

Book of Abstracts

ESA RN18 Mid-Term
Conference

Communication, Capitalism and Social Change: Policy, Practice, Praxis

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences,
University of Zagreb, Croatia
6-8 September 2018

<https://esarn18zagreb.org>



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Welcome note

Dear colleagues and friends,

It is our pleasure to welcome you to the international scientific conference 'Communication, Capitalism and Social Change: Policy, Practice, Praxis'. The conference is supported by the European Sociological Association's (ESA) Research Network 18: Sociology of Communications and Media Research in cooperation with the Croatian Sociological Association (HSD), the Institute for Development and International Relations (IRMO), and the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences (FFZG), University of Zagreb.

The goal of the event is to tackle many open questions and challenges that media and communications are facing in times of increasing radicalization of human existence. Non-regulated markets, radical politics and corporate technologies distort the social foundations of critical reason, and common-sense. 'Value neutral' policy solutions often end up proposing only administrative adjustments to communication systems and implement minor adaptations of the regulatory framework. Imagining and demanding a better society calls for a stronger move from theory to action. Open, democratic communication is the starting point for any meaningful societal change. Such a situation makes it increasingly important to revisit the ideas of democratic rationalization within policy and the philosophy of praxis.

The conference programme promises three intellectually stimulating days ahead of us and a perfect opportunity for intense networking that will, hopefully, contribute to positive social change, establish new partnerships, and bring an opportunity for developing new friendships. We would like to express our gratitude to everyone who helped us organize this conference and we hope that you will enjoy your stay in Zagreb!

Cordially,

Local Organizing Committee

About the Conference

Communication is essential to society. There are no social relations without communication, and communication is the key for the inter-subjective understanding of humans. Communication is embedded within relations of production in digital capitalism. It is increasingly commodified in digital networks while political radicalism finds new support in right-wing populism. Open, democratic communication is much needed in times of increasing radicalisation of human existence in conservative discourses and confines of consumer logic.

Non-regulated markets, radical politics and corporate technologies distort the social foundations of critical reason, and common-sense. Legacy media, automated systems, fake news, market failures, and global monopolies of key internet services systematically distort the inter-subjective potential of communication.

Burning social issues such as rising inequality, poverty, migration, and climate change cannot be tackled without a common understanding of the main challenges facing humanity. While global networks offer the potential for human liberation, we are witnessing a familiar pattern in which political and economic elites take over the means of communication and common understanding.

What is to be done remains an open question. Supposedly value-neutral media policies often end up proposing administrative adjustments to communication systems, cater to the existing structures, and offer only minor adaptations of the regulatory framework. The key is to break the cycle in which such reforms perpetuate the fundamentally flawed social system.

Systemic tendencies of global capitalism towards creating monopolies, destroying natural resources, increasing inequality, spreading racism and xenophobia are well established. Yet moving from the accumulated critical knowledge towards an actual social change is no easy task. The demand for a better society, and a move from theory to action is a thorny political issue.

Open, democratic communication is the starting point for any meaningful societal change. Such a situation makes it increasingly important to revisit the critical ideas of democratic rationalization within policy and the philosophy of praxis.

THURSDAY, 6 SEPTEMBER: PROGRAMME OVERVIEW

- **13:00-14:00 REGISTRATION**
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Ul. Ivana Lučića 3
- **14:00-14:30 Conference Opening: Room D3**
Welcome speeches
Dragan Bagić, Vice-Dean for Science and International Cooperation,
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Jasminka Lažnjak, President of the Croatian Sociological Association
Aleksandra Uzelac, Head of the Department for Culture and
Communication, Institute for Development and International Relations,
Paško Bilić, Chair of the local organisational board
Chair: Roy Panagiotopoulou
- **14:30-15:30 Keynote Talk: Room D3**
Natalie Fenton: Fake Democracy, Digital Media: Reinventing our
Democratic Futures?
Chair: Thomas Allmer
- **15:30-16:00 COFFEE BREAK**
- **16:00-17:30 Parallel Session 1A: Room D1**
Algorithmic Capitalism and Privacy
- **16:00-17:30 Parallel Session 1B: Room D2**
Capitalism, Crisis and Migration
- **17:30-18:00 COFFEE BREAK**
- **18:00-19:30 Parallel Session 2A: Room D1**
Digital Monopoly, Ideology and the Commons
- **18:00-19:30 Parallel Session 2B: Room D2**
Class, Nationalism and Poverty
- **20:00 DRINKS RECEPTION**
Botaničar Bar, Trg Marka Marulića 6

FRIDAY, 7 SEPTEMBER: PROGRAMME OVERVIEW

- **10:00-11:00 Keynote Talk: Room D3**
Roy Panagiotopoulou: European Cohesion at Stake: Populism and Migration
Chair: Romina Surugiu
- **11:00-11:30 COFFEE BREAK**
- **11:30-13:00 Parallel Session 3A: Room D1**
Information Work, Precarity and Amnesia
- **11:30-13:00 Parallel Session 3B: Room D2**
Digital Identity, Personality and Subjectification
- **13:00-14:30 LUNCH BREAK**
- **14:30-16:00 Plenary Session: Room D3**
Communication, Society, and Praxis: Theoretical (Dis-) Continuities and Institutional Developments
Speakers: **Mislav Žitko, Luka Matić, Matko Meštrovic**
Chair: Peter Golding
- **16:00-16:30 COFFEE BREAK**
- **16:30-18:00 Parallel Session 4A: Room D1**
Communicative Capitalism and Digital Imperialism
- **16:30-18:00 Parallel Session 4B: Room D2**
Digital Unionisation and Citizenship
- **20:00 CONFERENCE DINNER**
Vinodol Restaurant, Ul. Nikole Tesle 10

SATURDAY, 8 SEPTEMBER: PROGRAMME OVERVIEW

- **10:00-11:00 Keynote Talk: Room D3 (video talk)**
Vincent Mosco: The Next Internet
Chair: Paško Bilić
- **11:00-11:30 COFFEE BREAK**
- **11:30-13:00 Parallel Session 5A: Room D1**
The Public Sphere and Participation
- **11:30-13:00 Parallel Session 5B: Room D2**
Capitalism, Ecology and Health
- **13:00-13:30 COFFEE BREAK**
- **13:30-15:00 Parallel Session 6A: Room D1**
Social Movements and Protest
- **13:30-15:00 Parallel Session 6B: Room D2**
Entrepreneurism, Activism and Change
- **15:00-15:30 CLOSING SESSION: Room D3**
Chairs: Paško Bilić and Thomas Allmer

