typical American way of campaigning: in order to pay political advertising, the candidates collect money from lobbies, corporations, private citizens, etc. But in 2007, Mexican congress passed a law to prohibit such contracts. Since then, time needed by political parties to broadcast their advertising is provided by Federal Electoral Institute (IFE). Instead of the money they have to pay for taxes to the government, media corporations provide an amount of time to the electoral authorities through the government. This time is used to program political advertising from every political party in radio stations and TV channels. In most of European countries, the same model of campaigning is used. Mexican media corporations are supposed to lose their contracts of political advertising with this new model of campaigning similar to the one used in European countries. This is an important issue due to the control two TV moguls, Televisa and TV Azteca, exert over the Mexican public sphere. Both corporations are the biggest of their kind (in Spanish speaking countries) in the world. At the beginning of the 2009 electoral process, these companies led a sabotage of the political advertising program designed by the Electoral Institute. Nevertheless, Electoral Institute didn't penalize them. Instead, IFE chose to negotiate with the TV moguls the correct broadcasting of the political advertising program. Following this illegal behavior others came. For example, TV companies provided free, political advertising to some candidates. Finally, at the end of electoral process, some journalists found out that a group of deputies in the federal congress followed orders from TV moguls. Such deputies were recruited in the families and in between TV Azteca and Televisa's workers. This process of intervention of the TV moguls in Mexican politics means a new era for public sphere. After the 2007 electoral reform, the privileges TV moguls used to negociate with the government where exchanged for a real participation of such corporations in government decisions. The methodology used in this research is based on a case analysis of the 2009 electoral campaigns, which includes empirical reports such as content analysis, polls, as well as an evaluation of how politicians used Internet and social networks.

### Critique of a National Broadband Plan

Murilo Ramos — University of Brasília, Brazil, Brazil · murilo.c.o.ramos@gmail.com

In the second semester of 2009, the Brazilian government made public that it would launch, until the end of the year, a National Broadband Plan, as a central element of its 'digital inclusion' policies. Coordinated by a Committee of Digital Inclusion, linked to the cabinet of the President's Chief of Staff, with the support of the Secretariat of Strategic Affairs, the Plan has as its main political and economical argument the utilization of a pre-existing state backbone, that extends to most of the country's territory, in order to leverage on the extremities, the





rendering of services by small-size internet access providers, at low costs, to those segments of the population not yet reached by the dominant telecom operators. This paper aims at exploring the basic contours of the National Broadband Plan, which is still in process, under two main conceptual perspectives: a) the power relations that permeate the elaboration of Plan, that put on opposite corners, in the heart of the governmental apparatus, the above mentioned organisms of the Presidency of the Republic, and the Ministry of Communications, nominally responsible for the telecommunications policies, in constant alignment with the interests of the dominant operators; and, b) the normative framework that today prevails, which makes of a declining service of fixed wireline telephony the only one legally rendered under the statute of a public service, with strict regulatory obligations, such as universalization and continuity. Under the theoretical perspective of this paper, that of the political economy of communications, the power movements that presently give shape to the National Broadband Plan are determined by short-term conjunctural disputes, that only scratch the surface of the structural changes necessary to the fullest development of the potential of ICT Technologies for the reduction of social differences in Brazil. On the side of the private sector, the option for the short-term is strategical, once this pushes to a secondary level of discussion what should happen in 2025, when, due to legal impositions, the contracts for the rendering of wireline fixed telephony, under a public service regime, will cease. On the side of government, the option for the short-term is tactical and is determined by the presidential election of 2010; was it different, the National Broadband Plan would have to be designed from the perspective of the ceasing of the public service contracts, as its long-term policy vector, normative supported on the preservation of the public service regime as the central regulatory element of the telecommunications policies in Brazil.

#### Intertextuality and the Branding of the Modern US Army: Constructing the Citizen Soldier

Mike Chopra-Gant — London Metropolitan University, United Kingdom · mike@americanpopularculture.net

This paper examines aspects of the current US Army recruitment material—particularly the 'Army Strong' campaign and the US Navy Seals PR film 'Hot Extract'—and the intertextual deployment of familiar representations of armies to present an image of the military in which modern American soldiery is offered as a synonym for good citizenship. In recent years the US military has devoted considerable effort to battles to win 'hearts and minds', alongside its military actions. While it might be expected that such efforts to obtain local consent to US hegemony would be concentrated in the overseas arenas in which the US has involved itself militarily—the streets of Baghdad, the mountains and deserts of Afghanistan—a considerable portion of this effort has also been deployed on the home front through a series of public relations campaigns designed primarily to encourage recruitment of new military personnel, but having as a significant secondary purpose enhancing public approval of the military and maintaining American public support for continuing US military actions overseas. The campaigns are broad ranging and contain many elements. This paper will examine key examples from the campaign materials and argue that these make intertextual use of elements derived from fictional representations of the military in Hollywood films. The paper will trace the lineage of some of these intertextual elements from their original films, through computer games and finally into the military public relations materials. The paper will argue that this use of intertextuality facilitates a textual negation of some of the most unacceptable aspects of the realities of military life by conflating those realities with the fictional heroics and moralities of Hollywood's representations and the experience of computer gaming, thus producing a type of denial in which military reality is presented as coextensive with gaming and film spectatorship. Finally the paper will examine in detail specific ways that intertextuality is deployed in the public relations material to produce an idealised image of military personnel as 'citizen soldiers'. This paper examines aspects of the current US Army recruitment material particularly the 'Army Strong' campaign and the US Navy Seals PR film 'Hot Extract'—and the intertextual deployment of familiar representations of armies to present an image of the military in which modern American soldiery is offered as a synonym for good citizenship. In recent years the US military has devoted considerable effort to battles to win 'hearts and minds', alongside its military actions. While it might be expected that such efforts to obtain local consent to US hegemony would be concentrated in the overseas arenas in which the US has involved itself militarily—the streets of Baghdad, the mountains and deserts of Afghanistan—a considerable





portion of this effort has also been deployed on the home front through a series of public relations campaigns designed primarily to encourage recruitment of new military personnel, but having as a significant secondary purpose enhancing public approval of the military and maintaining American public support for continuing US military actions overseas. The campaigns are broad ranging and contain many elements. This paper will examine key examples from the campaign materials and argue that these make intertextual use of elements derived from fictional representations of the military in Hollywood films. The paper will trace the lineage of some of these intertextual elements from their original films, through computer games and finally into the military public relations materials. The paper will argue that this use of intertextuality facilitates a textual negation of some of the most unacceptable aspects of the realities of military life by conflating those realities with the fictional heroics and moralities of Hollywood's representations and the experience of computer gaming, thus producing a type of denial in which military reality is presented as coextensive with gaming and film spectatorship. Finally the paper will examine in detail specific ways that intertextuality is deployed in the public relations material to produce an idealised image of military personnel as 'citizen soldiers'.

## Media and the Financial Crisis: 'Creative Destruction' and the Evolving Role, Practices and Theory of Journalism Paschal PRESTON — Dublin City University, Ireland · Paschal.Preston@dcu.ie

This paper will explore how the current global financial crisis poses major challenges with certain key assumptions underpinning the theory and practice of journalism. More specifically, it engages with two major, but overlapping, issues: Firstly, it examines how the current crisis poses- indeed accentuates and amplifies - some fundamental features of the 'modern' (and western) model of journalism, especially its presumed 'watchdog' role. Here the paper not only engages with prevailing conceptualisations of the presumed professional roles and relative autonomy of journalism and newsmaking practices in late modern societies, paying particular attention to the domains of economic and financial news production. It also draws on recent empirical materials from several countries to argue that the contemporary 'crisis' of the western journalism, in many fundamental respects, is firmly rooted in institutional developments that predate the current ('conjunctural') financial crisis – but which the latter only serves to accentuate. Here, for empirical supports, we draw on elements of a recent multi-tiered study embracing micro, meso-level and macro-level aspects of journalism trends and influences (an approach that dates from some of the pioneering researchers on journalism in Europe and the USA around the turn of the twentieth century). Secondly, this paper considers how the current crisis also poses fundamental challenges for certain influential ideas underpinning academic theories of journalism and news media in the early 21st century. These include not only the continuing influence of the so-called cultural turn in media studies, but also popular notions of the 'network' or 'knowledge' society, of the role and implications of the internet as potential platform for a paradigm shift in the institutional forms and role of journalism. The concept of 'crisis' is back in fashion as the IAMCR conference theme recognises—all thanks to the fallout from the most severe global financial and economic crisis since the 1930s – and so prompting us to rethink the forms and sources of 'change' in media as in other domains. Whilst a key and popular concept in critical theories of society and culture in the 1970s and 1980s, the notion of crisis had been relegated to a peripheral role in more recent decades. This paper seeks to locate and specify the fundamental (long run or 'strategic') features of the current crisis and its implications for contemporary journalism by drawing on some interesting concepts that were generated (or 'induced') by the setting of the last major capitalist crisis during the 1930s. In essence, the paper aims to present an alternative way of thinking about the meanings and implications of the current 'crisis' for deep shifts in the institution of journalism (or 'transformations' and 'innovation' in journalism) at the close of the first decade of the 21st century- a setting now vividly marked by a deep, 'global economic crisis' as well as the more familiar refrains of 'digitalisation' and a 'network society' and the like. The jury is still out as to whether the biggest global economic crisis since the 1930s threatens a 'long-wave' depression or slump based on the conjunction of other cycles and structural imbalances. Such special phases of capitalist development, first identified by Marx and Kondratieff, were subject to an influential analysis by Joseph Schumpeter in his Business Cycles, published in 1939. It's no coincidence that both Schumpeter's thesis and Keynes's General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money





(1936) were inspired and written amidst the mass unemployment and sustained slump known as the Great Depression. As is well known, Keynes addressed the sources and political ramifications of unemployment as well as the key role of state policies in alleviating same. In some respects, Schumpeter accentuated the positive aspects of crises, especially processes of 'creative destruction' associated with dynamic changes in technologies, industrial structures as well as financial and other imbalances of the long wave depressions. But Schumpeter's perspective, however, is not only about celebrating technical innovation, entrepreneurship or the rise of new industries. It not only emphasises the distinction between 'invention' and 'innovation', it also stresses the vital role of institutional, policy, and indeed, social innovations which combine to forge new phases of sustained or sustainable capitalist development. In sum, Schumpeter's work provides a distinct complement to Keynes's major opus for those concerned with understanding the political-economy of the current downturn and potential responses and strategies. Furthermore, it yields fruitful concepts for reframing the multiple forms of innovation and intensified restructuring associated with historically rare, deep crises and long wave downswings, not least in the field of journalism (even if Schumpeter himself was rather blind to the evolving role of the media) Thus, as regards the approach or meta-frame, this paper borrows some ideas inspired by Schumpeter and subsequent 'long wave' work and marries them with others from the media/journalism studies traditions. It aims for a distinct, multi-dimensional understanding of the 'crisis' or potential transformations in the institution (field) of journalism, including key stakes, opportunity structures or barriers to such reform or renewal today. It argues that the current crisis impels us [or "induces" us, as old Schumpeter (1939) might have put it ] to move beyond the present-timeness of techno-centric approaches towards more historical perspectives, and attentive to potential continuities as well as changes in the key forces shaping journalism and news media

#### Sex, money and film industry: Glamorization of female sex workers in Bollywood

Azmat Rasul — Florida State University, United States · azmatrasul@gmail.com

This article takes a brief review as to how female sex workers are portrayed in the Bollywood movies. The questions related to the real, manufactured, and accepted images of the sex industry in South Asia have carried tremendous heuristic value. By applying political economy perspective, this article analyzes whether the image of female sex workers in Bollywood products is close to reality or still continues to be the fictional imagination of idealistic womanhood. A woman's physical beauty is the device used for selling products by advertisers and consistent patterns of sexual exploitation of the female body persist regardless of the type of media. In Bollywood movies, female stars are placed in sexually exploitative and compromising positions, sexually submissive postures, and with sexually connotative facial expressions. All Bollywood movies in which a top female star played the role of a female sex worker have been selected for this research. A careful analysis indicates that women are being commodified as merely sex objects and are delineated in long-established male pleasing roles. In the selected movies, images of female sex workers are highly fictionalized in order to sell the product and traditionally, these movies have been a successful commercial venture.

