

**Union for Democratic Communications: Circuits of Struggle  
Toronto, ON**

**ABSTRACTS: Saturday, May 2**

**11:15-12:45 am      Panel session 5**

**5a. Silencing Dissent: A Roundtable on Salaita, Academic Freedom and the Neoliberal University**

**Sarah T. Roberts, Alicia Kozma, Rico Kleinstein Chenyek, Inger L. Stole, Molly C. Niesen, Brian Dolber**

In the late summer of 2014, the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign made international headlines for rescinding the employment of a tenured associate professor of American Indian and Indigenous Studies, Steven Salaita, who was due to begin at the University in just days. UIUC's Chancellor, backed by its Board of Trustees, claimed that this decision was based solely on the content of several of Salaita's tweets, which administrators described as being "uncivil" in tone and suggesting that Salaita was unsuited for employment. This action earned widespread ire from many within and outside the academy, who believed the University to be both politically and financially motivated to fire Salaita. Critics of the administration also were quick to point out that the firing had occurred against a backdrop of attempts of UIUC's faculty to unionize. The Salaita case quickly sparked an international dialog regarding principles of academic freedom, conditions of labor, and encroachments on democracy in academe – all pressing issues for UDC because of the latter's commitment to liberty, equality, and social justice. It also speaks directly to the conference theme, "Circuits of Struggle," given that these issues are central to the struggle for a more democratic university.

This UDC roundtable brings together tenured faculty, tenured-track faculty, and graduate students to discuss academic freedom in light of the detrimental implications of academia's increased corporatization, focus on revenue generation and growth over the academic mission, the increased reliance on non-tenure-stream labor, the shuttering of ethnic studies and other politicized academic centers, and increased centralized administrative control, on the principles of academic freedom and scholarly endeavors. Participants will highlight how activism, scholarship, and struggles for resistance are functioning on campuses in light of increasingly hostile environments towards dissent, free speech, and controversial thought - in research, teaching and in private lives. Each participant will briefly explain his/her own perspectives on and relationship to academic freedom, then discussion will be opened up to all roundtable participants. Action items will be generated, with the hope of creating a networking opportunity and future sites of action and mutual aid among scholars, media makers and other participants.

## **5b. Seizing Culture, Heritage, and Citizenship: Struggles Against the Appropriation of Tradition**

**Patrick MacInnis:** Appropriating City Spaces: Exploring Practice, Process and Policy in Aboriginal Street Art

Street art is an often controversial yet wildly pervasive art form, a complex cultural practice that moves between inner city walls and high art auction houses. The tension between vandalism and art has been the basis for policy creation in graffiti management, with an increasing movement in cities to regularize pieces such as murals while maintaining a zero tolerance towards graffiti-as-vandalism, most often represented as tagging. New graffiti management policies within Toronto look to regulate authorization of street art as a means of discouraging illicit graffiti while promoting cultural production. However, even authorized street art practice necessarily retains its roots in rebellion and civil disobedience, thus destabilizing the city as physical and cultural space. Constructing street art as a new commons offers a means of understanding cultural production, appropriation, and resistance within the regulated environment. Using the case of 7th Generation Image Makers, an Aboriginal street art organization based in Toronto, this paper explores the notion of street art as a complex arrangement of commons – specifically infrastructural, cultural, and knowledge commons. Through interviews conducted with artists, group discussions, and document analysis, this case offers an opportunity to develop a new context for understanding street art as a space for both cultural production and resistance. Created within these policy structures, 7th Generation murals present street art as a space for decolonization, education, and community building. Moreover, the production of specific Aboriginal teachings, environments, and histories in such a mode challenges the marginalization of Aboriginal people in urban centres and Canadian society, requiring a reflection on explicit cultural resistance that makes use of hegemonic structures.

**Eva Athanasiu:** Survivance Stories: Aboriginal Networks of Resistance and New Media Art in Canada

Aboriginal artists, based in Canada and working in new media art production, are creating internetwork art projects (net art) that retell and reimagine transformations and continuations in Aboriginal histories. Net art projects are constructed using digital electronic technologies, and distributed via the internet. This paper considers both transformation and continuation through the use of Gerald Vizenor's theory of *survivance*. Supporting theories include Linda Tuhiwai Smith's *Indigenous research agenda* and Paulo Freire's *problem-posing education*. Together, these concepts communicate a network of projects, in which action and reflection are integrally interconnected processes for transcending or transforming oppressive networks. Antonio Gramsci's theory of *cultural hegemony*, Paulo Freire's *banking education*, and Roland Barthes' *myths* explore oppressive networks, intersecting through what Frances Abele and Daiva Stasiulis call the *white settler colony*, a problematic political economy history of Canada that excludes Aboriginal experiences and histories.

This paper builds connections between each theory in order to consider how net art projects contribute to Aboriginal networks of resistance in Canada. Networks of resistance are considered through the use of Suzanne Staggenborg's *social movement communities*, and Cheryl L'Hirondelle's history of the transformations and continuations of Aboriginal information communication networks based in Canada. Aboriginal peoples have always gathered with one another to create social, political, economic, or cultural transformation and continuation in their communities. Networks rooted in travel and dialogue between people, animals, and the land supported both the transformation and the continuation of communities. Virtual networks iterate these earlier networks; by exploring cultural identities, representations, and authorships, artists are contributing to and building virtual networks of Aboriginal cultural production, creating what Ahasiw Maskegon-Iskwew calls *networked art practices*.

Net art projects also support what John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald call *social movement preferences*, a term that refers to supportive reflection and ways of thinking in tandem with organized action. Decolonizing practices and ways of thinking, which Linda Tuhiwai Smith identifies as ongoing and transformative processes, are presented as core preferences in the work of Aboriginal participants and non-Aboriginal allies in social movement communities. The two-part methodology in this paper is qualitative: semi-structured interviews with three to five interdisciplinary artists who identify as Aboriginal and are building net art works as part of their practice, and textual analyses of one net art work by each artist. Contributing participants are connected through their involvement with *Beat Nation*, an online exhibition produced by grunt gallery in 2008 and co-curated by Tania Willard and Skeena Reece; the project also included a cross-Canada touring exhibition until 2014.

### **Henry Svec: The New Brunswick Laboratory of Imaginary Media Research + Design: A Case Study of Impossible Media Practice**

Critical political economy, since Marx and Engels, has been relatively hostile to the concept of utopia, which has been positioned as an abstract ideal not grounded on the real terrain of struggle. On the other hand, or perhaps even further away than that, imaginary media researchers such as Siegfried Zielinski have uncovered anomalous yet productive tinkerers and theorists via alternative histories of modernity—this work has productively encouraged us to reconsider the contingencies of media culture, to consider the affectivity and productivity of the ideal. Yet, work on imaginary media has tended away from the beloved audiences and users of classic cultural studies, which political economists have recently taken greater interest in as well. Zielinski trolls through the rich archives of modernity's artists, poets, and inventors, but what about the critical power of the everyday thoughts, Facebook posts, comment threads, etc., of contemporary students, artists, and workers, where impossible or virtual media (which are nonetheless real) are exploded, expanded, and reimagined entirely?

My paper will seek to build convergences between political economy and imaginary media research. Imaginary media can help materialism deliver on its dialectical ambitions, and political economy can help us to situate imaginary media below the clouds. After a theoretical introduction, I will tease out this gambit more concretely through a reading of a collaborative working group / performance art project I

am currently conducting in New Brunswick in the capacity of Media Artist in Residence at the University of New Brunswick. The New Brunswick Laboratory of Imaginary Media Research + Design is a mobile creation workshop. As a group, we aim to introduce problems in contemporary media culture to one another (be they aesthetic, ethical, political, or ergonomic), and then to collectively sketch alternatives and virtual re-territorializations. The work is currently being transmitted via a Tumblr blog, which invites anyone anywhere to contribute to the discussion. My paper will explore these sketches and imaginings, and I will try to think about the critical (or lack thereof) energy of our power to imagine other ways of mediating.

**Lourdes Morales: Digital Citizen Strategies: The Present Case of the Mexican Movement for Peace**

This paper will point out different media strategies that the Mexican digital citizens have been producing from 2006 to our days. This temporal frame will allow us to identify how the necessity to develop strategies has increased since the war to drug cartels was declared by the Mexican Government. In this presentation we will make a review of the different channels and tenors used by Mexican digital citizens through the use of Information and Communication Technologies (ITC). We will focus on the specific strategies that, consciously or not, have developed a “gesture of disclosure-action”, a notion that we understand as one that unveils the oppressive structures and their violent mechanisms –which usually aim to control the population. This presentation will analyze specific local cases that go from individuals that have initiated web journalism spaces dedicated to inform, to discuss and to distribute political and security information among the population –as the case of the Santuario website or the Valor por Tamaulipas e-journal– to the conformation of civilian, and parent communication nets that have been organized to protect those who are participating in the political meetings against violence in the present demonstrations –as is the case of the Redes de Alertas Telefónicas organized by villagers or the Sandino Bucio case.

With all this in mind, this text will pursue to frame these digital citizenship strategies from their “failure” or “success” outcomes, focusing on two notions that were produced out of the political circumstances in Mexico: one, destabilization; and two, social disorder. The power structure that rules the society in Mexico seems to be shifting nowadays; therefore, it is important to rethink our approximations to struggles in order to construct notions that can study the crossfire of powers that have been threatening the local populations. The ability to produce changes or to articulate pressure on the power structures seems to differ according to the qualities of the digital channels in each case. Thus, our presentation will put attention into differences and into specificities with the idea to develop theories of resistance that emerge from this recent experience.

## 5c. Digital Labour

### **Eric Lohman:** Fetishizing Flexibility: The Political Economy of Telework

Employers have struggled to strike a balance between having an in situ workforce and flexible teleworkers, as both are needed in the post-Fordist workplace. Both have their benefits: offering telework options to employees can help retain quality workers, as it allows employees the flexibility to attend to childcare needs and leisure activities, making for happier workers. Companies can also cut down on overhead costs for electricity, heat, building maintenance, grounds upkeep, and the like, by shifting workers to remote locations, where office space may be cheaper, or by allowing them to work in their own homes. On paper, it seems like a win-win for both workers and employers, but as much of the discourse on telework is occupied by stories of employee overwork and reduced worker collaboration, we should not be surprised to see its popularity wavering in some circles, or slow to catch on altogether. In this essay, I will analyze the costs and benefits of telework policies to better understand the political economic justification for employers to support or reject telework, and also explore how teleworking impacts the workers themselves. I address these questions in three parts. First, I look at the ways companies stand to save money by instituting telework policies for their employees, or a subsection of their employees. The second section explores telework from the employee perspective, particularly how and to what degree teleworking affects workers in positive and negative ways. In the third section, I explore the circumstances companies have encountered which cause them to reject telework policies in favor of more traditional location based arrangements. Ultimately what this analysis demonstrates is that telework arrangements are employed or withheld depending on the benefit it brings to capital, and that this decision alone determines when and how it will be used, if at all.

### **Alison Harvey and Stephanie Fisher:** Games of Resistance: Women's Work, Community, and the Democratization of Game Design

Despite (or perhaps because of) their rise to the apex of commercial and popular success, beyond critical game studies video games have largely been conceptualized and dismissed as simply a form of leisure and entertainment media, typically the domain of children. At best, games are fetishized as high-tech vehicles for the repurposing of traditional educational materials (Prensky, 2007; Squire, 2002), and, conversely, as an exemplary means for the perpetuation of hypermasculine, hyperviolence, and hypercapitalist values in terms of both its content and global industrial context (Dyer-Witford & de Peuter, 2009). Research on gender and games highlights how digital games perpetuate inequitable gender, class, and race dynamics through what Fron, Fullerton, Morie & Pearce (2007a) term 'the hegemony of play', a dynamic set of cultural, industrial, promotional, and technological patterns and processes that establish a power elite of largely White male producers and players. An increasing body of work (Consalvo, 2008; Kerr, 2006; Jenson & de Castell, 2011) considers the production and industrial context of digital games, driven by the need to expose structural and political regimes and practices that support stereotypical representations and other exclusionary mechanisms in the pursuit of devising tactics for dismantling this power. Other work

(Fron, Fullerton, Morie & Pearce, 2007b; Flanagan, 2009) suggests that the greatest possibility for disruption may be found in independent, community, experimental, and avant-garde game design and production.

This paper focuses on the resistant and disruptive forces at play within independent game design challenging the masculinist culture of production. These design practices are supported by multiple axis of accessibility, including free-to-use design tools such as Twine, and social supports provided by community groups such as Dames Making Games Toronto and Pixelles Montreal. Based on three years of ongoing research within these local communities, this talk contextualizes the development and contributions of grassroots community groups run by women for women within the broader cultural backlash against feminist interventions as highlighted by the recent and ongoing campaign of harassment under the banner of #GamerGate. If the new gaming public is one that is deeply toxic to female designers, critics, journalists, and academics (Salter & Blodgett, 2012), does the labour of these DIY game makers and feminist advocates create a feminist counter-public or simply provide the grounds for reification of male dominance and commercial conservatism? In order to address this question, we situate the labour and contributions of these growing communities within the larger context of women's production in tech fields. Drawing on black feminist theory, we interrogate the relationship between visibility in the public sphere, relations of power in the context of production, and mechanisms of discipline and containment in these domains (Lorde, 1984; Collins, 1990). We delineate the contributions of these feminist interventions, and reflect on the challenges presented in seeking equity through the tools of the commercial games industry. Through this analysis, we move beyond the celebration of independent games production as inherently inclusive and democratic to trace the counters of the struggle for a safe, diverse domain of games production.