**THURSDAY, 6 SEPTEMBER:
PARALLEL SESSIONS**

PARALLEL SESSION 1A, ROOM: D1, 16:00-17:30

- **Algorithmic Capitalism and Privacy**
Chair: Thomas Allmer
- **Eran Fisher:** Can Algorithmic Knowledge About the Self be Critical?
- **Arnon Zangvil:** Can New Forms of Encryption Allow Privacy & Regulation to Coexist?
- **Paško Bilić:** Algorithmic Capitalism, Surplus Value Accumulation and the Redistribution of Digital Wealth
- **Petros Iosifidis:** Regulating the Internet Intermediaries in a Post-Truth Era

PARALLEL SESSION 1B, ROOM: D2, 16:00-17:30

- **Capitalism, Crisis and Migration**
Chair: Roy Panagiotopoulou
- **Emiliana Mangone and Emanuela Pece:** The Communication of "Terror": The "frames" in the European Newspapers
- **Kristina Malešević, Ana Milojević and Aleksandra Krstić:** Media Frames of the Refugee Crisis in Serbia
- **Yiannis Mylonas:** The 'Greferendum' and the Eurozone Crisis in the Danish Daily Press
- **Rolando Marini and Matteo Gerli:** Pluralizing the Immigration Issue: Discursive Strategies in the Italian Newspapers Arena

**THURSDAY, 6 SEPTEMBER:
PARALLEL SESSIONS**

PARALLEL SESSION 2A, ROOM: D1, 18:00-19:30

- **Digital Monopoly, Ideology and the Commons**
Chair: Eran Fisher
- **Jacqueline Lima Dourado and Denise Maria Moura da Silva Lopes:** When Biases Guide Journalism: The Role of Media Conglomerates and Counter-Hegemonic Media in Shaping the Political Scenario
- **Mariano Zukerfeld and Bernadette Califano**
The “Net Neutrality” Debate in Peripheral Contexts: Ideological Discourses, Economic Struggles and Policy Analysis
- **Arwid Lund:** Corporate Ideological Discourses on Openness

PARALLEL SESSION 2B, ROOM: D2, 18:00-19:30

- **Class, Nationalism and Poverty**
Chair: Romina Surugiu
- **Mislav Dević:** Discussing and Disseminating the Meaning of the Contested Historical Symbol in the Online News
- **Stjepka Popović:** Child Sexual Abuse News: A Systematic Review of Content Analysis Studies
- **Irena Reifová:** Poverty as Television Spectacle: Shaming Low-income People on Post-socialist Reality TV
- **Dunja Majstorović:** Social and Political Change on the Front Pages of Croatian Daily Newspaper – Case Study of the 1960s

**FRIDAY, 7 SEPTEMBER:
PARALLEL SESSIONS**

PARALLEL SESSION 3A, ROOM: D1, 11:30-13:00

- **Information Work, Precarity and Amnesia**
Chair: Eran Fisher
- **Tatiana Mazali:** The Digital Inequality and Labour Transformations. The Need to Take Digital Competences Into Account to Secure a Decent Work
- **Mariano Zukerfeld:** Ideology, Labour Time, Commons and Commodities: On the Capitalist Exploitation of Educational Content Producers
- **Thomas Allmer:** 'I am a Single Mum. I Don't Feel Like I Can Be as Competitive as Other People': How Precariously Employed Staff Experience the Working Conditions at Universities
- **Laura Basu:** Media Amnesia and the Crisis

PARALLEL SESSION 3B, ROOM: D2, 11:30-13:00

- **Digital Identity, Personality and Subjectification**
Chair: Roy Panagiotopoulou
- **Wei-Ping Chen:** Mediated Modern (Un)love Stories and Female Empowerment: Consuming Emotional Feminist Identities and Lifestyles on French Women's Social Networking Sites
- **Guiomar Rovira Sancho:** Becoming Feminist and Hacker: The Cycle of Connected Multitudes and the "On Life" Collective Action
- **Elena Chankova:** Communicative Competence of the Personality in Contemporary Media Space
- **Romina Surugiu:** Free Labour in Independent Digital Journalism. A Case Study from Romania

FRIDAY, 7 SEPTEMBER: PARALLEL SESSIONS

PARALLEL SESSION 4A, ROOM: D1, 16:30-18:00

- **Communicative Capitalism and Digital Imperialism**
Chair: Paško Bilić
- **Denise Maria Moura da Silva Lopes:** New Services, Old Logic: The Role of Oligopolies, Walled Gardens and Intellectual Property Rights in Shaping Audiovisual Markets Such as Pay-TV and VoD
- **Vladislav Dekalov:** Communicative Capitalists as New Power Subjects: A Political Potential of the Networked Space
- **Francesco D'Amato, Alberto Marinelli, Andrea Miconi and Stefania Parisi:** Do-It-Yourself and with the Crowd. Promises and Exploitation in the Field of Cultural Production
- **Jernej Amon Prodnik, Sašo Slaček Brlek and Igor Vobič:** News Imperialism in the Age of Digital Capitalism: Renewing the Cultural Imperialism Debate

PARALLEL SESSION 4B, ROOM: D2, 16:30-18:00

- **Digital Unionisation and Citizenship**
Chair: Roy Panagiotopoulou
- **Dunja Potočnik:** Online Media and Potential for Civic Action Among the Adolescents in Croatia
- **Bolette Blaagaard and Marta Iljadica:** From Authorship to Citizenship: Citizen Journalism and the Limits of Intellectual Property
- **Mirela Holy:** Media Literacy – The Mean of Suppression of Fake News and Propaganda in the Cyber Communication Era

**SATURDAY, 8 SEPTEMBER:
PARALLEL SESSIONS**

PARALLEL SESSION 5A, ROOM: D1, 11:30-13:00

● **The Public Sphere and Participation**

Chair: Thomas Allmer

- **Ana Cristina Suzina:** The Issue of Participation in Brazilian Popular Media in Times of Digital Disruption

- **Gabriele Giacomini:** The "Paradox of Pluralism" Online: The Public Sphere Between the Phenomenon of Polarisation and the Ideal of *Concordia Discors*