## The emerging internet development and the commercialization of online gaming industry in China peichi chung — national university of singapore · cnmcp@nus.edu.sg

This paper examines the development of broadband technology and the commercialization process of online gaming industry in China. The paper explores the state market relations in the development of new media economy in China. Previous literature on the study of popular music consumption in China has indicated state market relations that shows a full control of state over the market in China (Fung, 2008). This paper extends Fung's theoretical frmework and explores a detaching state-market relations in the new media industry of China. One of the main concern of this paper is to use the case of online gaming industry in China to reflect an alternative framework of state market relations in our existing literature of media industry studies. Current studies





on media industries and globalization tend to emphasize on the role of market by prioritizing the economic activities engaged by transnational media companies. While prominent scholars engage in organizational analysis that shows specific corporate strategies in the global operation of these companies, there is little discussion on the role of state and study on the connection that state has to the shaping of industry structure in the western markets today. For instance, representative studies examine the global economic activities that Disney, Universal and New Corporation apply in financialization, capital exchange, and marketing promotion. These studies demonstrate corporate behaviors that take place in the business environment in a capitalist system. There is an urgency to look into the media structure in the Asia Pacific context. The paper provides a complimentary analysis with emphasis on the state-market relations in the non-capitalist media system. As China and India gradually become the center of global economy after the financial downturn, there is a need to examine the market environment that nurtures a particular type of corporate behaviors applicable in the merging market. For instance, China reflects a market that is based upon adoptation and imitation in media production. Distribution of media content in China needs to incorporate very localized marketing approaches that differ from advertising approach standardized by transnational media companies. In exhibition, circulation of media content involves state factor due to the problem of censorship in China. With all the influencing factors in the local dynamics, there is need to further examine the state market relations model to conceptualize a new definition of "media economy" in China today. This paper uses a total of 40 face to face interviews with industry professionals in the Chinese online game industry. The interview data were collected from November 2007 to July 2009. The paper presents an industry value chain of the online gaming industry in China. The paper first uses industry data to construct a historical overview of broadband development and to contextualize the online gaming industry in a volatile market today. I then analyze the geographic influence on internet development that shapes the marketisation of online gaming in China. As the current gamer demographic indicates a concentration of game play among players in first tier and second tier cities, I also look into popular games that are currently circulated in China. I study the online game contents that are produced by local and foreign game companies and examine how Chinese game content grows from imitation of foreign games to creation of innovative local contents in the hisotrical game genres. Geographic agglomeration and cluster effect among local firms (as well as foreign game firms) in Beijing and Shanghai are also examined. The paper also investigate the policy factor that shapes the market structure of China. In conclusion the paper evaluates the significance of China's current development in online game industry and its contribution to new litearutre in thinking of (1) industry practices by media companies in the Asian market and in conceptualizing (2) media regionalization in Asia.

#### Economical forms of the state pressure in Russian regional media

Kiriya Ilya — State University - Higher School of Economics, Russian Federation · ikiria@hse.ru Kachkaeva Anna — Moscow State University, Russian Federation · kachkaeva@rambler.ru

This paper focuses on different new forms of state pressure in media, in particular – economical forms based on commodification of loyalty and different mechanisms of financing media. The peculiarity of Russian situation is that state-owned media (the simulacrum of "public media" because they are controlled by the state power and not by the social groups) are first players on the advertising market and uses the purely commercial model of financing. From the other hand to promote the manipulation and translation of state-oriented content the State should adopt the mechanism of distribution of this content to commercial model. The distribution of this content became a kind of "service" that media provides to the state organism and this service is paid by the State. So, the model of broadcasting and distribution of this "propagandist content" became absolutely the same than classic advertizing model of financing media. This parallel market in certain regions is bigger than official advertising market. To ensure flexibility in distribution of state funding State uses different mechanisms of commodification and different forms of distribution of money: so-called grants (for example to "cover" governor's politics), so-called "contracts" for cover some events or direct financing. The foundation of this new market of political loyalty deeply transformed relations of property for media. Actually the State could ensure control and distribution of political content on the basis of financing system and not on the basis of direct control of media





property that's because actually we could observe a progressive transformation of state-owned media into private-owned media linked informally with state power. This research is based on results of survey made by Media and Mass communication laboratory of State University – Higher School of Economics. About 30 owners and top-managers of media in 10 regions of Russia has been interviewed.

#### Content (regulation) is the King? Taiwanese media reform and its discontent

Chang-de Liu — National Chengchi University, Taiwan · chadliu@nccu.edu.tw Chen-ling Hung — National Taiwan University, Taiwan · hungchenling@gmail.com

In the end of November 2009, the Apple Daily, a tabloid newspaper in Taiwan, launched the News-In-Motion on its website, which combines animation imitating details of news events with real footage and videos of stories. Since the News-In-Motion demonstrated excess information of crime news, such as domestic violence and sexual assault cases, it immediately aroused fierce controversies surrounding diverse issues, including the protection of minors, freedom of the press, and journalistic profession. Media reform groups, journalist organizations, and minor rights groups organized several protests to the Apple Daily and petitioned to the National Communications Commission (NCC) and the Legislative Yuan (the congress) for preventing media from presenting sensational news reporting. Under the pressures of civic groups, Taiwanese government decided to reject the application by the Next Group (a Hong Kong based corporation which owns the Apple Daily and the News-In-Motion) for establishing five satellite TV channels, and also amended the Child and Juvenile Welfare Law to require Internet platform providers (IPP) providing protection mechanisms and self-regulating standard in order to keep minors from harmful contents. This paper, firstly, will describe and analyze this episode of media reform through the critical political economy perspective. By participant observations within this social movement and several depth interviews with major activists, we will examine the campaign in the context of the development of Taiwanese media and media reform movement, as well as the dynamics among the state, the media industry, and the civil society. Secondly, this research will illuminate the achievements and the limitations of this campaign. We revise the typology of DMA (democratic media activism) constructed by Hackett & Carroll (2006) in order to adjust to Taiwanese society and thus place various media reform activists and groups by two categories: (1) their primary orientation towards changing the "media consumption" or the "media production"; and (2) their major target focusing on the "media per se" or the "citizens". Thus, this research distinguishes four types of Taiwanese media activism: (a) Changing media consumption and focusing on media per se: Content regulation / content criticism; (b) Changing media production and focusing on media per se: Structural regulation / journalists movement; (c) Changing media consumption and focusing on citizens: Media literacy; (d) Changing media production and focusing on citizens: Alternative media / civic journalism (see the Table). We argue that the media reform activism in Taiwan, including the campaign against the News-In-Motion, has been "content regulation" biased. Despite achievements to a certain degree in the "content regulation" dimension, the media reform in Taiwan has faced difficulties in other three dimensions. Finally, this paper suggests that Taiwanese media reform movement should extend projects concerning various fields, especially the later three ones in this typology, and attempts to contribute to the theories and practices of the media and democracy through this case study. Table: A typology of media reform Primary orientation Media Consumption Media Production Major targetMedia(a) Content regulation / content criticism(b) Structural regulation / journalists movementCitizens(c) Media literacy(d) Alternative media / civic journalism

#### From Inclusion to Emancipation: The Iconic Turn In Brazil

Gilson Schwartz — University of São Paulo, Brazil · schwartz@usp.br

"Multimedia", "multiplatform" and "multichannel" information and communication systems are accelerating a societal evolution towards an audiovisual paradigm or "iconomy". From small to big screens inteligently





connected to colaboratively and interoperably designed interfaces and computing clouds, the "tele" paradigm of previous infrastructural revolutions (centered on the conquest of space, territories and property) has evolved into a complex and flexible matrix of interactive audiovisual networks which are managed, organized and regulated in terms of different "telos", purposeful local development projects that call for a new social flow of creative energies. This "telosvision" is supposed to lead our digital lifes into a new emancipatory literacy notwithstanding the encompassing surveillance practices that come along with a growingly complex and surprising panopticum. The "telosvision" society requires renewed and critical engagement in the "mediapolis" as audiovisual media bring more light and form to individual and collective desires and energies. This paper explores this "audiovisual turn" in Brazilian public programs geared towards the so-called "digital inclusion" of underserved communities. After initial policies, in the early 90s, centered on access to digital infrastructure (mostly via telecenters), a second wave of public policies focused on the promotion of open source culture. These policies achieved limited success while digital TV and broadband came to the fore. Public policies which focused on free access and open source lagged behind both in terms of design and implementation, while a new generation of government funding and support clearly switched gears into audiovisual production (especially those led by the Ministry of Culture and its "Points of Culture" agenda). This audiovisual turn has been lately adopted by public agencies at the state level, with hundreds of projects geared towards the production of audiovisual content which is expected to be broadcast by the public TV networks. This paper reviews the results of these policies while advocating a research program to integrate technologies and policies into the leveraging of an emanipatory audiovisual culture. In the first part, we review the three stages of digital inclusion frameworks as designed by federal and state level agencies: access, open source and audiovisual, describing the main programs and constituencies involved, funding mechanisms as well as articulation with other public policies in areas such as education, science, technology and innovation, culture and telecommunications. In the second part, we offer a more detailed review of the strictly audiovisual policies at different levels, with an emphasis on public funding of local content production and recent attempts at reconstruction of State-led broadcasting, social control of communication and regulation of digital TV in Brazil. Quantitative and qualitative indicators of the Brazilian audiovisual presence on the web are presented and the challenges to audiovisual production and distribution in Brazil are examined. In the final part of the paper, scenarios for future audiovisual policies and their impact on local development strategies are discussed, taking into account the limited impact of current policies on income generation and on the creation of sustainable markets for local audiovisual production. It is also important to stress the failure of major initiatives such as the OLPC (One Laptop Per Child) and lagging broadband penetration in Brazil as relevant indications of future needs in education and infrastructure if the "telosvision" paradigm is to be successfully implemented in Brazil, while also assessing the role of the private sector in the development of an open audiovisual society.

### Citizenship and the National Democratic Revolution

Des McGuinness - Dublin City University, Ireland · des.mcguinness@dcu.ie

This paper proposes to focus on citizenship and the 'national democratic revolution' (NDR), a theory of socio-economic and cultural transformation which remains the key strategy of the Tripartite Alliance in South Africa. I believe that the NDR has lessons for Ireland in so far as it addresses the power dynamics of class relationships, civil society and the state which is not restricted to the socio-economic limitations of contemporary capitalism, positing as it does a NDR1 and NDR2 as frameworks for advancing a democratic citizenship. Neither does it focus exclusively on civil society as the site of participatory citizenship, but extends across all spheres of public and private life. In Ireland, a recent debate on citizenship was prompted by several developments which in turn were deliberated on in a number of fora. Citizenship in Ireland has been characterised as a 'delicate flower' due to the nature of the two states north and south of the country where religious ideology was hegemonic. Along with the clientelism of the party political system this led to a weak sense of citizenship among people. Opposition to this anaemic expression of citizenship began in 60s and was led primarily by the women's movement. More recently the question of what it is to be an Irish citizen has come to the fore with Ireland's first significant influx of





immigrants during the short-lived period of prosperity which became known as the 'Celtic Tiger'. Cuts in public spending as a result of the current economic crisis deepened the discussion on citizenship as a result of a protest by 15,000 Irish senior citizens on the streets of Dublin against the withdrawal of free medical care for the over 70s- thus articulating the demands of a large section of citizens no longer part of the working economy but nevertheless capable of exercising their collective power In parallel to these developments in Ireland the Government set up a 'Taskforce on Active Citizenship' (http://www.activecitizen.ie/ro) the main objective of which was the encouragement of 'active citizenship' and greater volunteerism, an analysis largely inspired by the writings of Robert D. Putnam (http://www.bettertogether.org/). A report by TASC an independent think tank http://www.tascnet.ie/) was also published which outlined a more comprehensive understanding of citizenship linked into a critical audit of Irish democracy. . Together these developments have challenged the limitations of a liberal citizenship blind to class, ethnicity, gender and sexuality, as well as being resistant to the ideology of consumerism. Just as Alain Badiou, Jean Ranciere and others have recently critiqued the concept of democracy citizenship is in need of similar fundamental critique and shake-up – a vitalisation of its democratic potential no longer confined to any one of the broad spheres of 'politics, 'society' or 'economy', but an active agency to counter 21st century corporate power in banking, industry, media, military and state organisations, which is a key strategy in the 'national democratic revolution.