### **Harrison Smith:** Conventions of Sharing: Situating Labour and Exploitation Within the Sharing Economy

The sharing economy presents numerous entry points for situating a critique of neoliberal capitalism. Enthusiasts of the sharing economy stress the need to develop flexible pools of labour and entrepreneurial capitalism (particularly within service sectors), as well as a libertarian ideology of self-regulation that substitutes municipal or state regulation of markets with user-based feedback and surveillance infrastructures. This has not only brought forth questions of how incumbent service providers will respond to such competition in the market, but also the underlying regulatory challenges for municipalities. This paper however seeks to focus a discussion on understanding the political economies of the sharing economy by examining issues of labour and exploitation, effectively permitting for a nuanced critique of the cultural conventions of sharing perceived to be embedded in this new form of neoliberal capitalism. It moreover allows for a critique of the underlying distribution of power between service providers, labourers, and consumers. This paper will ground its analysis of labour and exploitation by focusing on Uber in North America as a case study. Data collection is based on discourse analysis of labour struggles by Uber drivers against the company covered in news media, Uber driver blogs and web forums over the period of 2012-2014. By examining how the sharing economy frames issues of labour, this paper seeks to critique

the cultural conventions of sharing by presenting a more sobering view of contemporary labour struggles faced by sharing economy labourers.

**Florian Schmidt:** The Design of Creative Crowdwork From Tools for Empowerment to Platform Capitalism

At *Circuits of Struggle*, I will present some of the key findings of my three-year-long research into the history and design of crowdsourcing platforms.[1] Crowdsourcing has become one of the core methods of organising work in the digital labour landscape, and it is probably the most contested one. The positions differ about what crowdsourcing actually entails and how it is to be evaluated; in management literature it is often propagated as an ingenious approach to harvest the otherwise wasted ‘cognitive surplus’, solve the world’s problems, foster innovation and create some neat revenues along the way – but it has also been criticised as an exploitative business model, based on tricking people into doing work for free.... With my contribution to ‘Circuits of Struggle, I want to give insight into creative crowdsourcing and situate it in the larger digital labour landscape. I will provide a juxtaposition of cognitive piecework and contest-based creative crowdwork. I argue that the former is reproducing patterns known from blue-collar work, while the latter is reproducing patterns known from no-collar work. Furthermore, by comparing two different platforms for creative crowdwork – 99designs.com and Jovoto.com – I will outline some of the key parameters that can influence the perceived fairness of creative crowdwork. The larger question that I am going to address is whether crowdsourcing is inherently exploitative or can be organised in a way that is fair and economically sustainable for all stakeholders.

**5d. Mediated Subjectivity and Workers’ Struggles**

**Gary Kinsman:** Of Newsletters and Pamphlets: Autonomist Communication and Organizing in 1970s ‘Canada.’

This paper will examine some of the vehicles of communication, networking and analysis used in the New Tendency which existed in a number of centres across ‘Canada’ in the early to mid-1970s.’ The New Tendency (NT) was an attempt to develop a different left politics for those who wanted to relate to broader working class struggle that rejected the Leninist vanguard party and the official unions. Including those inspired by the Italian radical and autonomist left (especially Lotta Continua and Potere Operaio), and by CLR James and the Facing Reality current, the group produced and distributed a number of pamphlets -- including ‘Organizing for Workers Power,’ “Italy New Tactics and Organization,” and “Autonomous Struggles and the Capitalist Crisis.” These pamphlets served to translate and popularize some of the perspectives and practices of the Italian radical left. The five issues of the Newsletter produced by the group also did this work but much more importantly was a vehicle for the communication of workplace organizing experiences and the emergence of a detailed ethnographic analysis grounded in working class experience and struggle. The paper concludes with an analysis of the breakup of the New Tendency and the ending of the Newsletter.

**Dorothy Kidd:** New Enclosures and New Commons: Struggles Over Neo-Extractionism

This presentation weaves together two key concerns of autonomist Marxism --the new enclosures and the autonomous organization of the commons; and the concepts of composition, decomposition and cycles of struggle – to analyse current global cycles of struggle over what Latin Americans call “neo-extractionism.” Simply put, a new composition of capitalist mining interests, reinforced by international bodies such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and World Trade Organization, and ninety national governments, are conducting a new set of enclosures (defined by the violent destruction of waterways, mountains and other land forms, displacement of peoples, and imposition of new regimes of labour exploitation). Host communities, composed primarily of indigenous peoples and their allies, are fighting back using strategies that echo earlier historical commons, from physical resistance, blockades, and local demonstrations; the establishment of temporary and new producers’ commons; national, regional and transnational legal strategies. Connecting all of these strategies are a panoply of transmedia and communications repertoires that utilize everything from face to face people’s assemblies, demonstrations and tribunals, documentary video circulated hand to hand and via the web, sophisticated data analysis, and corporate and autonomous social media.

This presentation builds on a longer-term research project about neo-extractionism and focuses on the communications dimensions of the struggles (Kidd, 2014, 2014a). I utilize the autonomist research rubric first developed by the collective Zerowork (1975), which I’ve adapted to the analysis of communications commons, and more recently revised by Nick Dyer-Witheford to update concepts of composition (2008). I first briefly map the changing composition of the global mining industry (and its relations with dominant institutions supporting neo-extractionism, and the dominant commercial media), and the decomposition of mining unions. I then examine the communications dimension of the recomposition of contention: which communications repertoires are used?; In relations with allies, and residual organizations (trade unions, NGOs, etc.)?; and versus dominant corporate and state organizations? I am especially interested in what Dyer-Witheford identifies as the “commonist” tendencies, the projects, proposals and even utopias that identify “what they are for, as well as against;” and especially how these commonist tendencies are circulated (262). This year’s UDC conference setting is particularly propitious as the Toronto Stock Exchange is one of the global hubs of capitalist mining corporations and the site of annual protests every May.

**Jack Z. Bratich:** Social Bodies in Movement, Social Bodies at Rest: A Compositionist Media Studies Approach to Contemporary Struggles

The recent experiments in mediated processes of subjectivation associated with uprisings like Occupy Wall Street, the 2012 Quebec student strikes, and #FergusonOctober provide new historical concrete expressions of mediated subjectivities. This prompts us to develop/rediscover modes of media and communications research adequate to these times. Here I explore Toni Negri’s call for a genealogy of dispositifs of subjectivation from the perspective of the circuits of struggle rather than of capture (which has dominated critical media studies). Instead of positing a State or Capital with an ever-

increasing body that absorbs and neutralizes (intrinsic to typical notions of incorporation and recuperation), the real subsumption of biopower means governance is incapable of running itself in a unitary and necessary manner as its “reabsorption effects” are random and localized, consistently reacting to the ruptures and excess of biopolitical uprisings. The other side of this perspectival reversal means giving continuity to the seemingly ephemeral and episodic uprisings, something that has been lacking even in critical communication and media studies until recently. This means attending to the residual artifacts, the periods “in between” the most visible expressions, and to the slow and often hidden recomposition that comes to form the “continuity of antagonistic expressions.” In the case of this decade’s global uprisings, it involves examining the mediated practices of care and shelter, of recuperation from below during times of social rest. And it’s here that feminist circuits of struggles and dispositifs become paramount. This paper argues that, in addition to the most perceptible demonstrations and recognizable occupations, the persistent and resilient antagonisms found in such cultural practices as crafting tell us much about circuits of struggle and their mediation via digital culture.

**Marco Deseriis:** The Power of Refusal and the Production of Subjectivity Without a Subject

The paper begins with a discussion of the autonomist notion of refusal of labor in the twofold sense of refusal of waged labor and refusal of reproductive labor. It then argues that the 1960s and 1970s revolts by different sectors of the working class from their allotted place in the social factory set in motion a movement towards abstraction in the production of subjectivity. This movement is also twofold. On the one hand, it is a signifying process of deterritorialization that expresses itself in the exodus from the workplace and the home and myriad social experiments of self-valorization. On the other hand, the becoming social of labor is an a-signifying process that is captured by the expansion of fixed capital and the rise of the network economy. Such machinization—what Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari call “machinic enslavement”—entails that individuals are de-subjectified as they become intrinsic components of a machine that knows no distinction between the subject and the object, the human and the nonhuman. The networked economy relies in fact on the production of individual profiles that are assembled through the correlation of multiple data points. From a financial standpoint, the value of these profiles does not lie in their referentiality—i.e., in their capacity to denote an individual or a set of individuals—but in their exchangeability and collateralization. Yet, as Christian Marazzi has noted, the transformation of the subject into a currency necessarily passes through a negation of its particular nature and its integration within a set of financial conventions whose value is completely self-referential. Thus we come full circle: if in the 1960s and 1970s factory workers and housewives refused to be subjectified qua workers and housewives, the financial economy refuses to recognize the reality of its referents by replacing them with abstract, interchangeable, and self-referential values that “make sense” but ultimately have no meaning. The paper concludes by noting how the living labor’s refusal of subjectification can not only be distinguished from the neoliberal assault on the subject, but can also reappropriate the idea of the future by devising processes of subjectivation that do not require a subject in order to function.

## 5e. Communications Policy and the Public Interest

### **John Anderson:** Workers Independent News v. FCC: Busted by the News Police

Throughout its regulatory history, the Federal Communications Commission has been very careful to avoid making much content-specific policy, which it asserts would contravene the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. However, in early 2014 the FCC strikingly reversed itself, when—for the first time in agency history—it declared that an independent, non-partisan news organization was illegitimate. The case involves a radio station in Chicago which aired newscasts from Workers Independent News (WIN): the first nationally-syndicated labor radio headline news service to be launched in several decades. This paper explains the controversy behind the FCC's determination on the journalistic legitimacy of Workers Independent News. Originally filed as a listener complaint, the FCC ultimately twisted the applicability of its sponsored-programming rules to make damning conclusions about WIN's right of access to the public airwaves, and even suggested that the offending station apologize to its listeners for airing WIN material. This happened just weeks after a proposed FCC study on Critical Information Needs, which would have provided the first wide-ranging examination of journalism in local communities around the country, was spiked due to political pushback from Republican Commissioners. Since this decision, Workers Independent News has filed a Freedom of Information Act request with the FCC to gather details on the agency's handling of this case and the rationale of its decision; to date, the FCC has stymied this request. The case itself suggests a troubling contradiction exists between what is considered acceptable news content on the public airwaves, and that a partisan litmus-test may exist within the FCC regarding the validity of broadcast journalism.

### **Michael Lithgow:** Un/reasonable Power: An Aesthetic Discourse Analysis of Public Participation In Canadian Broadcasting Policy

Public participation in formal policy settings tests the discursive legitimacies of public desire against the instrumental rationalities of industry and state institutions. Among the many conflicts this presents is the epistemological divide between desire and reason. Policy practitioners tend to justify their decisions with methods grounded in the fundamentals of objectivism; that is, on evidence-based rational argumentation. But there is growing interest among scholars and analysts in what Frank Fischer has labeled postempirical approaches to making sense of policy processes and outcomes, including Fischer's own informal logics of 'practical argumentation', an analytic approach that emphasizes the normative discrepancies between argumentative legitimacies in different disciplines (Fischer 2003); narrative analysis for policy inquiry (Roe 1994); the application of complexity theory to policy formation (Morcol 2014); the symbolic function of policy and its role in the performance of ideology (Yanow 1996; Edelman 1988); to name only a few. Often overlooked in these accounts is the influence of aesthetic experience on policy discourse, and in particular, how the aesthetics of communication influence legitimacies of information and social order. This paper presents preliminary results of an 'aesthetic discourse analysis' of public interventions in a major review of Canadian broadcasting regulation initiated by the Canadian Radio-

television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) in the Fall 2013 (*Let's Talk TV: A conversation with Canadians about the future of television*). *Talk TV* is a unique case in which the CRTC introduced a number of techniques for encouraging and capturing public consultation as part of the official record, including the use of Vine videos and Twitter ads to promote the proceedings, and online discussion forums and flash conferences to enhance the public record. Close to 15,000 comments were received from the public. Drawing on analysis of written submissions, an ethnography of public hearings and interviews with senior staff at the CRTC, in this paper I argue that an 'aesthetic discourse analysis' of public engagement sheds light on the often overlooked tactics of communication used by members of the public to influence policy outcomes, including the production of identity, feelings of anticipation, narrative techniques, performativity, and the tactical use of ambiguity. 'Aesthetic discourse analysis' offers a framework for mapping and making sense of the role of public desire in shaping policy discourse and outcomes.