- **Sašo Slaček Brlek:** A Dialectical View on the Public Sphere

PARALLEL SESSION 5B, ROOM: D2, 11:30-13:00

● **Capitalism, Ecology and Health**

Chair: Tatiana Mazali

- **Janaki Somaiya:** Travel and Enjoy Capitalism: Rethinking Ideology Today in the Context of Social Media

- **Diana Jakobsson:** Let's Pretend it Isn't There. On the Neglect of Class Conflicts in Consensus Communication About Sustainability Visions

- **Jurgita Jurkevičienė:** Environmental Risks (Non) Communication? Media Discourses Around the Ecological Compensation in Urban Infrastructure Projects

- **Ivana Matteucci:** Communication for "Patient Liberation". The Role of New Media in the Case of CCSVI in Multiple Sclerosis (SM)

**SATURDAY, 8 SEPTEMBER:
PARALLEL SESSIONS**

PARALLEL SESSION 6A, ROOM: D1, 13:30-15:00

● **Social Movements and Protest**

Chair: Romina Surugiu

● **Pantelis Vatikiotis and Dimitra L. Milioni:** Interactions at Work: Alternative Media, Social Movements and the Spur of Political Participation in Greece

● **Leila Tazir:** The Unbalanced Communication of Democratic Social Movements in Spain

● **Lorenzo Coretti:** Zombie Movements: Beyond Lifecycle Theories of Online Connective Action

● **Sophie Petzelberger:** Inside a Protest Film Project

PARALLEL SESSION 6B, ROOM: D2, 13:30-15:00

● **Entrepreneurism, Activism and Change**

Chair: Tatiana Mazali

● **Paolo Inno:** The Ideological Discourse on Start-ups: Media, Public Policies and Patterns of Subjectification

● **Ilija Tomanić Trivundža:** Face(ing) of Hate Speech: Visual Activism and Limits of Public Shaming



**KEYNOTE
TALKS**

Fake Democracy, Digital Media: Reinventing our Democratic Futures?

Natalie Fenton

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Liberal democracy has been eviscerated, hollowed out from within and emptied of liberalism's many promises that have failed to materialise. Meanwhile inequality has increased exponentially, ecological crisis beckons and the often unaccountable power of elites (in politics, media, finance, corporations etc) increases dramatically. Media that were once assumed to have important democratic responsibilities - as a public sphere, fourth estate, critical watchdog and a check on power - have been commercialised, starved of funding, attacked and restructured - such that they have increasingly been drawn into neoliberal logic. As citizens feel ever more cut adrift from the decisions that make their lives livable so global capital continues to prosper and shape politics. At the same time, the digital age gives us information abundance and unprecedented connectivity. Under these conditions, this lecture asks some crucial questions of our time: How might we rediscover a critical politics of transformation adequate to the materiality of how increasing inequalities in societies leads to vastly impoverished democracies? How do the politics of emancipation form and materialise? How are the progressive political values of politics in common forged, moderated and channelled into concrete practices? And importantly, how can scholarship contribute to the reinvention of our democratic futures and search out what democracy could become?

The Next Internet

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The Internet is changing from a loosely organized, decentralized, and pluralistic system into a tightly managed, centralized and commodified network under growing business and government control. To understand this transformation, it is useful to adopt a political economy perspective, which examines the social relations, particularly the power relations that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources, including communication.

The Next Internet is founded on three interconnected technical systems encompassing cloud computing, data analytics, and the Internet of Things. The cloud shifts storage and processing to centralized private- and government-run facilities; data analytics advances algorithmic decision-making; and the internet of things “brings things to life” by equipping and networking devices with intelligent sensors. The Next Internet is increasingly run by a handful of history’s richest companies, all based in the United States, including Apple, Google, Microsoft, Amazon, and Facebook, along with the military and surveillance arms of the U.S. government. The only genuine challenge to this military-information complex comes from China and its tight nexus between a handful of companies and the national government.

The keynote identifies social problems associated with this transformation and the prospects for the resistance that would create a democratic Next Internet.