#### Neoliberalism in the Information Age, or Vice Versa?

Bob Neubauer - Simon Fraser University, Canada · bobjneubauer@gmail.com

This paper seeks to problematise contemporary notions of global citizenship by exploring the links between "information age" theory and the reordering of the global political economy over the past 40 years under the rubric of neoliberal ideology. Contingent as they are upon technological globalization, most notions of global citizenship run parallel to contemporary theories of 'post-industrialism' and 'information society'. Since the 1970s, these theories have painted utopian visions of the rise of knowledge-based economies embedded in globe-spanning telecommunication networks. Heirs to Daniel Bell's "End of Ideology" thesis, 'informationists' have been crucial in laying the intellectual groundwork for theories of globalization. However, the correlation between a globalised 'information age" and a reified global citizenship is highly problematic. The global transformations informationists have described have not only been modeled as teleological and technologically deterministic, but they have obscured the political-economic forces which lie at the heart of the information revolution. In contrast, theorists of Post-Fordism, Regulation Theory, and "New Times" have interpreted both the information revolution and processes of economic globalisation as a by-product of a global reorganisation of capitalism that began in the 1970s. Unfortunately, these criticisms have in large part substituted technological determinism for an economic determinism that can seem every bit as teleological. In response, this paper utilises a Gramscian political-economic analyses to argue that many of the global transformations associated with the information age can be seen as the results of a longstanding campaign on behalf of corporate capital for the institutional consolidation of a coherent ideological front, referred to here as "informational neoliberalism". This now-ascendant ideology has been integral to the radical restructuring of the global political economy over the past 40 years. Drawing upon a wide variety of historical and theoretical sources from numerous disciplines, especially the work of Antonio Gramsci, David Harvey, Krishan Kumar, and Nick Dyer-Witherford, this paper provides an in-depth analysis of the major writings associated with "information age" and "post-industrial" theory in order to delineate the connections between economic neoliberalism and technological informationism. In doing so, the author will trace how both theories arose largely from mainstream think tanks and research projects funded by powerful corporate and government actors who sought as their basic goal an erosion of citizenship through globalised neoliberalism. Indeed, this research intends to show how information-age theories have helped form the core of the neoliberal project, as they obscure behind a veil of teleological inevitability and technological determinism the political transformations which make global neoliberalism possible, even while prescribing the technological innovations which make such transformations technically feasible. Crucially, in eroding national sovereignty over trade and labour laws, capital flows, and fiscal and monetary policy, the ascent





of informational neoliberalism has served to undermine traditional citizenship in favour of market discipline and neoliberal hegemony. Paradoxically then, as an organic ideology 'informational neoliberalism' has been central to notions of globalisation even while it has undermined traditional modes of citizenship, most importantly the right to economic and political self-determination.

## Financialization and the 'Crisis of the Media': The Mysterious Case of the Rise and Fall of (Some) Media Conglomerates in Canada

*Dwayne Winseck* — School of Journalism and Communication, Carleton University, Canada · dwayne\_winseck@carleton.ca

Drawing on an original body of data covering the media industries over the last 25 years, this paper will examine the transformation of the media environment in Canada brought about by new media technologies and greater audience fragmentation, on the one hand, versus the consolidation of media ownership, on the other. I will do so using several questions from critical media political economy related to media ownership, media concentration, and the repetoire of strategies used by media organizations to shape their environment. The aim is to develop an empirically-rich portrait of the media industries because, as Gasher and Savage (2008) state, there is a dearth of long-term empirical data in Canada regarding these questions. Ownership is an especially important topic because all of the 'big 8' media companies in Canada are family-owned. This is unusual. As Demers and Merskin (2000) claim, most media corporations are share-holder owned and controlled by a 'managerial class'. This is a good thing, they argue, because managers don't have ideological axes to grind, and are backed by share-holders' deep pockets and the desire to support good media. This argument is flawed, but the structure of media ownership in Canada is highly unusual, resembling a kind of archaic capitalism and the illiberal democracies of Latin America and Russia. This structure of media ownership stayed intact even through two powerful, recent waves of consolidation – the first between 1995 and 2000, the second from 2004 to 2007. These two waves of consolidation are extremely important for several reasons. First, they yielded eight media conglomerates that now tower over the media landscape: Canwest, CTV Globemedia, Quebecor, Rogers, Shaw, Torstar, Transcontinental Media and Cogeco. Second, the rise of the media conglomerates in Canada, as elsewhere, as the prototypical organizational form of media firm in the late-1990s embodies a qualitatively new development. Third, the scale and strategies of these entities raises anew the question of media concentration. Lastly, consolidation and the centrality of media conglomerates represented the financialization of the media, with the amount of capital pouring into the media and telecom industries being wholly disproportionate to their weight in the 'real economy'. Crucially, many of the media conglomerates forged just before and after the turn-of-the-21st century have since been dismantled, teetered on the edge of bankruptcy, or collapsed outright. This applies well to BCE and Canwest, but is endemic to the media in Canada. Given this, I will draw connections between the financialization of the media and the so-called 'crisis of the media'. Some aspects of the media, especially the press, appear to be in grave trouble. However, a key question that I will ask is whether this state of affairs is due to the steady onslaught of new technologies, changing media uses and the sudden drop in advertising revenue precipitated by the financial crisis or, as I will argue, deeper problems stemming from the financialization of the media, and the world economy more generally, during the high-tide of neoliberalism in the late-1990s through the early years of the 21st century.

#### MEDIA GIANT'S INFLUENCE IN THE PRODUCTION OF CONTENT IN MALAYSIA

Rosidayu Sabran — University of Leicester, United Kingdom, United Kingdom · rs267@le.ac.uk

The Malaysian television market industry has been a duopoly since the inception of the first private television station in 1984. The country had seen fascinating development with significant amount of television channels when the Asian financial crisis occurred. The inception of a new integrated media giant, Media Prima Berhad





(MPB) in 2003 marked the concentration of television channels in fewer hands. The group currently expanded business in seven types of platforms including controlling all the free-to-air channels in the nation - TV3, NTV7, 8TV and TV9. One of the platforms, Primeworks Studio is deemed to focus its business as content provider that caters for all the four television channels under the group, as well as for the whole industry (Utusan Malaysia, dated 18/08/2008). What is the perception of market members about the production of content in Malaysia? How do they look at the emergence of MPB's Primewoks Studio recently? This paper tries to discuss about the influence of a media giant in Malaysia in the production of content and the pressure in producing television programmes from the view of market players. Information is gathered from semi-structured interview approach among informants which are selected using purposive random sampling. The informants include market competitors from government television station, production companies and the local's television producer association. Shared resources among the four television stations as an attempt for cost saving operation is believed to be one of the consolidation strategies used that influence television content.

#### The development of telecommunications in Latin America: from concentration to convergence

Guillermo Mastrini — Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, Argentina · gmastri@yahoo.com.ar Martín Becerra — Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, Argentina · mbecerra@unq.edu.ar Ana Bizberge — Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina · anabizberge@gmail.com

The work aims at analyzing the strategy and structure of large telecommunications groups in Latin America. After 15 years of private exploitation of services in most countries in the region, there are a number of phenomena to be observed: the stagnation of fixed line telephones, the exponential growth of mobile telephony, the growth of Internet penetration – although at a more moderate rate than mobile telephony and last, but not least the spectacular process of concentration of property which has lead to this monopoly of two formed by Telefónica of Spain and Telmex of Mexico. These two not only compete ferociously in most markets, but they have also began to expand to traditional media sectors, such as cable TV. The work summarizes the results of 6 years of research on concentration levels in the region. Firstly, the CR4 Concentration Index (concentration ratio of the first 4 firms) was designed to analyze the impact of the largest four firms, both in terms of turnover and market share. After showing that there is a very high concentration index in the region, where the first four firms own more than 80% of most Latin American markets, we have concentrated our work on an in-depth study on the telecommunications market. The choice is justified by the fact that this sector presented the highest concentration levels in the research conducted with data for 2000 and 2004. The comparison of results for 2000, 2004 and 2008 allow us to foresee a trend both in terms of the access to goods and services of the infocommunications sector, as well as concentration levels. In past studies it has been shown that while the access to mobile telephony shows an accelerated growth, fixed line telephony has stagnated and the opening of markets has not implied the entry of new players. In the first part of the work we will analyze the concentration of property of the telephone sector with a special interest in the aforementioned groups. The second part of the work dwells on how Telefónica and Telmex are expanding to other sectors, especially TV. Through the acquisition of cable companies and the layout of HFC networks or the use of DTH platforms, Telefónica and Telmex have achieved considerable market share in various countries in the region (Chile, Colombia and Perú for example), where they offer a bundle of services.

#### Strategic regionalism in global marketing:

John Sinclair — University of Melbourne, Australia · j.sinclair@unimelb.edu.au Rowan Wilken — University of Melbourne, Australia · rwilken@unimelb.edu.au

Cultural adaptation has become a fundamental strategic principle for marketers in the age of globalisation. While past decades saw campaigns for products such as Marlboro run on a uniform, 'standardised' basis in every





country where they were sold, marketing has had to learn how to come to terms with the realities of cultural and other differences as it has become ever more globalised. Standardisation has its advocates, however, and has enjoyed considerable influence amongst global marketers, particularly in the 1980s, when a Harvard management guru, Theodore Levitt took up the cause, and the leading British advertising agency of the 1980s, Saatchi & Saatchi, built itself into a global corporation by pursuing his doctrine. Standardisation was and is seen to have considerable advantages: the creation of a common and consistent global brand identity, and economies of scale in using the same advertising campaign across all markets. Indeed, global corporations have a strong economic disincentive against cultural adaptation, but have learned they cannot ignore cultural differences. The pragmatic solution is the now familiar marketing concept of 'glocalisation', the practical wisdom of finding the right balance between minding the bottom line of standardisation while meeting the intractable demands of localisation. Echoing Levitt, Saatchi & Saatchi enthused about how global advertising could target 'segments', or similar socioeconomic groups in different territories. This does seem to be true for certain kinds of products, such as services that are intrinsically international, like credit cards, and goods like designer brands which carry international prestige. Yet as more and more companies, usually based in the US or Europe, enter the rapidly developing economies of the erstwhile 'Third World', and the BRICs nations in particular (Brazil, Russia, India and China), they are needing to find strategies to cope with the cultural and other barriers that confront not elite but mass market goods and services, notably FMCG categories ('fast moving consumer goods') such as packaged drinks and personal care products, and food franchise operations. If companies are motivated to minimise adaptation in order to maximise organisational and economic advantages, we would expect that they would attempt to do so on a world-regional rather than a national or sub-national basis whenever they can. This is what we mean by 'strategic regionalism'. In this paper, we are interested in observing how global marketers adapt to the different regions where they do business, not so much to the particular nations within them. Taking Coca-Cola, Procter & Gamble, and McDonald's as case studies, the paper suggests that strategic regionalism in its various forms represents a kind of practical compromise, a means of ensuring that campaigns are not glocalised any more than is strictly necessary. More generally, it points up the degree to which the global-local dialectic is in practice mediated not only by the national, but by the world-regional.

The Evaluation of Global Financial Crisis in Financial Press in Turkey: is Another World Possible in News? Tangul Hincal — Ankara University; Central Bank of Republic of Turkey, Turkey · tangul.hincal@tcmb.gov.tr

Authority implies to relationship which is not mutual. Because authority reserves right to control the others' behavior and this control is not mutual. The most powerful tool in this unjust relationship that authority holds in its hands is the media,. In order to maintain its dominance, authority uses the power of media to serve itself. Accordingly, media owners and news makers can build news' content so as to persuade readers to adopt positions consistent with their preferred ideologies or they pursue a strategy in favor of authority. In Turkey since ideologies that are different from the hegemonic ideology historically have found little space in newspapers, this persuasion process causes an important problem. Furthermore, although there are variety of opinions in political arena, in terms of economic structure neo-liberal and capitalist economic understanding dominates all the approaches that media covers in Turkey. On the other hand, there are many academic studies that deal with the effect of newspapers on society. It is not an exaggeration to mention that Lazerfeld devote most of his career to search for this influence. To this end, news in the context of capitalism influences decision makers' perceptions of economy; moreover news affects people's consumption patterns, interpersonal relationships, relationships among different classes and social life. The continuation of the media bias towards neo-liberalism as if there is no alternative nests more important problem than it seems. First of all, the neo-liberal or capitalist bias in the financial news jeopardizes independent and critical economic thinking of decision makers and the idea of an alternative economic structure in the country. Second, hence the media and the newspapers have effective role in building collective memory and opinion in a society, the news and information on global financial crisis from the eye of neo-liberal stance creates a collective memory of crisis equivalently. Hence, it is important to take the people's attention to the media bias and to inform them about other forms of economic policies and other forms





of globalization. The form of and the focus of news on global financial and economic crisis; the classes that are put emphasized on these news, and the evaluation of ideological background of news on causes of the crisis compose the structure of this study. The very first aim is to determine the ideological bias in the financial news in Turkey. Second, we aim to form opinion in favor of representation of different ideologies in financial news and to gain support for more composite approach in news-making on economic and financial media. In this study, we have taken discourse analysis to find out how news was built in the context of dominant ideology. In the framework of this analysis, three newspapers, each of which represents different political wings, have been chosen according to their circulation size. These newspapers are Milliyet, Yeni Şafak and Birgün. The financial news about global financial and economic crisis in these newspapers has been analyzed. Five news have been picked as examples of three phases of the crisis. June 2007 has been chosen to represent the initial phase of the global crisis. The second and the most intensive phase of the crisis has been chosen as September of 2008, when Lehman Brothers was filed for bankruptcy. And the last phase of the crisis has been chosen as October 2009 as the crisis started bursting out and when after-crisis talks have been started among economists and policy makers. The news has been categorized according to their main subjects. We determined three categories: news about causes of the crisis, news about effects of the crisis and news about the after crisis policies. In the analysis, we searched for the comments and insinuations regarding neo-liberal or capitalist economic understanding. We tested the hypothesis that the news about global economic and financial crisis implies that neo-liberal economic approach is the only choice we are left with in the name of globalization. References: Balan, David J., DeGraba, Patrick and Wickelgren, Abraham L., Ideological Persuasion in the Media (December 16, 2004). Bignon, Vincent and Miscio, Antonio, Media Bias in Financial Newspapers: Evidence from Early-Twentieth-Century France (October 1, 2009). University of Paris West Nanterre La Défense, Economix Working Papers Series # 2009-4. Doms, Mark E. and Morin, Norman J., Consumer Sentiment, the Economy, and the News Media (October 2004), FRB of San Francisco Working Paper No. 2004-09. Engelberg, Joseph and Parsons, Christopher A., the Causal Impact of Media in Financial Markets (October 28, 2009). Huang, Weihua, the Role of Financial Media in Corporate Financing (March 18, 2009). Mullainathan, Sendhil and Shleifer, Andrei, Media Bias (2002), Harvard Institute Research Working Paper No. 1981; MIT Department of Economics Working Paper No. 02-33. Polanyi, Karl, the Great Transformation (Turkish Translation), Iletişim Yayınevi, 2000.