Fischer, Frank, 2003. *Reframing Public Policy: Discursive Politics and Deliberative Practices*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Morçöl, Göktug. 2012. *A Complexity Theory for Public Policy*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Roe, Emery. 1994. *Narrative Policy Analysis: Theory and Practice*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Yanow, Dvora. 1996. *How Does A Policy Mean?* Georgetown University Press.

**Ian Kivelin Davis:** International News Flow and the Distribution Question: China, Falun Dafa and Pluralism in Canadian Media Policy

The growth of global news networks, China Central Television (CCTV) among them, presents novel opportunities for western media systems. News organizations like CCTV, Al Jazeera, Russia Today and PressTV seek audiences in North America, reflecting both increased competition to define world events through journalism and the diplomatic needs of sponsor nations. For western media regulators, foreign news offers an opportunity to expand media pluralism, foster news diversity and give ethnic communities a connection to home. But the role of foreign media integration is not always so benign. Critiquing what I call "naive pluralism" in recent regulatory decisions, I argue that the Canadian liberal-pluralist model of media governance glosses over cultural and political struggles that define the reception of foreign media by uncritically embracing foreign news as a means to fulfill diversity and multicultural mandates. Current foreign media policies explicitly ignore the role of economic and cultural power by remaining agnostic regarding the political intentions of news imports.

The recent expansion of China's media presence around the globe underlines how media globalization is an expression of the power to represent oppositional communities in diaspora. In this paper, I first provide an economic profile of CCTV. Chinese policymakers have shed an out-dated model of state-run media by embracing market reforms while, at once, maintaining the use of news as a means of social and political control. These new market relationships have empowered CCTV's reach as a global network. In this process, China's state news has developed profitable partnerships with

transnational commercial media firms, leveraging the commercial interests of firms like Time-Warner and Proctor & Gamble in tapping China's exploding consumer culture.

In the second half of the paper, I draw upon court records and regulatory decisions to focus on three legal battles between 2000 and 2006, battles that would end up limiting the ability for Canada's Chinese immigrants to resist media imports from China. Grassroots groups like the Falun Dafa spiritual community and democracy advocates, long disparaged in state-controlled news, engaged in media activism to prevent China from gaining a foothold in Canadian media. Chinese news, they argued, did not conform to North American norms and worked against rather than for Canada's strong multicultural mandates. The struggle for representation within the Canadian media system points to how imported media is not only a means to foster pluralism but also a site of struggle in Canada and beyond. These legal battles illustrate the limits of national regulatory principles in adjudicating the political complexity of global media flows. In light of the public controversies and legal battles surrounding Chinese news in Canada, I conclude by arguing for a critical perspective on national regulation in the age of media abundance and question if national regulators must reconceptualize pluralism principles beyond the nation.

### **Ilya Kiriya: How International Sanctions Contributed to Additional Monopolization of Russian Media**

In order to punish Russia for non-justified acquisition of Crimean peninsula US and European Union introduced a set of economic sanctions against Russian state companies and oligarchs close to Russian president. Generally the institution of sanctions as it has been used before refers to making pressure on authorities of any country by the hands of different actors inside such country (business, elite groups, important groups of population). This paper shows how the introduction of sanctions against Russia has obtained a perversive effect of consolidation of media assets and its revenues in hands of biggest Russian media conglomerates close to the power. The close connection between main oligarchs (against whom some of such sanctions has been introduced) and main media assets incited their financial poles to consolidate better their assets and to make more pressure on little market players by using their lobbying capacity in the parliament and the government. As a result Russian media industry traversed the "Ukrainian crisis" in completely different structure protecting biggest players from minor ones, protecting centralized "old media" from "new" decentralized ones which in a long term will contribute to the vertical ideological control over the media and the population and to reproduction of the current political situation. This research is based on empirical study of structure of Russian media industry especially in terms of "financial poles" on which it depends (Bouquillion, 2009), the state policy in the field in comparative perspective (Hallin & Manchini) and institutional paradigm of para constitutionalism.

## 5f. Labour Struggles in Cultural Industries

### **Christine Quail:** Dance For Your Life: Dance, Labour, Reality Television

Dancing is a job, a profession, an industry, wherein dancers, as well as choreographers, hair and make-up, costuming, and other craft positions, labour—in a studio, on stage, or in front of a camera for film, television, or commercials. To add a layer of complexity to dancer/labourer roles, the appearance of dancers on reality TV programs constitutes a second layer of labour, wherein the dancers are “actors/performers” in a broad sense—the cast of the program (along with the choreographers, who are visible and part of the program, judges, host, and live studio audience). “Dance For Your Life” is the phrase that reality TV format *So You Think You Can Dance* uses when a dancer is in danger of being ejected from the week’s competitive show. The phrase nods to the work of dancing, “dancing for your life”, as an activity worthy of lifetime commitment; as well, it indicates an activity that will “save” the contestant from a certain death. Such a move harkens to servitude and performance for earning one’s right to eat, or to live, which has a sense of desperation and necessity. The television format *So You Think You Can Dance* pits dancers against one another to be judged by a panel of expert choreographers and dancers to move through the well-worn competitive trope of reality competition. It is easy, perhaps too easy, to dismiss reality TV contestants as fools, fame seekers, or gold diggers, tools of the television and celebrity industry, who are “dancing for their lives”. Rather, it is useful to understand the television and celebrity industries, and their use of free labour on reality TV, alongside the self-proclaimed motivations that contestants provide as rationale for auditioning for this show. This paper thus seeks to understand both dancer’s own partially-articulated motivations, situated within the commercial context of the television program, and the labour problems of reality television. The paper is based on a Marxist conceptualization of labour and wrestles with the labour exploitation that is undercut by the mythologies of dance and entertainment media. The paper thus introduces a ‘folk taxonomy’ of dancers: dreamers, promoters, junkies, jokesters, pedagogues, and students--and wrestles with the contradictions of dancers own reporting of motivations, in the context of labour exploitation.

### **Matt Stahl:** Royalties Delayed are Royalties Denied: Aging R&B Performers’ Late-Career Struggles for Economic Justice

The postwar explosion of independent American record companies such as Savoy, Chess, and Atlantic Records, central to the production and proliferation of R&B and early rock ‘n’ roll, involved the recruitment and exploitation of black singers, many of whom were quite young. The popularity and works of singers like Ruth Brown, Joe Turner, Little Jimmy Scott, and groups like the Drifters and the Clovers, provided the socio-cultural resources and economic foundation of an industry boom. The claiming of these new styles by white audiences and performers and by major record companies eventually transformed the landscape of American popular music. Yet changing tastes, fraudulent accounting practices, and indifferent executives left many of the originating black performers to grow old in dire economic circumstances, even as their recorded performances continued to generate income for their former employers, even as the songs

and styles they introduced, adopted by white performers, flourished in broadcast media and on the sales charts.

In the 1970s, some of these performers pursued individual claims for back-royalties, aided by exploitive “royalty recovery” experts who took as much as 50% of past and future royalties. But in the 1980s, singer Ruth Brown, with the support and assistance of Howell Begle, a media industry mergers-and-acquisitions attorney working pro bono, began what would become a surprisingly effective, two-decade long “royalty reform” movement that would involve newspaper and television coverage, politicians, Civil Rights figures, mainstream music stars, and record company executives, and would culminate in new legislation. Drawing on primary source and archival documents, this paper examines R&B performers’ efforts to redress racialized economic injustices perpetrated through the systematic underpayment of royalties. It outlines salient aspects of the 1950s recording industry’s racialized political economy and proposes an account of Brown and Begle’s work to produce a collective solution that would benefit all affected performers, and that would later lead to the establishment of the Rhythm and Blues Foundation. Among other things, Brown and Begle uncovered and publicized a counter-history of fraudulent accounting practices and casual racism that helped embarrass companies like Warner Communications, MCA, and Capitol/EMI into forgiving old production debts, renegotiating 40 year old contracts, and paying millions of dollars in restitution.

**Errol Salamon:** Alternative Journalism as Direct Action: Locked Out and Striking Newswriters Produce Média Matin Québec

Due to a transition in the journalism industry that has led newsreaders and advertising revenues to digital platforms, news conglomerates have increasingly devalued the labour of their employees by justifying salary cuts to reduce organizational spending. This paper is focused on the 15-month lockout and strike, from 2007 to 2008, at Sun Media’s *Le Journal de Québec*, the largest circulation daily newspaper in Quebec City, Canada, a subsidiary of conglomerate Quebecor Inc. The conflict mainly revolved around an increase in employees’ weekly working hours from 32 to 37.5 without a pay raise, despite the paper’s increased circulation, profits, and advertising sales. *Média Matin Québec*, a lockout and strike newspaper and website, is examined as a case study of a publication that was produced and distributed by the 252 unionized employees during the work stoppage in lieu of forming a picket line. Through a political economy approach to labour resistance and the concept of alternative journalism practices, this paper draws on documents from, and correspondence with, the Canadian Union of Public Employees, content from the 317 editions and website of *Média Matin*, and news coverage of the conflict. It builds on the limited scholarship on newswriters’ strike and lockout journalism as a way in which union locals produce, distribute, and exchange mediated communication. Alternative journalism scholarship and labour movement literature have largely overlooked strike and lockout newspapers as part of an ephemeral organizing strategy or as direct action. In addition, these literatures have rarely considered the labour practices of alternative journalism outlets. To address these blind spots, this paper will answer the following questions: How is *Média Matin Québec* a form of alternative journalism and a practice of direct action? What lessons can the labour movement, both

within and beyond the field of journalism, learn from the alternative journalism labour practices of these disputing news workers?

As a form of alternative journalism, Média Matin not only became the city's first free daily newspaper but also provided an important source of local news to resist and compete with the scab-run Journal. As a practice of direct action against Le Journal, one of the advantages for the newswriters was that, based on their work experience, they could use strike and lockout journalism to communicate grievances to their employer and to a broader public. They creatively rethought the standard picket line as alternative journalism, extending it and their mobilization for public support directly into the Quebec City community. By producing their own newspaper, Le Journal workers illuminated a way for the labour movement to reimagine picket lines. As direct action, MédiaMatin demonstrates that an alternative communication strategy may be fundamental for workers—even outside of journalism—to build a platform to voice their demands and fight the devaluation of labour. Alternative journalism could help workers gain visibility and win concessions from their employers. This visibility is vital during lockouts when employers refuse to negotiate with workers. It is also important because an anti-labour movement slant is pervasive in corporate news coverage, especially during work stoppages.

**2-3:30 pm                      Panel session 6**

### **6a. New Strategies in Media Worker Organizing**

**Katherine Lapointe, Datejie Green, Karen Wirsig**

This workshop will explore the current conditions of media work, and what unions can do to support media workers in their struggles for better treatment and higher wages. While most new work in the media industry is in private-sector, white-collar employment, freelance engagement and is often precarious, there is very little union organizing of any kind in North America among these types of workers. Organizers from Communication Workers of America (CWA) Canada and the Canadian Media Guild (CMG) will discuss how the traditional union strategy of forming labour board recognized bargaining units does little for these new workers, and therefore unions need to find innovative and creative ways to help these workers build their collective capacity to make improvements in their lives.

The speakers will reflect on the current challenges of organizing in the media sector. For instance, the dominance of neoliberalism has caused workers to internalize the belief that individual advancement is the only way to have a successful career, and to normalize the idea that media creators must endure exploitation and abuse to make it in this glamour industry. Another challenge is that freelance rates of pay have generally not increased over the past decades, making it increasingly difficult for these workers to earn money to sustain themselves and their families, or to have any time to engage in community, political or other activities. Finally, since current labour laws do nothing for freelancers and precarious workers, traditional union organizing strategies that rely on labour board certifications are not effective for these new media workers. Despite these challenges, CWA Canada and CMG have found that media workers are inspired to

collectively organize around issues of health and safety, the integrity and quality of their work, and fairness and decent treatment. They will discuss their recent organizing projects which have included offering new forms of union memberships to freelance and contingent workers, building a campaign around health and safety issues in factual TV, raising awareness about employment rights and standards among new media workers and students, and collectively advocating against unfair freelance contracts at the Toronto Star and TC Media. The speakers will also discuss with the workshop participants other creative strategies for media workers to collectively struggle for better work and home lives.

## **6b. A Military-Industrial-Communications-Complex in Canada? Roundtable and**

**Patricia Mazepa, Kirsten Kozolanka, Tanner Mirrlees, Neil Balan**

The integration of information, communication and technology into capitalism has always had a military component, and the process is facilitated if not predominantly directed by it. Scholars in the political economy of communication refer to these circuits of integration as the “military-industrial-communications-complex” (MICC) to identify and analyze the many institutional and symbolic links that bring the state’s national security and geopolitical interests together with the profit-motives and economic interests of private corporations. These interests include, for example: military priorities on technological development; mutual concerns over infrastructure and network security; the management of social relations in political economic, environmental and social crises; and the maintenance and extension of capitalism more generally.