European Cohesion at Stake: Populism and Migration

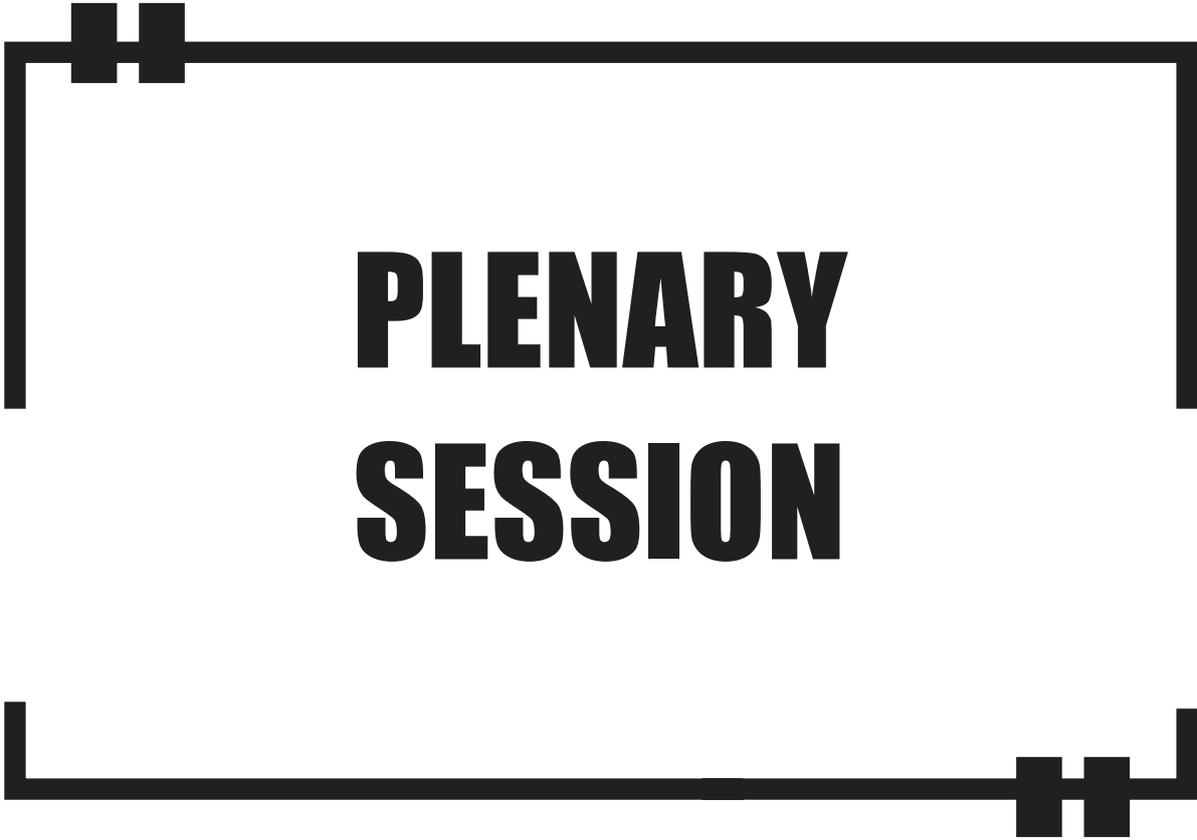
Roy Panagiotopoulou

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The massive migration flows to Europe boosted in 2015 has diminished since then, but it has never ceased completely. Continuing migrant flows have caused serious economic and sociopolitical pressures to the political systems of the affected countries. Populist arguments boost feelings of anxiety to lose the wellbeing standard achieved in affluent societies and forecast all kind of catastrophes for the poor. Media usually present the presence of immigrants as a precarious situation with a temporarily restricted duration that will diminish or even cease when war ends. However, more and more people recognize that immigrants who settled in the EU countries have come to stay, perhaps for good. What are therefore the policy measures to accommodate this population? Which are the benefits or disadvantages for the local communities and the overall development of the migrant receiving countries? To these questions only few articles in the news media as well as in the academic publications have addressed the issue (Credit Suisse 2015, Legrain 2016).

EU policy on migration still remains an issue of disagreement. Many countries have followed their own political decisions to protect national interests (closing the borders, reverse long existing fundamental treaties like Schengen, refusing to accept the refugee quota agreed in the EU Summit etc.) ignoring the EU weak efforts to shape a common policy approach. A large part of the population seems to sustain a particular national stance and support extreme right political parties that use populist propaganda of threats and fear. The 'migration issue' has become a major challenge for EU's future integration and solidarity. It seems that it has become the main driving force for the rise of the radical right in many EU countries. Even in countries with traditional coalitions among political parties of different ideological perspective, the political consensus doesn't seem solid as in the past. Mainstream media play their part in exacerbating the situation while usually they refuse to examine in a moderate way the benefits / disadvantages of immigrant integration issues and frequently use emotionally loaded impressions to influence public opinion and promote populist arguments. Using the publications of four national newspapers (Greece, Germany, Austria and France) the main arguments will be presented and discussed. Furthermore, similarities, differences and intentions to shape a common EU policy towards migrant's integration will be pointed out.



**PLENARY
SESSION**

Communication, Society, and Praxis: Theoretical (dis-) Continuities and Institutional Developments

Mislav Žitko

*Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences,
University of Zagreb*

Luka Matić

Independent Researcher

Matko Meštrović

The Institute of Economics, Zagreb

Sociology provides a strong epistemological and ontological background for understanding communication and the media in society. Yet the multi-paradigmatic nature of sociology as a discipline (Ritzer, 2010) opens up the question of which sociological knowledge are we talking about. In addition, the relation between sociology and the contextualisation of its knowledge within society is one of the unresolved axiological problems burdening the discipline with an additional layer of complexity (Burawoy, 2005; Streeck, 2016). Simultaneously, global inequalities, capitalist crises, ecological disasters, and right-wing populism - to name but a few contemporary social issues - demand for a more engaged sociological approach. Such broad and engaged approach is largely at odds with contemporary compartmentalisation of social sciences, increasing specialisation, and positivism. Contra that trend, this panel aims to explore *praxis* as one of the central philosophical terms of critical theory of society; and to explore its relation to communication, media studies and sociology.

The term philosophy of praxis was used by Gramsci (1951) to describe Marxism in general and the accompanying understanding that no domain of knowledge is independent of society. More importantly, reality is historical, and history itself is to be understood as, in essence, an object of human practice (Feenberg, 2014). The philosophy of praxis draws its inspiration from the works of early Marx and is further developed by Lukács and the authors of the Frankfurt School. This school of Marxism had a particularly strong grounding in Zagreb and Belgrade in the 1960s and 1970s. The Praxis school of philosophy grew out

of the writings in the journal *Pogledi* in the 1950s and especially around the journal *Praxis* which was published between 1964 and 1974 (for an overview see Bogdanić, 2014). During the same period, members of the school organised a summer school on the Croatian island of Korčula which was attended, among others, by Jürgen Habermas, Herbert Marcuse, Erich Fromm, Henri Lefebvre, and Ernst Bloch.

Despite the focus on bettering society and the human condition, the Praxis school theorists rarely touched upon communication as a common feature of social relations and humanity. Some exceptions are Kuvačić and the critique of mass communications industry (1970) and Marković (for his drift towards nationalism see Mikulić, 2014; for a critique of his truncated humanism see Fuchs, 2017). Understanding these theoretical (dis-) connections puts us on a path of revisiting the history of the institutionalisation of sociology, communication and media studies within broader political, economic and cultural contexts that shaped them. Therefore, this panel aims to explore these theoretical and institutional gaps from a fourfold perspective: (1) to explore some of the ideas, and limits, of the Praxis school of philosophy as developed in mid 1960s and 1970s; (2) to explore its ties with sociology and its institutionalisation (Department for sociology was established in 1963 by Rudi Supek, a prominent member of the School); (3) explore the (dis-)connections between sociology, communication and media studies as they developed within a critical political economy of communication perspective outside of the institutional mainstream (e.g. Meštrović, 1978); (4) explore the institutionalisation of journalism and media studies which took on a pragmatic and instrumental approach to communication.