#### Media and the global financial crisis

John Downing – Southern Illinois University, United States · downing.john@gmail.com

Hope argues that the 2008 global financial crisis illuminates the international proliferation of neo-liberal policy agendas; the globalization of financial activity; the financialization of Anglo-American capitalism; and the convergence of computer processing, telecommunications and mass media technologies. Only a 'temporally informed' critique can properly conceptualize these intricately connected developments. The paper will identify the real-time pathologies of financialized digital capitalism and explain how they created a growing chasm between actual capitalist production and its ultra-rapid processing through business information networks and public news networks. During financial booms and crashes bit-streams of information and imagery would jump from network to network such that news flows and financial flows overlapped in real time. Schiller and Chakravartty address the rise to prominence of business and financial journalism in the USA, and argue that within digital neo-liberalism its frames and procedures have been a constitutive element in the crisis, not simply a reflection of it. The runaway commercialization of financial risk and the huge growth in derivatives have been naturalized by the dizzy expansion of this overall information genre, both in the USA and many other nations. In the process, formerly marginalized economic theories have come to be enthroned as self-evident truth, repositioning the public as consumers, and as potential investors and entrepreneurs, rather than as wage-labor. Becerra and Mastrini initially characterize the frequently tumultuous history of Argentina's economy in relation to the global economy over recent decades. This is a necessary introduction to the main focus on the most recent 2-3 years, during which the country's powerful media conglomerates have represented the national implications of the global crisis in ways that sought to underpin existing structures and to head off the Kirchner





Administration's initiatives for economic change. In turn this has led to media ownership reform initiatives on the Kirchner Administration's part that existing conglomerates have fiercely attacked. Qiu and Kim will examine how South Korea and China have responded to the crisis in terms of public discourse and state policy; changes in media (especially new media); and in policies regarding both labor and young people. Despite their distinct profiles, in both cases their prominent media, electronics, and information sectors have been generating new labor and youth policies. The financial meltdown has severely affected these, but due to a shared history of laborintensive capital accumulation, as well as collective memories of the 1997 Asian Financial Crisis, Korea and China are potentially positioned to transform the recession into an opportunity for a viable, equitable and democratic road toward development in East Asia and beyond. Preston will draw upon Schumpeter and to a lesser extent Kondratieff to engage with the notion of 'crisis', focusing especially on contested and often problematic models of journalism, not least its proclaimed 'watchdog' role. His paper will also offer a directly related critique of the 'cultural turn' in media studies, and of notions of 'network' and 'knowledge economy' currently circulating in discussions of the future of journalism. The paper will draw upon empirical evidence from a number of countries to propose that the current global financial turbulence has served to accentuate, as opposed to generate, longer run institutional developments in the journalistic field. The paper will also note some earlier responses in the field to the crisis of the 1930s that may have renewed traction in the present.

# Citizenship and local development for participation and digital governance of public administration. Innovative experiences in the Sud of European Union

*Victor Mari* — University of Cadiz (Spain), Spain · victor.mari@uca.es *Francisco Sierra* — University of Seville, Spain · fsierra@us.es

Cyberspace has brought new habits and new relationships into the traditional forms of social intercourse and modern symbolic practices and representations. The formation of a new telepolis constitutes the main challenge to be overcome by communication researchers. The breaking of the internal and external boundaries of cities and territories, and the merging together and confusion of public and private spaces, which have always been traditionally separated in modern political discourse and communication, indicates not only new cultural trends in human organization and socializing, but also, through the various electronic forms of interaction and information exchange, the constitution of a new space for political identity and participation. Therefore, the own dynamics of capitalist globalization have contributed to the production of an urban spatiality that depends on networks that have no defined territory, beyond borders, and territorial locations with intense concentration of resources. These dynamics, in fact, are not totally new. The difference today is, without doubt, the intensity, complexity and global reach of these networks, as well as its use and ownership by local governments, social movements and active citizenship. As a result in the current process of capitalist globalization, the new configurations generated in the economic and technological sphere affect the political level, and the issue of governance. In this context, information and communication technologies are presented as little explored tools of governance, economic and cultural development, as construction of new models of partnership and participatory citizenship. Concepts like digital governance refer to new ways of interaction between citizens and governments and the new conceptions of urban policy using electronic means. This is how, European Commission identifies as the main future challenge for the social and economical development of the European Union common space the articulation of local politics based on participation for a new governance that favourably impacts on communitarian development processes from a firm proposition of participative and plural democracy in the Culture Era as a resource that anticipates innovative ways of citizenship. The general aim is to study how these new cultural practices are materializing and the localdevelopment processes that define the present logics of public space construction through New Information and Communication Technologies. In the following text, some innovative experiences in the Sud of European Union are analyzed, presenting the preliminary discussion about the conceptual bases of new strategic vision for the social movements that tries to explore the new local forms of cultural autonomy of the citizens through the appropriation of the new technologies of information in a social research applied on ICTs and Citizen





Participation. This study points out to a more efficient use of this potential from the social movement compared to the underutilization of Local Administrations and the Third Sector Organizations.

#### The Public Interest and Media Social Responsibility - Media Accountability toward society as Self-Regulation?

*Pietro Rossi* — University of Zurich - Institute for Mass Communication and Media Research, Switzerland • p.rossi@ipmz.uzh.ch

Werner Meier — University of Zurich - Institute for Mass Communication and Media Research, Switzerland · wameier@ipmz.uzh.ch

The social responsibility of private economic organizations is commonly related to the generation of profits. Since profitability alone may not generate enough social benefits the corporate social responsibility was increasingly widened to other goals than the generation of profits. Private media companies too, like every other company in a market economy, must generate profits. However, the social responsibility of media companies relates already to their core activities, e.g. in the production and mediation of social and political information, which are important to the citizens. For media companies profitability and social responsibility are thus the two faces of the same coin. In order to be profitable the media companies must balance the search for profits and the provision of their goods in a social responsible manner, so that the consumers of their goods are satisfied with the performance of the company. If one agrees that citizens' political and societal knowledge is highly dependent on mass mediated information and thus on the social responsible actions of mass media organizations, then we must ask what instruments ensure that such actions are performed effectively. In the first section of the paper different approaches to media accountability toward society will be outlined in order to analyze the academic discourse and set the framework for the empirical part. In the second section, the most important documents about internal CSR-Guidelines and external accountability authorities in selected countries (CH, D, AUT, I, F, UK) are analyzed, in order to assess different forms of self-regulation and different forms of external accountability, such as press councils and ombudsmen. The analysis is followed by a set of interviews with involved actors both internal (journalists and editors) and external (ombudsmen and representatives of accountability authorities) to the media companies. The involved actors were confronted with different assumptions about the accountability of media companies toward society and asked to evaluate the own accountability mechanism. Finally, the best practices for assuring that the public interest in mass mediated communication is taken into account, are outlined and evaluated. We conclude with some recommendations to implement better accountability and responsibility rules of media companies toward society.

Core media crisis ambiguity: How the media accelerate, profit from and ultimately fall victim to structural crisis Josef Trappel — University of Salzburg, Austria · j.trappel@ipmz.uzh.ch Werner Meier — University of Zurich, Switzerland · wameier@ipmz.uzh.ch

The procedure is familiar: Whenever economics slow down the media industry is among the first to complain about heavy losses of revenue, in particular from advertising slump. The latest examples were the burst of the "new economy" in 2001/2002 and the current global recession following the subprime market crash in the United States. But such economic turmoil disguises a deeper development: The structural crisis of the commercial media system that has dominated much of the 20th century and the years 2000. In this paper we theorize on the crisis of the media. There is evidence that the crisis is neither limited to nor entirely caused by sluggish economics. Instead, we argue that the crisis of the media is the expression of a deeper crisis in public communication. Empirical evidence shows that increasing numbers of people turn away from traditional forms of mass communication. Newspaper, television and radio experience slow but steady decline in audience reach. At the same time new internet based communication platforms become increasingly popular. For people using these platforms public communication is individualized and distant from traditional mass media. Given the





relevance and importance of public communication for all strands of modern societies the structural shift towards what Manuel Castells calls "mass self-communication" has considerable implications. First, mass media companies dismiss journalists in an attempt to lower production cost, thereby compromising on content quality. Thus, mass media are likely to further erode their information and watchdog function and their ability to mediate between different groups in society. Second, new players such as Facebook, Yahoo! or Google exercise their power by pre-structuring the public and private debate at the infrastructural level (e.g. software architecture, search algorithms). Third, decreasing reach and relevance of traditional mass media weaken their gatekeeping function. Vested interest profit from this weakness and address their target audience directly, thereby bypassing journalism in the public interest. In the paper we discuss different strands of media crisis from a political economy perspective. We argue • that times of crisis are good times for the media, raising public attention to crisis coverage; • that media coverage of the crisis may accelerate and deepen the crisis; • that deepened crisis further erodes advertising revenues, thus deepens the media crisis; • that the media crisis provides media companies with a perfect excuse to streamline production cost by dismissing journalists; • that lower quality produced by fewer journalists erodes the audiences' trust and loyalty; • that we need new media governance policies in order to regain a powerful core media sector, which is accountable towards the needs of the civil society.

### The Politics of Digital Games: when is a cultural product not a cultural product? Aphra Kerr — NUIM, Ireland · aphra.kerr@nuim.ie

Current media regulation in Western Europe presupposes a competitive market which maximises individual choice and justifies public policy intervention primarily in relation to specific market failures. At the same time public interest and cultural arguments have long been used to achieve exceptions from certain types of free trade agreements and have led to the development of funding programmes at a national and European level to support the production and distribution of certain types of media products in European countries. In the recent past in Europe some of these cultural arguments have been applied to digital games. This paper explores the controversies which have surrounded the emergence of national policies which propose that digital games can be conceived as cultural products and services. It starts by assessing the methodological and conceptual issues raised for scholars and policy makers who wish to examine the production of games in the context of global production networks, transnational player communities and user generated content. This is followed by an analysis of the policy documents and submissions surrounding the development of a French tax credit for games production, approved by the European Commission in 2008, and the subsequent extensive lobbying efforts by game developers and publishers of the UK government in an effort to establish a similar system. The paper concludes with a discussion of the politics of cultural policies and their impact on the location of cultural production.