While there is a substantive body of research on the American MICC, there is a relative dearth of political-economic studies of Canadian communications systems, whether in terms of identifying the nature and extent of integration, or the nature and extent of struggles against it. Towards addressing this scarcity, the proposed roundtable is organized into three parts to discuss a number of significant questions (included below) that arise out of the historical and current manifestations of the MICC in Canada and internationally. The first and second part of the roundtable will focus on identifying similarities and differences between nation-states (such as Canada and the US) and their overlap in militarized circuits of integration, and the third part seeks to more directly address the conference theme in identifying the existence and possibilities of the circuits of struggles that counter the MICC’s past and future development whether in Canada or elsewhere.

This roundtable brings together scholars currently undertaking research into the emerging area of the MICC in Canada. After introductory remarks situating the issues surrounding the MICC, the three coordinators will facilitate discussion and dialogue with the participants, by breaking into three (or more) groups to address questions like: Group 1: What are some past and present manifestations of the institutional (government policies, corporate contracts and international agreements) that link Canadian military and ICT firms? How have these changed over time (or have they)? Where are the nodes of resistance and struggle? Group 2: What are some past and present manifestations of the symbolic links between the Canadian military and communications firms? How does the MICC shape mediatized narratives and images of “Canada” and Canadian foreign

policy? How are these similar or different than other nation-states? Group 3: What are some alternatives (past or present) involving ICT that arrest or subvert the development of the MICC? What alternatives, resistance, and opposition to militarized communication and militarized capitalism exist in Canada? the U.S.? globally? As time is limited, all participants are requested to come prepared to discuss one (or more) of the above questions.

### **6c. We Don't Need No (Public) Education: Political Struggle Over the Neoliberalization of Public Education**

**Janice A. Newson:** Public Education in a Neo-liberal Stew

Public education has been stirring in a neo-liberal pot for at least four decades now. Without any meaningful public debate or participation, educational institutions and services have been re-configured to the degree that, to refer to education as *public*, strains against one's experiences of the reality. This reconfiguring has been advanced by specific policies initiated by the state. Academic and popular discussions summarize these policies in terms such as corporatization, commercialization, privatization and more recently, valorization (in the Marxist sense) and financialization. Although rolled out in seemingly discrete waves, by now their effects on public education are so intermingled that it is difficult to separate them from each other. But distinguishing these policies from each other not only matters to scholarly analysis and precision. Each policy wave has recruited educators and as well as the public, often unwittingly or unwillingly, into participating in new social relations that facilitate the changes intended by the policies. At the same time, distinct openings for resistant action and for making resistant alliances also flow from these specific policy interventions. Being aware of complicity-traps and resistant-openings aids and abets effective mobilizations to recapture the notion and reality of public forms of education. What is needed to re- take education for the public good is, first, a more refined understanding of how these policy initiatives have worked to secure the participation and implicit consent of educators and members of the public. Second is needed more effective communications between the public and education activists who are committed to returning education to the public. Too often, media reports of the more dramatic, often on-the-surface, effects of neo-liberal policies work against building alliances between public actors and actors within the education sector; instead they foster division and misunderstanding. If we are to recover public education in the foreseeable future, the actions and influence of average citizens need to become more central to the story of how, that is, through what means, corporatization, commercialization, privatization, valorization and financialization are taking place and how they can be resisted.

**Alison Hearn:** Public Institutions and Privatized Measures: Toward a Political Economy of Research Metrics

One of the most prominent markers of the neoliberal attack on public higher education in the last few decades is the rise of a pervasive audit culture within universities, which includes 'performance management' strategies imported from private industry. In the

effort to ‘differentiate’, ‘prioritize’, ‘flexibilize’, enhance ‘human capital’ and mobilize ‘intellectual property’, these strategies purport to measure everything from learning outcomes, to research impact, to customer service response times in registrars’ offices. Exercises such as target definitions, bench marking, league tables, learning outcomes and research metrics are most often implemented and overseen by arms-length state agencies such as the Higher Education Funding Council in the U.K. or the Higher Education Quality Council of Ontario in Canada, but other, privately owned forms of measurement also have become extremely influential in recent years. The most obvious of these, of course, are the university rankings published annually by the *Times Higher Education Supplement* or *U.S. News and World Report*. Less well known are research and performance management software packages, such as InCite owned by Thomson Reuters, Elsevier’ SciVal, and HiBar, owned by Higher Education Strategy Associates. Sold as a means to “drive successful research outcomes”, “streamline budgets” and “increase productivity”, these metrics effectively work to discipline academic staff by cutting labour costs and intensifying workload. As public universities pay large fees to implement these proprietary auditing mechanisms, the core values of public trust, academic autonomy, and peer review fade from view; public accountability in higher education becomes a synonym for privatized accounting (Reading, 1996, 32). But, who audits the auditors? This paper will undertake a preliminary assessment of the ownership structures, uptake, and impact of performance management software in Canadian public universities, and will identify some of the myriad contradictions and troubling developments that arise from their use.

**Steve Macek:** “Putting Adults Ahead of Children”: Local News Media’s Framing of the Chicago Teacher’s Union, 2003-2013

The Chicago Public School system has long suffered from inadequate funding, a disproportionate number of high-needs students and a chronic lack of support from political leaders at every level of government. Despite this, the media and local politicians have tended to blame the deficiencies of Chicago’s schools on frontline educators rather than on administrators or policy makers. The Chicago Teacher’s Union in particular has long been criticized in the press and by assorted politicians for allegedly insulating bad teachers from measures designed to ensure accountability for the poor performance of CPS students and for bankrupting the system with “sweetheart” contracts and generous pensions. In 2010, leadership of the CTU was taken over by a grassroots, militant current—the Caucus of Rank and File Educators (CORE)—who have consistently fought back against Chicago mayor’s Rahm Emmanuel’s neoliberal education reforms (such as high stakes testing, massive school closings, charters and public-private partnerships). The ongoing struggle between CTU and Emmanuel led directly to the nine-day 2012 Chicago teacher’s strike which ultimately succeeded rolling back some of the mayor’s schemes (such as eliminating tenure protections for teachers displaced by school closings). What was especially striking about the 2012 strike was the outpouring of support for teachers from parents and the community in general. But equally striking was the fact that the local news media’s coverage of the CTU for a brief moment became somewhat more sympathetic. In this paper, I examine the dominant framing of Chicago’s teachers and their union in the mainstream news media over the

past decade or so (2003-2013). Drawing on a detailed survey of the coverage of the CTU by city's three main newspapers (*The Chicago Tribune*, *The Chicago Sun-Times* and *The Daily Herald*), I show how during the lead up to the 2012 strike the media consistently focused on the teacher's union as the main cause of problems with public education in the city and consistently lent support to neoliberal education reform initiatives. I go on to document the degree to which the media's framing of the CTU shifted during the strike. I conclude by suggesting that the findings of my study tend to confirm Deepa Kumar's argument in *Outside the Box: Corporate Media, Globalization, and the UPS Strike* (University of Illinois Press, 2007) that "under normal circumstances" the press can be counted on to "uphold the status quo, but during times of social upheaval they can be pressured to include dissenting voices" (120).

**Janice Peck:** "Placing Education Above Politics": The Ideological Work of the *New York Times* in the Rise of the "Education Reform Movement"

Over the last three decades, in the context of the rise of neoliberalism as a political-economic and ideological project, K-12 public education in the US has faced mounting criticism from an ensemble of institutional and individual actors whose efforts have come to be identified as "education reform." Spearheaded by education entrepreneurs, billionaire foundations and hedge fund managers, and emboldened by bipartisan political support, the "education reform movement" is characterized by a corporate-backed, market-driven, testing-oriented agenda that targets urban school districts with majority low-income African American and Latino students. Crucial to education reformers' success over time is mainstream corporate media treatment of their diagnosis of, and prescription for remedying, public education's problems. This paper investigates the place of media in the political and ideological struggle to transform K-12 public schooling in accordance with neoliberal market values. Drawing on critical analysis of news media institutions and practices by Hall et al, *Policing the Crisis* (1978), Gitlin *The Whole World is Watching* (1980), Bennett, *News: The Politics of Illusion* (1983), Reeves & Campbell, *Cracked Coverage* (1994), Manning, *News and News Sources* (2001), and Bennett, Lawrence & Livingston, *When the Press Fails* (2007), the research on which this paper is based examines the treatment of education reform from 1980 to the present by the *New York Times*, as the premier elite news organization in the US with major influence in setting and directing a national news agenda. In tracing the trajectory of the *Times*'s handling of public education across five presidential administrations from both major political parties—Republicans Ronald Reagan, George H. W. Bush and George W. Bush, and Democrats Bill Clinton and Barack Obama—this presentation focuses specifically on how bipartisan endorsement of the neoliberal project by Democrats and Republicans has figured in the *New York Times*' handling of public education and, in consequence, the paper's own place in the rise and legitimation of the corporate "education reform movement."

## 6d. Struggles over Digital Technologies

### **Sherry Yu:** Ethnic Media and New Media Technologies

New communication technologies are expected to decentralize power and wealth; however, the opposite has been more often true. Media companies have unprecedented control over production, distribution and exhibition, and concentrate ownership more strategically on national and international levels. For the news media industry, such a tendency means the further weakening of viewpoint diversity, which consequently endangers democracy. At this juncture, a potential solution often discussed is alternative media, backed by new media technologies, as a means to pluralize public discourse. However, the role of new media technologies in the empowerment of individuals and institutions requires continued monitoring, given the political economy of media industries under a neoliberal order. This paper examines ethnic media—media *by* and *for* immigrants, ethno-racial and linguistic minorities—to explore how new media technologies are used in the production and distribution of ethnic discourse. A case study of Korean media in Vancouver and Los Angeles, through in-depth interviews with media practitioners and content analysis of online forums, suggests that new media technologies are actively adopted more as a means to serve market purposes, rather than to challenge the dominant discourse. Such use of media technologies traps media outlets into further succumbing to a neoliberal order, and ethnic discourse continues to be circulated only within the respective ethnic communities without reaching a broader audience. Regardless of their editorial mandate, ethnic media, as yet another media entity that struggles to survive in an ever more competitive market, use new media technologies to gain rather than to be free from market control.

### **Elise Thorburn:** Technologies of the Carceral and Securitized Social Reproduction: Prison Technology in Canada

Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs), as well as lower-tech innovations in prison design and discipline management have been key components of recent American penal policy, design, and infrastructure. These electronic and physical technologies of control are rapidly being implemented in Canadian correctional institutions. This paper, the initial stages of a larger research project, will document and begin an analysis of contemporary technological innovations in prisons – broadly defined according to the Canadian tradition of media studies. I will focus specifically those technologies in operation at the newly opened Toronto South Detention Centre. In so doing, this presentation will begin to draw together some of the concrete connections between Canada as carceral state and private technology firms through the implementation of public-private partnerships (P3s) in the design, construction, and management of the TSDC. This paper is based on an ongoing literature review of trade publications, industry journals, and newspaper articles specifically attuned to prison technology. In its conclusion, this paper will make initial proposals regarding the expansion of a “carceral continuum” in Canada taking place specifically via high tech P3s, and how this contributes to a broad based securitized social reproduction in extra-carceral space.

**David Jackson:** Militant Sound Investigation: Tactical Field Recording in the War Against the Poor

This paper will examine the politics of housing redevelopment in the Boyle Heights district of Los Angeles, and the auditory opposition mounted by the sound collective Ultra-Red in collaboration with the Union de Vecinos. Ultra-Red highlight conflict through field recordings made out the demolition, construction, and building of public housing amidst the audible opposition from the residents of Aliso. Emerging out of the noise of restructured homes and demolished lives, is a tentative sounding out and exploration of the audible traces of housing rights: the rights to the city; the needs of community, both posited against the intertwined neoliberal structures of banking, for profit housing development, city councils, and rental associations, as they work together to shift vulnerable populations out of their neighborhoods. Ultra-Red's alliance with residents of public housing schemes was initiated to engage in an "inquiry into the impact of neoliberal economic policies on low-income residents." Ultra-Red embarked on a project of field recording—what Ultra-Red call a militant sound investigation—and an analysis of the community's resistance to the neoliberal logic of community demolition and the forced privatization of people's homes and neighborhoods. The field recordings, explored here as a form of tactical media, construct a poetics of ambience that summons us to listen in on an experience of the world that reconstructs the sonic immersion of lives destroyed and displaced. Ambience frames the encounter between sound and space in active, reactive, and material ways that question and interrogate how conceived space is defined, constructed and remade and appropriated into lived space through everyday usage. Field recording reveals the ambient construction of our sonic environments and experience and resonates lived space with meaning.