Ultimately, we aim to discuss if ideas of the philosophy of praxis still hold value for understanding contemporary mediatized societies. For example, can some of those ideas be revisited within the context of economic and political crises, and an exhaustion of policy approaches which resulted in extensive liberalisation and commercialisation of the media, precarious working positions for journalists, weakening of democracy and the public sphere? Can the philosophy of praxis provide a vision of a better, more humane, society? Is critically oriented communication a way towards achieving praxis and common understanding? Revisiting the ideas of the Praxis school of philosophy should not be seen as an exercise in naïve nostalgia. As capitalism transforms itself, the idea of praxis reminds us that the struggles and antagonism within society do not wither away (Hardt and Negri, 2018). One of the roles of sociology should be to remind us of the conditions under which society develops and changes. The demands for a more democratic society and the critique of current conditions remain pertinent.

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**PARALLEL
SESSIONS
ABSTRACTS
A-Z**

'I am a Single Mum. I Don't Feel Like I Can be as Competitive as other People': How Precariously Employed Staff Experience the Working Conditions at Universities

Thomas Allmer

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The economic and political transformations of universities in recent decades have attracted criticism. This is also reflected in a growing academic literature investigating those changes in the context of neoliberalism and the rise in the interweaving of private and public providers. Within universities, a new entrepreneurial and managerial spirit has been carefully fostered and produced that has resulted in the implementation of market-driven rules and competition (Deem et al., 2007). It is argued that educational institutions nowadays aim to respond to market demands, whereby the public character of education tends to fade away (Peters, 2003). Critical scholars speak about 'academic capitalism' (Slaughter & Leslie, 1999), the 'corporate university' (Giroux, 2002) and 'Uber.edu' (Hall, 2016). These structural transformations have had several impacts on the working conditions, practices and relations of subjects including, to name but a few, the intensification and extension of work, the blurring of work and free time, casualisation, precariousness, self-exploitation and self-marketing. How these conditions are experienced by different subjects is open to debate. While the experiences of work in other sectors such as the cultural and creative industries are well documented, there is still a lack of understanding of labouring subjectivities in academia as well as a lack of analysis of how the existing conditions are experienced by academics (Gill, 2014:12-13).

This paper strives to find answers to the following question: How are the existing working conditions and practices at universities perceived and experienced by precariously employed academics?

I address this question based on a theoretical analysis and qualitative interviews with casualised academic staff at higher education institutions in Scotland. In particular, some theoretical foundations of the study of academic labour are outlined in the first part. The following part presents the methodology of the empirical research that was conducted. Then, some findings of the study are presented and discussed in relation to job insecurity, workload, management, control mechanisms, mental and physical health, and gender. The paper concludes with a summary and a discussion of the further implications of the study.

Digital Democracy or the Perpetuation of the Organizational Closure? The Portuguese Unions in the Education Sector and Social Media

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The trade union movement is facing “hard times” (Chaison, 1996) since the 70s. Trying to overcome this problem, they are implementing a set of actions towards their revitalization (Frege and Heery, 2003). The adoption of the ICTs, mainly the Internet, emerges as an important tool for supporting those actions.

The unions adopted the ICTs later than their counterparts (Pinnock, 2005), but the competitive advantages they offer and their flexibility encouraged them to adopt these tools more and more.

Some digital optimists state that the Internet gives a relevant contribution for a qualitative transformation of the unions' structure. According to them, it makes possible to deepen union democracy by the possibility it offers to create new spaces that encourage participation and accountability. Hence, they conclude that we are witnessing the emergence of a new union form called “cyberunion” (Shostak, 2002), “e-union” (Darlington, 2000), “open-source unionism” (Freeman and Rogers, 2002) or “trade unionism 2.0” (Gutiérrez-Rubi, 2009).

In this paper, we intend to answer the question whether the uses of the social media by the Portuguese unions in the education sector are deepening the organizational democracy and so, giving a contribution to the union renewal. Our main conclusion is that these organizations are very far from achieving this goal. Instead of giving a contribution to open the organization, the uses of the social media by these unions serves to perpetuate organizational closure. In this case, digital democracy is nothing more than a myth (Hindman, 2008) and what we assist is to the extension of the bureaucratic model of organization to the digital world, giving rise to an infocracy (Zuurmond 1994 quoted by van Dijk, 2000).

The main issue is that underlying the ways how the unions use Internet and social media, are social processes that the futuristic, speculative and techno-euphoric perspectives forgotten frequently.

News Imperialism in the Age of Digital Capitalism: Renewing the Cultural Imperialism Debate

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We discuss the relevance of cultural imperialism as a framework for analysing contemporary digital capitalism, in which market fundamentalism and dominance of private media corporations are the rule. Cultural imperialism was amongst the foundational concepts of political economy of communication when it started to examine international cultural flows in late 1960s. Herbert Schiller (1969; 1976) developed it in his critique of American cultural domination and control in the world and connected it to the military-industrial-communication complex, which aimed to expand capitalism and preserve the existing class structures. The concept has been taken up and expanded upon by other authors, such as Mattelart, Nordenstreng, Boyd-Barret (media imperialism, 1977), and Thussu (electronic empires, 1998).

Such critical views have become less fashionable with the triumph of neoliberalism, with some declaring notions of cultural imperialism as obsolete in an era of supposedly decentralised flows of information. However, we believe that the notion of cultural imperialism has gained rather than lost importance with the expansion of commodification throughout the cultural and media industries on a world-wide scale since 1980s. The rise of corporations such as Google and Facebook that are dominating the Internet is a strong proof that the early concepts of political economy of communication remain relevant.

In our paper we will not only argue for the continuing relevance of the notion of cultural imperialism for the digital age, but also explore how the tools that are driving the rise of dominant platforms - big data, AI and machine learning - can be used to analyse and critique so-called platform imperialism (e.g. Fuchs; Srnicek; Yong Jin). We will focus on EventRegistry, a technology developed by researchers at the Jožef Stefan Institute in Ljubljana, which collects and processes articles from more than 30.000 global sources in 15 languages (also offering cross-lingual analytics). Its functions of quantitative analysis of news structured as events (that can be differentiated via locations, sources, topics etc.) can help with insights into contemporary cultural imperialism, or what we call news imperialism, as they could discern whether unequal news flows and other early notions connected to imperialism thesis hold relevance.