# **Movies, morality, money: Towards a political economy of film censorship, classification and ratings** *Daniel Biltereyst* — Ghent U, Belgium · daniel.biltereyst@ugent.be

Movies have been, more than any other modern mass medium or popular art, subjected to different forms of censorship, regulation and normative control. Not only authoritarian regimes, but also democratic societies installed systems of regulating what kind of movies were made, how they told stories and how they were presented to audiences. As a reaction, it is often told, the industry itself created a tough internal censorship system (e.g. the Production Code Administration in the USA, the BBFC in GB), thereby using a public discourse dominated by issues of morality, protection and social responsibility. Although film censorship seems to be something of the past, many of these regulatory bodies, which go back to the period around the First World War, still exist in some form or another - from censorship to classification and ratings systems, consumer advice or





information (see also debates on rating material on DVD, the Internet,..., Olsberg, 2003). In the recent decade several new approaches have been dealing with these mechanisms of external control, disciplining or policing cinema. Besides traditional academic work on the legal basis and the workings of censorship/classification boards, film studies and more culturalist inspired work investigated how filmmakers and other creative people working within the industry were curtailed by or fought against all types of regulations preventing the free production and circulation of images and ideas (e.g. how they tried to get around censorship in the creative act of filmmaking itself). This work on film censorship was part of a shift from "censorship as a problem" (what Annette Kuhn has called the negative 'prohibition/institutions' model of interference by institution-based power) to more "productive" approaches where censorship and power are less taken for granted. In a Foucault inspired approach, censorship is no longer the result of a singular empowered person or institution, but it becomes an activity "embedded within an ensemble of power relations" where there is more at stake than just cuts and bans (Kuhn, 1988). This has given rise to lots of case studies illustrating that regulation of cinema takes place within the context of a network of relations between different types of institutions, discourses and practices (Cronin, 2009). While refusing to look at hard censorship as a result of a monolithic power instance, this kind of research underlines interactions of different types of power, processes of negotiation and various degrees of hegemonically operating forces in certain social-historical circumstances. In a similar vein, audience research has been questioning censorship and classification within a perspective of questioning the relationship between the consumer-citizen and the protective state (e.g. Barker et al, 2007; Kenna, 2009). These different approaches brought forward interesting corrections to traditional work on film/media censorship and power, while they indicated how research on censorship can be an incisive way of studying limits to the representation of social and ethical issues. In this article, though, we would like to go somewhat further and try to stress the importance of a political-economy approach – thereby looking at the advantages of censorship/classification systems for the industry. While doing research on particular censorship cases, both in the USA and in Europe, we were struck by how the film industry closely collaborated and negotiated with (domestic and foreign) censorship boards; how it intensively invested in discourses on the morality of its products; how on a larger level censorship systems can be looked at as vehicles of controlling or homogenizing markets; etc. Critical historical work, done by scholars such as Ruth Vasey (1997) on the pre-War period, for instance, illustrates how Hollywood introduced selfcensorship at a moment when they were creating majors' oligopoly and expanding their world power; how it tried to persuade domestic policy makers, pressure groups and audiences that its products were morally sound; how its domination of world markets depended on its ability to create a morally, culturally and politically acceptable product; etc. This paper aims at concentrating upon the advantages of (self) censorship, ratings, and the use of a morality discourse for strategic and commercial purposes by the industry. The paper starts by giving an overview of recent trends in research on film censorship and classification. The second part of the paper expands upon examples of industrial forms of (self) censorship (e.g. the US PCA and MPAA ratings; the BBFC; the German FSK; the Netherlands) and structural collaboration with external or state boards (e.g. Belgium, France) - both historical and recent examples. The third part will look at practices of negotiation or how film producers were/are willing to intensively collaborate with censors. Here we will also use both historical (e.g. Hitchcock on Psycho) and more recent cases (e.g. the James Bond series). The key idea, finally, is that morality (at least the discourse of morality) pays.

#### The Political Economy of Private Television Channels in Bangladesh

*Md.Abdur Khan* — PhD Candidate, Journalism and Media Studies Centre of the University of Hong Kong, Bangladesh · arkhanrizvi@gmail.com

Private television channels are a recent and new phenomenon in Bangladesh society. An abnormal growth has been noticed in private television sector in the recent years since 2001 when the Bangladesh National Party (BNP) and its alliance came to power. The government owned Bangladesh Television (BTV) began its broadcasting in 1964 during Pakistan regime. This state-owned television network was renamed after independence in 1971 as Bangladesh Television (BTV).BTV started broadcasting in full colour from 1980. Up to





1997, BTV remained the only TV channel in Bangladesh. The state owned television's monopoly came to an end on 15th July 1997 when the first private television channel ATN Bangla started broadcasting. ATN Bangla was followed by another two private television channels Channel-i on 1st October 1999 and the Ekushey Television (ETV) on 8th March 2000. All these three private television channels started operating during the last Sheikh Hasina (Awame League) regime (1996-2001). None of these three private television channels permitted by Awame League (AL) was owned or managed by AL men or cronies. In the recent past there has been a quantum jump in the growth of private television channels in Bangladesh during the Bangladesh Nationalist Party of Khaleda Zia's second regime (2001-2006). While her first regime (1991-1996) was uneventful in this regard. At present there are 12 private television channels in Bangladesh. The present AL government has also given No Objection Certificates (NOCs) to 10 private television channels who belong to its party people or their associates. The owners of these private television channels (permitted in BNP regime) were mostly influential MPs and ministers or their cronies. This is simply because finding private television as a tool to exercise power and maintain the status quo, business people started investing in private television. Its ownership paves the way for gaining power over people and prestige and protection from all sides in Bangladesh society. The owners of these private television channels are the business and political elites and want to use their channels for their business and political interest. Sometime they turn their black-money into white one by establishing these private channels. They also want to follow the western 'Media Mughal' style and have cross media ownership. It seems that the BNP led coalition government realized for the value of private television channels as "the Pied Piper of Power". That's why they have given licenses to its party brigades violating all rules and regulations just to ensure their power in Bangladesh politics for a long term. During the last care-taker government (2007-2008) some private television channel owners were awarded with imprisonment for their corruption and illegal activities including misappropriation of government money in the name of business. This paper focuses on the social, cultural and political dynamics of private television channel ownership in Bangladesh. What is the relationship between private TV channels and business? And how these TV channels are being used in exercising power and politics in the country? In fine, what is the political economy of these private television channels in Bangladesh?

Agents of regime change or Alternative public sphere? The case of the political economy of the Zimbabwean state and diasporic media.

*Albert Chibuwe* — , Zimbabwe · albertchibuwe@yahoo.co.uk *nyasha mapuwei* — , Zimbabwe · nmapuwei@yahoo.com

The study focuses on the proliferation of diasporic media in Zimbabwe in the post-2000 era, an era that was marked by heightened political tension between the two main political parties in the country; the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) and the Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF). It seeks to explore the issues of funding, ownership and control of these diasporic media and the local state-controlled media and their impact on the content of these organisations. It also tackles issues of audience access to the range of discourse in these media and how the audieces within the country perceive both the state media and the diasporic media. Multiple methods were used however, these were largely qualitative. Methods used include archival research, field interviews, qualitatice content analysis and to a lesser extent quantitative content analysis among others. The study revealed that the majority of the owners of these Zimbabwean diasporic media are former journalists and business people who fled the country after skirmishes with the law and the ZANU-PF regime. Furthermore, the study revealed that the content of these diasporic media organisations reflect the policies of their host nations towards Zimbabwe. On the other hand, it emerged that the state controlled media rae pro-government, especially the ZANU-PF elememt of the Inclusive government. However, the state media's accessibilty to the generality of the population is hampered by the prevailing poor economis situation in the country whereas for the diasporic broadcast media accessibilty to both rural and urban dwellers is effective. The same cannot be said for both state controlled and diasporic online media which is only accessible to a few urban elites.





#### "Tu tens talento, nós temos trabalho": human capital and temp work agencies

José Matos – ICS/UL, Portugal · mor\_furtado@yahoo.com

The dynamics of post-industrial capitalism introduced new kind of work relations. If in the past, during the industrial era, work was mainly defined by the precise definition and measurement of a physical action, nowadays it is determined by growing levels of creativity, knowledge, affection and communicability. If Foucault's disciplinary society was basically concerned with the negative containment of the population, the new work regime profoundly changed the art of economical governance, guiding the worker's conduct through a positive action of solicitation and motivation. The economic dependence on human capital led to bigger investments on human resources management, particularly on companies' recruitment processes. Through these, the worker, as a person, is confronted with a series of devices – from interviews, to psychological tests –, whose main objective is to evaluate his compatibility with the companies' needs and wants. As it was concluded by Boltanski and Chiapello, these features represent a new spirit of capitalism, in which workers are divided between winners and losers, employable and unemployable. By one side, the worker who is involved, flexible, adaptable, employable, independent, tolerant, and communicative; by the other, the worker who is inadaptable, who is suspicious and generates suspicions, bossy, intolerant, stagnant, only playing by the book and never taking a chance. In sum, the one who manages to be responsible and inventive, and at the same time, to create an "all along" spirit with his fellow colleagues and/or subordinates, versus the guy who, at congresses and reunions, is the first one to go to the hotel. The imposition of a direct relationship between the individual's effort (never a collective effort) and his employability not only signifies an enforced adaptation to the companies aims - a production by himself, but not to himself –, but also the idea that, from now on, he is completely responsible for his condition. According to Maurizio Lazzarato, the worker must see himself "as a fragment of capital, (...) a competence capital, a «competence machine», who undertakes «a life style, a way of life», a moral choice, a form of «relationship of the individual with himself, with time, within his friendship circle, his future, his family". Temp work agencies are vital agents of these processes. Firstly, their existence translates a production increasingly based upon network relations, in which the bond between employer and employee is diminished. Secondly, their activity implies more than the simple mediation between those who need workers and those who need to work, being responsible for outsourcing, human resources management, consulting and professional training. Through the analysis of a temp work agency website, as an apparatus with heterogeneous elements, from job announcements and other kind of discourses ("our mission", "our values"), we will try to examine its features, interpret its main objectives and establish a relationship with an eventual general discourse on work. This will be made through a critical discourse analysis approach, an interdisciplinary paradigm that thinks discourse as a social practice which is reproduced and reproduces ideological and strategic processes considered to be random.

## The business of information and journalism in a time of crisis: the case of Impresa Publishing and its strategies for change

Sara Graça — College of Education - Polytechnic Institute of Coimbra (ESEC-IPC) and Institute of Social Sciences - University of Lisbon (ICS-UL), Portugal · sara.meireles@mac.com

An environment of tecno-economic mutation surrounding the media industry has developed in the last few years. Consequently multiple attempts to optimize business in the field of information have emerged. This paper focuses on the ongoing organizational and professional metamorphoses in the news department of Impresa. Founded and headed by Francisco Pinto Balsemão, Impresa is one of the larger Portuguese media groups. This company is currently implementing new work formulae and editorial concepts considered suitable for its expansion process towards a wider multimedia business environment. This case study-based qualitative approach looks into the safekeeping of the production of "quality information". In detail light is shed on the concepts of "media" and "information" developed amidst managers (businessman, stockholders and directors)





and media workers (journalists and non-journalists) in the two key publications of Impresa Publishing (the weekly newspaper Expresso and the magazine Visão). By looking into the renewed models of management and the change of the assumptions of the ideal characteristics of the expert in information an analysis of the contemporary professional exercise of journalism in a moment of crisis will be done. References: COTTLE, Simon (ed) (2003), Media Organization and Production, London, Sage. DEUZE, Mark (2007), Media Work in a Digital Age, Cambridge, Polity Press. FIDALGO, Joaquim (2008), O Jornalista em Construção, Porto, Porto Editora. GARCIA, José Luís (org.) (2009), Estudos sobre os Jornalistas Portugueses. Metamorfoses e Encruzilhadas no Século XXI, Lisboa, Imprensa de Ciências Sociais. GRAÇA, Sara Meireles (2010), "'O Jornalismo está a ser expulso dos jornais. É uma espécie em risco de extinção'. Entrevista a José Vítor Malheiros", in José Rebelo (coord.), Perfil Sociológico do Jornalista Português, Gradiva/Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, no prelo. McCHESNEY, Robert W. and John Nichols (2010), The Death and Life of American Journalism. The Media Revolution that will Begin the World Again, USA, Nation Books. McKERCHER, Catherine and Vincent Mosco (2007), Knowledge Workers in the Information Society, Plymouth, Lexington Books. SOUSA, Helena (2006), "Políticas da Comunicação no novo milénio: Crises, Impasses, Fracturas", in Manuel Pinto (coord.), Os Media em Portugal nos Princípios do Século XXI: cronologia e leitura das tendências (2000-2004), Campo das Letras, Porto. [17 pp.]