**Andrew Mestrinaro:** The Cryptocommunity of Silk Road as Heterotopia

This paper aims to link Michel Foucault's six principles of heterotopia with the subaltern cryptographic community of Silk Road (referred to as the 'cryptocommunity' of Silk Road from here on out). The six principles of heterotopia will be explicated individually and used to unite the various characteristics of the cryptocommunity of Silk Road under a singular framework. Silk Road is a new countercultural space of resistance that has enjoyed relative obscurity from critical textual analysis. It is therefore important to apply Foucault's six principles of heterotopia to the cryptocommunity of Silk Road as means for deeper conceptualization. The conceptualization provided herein will close a gap in the literature by providing new meaning to the human behaviours, normative practices, and spatial characteristics that are inherent to the cryptocommunity of Silk Road. Furthermore, discussion on heterotopias of mental space as induced by the drug experience will be discussed. As such, the purpose of this paper is to give new insight to the virtual and non-hegemonic space known as the cryptocommunity of Silk Road. In closing, I will make the argument that the cryptocommunity of Silk Road remains a marginalized and subaltern human collective who await relegation to the banal space of institutional heterotopia as a result of punitive criminal justice policy.

## **6e. Constructing Political Reality: Media Coverage and Framing**

### **Dan Tamul and Nadia Martinez-Carrillo: Big Media, Big Databases, Big Problems: A Critical Examination of Database Driven Samples in News Framing Analysis**

Framing research has held a prominent role in our field for some time and scholars commonly rely on big databases such as LexisNexis to compile news accounts for analysis weeks or months after happenings for analysis. Many such studies rely on news coverage from prestige outlets or those in large, metropolitan markets such as The New York Times, The Washington Post, or The LA Times. These outlets may break and sustain coverage on issues of great import, but whether we are capturing the range of framings present by fixating on these large media entities is debatable. Certainly smaller, more localized papers still cover events of national importance, but the availability of articles in large databases from these sources is not as consistent as larger, national papers. Arguably, local coverage of local events by local reporters are not captured in such databases. In a previous analysis of news frames surrounding Arizona SB 1070, a search for immigration news stories in Arizona across a 19 month period from January 1, 2009 through July 31, 2010 produced 1,805 stories when using LexisNexis and Newsbank. Many of these stories were duplicates. An outlet by outlet search drawn from just four newspapers in Arizona during the same time period using the same search terms nets a total of 4,774 unique stories, 2.5 times more than using two of the most commonly used databases for mass communication research.

The stories missing from the database search are arguably the most important, influential, and inflammatory news accounts of immigration. The analysis I propose will consist of conducting a comparative frame analysis between local and national levels and between articles collected via database search and those collected from individual newspapers. For this reason, I would suggest that framing research begin to move away from nationally recognized outlets and instead examine issues, even national ones, locally. Authors such as Cass Sunstein have long argued that the version of reality presented in such large outlets provides a common backdrop on which various political ideologies can find some common ground. But in an era when individuals can self-select into individualized media diets, we cannot ignore the potentially fragmentary and polarizing roles of smaller outlets in the social construction of realities.

### **Richelle Crotty: The All-Female Jury: A Feminist Political Economic Analysis of the Zimmerman Trial Jurors**

This paper examines the media coverage of the all-female jury selected for the trial of George Zimmerman, who was accused of second degree murder in the death of Trayvon Martin. The television news media portrayed these six women as incapable of performing their role as jurors, not because they were unqualified to do so in some way, but simply because they were female. The television news media portrayed women in general as being non-credible, emotional jurors. This paper will begin by introducing the theoretical framework of feminist political economy. Next, a brief outline the history of jury duty and women and how opponents to women's jury rights framed their arguments, then this paper will examine the television news coverage from the first two weeks after the jury

was selected. The database LexisNexis was used to gather television news transcripts, both broadcast and cable, and the broad search “George Zimmerman” was limited to the aforementioned time restrictions and narrowed further by the additional phrase “female jury.” This paper concludes that by questioning the validity of an all-female jury the television news media perpetuates the role of patriarchy in our political system. Furthermore, because the right to serve as a juror was obtained in order for women to be recognized as fully participating citizens in American society, this right is vital for women as citizens. By diminishing this all-female jury, the television news media contributed to women’s oppression by reinforcing male hegemony.

**Martin Marinov** Media Transformation and the Populist Far-Right in Southeastern Europe: Bulgaria’s “Ataka” Party and Post-Socialist Neoliberalism

In the last parliamentary elections (October 2014) nearly twenty percent of the voters in Bulgaria cast a ballot for three populist political projects with contradictory economic programs, but with shared xenophobic and racist agenda. In addition, all of these three parties—Ataka (Attack in English), National Front for the Salvation of Bulgaria (NFSB), Bulgaria Without Censorship—are first and foremost media projects rather than traditional political parties. Ataka entered the Bulgarian parliament in 2005 and became the first post-socialist far-right party to enter the Bulgarian legislature. However, Ataka first emerged as a xenophobic television show on a cable network in 2003 and two years later metamorphosed into a political party that has kept its appeal in the last ten years. In 2011 Ataka became the first Bulgarian party to launch its own television channel (Alfa). The National Front for the Salvation of Bulgaria’s slogan is “The Party of SKAT!.” SKAT is a twenty-year-old television channel with a far-right agenda. The director of the television channel is also the leader of the party. Bulgaria without Censorship, if the name is not enough to suggest, is also a media project led by a famous Bulgarian television host and closely affiliated with one of the four major television channels in the country. This paper presents a section of my dissertation which examines these populist projects within the context of the intense transformation of the Bulgarian media in the last twenty-five years and the general (neo)liberalization of the economy. Through an examination of the official daily newspaper of Ataka, I try to understand how this type of radical right-wing populist movements position themselves in the media vis-à-vis neoliberalism. While this party engages in criticisms of neoliberalism, its understanding of it is non-economic and ambiguous. A rhetorical analysis of the party’s newspaper reveals that angry attitudes towards neoliberal economics fuel movements such as Ataka. However, Ataka often presents neoliberalism as a cultural project focused on multiculturalism, “Islamization,” and anti-nationalism. The presentation explores this strategy to fuse economic demands with issues of identity. As such, it calls for a more nuanced understanding not only of the discourse of contemporary far-right movements, but also of neoliberalism itself.

## 6f. Struggles in Global Media

### **Lee Artz:** Power and Communication: Working Class Leadership in Public Media Access

This work assesses media reform as unfolding in societies in transition, including Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Nicaragua. The apparent democratic shift in Latin American governments in recent years has been quite uneven in the actual policies and practices of different nations. The most successful media reform has occurred wherever working classes, indigenous peoples, women, youth, and diverse ethnic groups have mobilized and organized constituent assemblies and other social and political organizations. In several instances, self-organization and participation by citizen-workers have pushed forward progressive national policies that challenge existing social relations. This study finds that public access to media production and distribution provides a key indication of citizen participation and social transformation. Moments of rupture in social and political norms have challenged capitalist cultural hegemony across the continent, and the deep connections between media communication and social power are revealed in every case. Based on the several instances included in this presentation, those societies that have advanced the farthest towards 21st century socialism and participatory democracy have also established the most thorough-going, publicly-run media systems. Public access media reach far beyond community and alternative media forms to become central to the discourse on social transformation and working class power. Using a robust reading of political economy and cultural hegemony, this work provides brief social and political histories of Bolivian, Nicaraguan, and Venezuelan media to demonstrate how revolutionary movements have used political power to encourage mass working class participation in social transformations, including acquiring and using mass communication for social change and social justice.

### **Guy Hoskins:** Programming Power: Internet Policymaking at the Network's Edge and the Case of Brazil's Marco Civil

A spate of contentious events around issues such as net neutrality, state surveillance of digital communications as well as the so-called 'right to be forgotten' have foregrounded the mechanics of the Internet and the means of its governance in the public imagination as never before. Implicit in these events, and the public interest in them - though rarely satisfactorily connected in the associated press or academic accounts - are the contestation of social values (freedom of expression, privacy etc.) and their projection on to the architecture of the Internet, as well as the crucial dynamic of power and how that influences which actors guide the future direction of the network. In other words, the cumulative, though still nascent, effect of these developments is a growing awareness of the relationship between what the actors do behind our screens and the forms of practice and values we cherish through our screens. One especially high-profile event containing this entwinement of digital communications, power and social values was the release of the Edward Snowden revelations concerning the practice of 'dragnet' digital surveillance by US and UK intelligence services. The repercussions of this were manifold. One outlier was the passage into law this year of Brazil's Marco Civil da Internet, a civil rights

framework for its 90 million Internet users. Marked by abandoned votes on 29 separate occasions over the course of five years, the outcome for this crowdsourced policy document was far from assured. Outrage generated by the practice of NSA interception of sensitive Brazilian communications proved, however, the tipping point and President Rousseff formalised the status of the world's first bill of civil rights for the Internet on April 23rd, 2014.

What makes the case of Brazil's Marco Civil da Internet so compelling as a research object is that it weaves together these three key dimensions – the Internet, values and power – with unusual clarity and permits the observer to discern their interrelationship in an unprecedented example of multistakeholder policy development. Moreover, while these threads can be considered of universal import, here they are interwoven in the context of a nation in the global South, and as such present the potential to unsettle dominant modes of understanding the development of the Internet that emanate from the global North. Ultimately, in yielding an explicitly civically oriented outcome from a highly pluralised process of Internet policymaking, Brazil's Marco Civil da Internet offers us the opportunity to identify not only the distinct and often incompatible logics and asymmetrical power relationships brought to bear by diverse blocks of social actors, but also how particular social values are contested and translated into the technical and legal operating environment of the Internet. Using a combination of document analysis, critical discourse analysis and interviews with many of the key participants in the process, this paper will argue that the means by which the Marco Civil was developed offer no less than the luminous promise, in spite of a concentration of forces applying logics of profit and control online, that 'another Internet is possible' (Franklin, 2013)

**Samuel Barros:** The Internet as Platform for the Inclusion of Citizens in the Democratic Decision Making Process: A Report From Brazil

Only 51% of Brazilians have regular access to the internet. However, the internet user population in Brazil reaches more than 89 million people over 10 years old. The data are from a survey conducted in 2013 by the Center of Studies on Information and Communication Technologies – CETIC.br. Currently, the number should be higher, because the trend is growth since the beginning of the commercial Internet in Brazil. In this context, it is encouraging the fact that the Brazilian state use the internet as a communication tool. According to a survey by CETIC.br, 95% of Brazilian public agencies use email as a contact tool with citizens, 53% have done some online consultation, 28% have conducted a poll and 18% have organized some kind of forum or online discussion. The research population were agencies of the executive, legislative and judiciary; the federal and state levels.

To understand better the characteristics of this phenomenon, this study survey online consultations made by the Brazilian federal government between 2005 and 2014. Fifty-nine cases were identified. With regards to the purpose of the consultations carried out by the Brazilian Government, this study shows that most cases aim to create rules and regulations (44%), followed by the creation of public policies (40.7%) and, finally, the enactment of laws (15.3%). This result is explained by the sample, which observed the consultation mechanisms offered by the executive. Consequently, the concentrated focus

of the consultation mechanisms on the development of standards and competencies of the executive and in the creation of public policies was expected. As for the type of consultation phase, there is a striking concentration within the “already outlined project” category accounting for 84.7%. Only in two cases (3.4%) consultations have been carried out to define decisions and in seven cases (11.9%) to evaluate a public policy that has been already deployed. This result shows that the Brazilian government is not willing to open the consultation process in a manner that would somehow shift the control of the process into the hands of citizenry. Citizens are heard in relation to predefined themes, but almost no opportunity is given where they can express their priorities or to assess actions that have been already implemented...the results show that most consultations aim to create rules and regulations (44%), followed by the creation of public policies (40.7%) and, finally, the enactment of laws (15.3%). The absolute majority of consultations dealt with already outlined projects (84.7%), without the possibility to induce decisions directly, and are carried out by email (52.5%). Online consultations, generally deal with issues on which the State needs to make a decision, either to enact laws, rules or regulations, or to implement public policy or government programs. So, the hope is that these channels can serve to increase the influence of citizens in decision-making processes.