Media Amnesia and the Crisis

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Media political economists and journalists have written about the problematic of “fast news” - how the political economy of journalism in the neoliberal era has put enormous pressure on journalists to produce more and faster, resulting in a deterioration of news quality. Based on a project tracking the UK news coverage of a decade of crisis beginning with the 2008 financial crash, this paper argues that a crucial yet understudied and undertheorized effect of “fast news” is what I have called “media amnesia” (Basu 2018). Over the years, as the crisis developed from a banking meltdown to recession, public debt crises and slump, its causes, effects, and possible solutions were re-framed multiple times. This re-framing process involved the forgetting and misremembering of prior coverage, sometimes coverage from only a few months previously. Media amnesia has ideological outcomes. In this case, it has helped re-attribute blame for the crisis onto public sectors, immigrants and the poor, and has legitimised crisis-responses that transfer resources upwards, such as austerity and further privatization.

The paper analyses media amnesia within a critical theory framework that connects theories of social acceleration to theories of amnesia as a pervasive feature of capitalism, and of neoliberal, “fast” capitalism in particular. The economic crisis offers a rare opportunity to follow coverage over a period of several years – few phenomena remain in the public eye continuously for that long a time. As well as an empirical analysis of media coverage of the crisis and an innovative theoretical perspective through the concept of media amnesia, the project aims to make a methodological contribution to the study of long-term news cycles.

Algorithmic Capitalism, Surplus Value Accumulation and the Redistribution of Digital Wealth

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Recent years have seen a surge of academic interest in studying the biases of algorithms and automation (e.g. Diakopoulous, 2014; Napoli, 2014; Helberger, 2016; Tambini, 2016; Pasquale, 2017). The focus is mostly on political bias, much less on the algorithmically-enabled capture of digital advertising investments worldwide. On the other hand, critical political economy of communication perspectives emphasize the economic dimension of data flows, including the commodification of internet users' everyday lives (Prodnik, 2014); exploitation of digital labour (e.g. Fisher, 2015; Fuchs, 2010; Fuchs and Sevignani, 2013); as well as accumulation of surplus value by processing information and metadata (Pasquinelli 2009; 2015). In this presentation, I will connect these fields together in what can, provisionally, be labelled a critique of algorithmic capitalism.

Alphabet Inc. (Google) and Facebook capture more than half of the total digital market value in most European countries. The exact share depends on the size of the respective internet population, internet advertising per capita and the size of the national digital advertising market (Winseck, 2017). I argue that such systemic, digital advertising drainage provides a clear example of a 'market failure' (Bator, 1958; Pickard, 2013; 2016) in which the market inefficiently produces and allocates communication. Ultimately, it results in poor quality news and impoverished democracy. To support the thesis, I will analyse digital advertising capture by Google and Facebook in European countries in the past two years based on market reports, IAB benchmark reports and other sources. I will also provide theoretical and normative directions for criticizing algorithmic capitalism and for demanding democratic distribution of digital wealth.

From Authorship to Citizenship: Citizen Journalism and the Limits of Intellectual Property

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The practice of citizen journalism, as an example of user generated content, has been under-explored from an intellectual property perspective. Where copyright law privileges the author as the source of a work, citizen journalism presents us with a practice that cannot be accommodated within existing copyright law conceptions of authorship because it produces both literary and other works (in which copyright may or may not subsist) but is better understood as a practice that far exceeds the limited conceptualisation of the author in copyright law. Initiatives, such as the Creative Commons copyright license, aim to create a legal framework for the creative work of scientists, educators and artists and others to be shared and allow for new outputs to encompass the creative use and remix of other common members' work. However, while these efforts allow citizen journalists to create sharable and yet legally protected public items, they leave out the question of the political role played by journalism in society. Citizen journalism presents us with an example of commons-based news production in which the 'author' and their 'works' are only one part of a broader project of the production of citizenship.

This paper thus argues that the practice of citizen journalism and the digital dissemination of news both challenge dominant conceptions of authorship by reimagining the author as citizen while at the same time demonstrating that the practice of citizen journalism is itself increasingly vulnerable to commodification.

Communicative Competence of the Personality in Contemporary Media Space

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The interest to the issue of communicative competence of the personality arises in connection with the decrease of the institutional influence on virtual communication and the emergence of the anomic state in social state – on one hand and the gradual formation of individualized norms and methods of self- regulation of communication – on the other hand.

The formation of communicative competence of the personality requires research attention in conditions of increase virtual interactions.

These are revealed in the research of the communicative competence that mechanism functioning of the communicative competence changes in conditions of virtuality. Self-regulation of individual behavior is required in the form of design rules of communication the basis of a subjective social reality. That mechanism generates new forms and methods of communications in virtual interactions and uses in media communications – i.e. blogs, political shows etc. The media used different game forms - trolling, flaming, gamification, aberration, performances and others which are provided by self-regulations communicative competence of the personality. This game is a tool to simplify complicated social structures of life. Its form allows seeing situation of communication as unreal. Perception situation as unreal helps to overcome its uncertainty.

The social impact of this kind of game becomes essential (for example: trolling in journalism, world politics and international economics) to solve pragmatic tasks. The destruction of social relations which is based on the destabilization of the ethics of network communication when aggressive trolling and offensive behavior is attractive. This situation takes the participants from the social meaning of the interaction and is regarded as competent communicative action which led to desirable social outcomes.

This is the modern media of social space and its forms as a manifestation of communicative competence.

Mediated Modern (Un)love Stories and Female Empowerment: Consuming Emotional Feminist Identities and Lifestyles on French Women's Social Networking Sites

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The idea of love has been adopting a new romantic form, and it is even believed to conspire with modern capitalism, a cooperation that has, so far, caused great misery. However, this cooperation, in which feminist identities translate into an eminent trend that plays on one's introspection of intimacy and lifestyle, melded in the form of female empowerment, is still worth considering in media studies. The sociologies of culture and communication have long, but unknowingly, been working to articulate the space between cultural practices and one's conception. This approach focuses on the complex social mentality that links cultural consumption and the introspective self, which is indeed inundated with media discourses.

This paper considers how feminist identities are understood as the socially situated deployment and inform the norms and values that shape cultural and media productions and conventions, and vice versa, particularly in French online media discussions about the ideal imagining of female singlehood. It also explores how feminist criticism has influenced one's reception and interpretation of media discourses, daily lifestyle, and intimacy. To highlight the intersection between sociological issues of embodiment and emotions within communication, this paper focuses on the images, online interactions, and the related cultural practices around the discussions about 'single Parisian women' on three main French women's social networking sites.