## Contradictions in the Commercialisation of China's Publishing Industry: a different approach *Qidong Yun* — Loughborough University, United Kingdom · yunqidong2000@yahoo.co.uk

The commercialisation of China's media has been full of contradictions. Although the party-state still exerts strong direction over the process through its control of political and economic resources, it is also constrained in its reach. Analysing these limits is crucial for a full understanding of the unique political economy of cultural production now emerging in China. Book publishing, the oldest media sector but one less studied than others, has been in the forefront of media commercialisation. This makes it a rich field for studying the institutional contradictions in this process In approaching this area it is important to situate the changes in China's publishing sector in the broader context of economic reform and social process to avoid an unduly media-centric approach. This poses issues for analysis in two key areas. Firstly, while the central contradiction between the continuing control of the party-state and the process of commercialisation provides a necessary starting point for analysis, it is important to disaggregate 'the state' and take full account of the movement towards decentralisation. This has constituted local and regional authorities as new nodes of power with their own interests. The resulting interplay between agencies at different levels of the state apparatus adds complexity to the contradictions arising from the dynamics of profit-seeking in the publishing sector. Secondly, we need to break away from the view that the partystate can manipulate the society at will, and reinsert popular interests into our analysis. Drawing on participant observation in a major provincial publishing house, this paper explores the emerging contradictions in the reform of China's publishing and offers a paradoxical conclusion: that despite the relative success of the moves towards conglomeration and corporatisation, commercialisation, though unlikely to achieve its economic goals, may help to shore up the political control of the party-state.

### Political blogosphere in Portugal: Mapping power centres and links

Elsa Silva — CECS - University of Minho, Portugal · elsa.silva@ics.uminho.pt Helena Sousa — CECS, Portugal · helena@ics.uminho.pt

Pluralism is valued as a key principle in democratic societies and it has recently attracted a renewed interest. Despite the exponential proliferation of content and converging platforms, concerns regarding the lack of diversity in the public sphere have not faded away. International bodies such as the European Union, the Council of Europe and Unesco have issued documents, studies and guidelines to ensure the safeguard of this critical social





need. At national level, it is observable the transposition of international conventions and recommendations. Paradoxically this pluralism revitalization movement coincides with unprecedented open access to information and new participatory possibilities. The explosion of free media content and software led to what is frequently perceived as the end of scarcity. Information abundance and cultural chaos are now commonsensical notions. However, more platforms and more content per se do not necessarily guarantee meaningful diversity. Citizens have certainly added choice in terms of alternative views on main political and social issues but the vast majority of unconventional information is invisible to the majority. Attention and knowledge to explore and interpret relevant information are scarce resources. Non-aligned voices can therefore express their opinion whilst remaining marginal to the mainstream political debate and decision-making processes. We believe that the thorough examination of these contradictory trends implies detailed attention to distinct empirical realities both at national and international level. This paper attempts to respond specifically to the following question: does the Portuguese blogosphere actually contribute to a richer and more diverse political debate? In order to respond to this question, we are using two main methods: one survey to bloggers and in-depth interviews to bloggers and political actors. We aim to comprehend the power relations between different centres in Portuguese political networks, namely between political blogs, mainstream media, political parties and other participative fora. We intend to identify the political bloggers' profile and their involvement (or non-involvement) in political parties and mainstream media. Basically, we want to assess the connexions between the political blogosphere and other locus of power in Portugal, namely the institutional political structures and the still highly influential traditional media.

The growth of peripheral media industries: Nollywood in the context of Hollywood and Bollywood *Jade Miller* — University of Southern California - Annenberg School for Commulcation, United States · jademill@usc.edu

"Nollywood" refers to the Nigerian home video industry based in Lagos, recently classified by a UNESCO report as the second largest movie producing industry in the world (in terms of titles produced per year, certainly not according to revenue). This puts Nollywood directly behind Bollywood, the Indian movie industry based in Mumbai, and directly ahead of Hollywood. In the past twenty years, Nollywood has emerged from nothing, in the absence of governmental oversight, into a robust industry creating media products that are popular throughout Africa and the African diaspora worldwide. In many ways, the rise of Nollywood has much in common with the existent theories on media industry growth, largely based on the Hollywood model. Yet, in other ways, the story of the rise of Nollywood represents the specificities of media industry growth in the global periphery. In this paper, I look in greater detail at the formation of Nollywood the industry as an example of media industry growth in the global periphery. Utilizing a series of interviews I conducted during the summer of 2009 in Lagos with many of those that founded Nollywood in the early 1990s, I construct a pointed narrative of Nollywood's growth, dealing first with the specific political economic conditions and opportunities from which the industry emerged. I then examine how these themes compare with work done on the political economy of media industry growth in two other locations: Hollywood and Bollywood, the Indian movie industry based in Mumbai. Many themes unite the growth stories of Hollywood, Bollywood, and Nollywood, mostly revolving around an initial openness and penetrability of the industry structure in formative years. At the same time, a look at the similarities between Nollywood and Bollywood allows a deeper understanding of what is different in industries arising out of the global periphery. The main themes that emerge reflect the emphases that Abdou Maliq Simone and Brian Larkin put on innovative response to the state of exclusion from global networks. To begin with, in both industries, piracy, VCR and other new technologies and informal distribution points enabled growth in global markets without any influx of global capital. When mapping both industries, we can see the use of alternative networks with alternative hubs such as Dubai or Jakarta – for supplies and distribution, as constitutive of alternative growth, reflecting Simone's theorizing about cities in the global periphery creating their own alternative global industrial circuits. We can see too the power of growing demand for content that feels local in places not barely an afterthought for the global media industry networks. And we also see both industries' birth from a rapidly growing mega-city: while





Bollywood was birthed in Mumbai years ago, we can see that the chaos, pressure, and creativity of the Third World mega-city forms its own variety of incubator of explosive growth. I conclude that the specificities of this alternative model of media industry development set in the global South is a product of the general (but not complete) exclusion of these economic, cultural, and social systems from the world order.

Beyond the Principle of Relative Constancy: Determinants of Media Expenditures into the Era of Internet in China Linsen Su — China Institute of Industrial Relations, China · sulinsen@gmail.com

Tao Liu — Northwest Normal University, China · liutao7749@gmail.com

After the Principle of relative Constancy (PRC), which states the constant relationship between media expenditures and general economy, and variations of inter-media spending, was first proposed by Maxwell McCombs in 1972, there were a lot of empirical examinations and theoretical exposition on it. But there lacked similar studies in China, especially with the inclusion of personal computers and the Internet. The purpose of this study is to examine the patterns of media expenditures (including both advertising and audience consumption) as a function of general economy in different provinces across different media in China, and the study explores the significant predictors of media expenditures under the new operationalization with the inclusion of new variables beyond the traditional bi-variable models of PRC in China. The study finds out that income or GDP is still the most significant determinant of media expenditures. Lagged dependent variables contributes to variations of the media expenditures, whereas lagged independent variables contributed little. Different from previous studies in Western countries, this study finds that industrialization, urbanization, and per capita income influenced advertising and audience expenditures on media together. It also showed that there was no inter-media competition for advertising among different districts in China.

Changes in the Nature of Business through ICT with a Focus on Small Medium Enterprises (SMEs)

Afshin Heidarpour — Economic research office, Iran, Islamic Republic Of · afshinheidarpour@gmail.com

Nowadays the nature of work, production and employment has greatly changed. Probably the remarkable point of this revolution is the change of the dimension and the nature of work. Indeed, from production and employment view, these are the SMEs which play a noticeable role in both regional and global economies. In addition, ICTs has caused variety impacts on macroeconomic issues such as economies of scale, productivity etc... So this research would like to concentrate on studying the changes in SMEs through a documentary and comparative study. Considering the following questions can lead us to recognize the roots of the mentioned change. 1- Due to the states of businesses in Schumpeter's time, how were the businesses before ICTs emergence? 2- What is the most important part in SMEs which is influenced by ICTs emergence? 3- What are the current opportunities and challenges in applying ICT in SMEs?

# The in service of the state; the nation and the public: A synoptic political history of the South African Broadcasting Corporation

Ruth Teer-Tomaselli — University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa · TEERTOMA@ukzn.ac.za

The paper attempts to trace the history of the SABC from its inception to the present time. The research identifies the distinct periodisations through which the broadcaster has moved, from the initial infant of British colonial communication planning, through to the present day. The study employs a political-economy approach that situates the industry – in this case, broadcasting; and the enterprise – in this case, the SABC - within the vortex of economic, political, social and cultural circumstances of the society at large. This approach allows the





research to tease out the contextual complexities of the organisation, while identifying the specificities that have resulted from the intervention of particular people and events. Thus, while the SABC is seen as a window through which we are able to glance at the historical progression of South African society, it does not slavish follow neither an economistic nor a politically affiliated trajectory; rather, these elements are moderated by numerous external influences as well. The data is drawn from both previous research as well as new archival material. It differs from past references by reconsidering the periodisation of the broadcaster into six periods, roughly fifteen years apart. These are: 1933-1948: In the image of Empire: the SABC as a distorted clone of the BBC 1949-1960: Cultural and technical expansion: Radio Bantu and Springbok Radio 1961-1975: Entrenching apartheid: dividing the 'nation' 1976-1990: The era of television: fighting the 'Total Onslaught' 1991-2007: The rise and fall of Public Service Broadcasting 2007 – Present: In the interests of the State? Each of these periods was marked by the ascendancy of politics; culture/ideology; or economic imperatives, which left their indelible mark on the broadcaster, but never to the exclusion of competing forces. As a result, the end product of the broadcaster – radio and television programming – may have been slanted predominantly towards one part of the social/political spectrum or the other, but always included areas of resistance and counter-hegemonic programming.

### Deregulation and Public Service: A Comparison of Media Policy in the United Kingdom and United States Sandhya Bhattacharya — University of Essex, United Kingdom · ssb149@gmail.com

Wenjun Xu — Randolph College, United States · wxu@randolphcollege.edu

The push for neo-liberal policies world wide has had significant implications for global media industries. From the 1980s onwards a series of deregulatory efforts in the United States and United Kingdom that consistently encouraged privatisation of media ownership, brings to light several questions about broadcast media as 'public service' or 'commercial' profit making ventures. Concerns about privatisation and its implication for public interest and public policy are not new: McChesney (2001, 1999) for instance, has repeatedly shown that media consolidation has serious repercussions for democratic debate and diversity of opinion. Similarly, Croteau and Hoynes (2001) theoretically explore the social consequences of privatisation on content, innovation, and diversity of media products. Several studies have examined trends in neo-liberalism and privatisation and their subsequent impacts on national policy making ventures (Curran and Seaton, 2001, Mosco and Wasko, 1988, Keane, 1991, Murdock and Golding, 1991). While there is a substantially growing body of literature critically evaluating the social and political limits of deregulatory practices within nation states, fewer studies have compared global trends in media consolidation and privatisation. This study hopes to contribute to current literature in global media industries by comparing and contrasting the history and growth of deregulatory practices in two western states – the United States and United Kingdom – both defined self reflexively as western libertarian democracies. Specifically, it aims at historically parsing out structure and ownership patterns of broadcast media in the context of changing technologies, while examining the impact of policy making decisions on public interest. In this context this study will also critically examine the principal goals governing broadcast content and dissemination in each state, asking to what extent deregulatory policies (following the 1996 Telecommunication Act in USA and the UK Broadcasting Act in the same year), are redefining the role of broadcast media as commercial ventures in the European and North American contexts. Finally, this study hopes to postulate some future policy implications on historically established public service institutions such as the BBC, asking how deregulation would redefine broadcasting goals of public interest, diversity, and citizen participation.





### Deepening the Market in the Media Environment: Digital Television Policy in Turkey

Babacan Taşdemir — University, Research Assistant, Turkey · ilef65@yahoo.com

As is known, the digital television had been offered by public authorities and market forces as a superior alternative for analog television in the 1990s. In passing years, the digital television, with the promise of solving the inherited technical problems of analog broadcasting, has become a global standard for broadcasting infrastructures of countries. However, the vested interests embedded in the social adoption of digital television has been beyond its technical opportunities such as superior audio and video quality and multichannel capacity. For this reason, the adoption of new regulations for the new media environment has not been a smooth process at nowhere. At the core of the tension is to protect and improve public service/interest in the digital era in an increasingly commercialized environment. In this context, this study deals with social adoption process of digital television in Turkey in terms of the role played by the market forces and market ideology in forming new media policies. Thus it is aimed at contributing to the critique of current political economic structure of new media environment. For this purpose, the study provides a policy analysis which focuses on revealing vested interests embedded in the process of shaping digital television policies in Turkey. Analysis is particularly interested in the relationship between the public authorities and big media capital groups that operate in media environment. Besides, the market ideology inherent in the digital television policy process is interrogated by focusing on the policy discourse of public authorities and on the discourse of leading media capital groups as to the regulations. Specifically, the study questions how they define digital television, frame the necessity of new regulations, position economic, political and cultural interests into the process. As a general consequence of the study is that public authorities share optimistic and technological determinist views with the market forces as to the digital transformation of the broadcasting infrastructures. It is also observed that the discourse of public authorities about digital television as well as all applications of digital media is largely shaped by economic/commercial concerns rather than public service/interest issues. Besides, there is an obvious organic power relationship between big media capital groups and public authorities in terms of shaping and promoting digital television policy while this close interaction is, overtly or covertly, excluding smaller broadcasters and more importantly the audience citizens. As a result of this relationship, big media holdings seek for the continuation and improvement of their advantaged position in the digital era. Thus, the broadcasting in Turkey is being redefined on a more commercial basis. Undoubtedly, this redefinition is a new and decisive phase in the ongoing liberalization of Turkey's communication environment since the 1980s.