**Awais Saleem and Stephen McDowell: The Political Economy of News Television in Pakistan**

This paper looks at the history of television in Pakistan and what changes has it undergone since the introduction of privately owned news channels in 2001. Television broadcasting in Pakistan has completed 50 years in 2014. It can be divided in two distinct phases. The first phase is the introduction of television in Pakistan in 1964 with the collaboration of Japanese government. The Pakistan Television Corporation (PTV) was the sole broadcaster in Pakistan from 1964 to 2001, when the government decided to grant licenses to the private sector to launch news television services. Cross media ownership was allowed and big business houses in Pakistan were granted these licenses and, which gave them an opportunity to accumulate power and to further their business interests. However, by the time these stations started broadcast in Pakistan by 2002, the attacks of 9/11 had occurred. This changed the dynamics of global politics, and Pakistan became a front-line ally of the United States in the war against terror in neighboring Afghanistan. This meant that the use of television in Pakistan for propaganda purposes was not restricted to the conflict with India alone. The government started using allocation of advertising revenue to private news stations as a tool to bribe media owners and use them covertly for furthering the regime’s own vested interests. After outlining the history of television in Pakistan, the main thrust of this paper is to discuss the political economy of privately owned commercial news television after 9/11. Taking a critical approach, this paper explores the issues that have emerged in the post 9/11 phase of television broadcasting in Pakistan. The authors look at the academic literature, media reports, interventions of advocacy groups, and also draw upon interviews with the professionals associated with different Pakistani television stations. The results point out that the institutions set up to regulate television content have been subjected to political influence, and that the presence of pressure groups (security agencies, militant groups and

advertisers) is resulting in increased content control censorship. The pattern of cross-media ownership by big conglomerates is on the rise, and this has made professional journalists a hostage of commercial dynamics in a capitalist market economy. The quest to achieve high television rating points (TRPs) is leading to compromises in broadcast content quality and more reliance on sensationalism. This has serious consequences not only for the credibility of television channels in Pakistan and the professionals involved, but also for the audience. There is enough evidence to suggest that these practices in Pakistan are having a negative impact on public confidence in the information they receive from television. Although this issue has been extensively covered in the media in Pakistan, but it has not received enough scholarly attention. This paper attempts to fill that gap with the hope to draw attention of other researchers towards the political economy of mass media in South Asian countries.

**3:45-5:15 pm            Panel session 7**

**7a.    Community Media Policy in the Digital Environment**

**Catherine Edwards, Kirsten Kozolanka, David Murphy, Darryl Richardson**

This workshop will be part briefing on the current policy background for community media in Canada compared to that in other countries, part sharing of a plan to hold a multi-platform community media conference in 2015 to inform upcoming CRTC policy deliberations, part brainstorming with participants to identify that most pressing policy gaps and issues for community media in Canada, which will feed into the upcoming conference (ComMedia 2015) and accompanying policy development process. Come help us brainstorm more robust community media in the digital environment, including TV, video, radio/audio, online and gaming/interactive platforms.

**7b.    The Food System as a Circuit of Struggle and Hope**

**Kathleen Hunt:** “The ‘W’ is for Workers”: Inserting Work into the Rubric of S.L.O.W. Food

In making visible the “absent fullness” (Laclau, 2006) of food in/security, fast food workers have turned to social media to illuminate the food system as a circuit of struggle. This set of workers, I argue, instantiates the subjectivity of the ‘working poor’ within a double-articulation of food in/security: providing essential labor that secures the vitality of the food system by producing food for others while personally experiencing food hardship at rates double that of any other workforce. Through campaigns for living wage and union representation, fast food workers not only articulate an “antagonistic chasm” (Laclau) by breaking the chains of signification that link income/employment with workfare-style notions of class and food security, but also inhabit a contentious area betwixt and between the food and labor movements writ large. It is with this in mind that I offer preliminary thoughts on the extant tensions, and opportunities for mutually beneficial connection, between food industry labor reform and food justice. The labor movement

has traditionally relied on reformist appeals to wage equity and occupational safety and benefits policies, often appeasing the hegemony of capitalism rather than fully overturning it. As fast food activist groups such as Strike for 15 and Low Pay is Not Ok seek an increase in the minimum wage, as well as access to benefits and promotion opportunities, they have built strong coalitions with prominent unions, including for example, the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) and the United Food & Commercial Workers International Union (UFCW). Exemplified by the radical re-imagining of the capitalist food system, the mainstream food movement largely operates under the rubric of S.L.O.W. food- sustainable, local, organic, reduced waste- and has thus been slow to rally alongside these fast food labor groups' strikes, conferences, and demonstrations. Thus, by articulating the "W" in SLOW food as "worker," fast food activist groups raise questions about the limits of food justice discourse, ethical consumption, and food in/security within *and* against the global food system.

**Christina Ceisel:** Will Blog for (and about) Work: Gendered Iterations of Food Labor and Social Media

Food—its cultivation and preparation—has particularly gendered connotations. Men hunt, grill, and carve. Women knead, bake, and roast. Such binary representations are easily visible in a variety of entertainment media—such as the shows on *The Food Network*, or the blogs [thepioneerwoman.com](http://thepioneerwoman.com) and [thugkitchen.com](http://thugkitchen.com). The Pioneer Woman and Thug Kitchen are but two examples of contemporary "hope labor" (Kuehn & Corrigan, 2013). As labor performed in the "hope" that monetary compensation and stable employment will follow, hope labor represents a complex economic nexus of aspiration, mediation, and monetization. Food blogging has become a central site for the production of hope labor.

This presentation combines hope labor with transnational feminism as a framework to examine how food bloggers represent their labor and their relationship to the foodways they are physically located in. Specifically, I look at two female bloggers: Nazlina Hussin and Puri Díaz Ríos. Based in Penang, Malaysia, Nazlina Hussin founded her blog "Pickles and Spices: A Unique Outlook from a Malaysian Cook" ([www.pickles-and-spices.com](http://www.pickles-and-spices.com)) while at home with her first child. Educated in the United Kingdom, with a computer science degree, online advertising provided a means of earning money during this time. Over the past years, she has founded a cooking school, "Nazlina Spice Station," as well as an active Facebook and Twitter profile. Her blog situates Malaysian cuisine at the crossroads of the global spice trade, and within the multi-racial citizenship of Malaysia. As she expands beyond the blog and cooking school, she integrates herself and her labor with the history and locality of Penang.

The second case study, Puri Díaz Ríos, is a mariscadora (shell-fisher woman) based in O Grove, Spain. Rather than local recipes, her blog, "Diario de una Mariscadora" ([www.mariscadoraenogrove.blogspot.com](http://www.mariscadoraenogrove.blogspot.com)) documents her daily labor. The blog contains photographs of women laboring on the shore, raking clams. Daily entries list the day's catch by weight and type, with photographs to help visitors identify the various shellfish. Other entries describe the processes of cleaning and re-seeding the beaches. In this manner, Díaz Ríos brings visitors to the site into the daily labor of food sourcing.

Recent interest in foodways and food labor has increased the visibility of both women, as journalists and television producers seek sources for stories on foodways. Both women have been featured in magazines, newspapers and television shows. Díaz Ríos and Hussin's work—as food and media producers—demonstrate the intersection of food, labor, and social media. Their work is both a means of economic innovation (hope labor) and a documentation of their daily, off-line, labor; which they seek to bring to a broader, global audience. Examined together, these bloggers indicate how “labor” has taken up multiple meanings in an era of social media, while retaining gendered and classed connotations.

Kuehn, K. and Corrigan, T.F. (2013). Hope Labor: The Role of Employment Prospects in Online Social Production. *The Political Economy of Communication*.

**Mary Triece:** Food and Race in the Organizing of Black Urban Farmers

Community and urban farming has grown in popularity over the past 10 years as evidenced by the number of books and websites on the subject, participation in Community Supported Agriculture (CSAs), and city farms that are being cultivated across the United States. Urban farms have been lauded for their role in addressing the unhealthy eating habits of a nation addicted to industrially grown, highly processed, and fast foods. Urban farmers often emphasize their chemical free growing procedures and the fact that they are turning once-dilapidated city spaces into “green” oases. Although community and urban farming has received attention from the popular press and scholars alike, less research has been conducted on the more pointed issues surrounding race and urban farming. Notable exceptions include scholarship on the experiences of Latin American immigrants living in South Central Los Angeles who successfully ran a large urban garden in the wake of the 1992 LA uprising (Broad, 2013; Enck-Wanzer, 2011; LeGreco & Leonard, 2011; Retzinger, 2011). The documentary film *The Garden* captured the farmers' struggle to maintain a hold on their garden the face of threats from the city to sell the land. The paper proposed for this panel focuses on the rhetoric of black urban farmers whose efforts have been marginalized by the mainstream media spotlight on “alternative foods.” Specifically, I will examine the rhetorical strategies of the Detroit Black Community Food Security Network (DBCFSN) for the ways this group frames issues of food and race. I will explore how the organization relies on both traditional forms of communication (e.g., newsletters and flyers) in addition to online communication that operate in tandem as circuits of struggle in their efforts to connect issues of race, urban living, and food availability.

Broad, G. M. (2013). Ritual communication and use value: The South Central Farm and the political economy of place. *Communication, Culture, & Critique*, 6, 20-40.

Enck-Wanzer, D. (2011). Race, coloniality, and geo-body politics: The Garden as Latina vernacular discourse. *Environmental Communication*, 5, 363-371.

LeGreco, M. and D. Leonard. (2011). Building sustainable community-based food programs: Cautionary tales from The Garden. *Environmental Communication*, 5, 356-262.

Retzinger, J. (2011). Seven miles south of Hollywood: Analyzing narrative strategies in The Garden. *Environmental Communication*, 5, 337-343.

### **7c. Beyond #Activism: FemTechNet Collaborations in Digital Pedagogy and Feminist Technology**

**Melissa Meade and Cricket Keating:** From ‘Do it Yourself’ to ‘Doing With Others’: #feminism Across FemTechNet

Bridges between academic and activist feminism can be wide, uneven, and, at times, unstable. Historically feminist scholars have highlighted the need to connect theories with praxis of feminism. Bridges to cyber and more recent online feminisms are also complicated, sometimes creating insular discourses and antagonisms among interest groups. The work of FemTechNet, a recent development in feminist pedagogies of connected learning in the form of a Distributed Open Collaborative Course (DOCC), allows for more inclusive and collective strategies for #feminism. In this paper we discuss our collaborative work in #feminism, across universities and situated within the FemTechNet collaborative teaching project. First we identify and historically situate a Do it Yourself (DIY) Feminism, one in which feminist activists have used the cultural terrain and amateur technologies to participate in broader cultural production and politics. Taking cues from Marxist notions of accessing means of production in order to facilitate challenges to the patriarchal status quo, DIY and Cyberfeminists have harnessed amateur technologies to make music, zines, websites, and more. Next we discuss a move toward what we call DWO, or Doing With Others, Feminism. This necessitates and requires an intentional and collaborative feminism, one in which breaks down traditional hierarchies of academics, activists and artists in order to foreground strategic relationships among digital pedagogies, academic feminism, online feminism, and #activism. The move to DWO Feminism is directly facilitated by expanding social media, online activism and pedagogical experiments such as FemTechNet. As such, FemTechNet is positioned as both pedagogy and movement building.

**Joan Donovan:** What is a Broadcast? Activist Archives and Transmedia Storytelling

The number of platforms available to citizen journalists increased rapidly in the last five years, raising the question “What is a broadcast?” Moreover, how are the narratives of protest augmented by this new form of storytelling? While blogs remain a significant source of news-worthy information on social movements, high-definition streaming has become a major source for witnessing direct actions. With the reduction in cost of mobile data, citizen journalists are free to roam equipped with an array of video streaming/recording applications for their smartphones and tablets, as well as networked social media platforms that promote their content in real time. The Occupy encampments were a significant training ground for many of these new media journalists, who have redefined what it means to “go live from the scene.” In fact, recent mainstream media coverage of protests often includes footage shot and uploaded by protesters themselves. Citizen journalists, though, are routinely written out of the credits and are never paid for this work. However, with the addition of crowd-funding platforms, it is possible for citizen

journalists to raise money to cover protests and equipment costs. Yet, there is still no pay structure in place for those who maintain robust and costly digital archives of protests' pasts. This presentation asks, "what does an activist archive look like?" and "how can digital archives be leveraged by documentarians and educators to tell the stories after the broadcast is over?"

**KJ Surkan:** Hacking the Global Map: Connected Cartography in the Feminist Classroom

Feminist thought has a long history of posing a challenge to the uncritical presumption of objectivity informing much traditional scholarship, particularly in the sciences and social sciences (Haraway, Harding, Scott). As Haraway notes, "feminist objectivity means quite simply situated knowledges." The notion of feminist epistemology as particularly situated knowledge is the basis for rethinking methodologies in academic research, if not the very foundation of critical thinking in its attempt to shake basic assumptions about meaning and how we know what we know. The unique pedagogical application of the FemTechNet Situated Knowledges Map engages in an experiment in critical cartography by networking students asynchronously from multiple locations, inviting them to strategically locate themselves on a shared Google map. Students are invited to drop virtual pins on a shared map, authoring narratives in which they contribute a description including a relationship to place in connection with their own identity or lived experience. These may be text-based, or multi-media, integrating embedded images and/or video to provide a unique portrait of the chosen site, in many cases including explicit consideration of technology and feminism. This presentation theorizes the FemTechNet Situated Knowledges Map as a case study of "hacking the global map," an innovative feminist pedagogical method of engaging students in actively thinking through the politics of location.