The 'bachelorette' has become increasingly visible in popular discourses in many countries, especially in highly consumerist societies such as France, where consumption is considered an inherent aspiration in the modern self. While the lifestyles of single women have often been rebuffed and deemed a last resort, conflicts in romantic relationships have been considered manageable risks. In this regard, discourses of intimacy have proliferated on many social networking sites to introduce imagined senses of intimacy, femininity, and livelihood, encouraging 'spinsters' to adopt an alternative lifestyle shaped by feminine charm, self-fulfilment, and autonomy.

Comparative literary analyses and in-depth interviews shed light on the relations between actors, texts, and social contexts to identify the potential emotional structure underpinning this preference for identity-choosing and -claiming. This paper also helps to demonstrate the ways in which individualistic languages converge with emotions in a specific form of femininity—one that structures media and consumerist practices to produce competing categories of normalized intimacy and lifestyles. An overview of the transformation of gendered values in cultural consumption also allows an examination of the genesis of the sexualization of lifestyles in contemporary societies and, in some cases, within feminism.

Zombie Movements: Beyond Lifecycle Theories of Online Connective Action

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With few notable exceptions (see, for example, Tarrow, 2011) literature about social movements' lifecycle largely draws upon biological analogies and highlights issues of organizational change. These frameworks, with their emphasis on issues such as formalization and institutionalization, misrepresent social movements' structure downplaying their networked nature; secondly, they rely on teleological linear depictions of history; finally, they reduce structural transformations to merely internal organizational issues. With a focus on collective identity and mobilization patterns, this paper emphasizes discontinuous phases of aggregative polycentrality and cultural fragmentation (Fenton, 2008) whereby a continuous negotiation of collective identity takes place between organizers, activists, and external forces. This process is problematized by the affordances offered by the algorithmic filters and the communication protocols of the technologies adopted for both internal and external communications. Moreover, the paper illustrates phases of transformation where networked movements may evolve into online mobilizing structures (see McCarthy, 1997, for a definition.) In these phases of transformation networked movements cease to exist, but its pages and groups on platforms such as Facebook may survive and act as 'zombie movement platforms,' with significant potential for circulation of information and large-scale mobilization and action. The empirical basis for the argument proposed is built upon the case study of the Italian social movement 'Il Popolo Viola' ('The Purple People'), analysed in a longitudinal analysis between 2009 and 2016, from its inception in October 2009 to the initiatives of mobilization in conjunction with the referenda of June 2011 and December 2016, successfully carried out in spite of the movement's breakdown in February 2011.

Do-It-Yourself and With the Crowd. Promises and Exploitation in the Field of Cultural Production

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Countercultures of twentieth century's last decades adopted an economic and productive model based on voluntary, not immediately paid work. Since then, the debate around self-production has pointed to specific issues related to work, income and widening access to the public. The same individual investments – of time, labor force, technical skills and social capital – in view of a desired goal can be found in the adoption of crowdfunding for the realization of cultural projects, and more generally in the use of web platforms and services to support self-production. This kind of work is inscribed within an "economy of promise", that historically governed much cultural and intellectual work and which today invests the whole sphere of labour: what remains in a potential state, both in creative and traditional sectors of work, is precisely the possibility that the reward arrives, that the promise of the economy is maintained.

The DIY enabled by digital media seems to allow, thanks to the intermediation of dedicated platforms, the valorization of the social and economic capital of the individual and a diffused profit-making from collaborative practices and the activity of connected audiences. Drawing on data emerging from past and current researches on cultural crowdfunding and self-production, our contribution intends to problematize these theoretical and political issues,

focusing on the limits of the democratization of access to resources for producing and distributing creative contents, on the experimentation of alternative modes of production to hegemonic ones on the market, and on forms of economic exploitation of self-production.

Archival Profanations: From New Enclosures to Digital Commons

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Post-Autonomia thinkers like M. De Angelis and N. Dyer-Witheford, to name but a few, have been using Marxian concepts such as primitive accumulation and enclosure even in the study of contemporary digital media. De Angelis, in particular, posits the existence of a dialectical struggle over the commons, between new forms of capitalist enclosures and movements fighting against them.

The paper identifies the archive as the *dispositif* which these two opposing forces strive to control and configure. As such, the archive is both what movements, groups and activists create through their everyday online practices as well as the specific form of enclosure through which post-Fordist capital appropriates and commodifies informational commons, users' memories, affects and knowledge.

Archives can and have been built and destroyed for all kinds of reasons. More importantly, their boundaries are constantly being, trespassed, violated and re-designed. More precisely, the *sacred* archival space can be *profaned*. Although these kinds of actions are often performed through state-sanctioned violence and legal frameworks, it is argued that what media and hacking collectives, pirate libraries and P2P networks do online are forms of *archival profanations*. Borrowing from Agamben's work on the subject, the paper contends that, in order to build digital commons, we should embrace archival profanations as a means to return information to its common use.

Communicative Capitalists as New Power Subjects: a Political Potential of the Networked Space

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The paper deals with the transformation of political communication in the digital age.

The Internet is a space constituted by relations between digital objects and digital subjects. I claim that political and media spaces not only overlap with each other but are intersected with that networked space. Thus, power relations include new subjects to whom the Web and social media gave birth. Among these subjects: traffic monopolists, network brands, and communicative capitalists. All of them have a potential to convert their “virtual” power into reality.

Meanwhile, political and media actors apply new tools to influence Internet users. Journalists and the media as subjects of the media space find themselves in an Internet traffic competition. Political actors try digital practices to communicate with the public. Events like U.S. election campaign (2016) and Russian pre-election campaign (2017) get a new dimension if the accumulation of communicative capital and its use in the struggle for power are taken into consideration.

My presentation aims to analyze political, media- and networked spaces intersection. I highlight new technologies and practices using both by mediocrats (converged political and media actors holding power on a national or transnational level) and digital subjects, particularly, the communicative capitalists. I consider four power configurations depending on whether mediocrats are strong or weak, what power communicative capitalists have, and in what relations both these groups are. The configurations I call:

- “the control” (considers strong mediocrats subjecting weak communicative capitalists);
- “the counterpropaganda” (conversely);
- “the white spots” (when both groups have not sufficient power);
- “status quo” (when communicative capitalists and mediocrats are strong enough to affect a policy competing, cooperating, or ignoring each other).

I will show how these configurations influence national policy, and how they aggravate social inequality.