# Media Corporations and Varieties of Financialization: Bertelsmann and 'Red Blooded' Capitalism *Scott Fitzgerald* — Curtin University, Australia · S.Fitzgerald@curtin.edu.au

The current global economic crisis has thrown a spotlight on the workings of the global financial system and the manner in which this system has become increasingly dominant across a range of socio-economic spheres, a process captured by the term financialisation. Through an examination of the restructuring of the German firm Bertelsmann, this paper explores some of the varied affects of financialisation on the international media sector. Bertelsmann, it must be noted, is not often associated with processes that have made this sector a conspicuous site for forms of corporate financial engineering over the last three decades. In 2006, at the height of anxiety over private equity 'locust' firms in Germany, Bertelsmann bought out its external shareholder and today remains only one of two major European media corporations without a share market listing. Indeed, a recent corporate history of the firm argues that in the last decade Bertelsmann has rejected a neoliberal finance-capital business model and has instead pursued a family-style capitalism premised on a competitive yet neo-corporatist capitalist business model. On the basis of this business model Bertelsmann presents itself as a highly ethical firm with a strong commitment to corporate citizenship: since the current financial crisis Bertelsmann has joined the United Nations' Global Compact, one of the competing global standards for Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) reporting, and published the Bertelsmann Code of Conduct, a 'binding guideline' for lawful and responsible conduct throughout the corporation. Often critically viewed as a part of the process of 'rolling-out' Neoliberalism





by militating against particular forms of state regulation, this overt commitment to 'corporate social responsibility' has become de rigueur for multinational corporations: in 2006 Time Warner became the first major US based media company to issue a 'comprehensive' CSR report. Nonetheless, a recent assessment of corporate environmental and sustainability reporting by Fortune 500 entertainment sector corporations places Bertelsmann well ahead of other media multinationals, particularly in its social reporting and intent measures. Moreover, since 1960 the corporation has produced an increasingly elaborated 'corporate constitution', emphasising, inter alia, the corporation's responsibility to society and encouragement of creativity. Long before the current CSR fashion, the corporation's late patriarch Reinhard Mohn was publicly outspoken on corporate social responsibility and emphasized that the success of Bertelsmann was only possible because 'ethical considerations have always managed to take priority over economic aims'. His aversion to what the Economist refers to as capitalism 'red in tooth and claw', as well as his suspicion of financiers and stock markets, appears openly at odds with a Neoliberalism that today, if dead, is still dominant. This paper explores the tensions between the Bertelsmann business model and its engagement with the 'red blooded' capitalism of profit financialization, specifically its recent alliance with private equity firms, and control financialization, its management and accounting practices. In doing so it notes that the affects of financialization have varied quite significantly between media corporations, reflecting not only different forms of ownership but also wider institutional linkages that are characteristic of different varieties of capitalism. Yet despite these differences, the integration of these corporations within global circuits of capital has meant that similar practices and pressures have come to shape their corporate strategies and structures, pointing to a continuing and deepening role for financial practises long after the current conjuncture of economic crisis is resolved.

### Genealogy of the virtual public sphere

Jamie Anderson — Osaka Jogakuin College, Japan · medialab101@gmail.com

From the outset of the age of computer-mediated communication, there have been two basic ideas about how this new mode of communication would impact democracy. One camp argues—to one extent or another—that the Internet represents the revitalization of democracy and of public discourse. Meanwhile, on the other side, there are an equal number of scholars who deny this claim and go further to suggest that the Internet will have a negative effect on the democratic process. Both sides however tend to have one characteristic in common, they both tend to default back to ideas stemming from critical theory to support their arguments and, in particular, often invoke the idea of "the public sphere." The debate surrounding the ability of the Internet to support a functioning and effective public sphere has passed through a number of iterations over the relatively short history of the "consumer based" Internet. In this paper, I examine several commonly invoked arguments challenging the notion that the Internet is a viable platform for enhancing democratic expression and democratic control of institutions. In addition, I chart the evolution of these arguments as they attempt to keep pace with the rapidly changing media and communication environment of the past decade.

# International Communication Public Goods. Do Public Good Theories Allow New Perspectives to Include Transnational Citizenship in International Communication Policies?

Raul de Mora — University Complutense, Spain · rdemora@gmail.com

Communication regulation policies usually are born of national institutions and are bounded to the geographic territories in which they are based, placing national citizenship and identity as their focus of action. It is evident that national communication policies are increasingly being affected by transnational (regional, global...) regulations and institutions. However, and with very few exceptions, international communication regulation has centered mainly on trade aspects of national audiovisual industries, without paying attention to the concept of transnational citizenship. We will argue that international communication policies should adapt to include an





international citizenship perspective and international public good theories may help to identify some approaches for doing so. The aim of this paper is to discuss whether it is possible to use the concept of "public international goods" in order to obtain a better understanding of international communication regulation, and therefore improving their appropriateness in a new global media scenario. For instance, using UNESCO's Convention of Cultural Diversity, cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue may be understood as public goods that only can be provided through international cooperative efforts. Even if the concept of "public good" has been traditionally applied to the research field of communication, only in rare occasions it has been used from an international perspective, and if so, it has been applied to international communication networks. The cultural and citizenship dimensions have been barely considered. Starting from the literature review of theories on national, regional and international public goods, this paper will try to defend that "international communication public goods" such as intercultural dialogue or cultural diversity require of a new approach to elaborate international communication policies. If certain aspects of health, transport, energy or environment, for instance, are perceived as international public goods, and consequently justify international cooperative efforts, there are also communicative public efforts that require to develop common international policies. For doing so, it is necessary to identify which are these "international communication public goods" and convince policy makers, public institutions and civil society to tackle them with common actions. To apply the political theories of international cooperation to communication may help to reconsider other formulas of international policies. In this sense, regional communication cooperation can be an increasingly meaningful and relevant option of communication public policy. The discussion is centered specifically on the case of international communication policies, defending that regional cooperation can mark a start to deal with international public goods as, for instance, intercultural dialogue and cultural diversity. The paper is structured as follows: first, public international goods are discussed and literature is reviewed; secondly, some of these theories are applied to international communication policies; third, it is proposed that the concept of "international communication public goods" can be used to articulate the international agreements at the global trade institutions (WTO, mainly) and cultural organizations (UNESCO); finally, regional communication cooperation is defended as an option of policy to adapt communication institutions and regulations to a new sort of international, global and regional citizenship.

The policy of TV for children: analysing the conception, production and consumption of educational programmes Sara Pereira — University of Minho, Portugal · sarapereira@ics.uminho.pt

During the 1990s, about 50 channels dedicated to the younger generation were launched worldwide, some of which were extremely successful. In several countries this situation brought about cuts in the production and broadcasting of children's programmes on national television stations and raised concerns especially due to extensive television deregulation. TV programming for children has been studied from many angles and using different procedures. Studies tend to focus on issues like violence, advertising, quality programming, (de)regulation and advantages and disadvantages of a global TV industry. In spite of the increase of TV channels for children over the last decade, several studies have highlighted a dearth of diversity of programmes and contents on the TV schedules. These studies pointed out that the professionals' options and criteria are generally driven not so much by what young audiences need and want, but largely by competition and global marketing. Several studies on the relationship between young people and media show that, in spite of the changes that have occurred in the media field, television continues – and it is foreseeable that it will continue - to play an important role in children's everyday lives and in the young generation's socialisation process. TV is an important learning resource and a vehicle for contact with the surrounding world. The high average of TV viewing time among young people and the recent national and international trends in the TV industry have raised concerns about the quality of TV aimed at children There are often public outcries reporting on the lack of quality of TV for children and claiming for better programmes for the youngsters however, there is no clear consensus on what comprises quality TV for children. Producers, children's specialists, parents and children all have somewhat different notions. Nevertheless, educational programmes are an aspect often cited as a factor to assess quality programming and is, therefore, a very valued aspect in TV for children. This paper aims to analyse the TV policy





for children in Portugal in terms of programmes' production, distribution, origin, commercialization and diversity. It will give a special emphasis to educational programmes, exploring these same aspects as well the internationalization/globalization of this genre. We intend to reflect about the growing global nature of these programmes and how this can intersect with the local social and cultural worlds of the children and respond to specific educational needs. Particular attention will be given to the origin, the market and the circulation of such programmes. This analysis and reflection will be based on data provided by a research that consisted of a comparative analysis of the programming for children broadcasted by the four Portuguese terrestrial channels (RTP1, RTP2, SIC and TVI) over the course of a year, and that sought to identify the main trends in children's programming. This research project was carried out at the Communication and Society Research Centre, University of Minho, and was funded by the Portuguese Regulatory Body, the institution responsible for media regulation in Portugal.

### Free Media, labour and citizenship rights in a democracy

Padmaja Shaw - The English and Foreign Languages University, India · padmajashaw@gmail.com

India is often hailed as the most populous democracy with vibrant and free media. India also takes pride in its ability to withstand severe economic crises and its ability to manage its economy. In the early 1990s, the Indian economy opened up to imports of goods, services and capital in its vigorous pursuit of privatization, and deregulation. As a consequence of the globalization policies, between 1999-2000 and 2004-05, the number of workers in the unorganised sector went up from 343 to 397 million. Though in the organised sector the number of workers went up from 54 to 93 million, the entire increase was accounted for by informal workers. Daily earnings of workers have declined for most categories. Most jobs that are created today are casual or informal, with decreasing levels of unionization, lower benefits and high uncertainty without any reliable social safety net. Despite the widespread scepticism about economic liberalization across the world, the Indian state is under pressure to further dismantle controls and "free" private players with more "incentives", to open up the economy to "free" cross border flows of capital and commodities, and to focus exclusively on reducing the fiscal deficit by reducing expenditure. The 1990s also saw the phenomenal expansion of the media industries with the liberalization discourse gaining prominence over the citizenship rights of the working class. In the early years after attaining independence, as a new democracy, wage labour was envisioned within the ethical context of productive employment as a defining frame for good citizenship. This in turn gave legitimacy to wage labour's expectation of citizenship rights through its demand for jobs, better working conditions, better municipal services, healthcare and social security. The newspaper industry is closely identified in democracies as a bastion for protection of individual rights. This paper will examine the print media discourse strategies surrounding the economic liberalization policies when they were initiated in the 1990s and their impact on social citizenship rights of labour. The introduction of the paper will discuss the ideas of citizenship and productive labour and set forth the context for the liberalisation policies in the 1990s. The following section of the paper will present an analysis of the editorials in prominent national newspapers and business newspapers. The discourse analysis will unravel the role played by prominent newspapers in India in shaping policies that affect the citizenship rights of the working class.

### "You wouldn't Steal a Handbag...": Movie Piracy in Brazil and the Culture of Copy

Erick Oliveira — State University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil · erick@erickfelinto.com

MPAA's anti-piracy campaign has been plaguing DVD releases and movie theaters in Brazil for the last few years. However, this aggressive strategy has produced very little impact on public behavior and habits of consumption. The goal of this paper is to analyze the perception of Brazilian's consumers regarding the copying and distribution of cultural products, specially film. Polls have demonstrated that general public does not regard the





copying of immaterial goods as "theft". Perhaps there is some wisdom to this popular perception. Digital culture demands a complete review of our traditional conceptions of intellectual property and ownership in general. The peculiar nature of Brazilian culture, which favors the creation of hybrids and the practice of remix, challenges MPAA's moralist discourses and prompts us to question the very structures of contemporary media industry.