**Sky Croeser:** Feminist Critiques of Digital Liberties Activism: Pathways to Transformative Change

Over the last two decades, we have seen the emergence of a movement attempting to retain (or regain) democratic control of digital communications technologies, conceptualised by some as the digital rights movement (Postigo, 2012) or digital liberties movement (Croeser, 2012, 2014). This movement makes important contributions to progressive activism by working to protect user control of key technologies, including by resisting online censorship and surveillance. However, the movement is also dominated by a very particular understanding of democracy, rooted in liberal individualism with a strong streak of libertarianism. Feminist activism is increasingly challenging the assumptions underpinning the digital liberties movement, pointing out the ways in which working within a liberal democratic framework limit the movement's potential to create real and lasting change. This presentation focuses on three key issues: the digital liberties movements' commitment to free speech; its support for capitalism (particularly when embodied in narratives of flexible, 'innovative' entrepreneurship); and the particular ways in which surveillance is framed and addressed by the movement. By exploring feminist perspectives—both those of critical theorists within academia and those of activists working outside of academia—I argue that many digital liberties activists need

to radically change their approach if they are to work towards a genuine and deep commitment to democratic technological systems. Feminist analysis and activism opens a pathway to considering what this commitment may look like, particularly when it is informed by the work of anti-racist and anti-capitalist movements, and by critiques of representative democracy.

Croeser, S. (2012). Contested technologies: The emergence of the digital liberties movement. *First Monday*, 17(8).

Croeser, S. (2014). *Global Justice and the Politics of Information: The struggle over knowledge*. Routledge.

Postigo, H. (2012). *The Digital Rights Movement: The Role of Technology in Subverting Digital Copyright*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

#### **7d. Anonymity, Identity, and Journalism in the Snowden Era**

**Brian Creech:** *Our Man in the Field: Digital Tools, Citizen Reporting, and the Displacement of Journalistic Risk*

As digital tools have expanded the scope and granularity of voices and views that appear in traditional media reports, they have also shifted the relationship between individual reporters/fact-gatherers/bloggers and the institutions that rely upon the content they produce. While traditional media outlets rely upon digital tools to produce stories from user-content, the individuals gathering this information often do so without the support and protection of an institutional infrastructure. Whistleblowers like Edward Snowden and Chelsea Manning face severe legal consequences while freelance photographers and citizen newsgatherers in Syria face threats of violence, injury, and death. This paper contends that as digital tools have allowed news organizations to collect highly controversial information at reduced cost, these technologies have also obscured the human risk associated with collecting this information, and thus any institutional responsibility for mitigating those risks. Still, news organizations are not completely disavowing their responsibilities to those who gather the news, regardless of their institutional affiliation. Organizations contend with the ethical ramifications of using user-generated content gathered under risky conditions, developing an operative rationality that justifies the use of certain materials over others in order to rationalize organizations' amorphous relationship to content producers. These rationalities allow organizations to negotiate the precarity facing non-traditional content producers and offer a means for assessing the deployment (or withholding) of resources to defend individuals who do not have a formal relationship with a news organization, but whose content these companies profit from.

This paper looks at the ways in which the risks faced by citizen journalists and user content producers is constructed by news organizations and analyzes formal submission and editorial policies, prominent news stories about citizen reporting, and trade press reporting about risks. The purpose of this analysis is to understand how risk has become a shifting category of responsibility for news organizations, elucidating the political and economic relationship between media companies and an increasingly contingent and amorphous labor pool.

**Christian Oquendo Sanchez:** Updating Digital Divides, State Control, Public Debates and Journalistic Practice in the Context of Socialism of the 21st Century: The Case of Ecuador

In my presentation I will be exploring the current social and political context in Ecuador and its repercussions in terms of Internet regulation. I will analyze how these dynamics are affecting the work of investigative journalists and, more generally, critical public debates about the Rafael Correa administration. Ecuador is a good example of how utopian discourses about new communication technologies converge, very often in a problematic way, with Governmental controls and views about regulating traditional media applied to virtual scenarios. The Ecuadorian case is characterized by a public debate about the Internet that has not fully incorporated the notion of digital rights. A new communication law was passed by the Ecuadorian National Assembly in June 2013, but it does not address in depth Internet regulation, which has generated blind spots that have negative repercussions in terms of democracy and freedom of speech. Also, Ecuadorian society has a big challenge in terms of incorporating new concepts related to human rights applied to the Internet. The public debate shows that NGO's, civil society organizations, newspapers and journalists still need to deepen their understanding about the implications of democracy and freedom of speech in digital environments. Furthermore, as an outcome of this phenomenon, freedom of online protest, freedom of censorship, right to privacy and right to anonymity are at risk in Ecuador. In my presentation I will explore some cases concerning these issues.

**James F. Hamilton:** Show Your Faces: Notoriety and Online Security

This paper argue for the value of historicized conceptions of online security and anonymity in relation to communications and activism. A critical-historical analysis might shed new light on modes of activist use by interrogating legalistic conceptions of anonymity and security, which commonly consider anonymity as a means of achieving the end of online security. By contrast to these legalistic conceptions and a means-end relationship, seeing anonymity and security as an articulation in the sense that Hall has developed the term helps recognize the much more varied ways that dissent can be and has been practiced. As but one example, security has been gained by publicity if not notoriety, rather than by anonymity. Although many cases can be cited, one recent case is that of NSA whistleblower Edward Snowden himself. Although exiled from the United States after publicizing his identity, the implications of his disclosures continue to ripple throughout the world. In his case, publicizing his identity lent a necessary credibility and authority to the disclosures, thus heightening their power and influence. A second recent case is that of Pussy Riot, a punk-anarchist collective that continues to challenge Russian president Vladimir Putin. Although serving prison sentences in harsh conditions, after their early release three members continue their activist work in public, calling attention to the repressive nature of Putin's regime. In their case, publicizing their identity threw into high relief the absurdist paranoia of Putin's supporters who demonstrated how threatened they felt the regime was by a handful of young women in balaclavas, playing badly electric guitars and shouting punk lyrics. These cases suggest the value of

historicizing anonymity and security as variable conditions, whose effectivity is produced by specific historical conditions.

**Robert Bodle:** Online Anonymity, Whistleblowing, and Journalistic Standards

The ability to speak anonymously enables broad democratic rights, is key to public participation and the functioning of an open and participatory democracy (Hosein, 2006). Warrantless surveillance and the inability to communicate anonymously in digital networked communication has a chilling effect on freedom of expression, activism, news gathering, and whistleblowing, and it greatly weakens the public's right to know. It is essential to the practice of investigative reporting that anonymous sources be protected from harm and that whistleblowers communicate without repercussion or retribution. Although secure and anonymous communications support fundamental democratic rights and freedoms, there seems to be little public interest or political will to protect journalists and their sources, and to curtail intrusive government surveillance. This presentation seeks to establish the vital role of secure communications for journalism and whistleblowing, and assesses the current environment of online anonymity in journalism from techno-social, regulatory, and legal perspectives.

**7e. Hacking Neoliberalism: Short Circuiting Control**

**Robert E. Latham:** Neoliberalism and the Spatialities of Struggle: Possibilities for Re-Collective Passage

This paper starts by observing that while the policies and practices of neoliberal capitalism have received considerable attention (e.g., state led austerity and privatization), the spatiality of neoliberal capitalism (NLC) has received far less attention – and this relative gap may limit our ability to confront, resist, struggle with it. It argues that NLC operates, among other ways, organizationally and spatially in two directions: there's its presence but also its absence; there is projection in (corporate, state, civil society organs) but also extraction out of institutions, resources, individuals. Although we use words like emptying, hollowing out, there is never an empty space but rather a different one; where there might be less public services and resources there is also more state violence. It is argued that in order to contend with NLC, communities and activists might consider how NLC organizes itself to achieve its play of presence and absence through a meta-network of embankments and channels; and how to appropriate these powerful spatial logics for their own political of confrontation with NLC: to construct their own channels of passage leading away from the organizational dominance and the practices and ideologies associated with neoliberalism and hyper-security. Such passage is not based on distinct points of projection or origin but on the movement away, on evasion. Evasion of this sort is not based only on avoidance but on fashioning alternative organizational life and a more accurate label for this is re-collective passage; in the sense that passage entails trying to transform collective life and by doing so create new collectivities. Passage is not just about flight or escape (Deleuze/Guattari) but about building passages; it's not just lines or vectors leading away, but organizational walls for shielding to facilitate collectivism and the common relationship with things, land,

provisions, material infrastructure. It is suggested that one advantage of re-collective passage is that it allows for seeing the commonality of what can be taken to be mainstream action in so-called grassroots community improvement efforts, new social movement protests around issues like sexual rights, and more radical anti-state and anti-capitalist organizing such as the Black Panthers in the 1960s; who not only deflected but also built a range of services for the neighborhoods they operated in. The point here is not to subsume these myriad phenomena and all the work and analysis around them; but rather point to a particular organizational formation around evasion and deflection. Re-collective passage can be a dimension of an existing social movement as when a movement enters a certain period of action and organization that involves evasion and deflection; or it may be only a certain segment of a movement moving off in this direction. Examples will be based on recent developments around social media and digital technologies.

**William S. Jaques:** The Internet is SRS BZNS: Politicization, Monetization and Control in the Cybersphere

This paper critically explores the co-opting of cyber-spaces and cyber-communities by corporate/governmental power structures and contemporary forces of struggle. It is suggested that while utilizing digital technologies as tools of struggle may be both effective and commendable, such efforts risk politically structuring, and possibly stunting, an emergent dimension of the human life-world which might already be radically subversive; one that approaches what Benjamin, through Sorel, might call a moment of pure non-violence. In other words, both conservative and progressive interventions into the cybersphere can result in increased control within an area that otherwise facilitates the free flow of subjectivity. Whether emanating from dominant or subordination factions within society, “serious business”, or “SRS BZNS” as they say in some Online communities, runs the risk of undermining the playful anarchy of the cybersphere. Much like Sorel's political strike, the deployment of digital technologies as tools of political struggle, in some cases, might work to reinforce or merely transfigure oppressive structures of power. For Sorel such transfers of power are, at best, from one group of elites to another and result in little more than a shift in control over the institutions of domination. On the other hand, the often anarchic and non-politicized (“non-serious”) cyber-communities which emerge 'organically' can be understood as somewhat analogous to Sorel's general strike, where power is not merely transferred from one group to another but completely altered. To unpack this, the paper explores Anonymous and 'its' shift from being the amorphous and a(nti)moral “final boss of the Internet” (a reference to the simultaneously silly and serious world of video gaming), to a more definite political movement symbolized by the Guy Fawkes mask. Through this the author attempts to articulate precisely what is gained and lost through such shifts. The fundamental question here is one of reflexivity. In some conceptions of nature, to sow a field requires removing a forest. It is always worthwhile to be aware of what is lost in that levelling and whether the crops and the forest can or should co-exist in the same space.

**Julian von Barga:** Prosumers and Private Public Spheres: The Socio-Digital Structural Limitations of Internet.org

This paper examines Internet.org, a recent venture emerging out of silicon valley and spearheaded by Mark Zuckerberg of Facebook. The professed goal of Internet.org is to bring, not just affordable Internet connectivity to the almost two-thirds of the world's population, some five billion people, who do not have access to ICTs such as smartphones, the Internet and social media, but to bring about their integration into the global knowledge economy and local, national, and global civil society. The plan is to design an app for basic and feature phones (i.e. not smartphones) with limited browsing capabilities that includes access to a few low-data intensive websites such as weather, wikipedia, BBC, and Facebook with messenger, and partner with governments and telecommunications companies to subsidize data for new internet users so long as their browsing is channeled through the Internet.org app. This paper critically examines Internet.org attempts to imagine itself as a philanthropic effort to end poverty and spur economic, social, and political development by bridging the digital divide and productively integrating the world's population into a global knowledge economy. It draws on critical political economy to argue that Internet.org actually represents an attempt by a powerful conglomerate of state and private interests to leverage the potential value of 5 billion soon-to-be-connected Internet users in the Global South as a means of publicly funding a privatized global communications infrastructure. Moreover, this paper analyzes how exactly Internet.org might channel, transform and limit, or otherwise structure the proclaimed political and economic emancipatory potential of ICTs in the Global South. In order to do so, this paper draws on two case studies, in the Philippines and India. The author concludes that Internet.org represents an attempt to neoliberalize existing networks of dissent and resistance and replace them with misleading and subordinating structures of prosumers and private digital public spheres.

**Thomas N. Cooke:** Privacy Stories (Ret)old: Corporate Programming, Neoliberalism and Hacktivism at the Stanford University

Conventional stories and understandings of Internet privacy are stories of neoliberal deployments competing for web traffic. The stories tell tales of corporate entanglement, Big Data and algorithmic marketing techniques deployed by social media companies in their pursuits of greater market share and an increasing bottom line. These stories recount how privacy is at the mercy of neoliberalism – the lines over information access, aggregation and analysis are products of choices made by computer programmers and corporate agendas who decide when, how and where privacy fits into their capital vision. But these stories are indeed “stories” because they are incomplete. The script – both literally and figuratively – is but a draft. The presentation introduces players hidden by the popular narratives of these stories, players who are not only changing the plot of these stories themselves, they are re-claiming the script altogether. Graduate students at the University of Stanford, who are otherwise peripheral to the discourse on Internet privacy, have been hacking the scripts of Google Chrome, reverse-engineering the asynchronous syntax programming to obfuscate Internet users’ browsing activity. The presentation demonstrates how these students’ preoccupation with injecting onion routing coding techniques into corporate social media products are not only resisting capital exploitation, they are also recapitulating how we understand neoliberalism. Their story is of surfacing

inspiration, levied by the very entanglement of neoliberalism itself; power is not a chain, it flows – inspiring previously unrealized ways of comprehending privacy online.

**A.T. Kingsmith:** The Hacker Aesthetic: Re-imagining Resistance and Ideology with/in Neoliberal Spaces

To hack is to differ. It is to subsume, circumvent, and plagiarise. To hack is to fluctuate, produce abstract knowledge, and express the possibility of new worlds. When this paper speaks of the hack, it is speaking of the transformation of the everyday. This is the quintessence of the hacker—an unapologetic appropriator of theory, information, and technology in order to conceptualise a fluid subjectivity of multiplicitous identity that exists both within and beyond the structures of power. This paper will explore the possibilities of such an identity by developing what will be referred to as the hacker aesthetic. Forged out of a melange of technology, art, and radical political organisation, this notion of the hacker aesthetic is an assemblage of the performative (Butler), rhizomatic (Deleuze), aesthetic (Ranciere), détournementive (Debord), and hospitable (Derrida). While attaching particular concepts and theorists to a professedly multiplicitous identity is indeed paradoxical, the textual articulation of any identity is an inherently structuring process. As such, this paper is a temporal artefact that provisionally invokes a structural form of being for the purposes of introducing an unstructured identity that is always in a state of becoming. Indeed, it is this perpetual state of fluid unpredictability and volatility that allows the hacker to shake the very foundations of the hegemonic structures of state and capital. Moreover, by developing a genealogy of hackerdom that traces the radial political and digital origins of the technological hack as a non-structured identity formulation from surrealism and the Situationists International through to more modern hack manifestations such as the Critical Art Ensemble, Electronic Disturbance Theatre, Lulzsec, and the Cult of the Dead Cow, this paper will attempt to articulate a praxis of movement that pushes beyond dialectical, binaric, and overly deterministic ways of thinking about and directly engaging in technology, struggle, community, and resistance with/in the times and spaces of neoliberal capitalism.

**7f. Exercises for the Critical Classroom**

**Marc Ouellette** It's All Out and You Know: Interpellation, The Self and Others

Traditionally, Althusser's conception of interpellation has been taught and employed as a means of analyzing and describing the ways in which the dominant culture constructs its understanding and perceptions of others by placing them into familiar scripts and stories. However, it is the concomitant interpellation of the self that frequently is more telling. Interrogating the interpellation of the self reveals much of the otherwise invisible work of dominant ideologies which otherwise pass as ordinary or even "common sense." The interpretive work of reading others, of naming others, and of categorizing them in and through existing frameworks entails some identification and recognition in the self. Yet this is the often unstated portion of the interpellation process, by which the self is recruited into particular roles and into ideologies. Thus, the importance lies in finding means of demonstrating that while the popular belief may tend towards an assumption of

a unique and autonomous individual, this very assumption obscures and obfuscates inculcation in(to) ideology. In order to reveal, to demonstrate, and to enumerate some of the extent of this inductive process, I typically take my classes through an active participation exercise in conformity, particular to the call of an a presumed authority figure. Students receive small menu cards, are given some instructions for how to pass them around the classroom, and are given a brief amount of time to answer one question: If you could be invisible for 48 hours, what are the first two things (you could tell the proverbial grandmother) you would do? Please answer this anonymously.

Students will then be given a few instructions on how to pass the completed cards as well as the extra cards back to the instructor, who then shuffles them, and reads some silently. Eventually, but only after some murmurs have come from the class—sometimes I chuckle, laugh, or shake my head or say something about “that again?”—will the instructor read some of the responses aloud. The instructor should be careful to note students’ reactions to all of the above, especially any silence or commentary on the part of the instructor for these serve as a reminder of the social contract that governs the classroom. After a few, and some offers to the class as to whether or not there have been enough read, I ask if anyone notices a pattern. There is always one, and after eight-ten years of doing this at least once per semester, we can compare to previous ones. However, the most important part of the debrief centres on the seemingly random exercise, the pedantic instructions, and how the students responded to the silence. As much as the interpellation process suggests and, indeed, is described through an authority figure’s call, the lack of one produces a palpable and more easily delineated response, particularly because students wonder whether or not theirs has been or will be read. Moreover, the patterns offer clues as to the dominant ideologies that serve as grounds for authority through the shared response. For example, over the last three-five years, the biggest change has been emphasis on being able to know “what my friends are saying.” As well, it is important to give the mention that death row inmates doing the invisibility exercise offer anti-social responses at roughly the same rate as the rest of us, but they have shown a willingness to act, whereas we do not (at least, we hope). Finally, the debrief gives at least one example of a moment when I outsmarted myself, specifically with regard to an exam question based on interpellation and for which a very valid answer was not expected. This does a couple of key things: first, it humanizes the instructor, who could seem (even more so if the full hour-long set of exercises has been completed) like nothing more than a master manipulator, especially without good humour and rapport; second, it shows that the familiar script or paradigm is not universal but is in fact site specific. Finally, this ending is not actually the traditional ending. While it’s a funny anecdote, it does not provide the “take away” that might otherwise be expected. In fact, that is very much by design and offers further evidence of the interpellation of the student. Why does it have to be done? Why does it have to have a “take away” or a “happy ending,” etc.? Why should a class that hopes to at least wrestle with interpellation fit the paradigm precisely? Thus, the ending actually comes in the next class, which also opens the possibility of exploring the endless deferral of meaning and a host of other important topics (e.g., subjectivity, hegemonic structures, the university as an ISA, market segmentation, lifestyle marketing, ex-nomination, the simulacrum of the “it was like a movie” reaction, suggestibility, the Bem sex role index, etc.) but through participatory exercises and investigations.

**Joe Tompkins:** Against Individualistic Thinking: Teaching Capitalism and Racism as Social Systems

In our current era of neoliberal capitalism, one of the most pervasive obstacles to critical thinking and sociological understanding is individualism—the idea, seemingly everywhere in our culture, that society begins and ends with individuals. It seems no matter the topic of discussion—whether it’s the economy, poverty, racism, war, work, family, politics, or simply getting ahead in life—the ideological starting point is usually one of individual choices, or the notion that things happen—“they are the way they are”—because of what each person thinks, feels, or does. Our is, in short, a culture fixated on the discursive “storytelling” logic of individualistic thinking, a logic that tends to overlook the social conditions that underwrite social injustices. This presentation therefore seeks to offer a classroom exercise aimed at challenging individualistic thinking. In particular, I focus on teaching “system thinking” by way of the Monopoly board game; the latter is used as a metaphor for teaching undergraduate students to think of capitalism and racism as intersecting social systems. I adapt the idea from two sources: Warren Warren’s article, “Using Monopoly to Introduce Concepts of Race and Ethnic Relations” and Allan Johnson’s book *Power, Privilege, and Difference*. Overall, the exercise is designed to demonstrate a sociological understanding of racism and capitalism as two dominant social and ideological systems that structure our individual attitudes and behavior as well as institutionalized operations of power.

**Randy Nichols:** Rendering the Invisible Hand: Making Sense of Concentration and Competition in the Classroom

The concept of the free market is one of the most central concepts in modern society. For critical communication researchers, the impact of free market politics has been of central concern, resulting in heavy concentration of media ownership even as it is used as a defense that particular voices and ideas have won out in a fair manner. Yet, for many students, the concept of the free market - and indeed of market forces - begins and ends with the supposition that they exist and are the ideal mechanism for all manner of exchange. Such hegemonic acceptance serves to stop discussion about the efficacy of the Invisible Hand, the value of social programs, and the problematic nature of capitalist concentration. So deeply rooted is the acceptance of the free market, that any competing system becomes virtually impossible to imagine. Indeed, both the assumed benefit and efficiencies generated in a free market has resulted in a range of applications to the idea in other areas such as “the marketplace of ideas” and Carried into the acceptance of free market ideology is the belief that such markets are inherently fair, equally accessible, and, of course, best left unregulated. However, Smith’s notion of the Invisible Hand was less about market efficiency but rather that it served as a mechanism to maximize income growth. Coupled with arguments like Say’s Law, suggesting that supply creates demand, tacit acceptance of and unthinking devotion to free market ideology becomes a crucial ground for critique and examination.

This presentation seeks to provide a classroom exercise designed to work with those basic assumptions about markets and the Invisible Hand in order to interrogate the hegemonic dominance of the idea. The exercise was initially designed as part of a Media

Economics class but has proved useful in courses analyzing mediated discourse about the economy and in game industry and development courses. It is designed to put students into a moment of competitive production while providing basic metaphors for basic market challenges in order to demonstrate the nature of capitalist concentration via unregulated markets. The exercise begins by creating a market - students making paper airplanes - with simple, metaphorical rules governing their competition and concentration. By emphasizing one side of the supply and demand equation, possibilities for thinking about both the problems of unregulated concentration and a range of responses to it become possible. The presentation also discusses which readings the exercise has been paired with and some possible discussion points that can be used with it.

**Chris Demaske: Who Gets to Speak: Unlocking the Mysteries of First Amendment Application**

TCOM 465 Contemporary Free Speech Issues will be offered for the first time in Spring 2015. The intention of the course is to introduce students to the often slippery, always complicated concept of free speech. This class is intended to expose students to the philosophy, theories and court cases relevant to the First Amendment in an attempt to make sense of current law and policies regarding contentious contemporary free speech issues. Unlike a traditional media law class that seeks to address the question of how the law is applied, this course asks students to interrogate the question of why. Before getting students to begin grappling with the specifics of those theories and philosophies, I first need to get students to set aside their preconceived notions about freedom of speech and its role in U.S. society. Students often feel like they understand this particular constitutional right and they also believe that they are firm in their convictions of protecting speech. Neither of those contentions are usually true. The exercise: This exercise is designed for the first day of class. I will place a sign in each of the four corners of the class room. Those signs will read: protect, don't protect, undecided, and not a speech issue. I will then go through a series of "speech moments" and ask the students to choose a corner. They will physically have to go the corner of their choice. They will literally have to take a stand for their position. I will then give the students a few minutes for each corner to confer and come up with the reasons why they made that choice. The students will present their reasons to the class (this is intended to be an informal presentation). After each group has spoken, students will have an option to move to another corner if they have changed their minds. We will go through about five "speech moments" in this way. Examples of speech moments will include: Holding an anti-war protest at the funeral of a war veteran, burning a cross in your neighbor's yard because he irritated you, and wearing a jacket that says "Fuck the Government" into a public park.

Ultimately, this exercise is designed to raise awareness of the complexity of the role of free speech in society and the difficulties of addressing this complexity through the law. The exercise also will allow students an opportunity to be self-reflexive about their own opinions and beliefs before we begin engaging in theories and philosophies of others. The first set of readings that the students will engage with following this exercise focus on the traditional approaches to understanding speech protection in the United States. Specifically, the students will read sections from: "Toward a General Theory of

the First Amendment” by Thomas Emerson, “On Liberty” by John Stuart Mill, “Free Speech: A Philosophical Enquiry” by Frederick Shauer, and “Political Freedom” by Alexander Meiklejohn.

**James Wittebols:** A course to help students become more critical researchers: Information Searching and Analysis

Frustrated with the quality of research done by undergraduate students, I developed a course designed to help them understand the nature of digital search and its interface with individual confirmation bias. The foundation of the course is to have students select a social justice issue and do a semester long examination of how the issue is presented in organizational and activist websites, the corporate news media and academic research. Accompanying this process are two books designed to help students overcome their own tendency towards confirmation bias: unSpun by Jackson/Jamieson and Eli Pariser’s The Filter Bubble. The course is organized as a blended course—with both online and in-class components. Classroom time is dedicated to lectures on the process and explanation of the assignments associated with the books and the social justice issue the student is exploring. There are fewer class sessions (especially after midterms) because the individual workload is heavy for a 200- level class.

Students engage in search exercises designed to reveal the highly individualistic nature of search and the importance of multiple search terms/phrases. They are also forced to confront the human tendency to engage in confirmation bias through examples in their own lives and in the lives of those around them. Students then pursue knowledge about their topic through in three cumulative ways. The first assignment concerns issue definition and involves searching websites relevant to their issue. They perform an analysis of these sites using a form I have developed which allows them to make conclusions about the quality of the information at each site. They then do a sourcing study of news about their issue. The final product is an annotated bibliography of the “trustworthy” websites, the news articles they deem to be of good quality and the available academic research on the issue. This paper concludes with an analysis of what websites and news sources line up well with the conclusions of academic research. Student reaction to the course was almost universally positive and in many ways the course was an empowering experience. The course can be “scaled up” with upper level undergraduate or graduate student assistants and can be applied to many disciplines. It is an excellent class for students who desire to be journalists, whether citizen or professional.