### Publishing companies: cross-media and network ties. An exploratory analysis in Germany, Italy, Switzerland and UK.

Cinzia Colapinto — Universita della Svizzera Italiana, Switzerland · colapinc@usi.ch Colin Porlezza — Universita della Svizzera Italiana, Italy · colin.porlezza@usi.ch

The paper aims to shed light on the various networks of media companies by analyzing the different connections of media organizations to other critical networks and actors in finance, other (cultural) industries and politics. In the current digitized and globalized environment, media conglomerates exert significant economic, political, and cultural power. Not only are media and communication firms among the largest companies in the world in terms of market capitalization, they are still attractive for private investors as they provide large revenues in exchange for small investments. In general, media businesses and the related industries supporting the content production are a major component of the networks of financial capital (Castells, 2009). Taking into account the crucial role of media corporations it becomes quite clear why it is relevant to consider the ownership structure, the owner relationships, the cross-affiliation of board members and the distribution of power within media companies, especially in relation to journalistic independence and quality (Arsenault & Castells, 2008). Indeed, media can play a role in different ways: driving politicians to introduce corporate law reforms in order to protect their political career; affecting managers' reputation and public image; and affecting companies' reputation and performances. The goal is to answer the following question: based on the notion, that the media are a particular place where the distribution of power is decided, which concrete relationships and direct links exist between media organizations, finance and politics? As a result our aim is to depict the share structure, the composition of the Board of Directors and the equity investments and examine the role of open-ended network connections (i.e., links to parallel business, political and creative networks) in shaping the network of media organizations. It is well-known that a conflict of interest, that could affect journalistic independence, arises around news that influences the nonjournalistic businesses of important shareholders, or associated to members of Board of directors (Arrese, 2005; Moore, 2003). Using the theoretical key-concept of mediatization, which claims the political and economic systems to be more and more dependent on and shaped by mass media (Mazzoleni 1999; Schulz 2004; Krotz 2007; Hajvard 2009; Meyen 2009), the growing influence of the media logic on other systems shall be demonstrated along concrete connections between various individual and collective media actors. This is an exploratory analysis which concerns the top newspaper companies in a sample of four European countries, namely Italy, Germany, Switzerland and the United Kingdom. Besides considering market concentration, we analyze horizontal concentration and diagonal ties (f.i between the daily press and nationwide television): indeed, a combination of different media should gain excessive influence over the formation of public opinion. The shareholder and stakeholder structure of major publishing houses, in terms of circulation shares, will be defined in order to draw the existing networks. Finally, we consider ties with political parties to address the political media bias issue.

Audience Measurement Systems, Televisual Discourses & Ideas of Citizenship: A Comparative Study Santanu Chakrabarti — Rutgers University, United States · beatless13@gmail.com

Debates around the emergence and establishment of transnational media systems in the South have often focused on issues of globalization and localization, sometimes under the banner of cultural imperialism, sometimes under that of hybridity. In these debates the focus has often been on the programming content or





cultural texts. What has not drawn as much attention though, are the production-organization specificities of transnational media systems (albeit under broadly similar neo-liberal economic regimes), and the way these might shape their cultural products. I focus in this comparative study, therefore, on one critical aspect of the political economy of television-its currency. In other words, I cast a light on audience measurement or television viewership ratings systems and show how they might have a role to play in facilitating certain discourses of citizenship over others. I compare the historical evolution of market research and television ratings systems in India (a late starter in commercial broadcasting with satellite television entering the country only in 1991-1992) with that in the United States (one of the earliest commercial broadcasting environments) to identify why sustainable niche television markets (in terms of target audience earning power) failed to develop as robustly in the former as in the latter. I show then-using the example of multiculturalism discourse in the case of American television and secularism/pluralism discourse in the case of Indian television-how the structure of these audience measurement and marketing research systems contributes to the creation of a televisual world largely bounded by particular discourses of citizenship and identity. I show not only how the specific "economic dynamics of production structure public discourse by promoting certain cultural forms over others" (Murdock and Golding, 2005) but also how the nature of these dominant cultural forms differ i.e. they cannot be reduced only to localized versions of American/global templates or forms. I call therefore for a non-teleological understanding of the evolution of media systems in the global South, and a comparative political economy that pays attention to structures of media systems in addition to the circulation of content/text in discussions of globalizing media.

## Quality and diversity promises of the digital broadcasting in Spain: what is happened with the fiction market? Chiara Saez baeza—IGOP \_ UAB, Chile · chiara.saez.baeza@gmail.com

In April 2010 the analogical blackout takes place in Spain. The process has taken a new impulse from 2004, when the socialist government assumes. This has favored the emergence of new channels, as well as laws oriented to the promotion of the digital television. In this process, concepts like pluralism, diversity or freedom of choice are part of the majority of laws approved and they become values that constitute the substantive reasons behind the technological change that is being demanded to the society. With digitalization, private channels have increased. However, an analysis from the point of view of the fiction market indicates that the emergency of new channels instead of increasing the diversity in the industry what it is doing is to make it decrease. This communication gathers the previous one presented in IAMCR 2009 about the regional channels, adding now details on generalist channels, including a specific analysis on the impact of the new digital generalist channels on the television fiction industry, which is negative in terms of quality and diversity. The information on which this communication will be prepared is based on the database of the PROFITEL project, a relational database of the big semantic fields of the television fiction production in Spain, that includes an analysis of the economy production, the narrative ones and the behavior of publics, with the available information for years 2006, 2007 and 2008. Likewise, this information will be analiced in relation to communication policies and audiovisual laws that is comes developing last years in Spain and that just there try to save a business model in crisis.

### Crisis of Temporalities: Global Capitalism After the 2007-08 Financial Collapse

Wayne Hope — Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand · wayne.hope@aut.ac.nz

The structures and activities of global capitalism are riven by temporal conflict. Fast, short term profits undermine long term strategies of capital accumulation. Such is especially evident between and within finance and production. Furthermore ,global networks of finance, production and corporate governance may weaken the sychronicities between nation, state, economy and society and exacerbate temporal disjunctures within them. During the 1990s and early 2000s state constructions of time and temporality were beseiged by the short termist tendencies of global capitalism. This sharpened temporal conflicts within the nationally constituted economy and





the nationally circumscribed state. As upper reaches of the nation-state conformed to the temporal urgency of supra-national decision making bodies the marginalised national polity had to process the slower rythyms of representative assembly ,the election cycle, policy formation and mediated public debate. Here, I assess these developments in the aftermath of the 2007-8 financial crisis. My argument is that two discrepant lines of analysis suggest themselves. On the one hand the electronically mediated ideology of free market equilibirium has been fractured. The individual and institutional agents of financial ruin have been publicly and internationally identified. The neo-liberal economic philosophies that had underpinned global finance and supra-national institutions can no longer be taken as granted. The speed, scale and simultaneity of financial collapse openly revealed capitalism's temporal contradictions. Longer term strategies of capital accumulation reliant upon production and consumer demand were seen to be decimated. On the other hand, the policy instruments and institutional mechanisms which might slow the volatility of capitalism are not readily available. Bretton Woods, counter cyclical fiscal policy import substitution ,public infrastructures,social democracy and class compromise were dismantled by neo, liberal financialisation. Their contemporary equivalents await international definition and development. Under these circumstances the asychronicities between ,and temporal disjunctures within ,nation,state ,economy and society have worsened. The political economy of global capitalism is thus pervaded by a crisis of temporalities . The extent to which this predicament can be publicly thematised and adressed, remains an open question.

#### Economía Política de la Comunicación en Brasil: el avance de la reflexión crítica

*César Bolaño* — Universidad Federal de Sergipe (UFS), Brazil · bolano.ufs@gmail.com *Valério Brittos* — Universidad de Vale do Rio dos Sinos (UNISINOS), Brazil · bolano.ufs@gmail.com

El artículo resume el avance de la Economía Política de la Comunicación (EPC) en el Brasil, entendida como espacio crítico, en el ámbito más general de las Ciencias de la Comunicación y con potencialidades de articulador en relación al conjunto, teniendo en cuenta su inserción, por otro lado, en un eje teórico-metodológico más amplio de las Ciencias Sociales y Humanas, como es el de la Crítica de la Economía Política. En ese sentido, se refiere a una trayectoria evolutiva del desarrollo de ese eje comprensivo de la realidad mediática, buscando, además, establecer las conexiones y desconexiones de la EPC en el campo más amplio de la Comunicación y las perspectivas de constitución de un paradigma crítico interdisciplinario, en su interior.

### From Telecom to Broadcasting in Puerto Rico: The Legacy of Empire

Analyn Hernandez — University of Puerto Rico at Arecibo, Puerto Rico · profadiazhernandez@yahoo.com

The legacy of Puerto Rico's (PR) broadcasting industry should be historicized in its exceptional history as an "unincorporated organized colony" of a new colonial empire promising the gift of liberalism and progress. This exceptional status represents an urgent entry point for understanding not only the history and development of broadcasting, but also the contested role of the state in relation to empire. Given its historical status, there has been a tendency to exclude PR from comparable accounts of media and cultural history of the Caribbean and Latin America. In this paper, I will situate the history of broadcasting in PR in relation to comparable historical nations in the region. Also, I will attempt to initiate a new interpretation of the history of broadcasting and telecom in the United States (US) in relation to PR. Specifically, I will argue that Thomas Streeter's understanding of the centrality of 'corporate liberalism' not only is "a set of principles or formal ideology" (1996, 6) but also is "an expression of values and hopes" attached to US history of broadcasting, and has a colonial and a post- or neo-colonial dimension.





#### MEDIA INSTITUTIONS AS SURROGATE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS IN COSMOPOLITAN THEORY

Andrew Calabrese - University of Colorado, United States · Andrew Calabrese@Colorado.EDU

With few exceptions, scholars treat media institutions primarily as mirrors of political reality and only secondarily as means through which modern politics take place. This view is problematic both because politics have a more important and broader meaning than government activity alone, and because it understates the myriad ways in which media, and not the halls of representative government, are primary sites of political struggle. This paper will examine the role of media institutions as political institutions through an analysis and critique of the discourses on the decline of national sovereignty and the rise of transnational forms of governance. Theories of cosmopolitan democracy tend to identify ways in which national public spheres and the political institutions through which they are represented have been weakened by economic, political and cultural globalization. Cosmopolitan theories also tend to identify global media as a principal means through which political representation takes place beyond the boundaries of the nation state. For example, those who draw attention to the fact that the diffusion of Internet technology and services is having a profound impact on human organization often place the Internet on a par for its age with the printing press at the time of its early introduction and rapid diffusion in Western Europe. Whereas scholars such as Lucien Febvre and Benedict Anderson have highlighted the role of publishing in vernacular languages as having been a major factor in the formation of national identities, cosmopolitan theorists have been making similar claims about how global media, including the Internet, have led to new, transnational imagined communities. Ethnic diasporas, religious institutions, new trade and investment regimes, and transnational social movements have all contributed to heightened consciousness about how the boundaries of political participation and representation have been stretched and re-shaped to a significant degree by new means of communication. For some social and political theorists, such developments offer the potential to fulfill Kant's vision of "perpetual peace," which is the principal source of political optimism among cosmopolitan theorists. In contrast, key critics of this cosmopolitan vision have argued that despite the many manifestations of globalization, there is a fundamental disparity between the nature of political representation that is possible within national public spheres in comparison with what is possible through transnational public spheres. This essay will examine some of the principal arguments made for and against the Kantian vision of cosmopolitan public spheres in relation to "global governance," with particular emphasis on the political significance of media and communication among cosmopolitan theorists. The principal problematic on which the essay will focus will be the strengths and weaknesses of a view of transnational public spheres as effective surrogates and/or supplements for transnational governance.

### "The Continuous Destruction of Media Outlets During War Time"

Jörg Becker – Universität Innsbruck, Germany · joerg.becker@komtech.org

During the wars of the last two decades we face an increasing number of military attacks against media outlets. This paper will document all the cases known to the author and analyze them from three perspectives: international law, media law and changes in military doctrines. The cases include (among others): the destruction of the TV building in Sarajevo by Serbian militia on May 2, 1992; the military occupation of the TV station in Pale by NATO troops in October 1997; the bombardment of the Radio Sharia and the TV station Al Jazeera in Kabul by the US Air Force on October 7-8 and November 11, 2001; the attack on Hotel Palestine in Bagdad with its many journalists by the US Army in April 2003; the bombardment of the TV station al-Manar in Beirut by the Israelian Air Force on July 13, 2006; and, the attack against the media center al-Sharuk in Gaza-City by the Israelian Air Force on January 15, 2009.





# Recession and Progression: Notes on Media, Labor, and Youth from East Asia $Yeran\ Kim$ — Kwangwoon University, Korea, Republic Of · nayerani@hanmail.net

Jack Qiu — Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong · jacklqiu@gmail.com

This paper discusses how Korea and China respond to the global economic crisis with emphasis placed on (1) public discourse and state policy, (2) media, especially new media, developments, and (3) conditions of labor and youth, the two overlapping groups that occupy marginalized social positions where seeds for change and progression are also to be found. While each country has its distinct social and institutional legacy, the contemporary East Asian experiences converge in the prominence of the media, electronics, and information sector as an engine of economic growth that inevitably produces new labor and youth politics. Such a mode of production and the concurrent political dynamics have been severely affected by the financial meltdown. However, due to a shared history of "industrious revolution" and labor-intensive capital accumulation, as well as collective memories of the Asian Financial Crisis a decade ago, Korea and China are in a similarly entan! gled position to transform the recession into an opportunity for social progression – as demanded by labor forces, old and new– for a viable alternative to the neoliberal doctrine, for an equitable, democratic, and human road toward development in East Asia and beyond.