Discussing and Disseminating the Meaning of the Contested Historical Symbol in the Online News

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The arena of new media is replete with conflicts over history related issues. This presentation is based on the results of the analysis of 195 online news articles that covered one public appearance of Croatian coat of arms with first field white, a symbol that exists as a divisive and contested symbol due to the fact that it was besides multiple other historical contexts used by the Nazi collaborators regime during Second World War.

The analysis aimed at examining what dominant meaning were ascribed to the symbol, how these meanings were framed and distributed in online news indicate two important patterns. First, although internet is often understood as inherently transnational space the ways in which symbol's meaning is presented reveal differences in news sites that are written in different languages that primarily address different (sub)national and other audiences. Croatian media interpret and present symbol predominantly as complex for its multiple historical uses while on the other hand some of the Croatian bordering, other world states and media that primarily cover global and regional events frame the symbol almost fully as tied to the Nazi regime or as a symbol that connotes affiliation with Nazi past.

Besides the differences in dominant meanings the contents of the Croatian news sites covering the event appear to be more diversified and authors more often offer critical reflections to the symbols semantic field. Contrary to that the rest of the media very often present literally replicated or texts with minor adjustments and therefore transmit not only the same meaning ascribed to the symbol but also the same representational practices embraced in constructing its meaning. The latter pattern indicates that, unlike prior research that saw the internet as a space that is not directly affected by the centralised state censorship and therefore potentially enables pluralising approaches to the past related subjects, that internet communication can also partially have homogenizing role regarding the discourse on such controversies.

When Biases Guide Journalism: the Role of Media Conglomerates and Counter-Hegemonic Media in Shaping the Political Scenario

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Guided by the commodification of journalistic content and the spectacularization of political news, the mode of operation of media conglomerates and IT companies brought attention to the concept of democracy either in the sense of public participation in governments or of presence of multiple voices in the discursive arena. This work aims analysing the role played by traditional media conglomerates and IT companies (e.g. Google, Facebook) in shaping the news environment regarding the coverage of political events and how counter-hegemonic media responds to it. From the Political Economy of Communication perspective we discuss the use of online platforms to disseminate and to amplify political points of view and its implication on social changes, specially regarding political polarization and the rise of conservative and nationalist discourses as observed in the elections of United States, Brazil and the Brexit referendum. We apply the theoretical framework of McChesney (2003) regarding the biases that guide professional journalism to compare the performance of traditional media and counter-hegemonic media on the online environment during the 2014 elections in Brazil, the process of impeachment of the former President Dilma Rousseff and the 2018 political scenario for Brazilian elections. We chose Brazil as a case study because it experienced significant social changes in the last decade under the government of Workers Party, influencing other economies in Latin America and joined the BRICS economic block. However Brazil is now facing the return of old problems such as high levels of unemployment, the advancement of poverty, partly caused by cuts to social benefits and the freezing of public spending for up to 20 years.

Can Algorithmic Knowledge About the Self be Critical?

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Knowledge about the self is increasingly mediated by algorithms, processing big data generated by users' engagement with digital. These algorithms portend a new epistemology of the self, a new conception of what humans are. I ask (1) What is the nature of the new epistemology of the self to which algorithms give rise? (2) Can this epistemology lead to critical knowledge about the self? To answer these questions I compare algorithmic knowledge about the self with the psychoanalytic knowledge, an epitome of critical knowledge about the self.

Both epistemes share assumptions regarding the inability of the mind to have direct access to the true self, and a methodology aimed at bypassing the mind by accessing performance. While psychoanalytic knowledge was a cultural dominant of self-knowledge in the 20th century, algorithmic knowledge is an emerging cultural dominant of contemporary society, either intentionally (as in the case of the quantified self) or not (as in a plethora of personalized digital interfaces geared to tap users' feelings, attitudes, and desires).

While psychoanalytical knowledge is theoretical, assumes a human essence, a teleology of quasi-transcendence, and a reflexive mind, algorithmic knowledge is intently a-theoretical, assumes no human essence, and "outsources" reflection to the algorithmic black-box, thus undercutting the reflexive and interpretive capacities of subjects. Algorithmic knowledge, I argue, operationalizes and technologizes the notion of performativity, thus also threatens to undercut the critical potentialities of the self.

I ponder the possible political ramifications of this move to a new episteme, which transforms the self from a subjective, interpretive, and critical project, the horizons of which are expanding human and social freedom into an object to be deciphered and predicted.

The “Paradox of Pluralism” Online: The Public Sphere Between the Phenomenon of Polarisation and the Ideal of Concordia Discors

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According to the pluralist approach, diversity and dissent are values that enable the development of liberty and can benefit both individuals and the public sphere. However, as Sartori underlines, in order to produce pluralism, different parties need to interact with one another within a single system, the political community, in order to produce a *concordia discors*, i.e. consent driven by disagreement.

The aim of this essay is to offer a key for interpreting the changes in the public sphere as a result of the spread of digital communication technologies. Our thesis is that we are currently witnessing the development of a “paradox of online pluralism”, between a quantitative and qualitative level: the internet has increased the possibility for everyone to make their voice heard (in *quantitative* terms), but at the same time it appears to also be increasing the distance between voices, rendering opinions more polarised and restricted to echo chambers, thus putting in jeopardy the achievement of the aims of the pluralist political system (in *qualitative* terms).

Therefore, we run the risk of undermining the possibility of pluralism becoming a *concordia discors*, as opposed to a mere differentiation of voices. The final part of the essay looks at future lines of research. In particular, it is worth examining whether there could be online communication practices (e.g. fact-checking, platforms for informed civic engagement) that could reduce or invert the trend of the “paradox of pluralism”.

Media Literacy – The Mean of Suppression of Fake News and Propaganda in the Cyber Communication Era

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With the development of the Internet and the growing presence of digital / cyber communication, theoreticians' expectations from the democratization of media and information grew. It was believed that the global information village would bring greater media freedom, and thus greater media literacy of citizens free from censorship and control over the media. But, contrary to the initial expectations, the strengthening of the influence of social networks (often as the first and, in many cases, the only source of information) has caused strengthening of the influence of false news and propaganda content. Mainstream media often uncritically download information posted on social networks from unreliable sources (such as a front groups) without prior verification of this information. Unfortunately, information agencies also often do the same thing. The accuracy of information for all types of media today is far less important than number of clicks and overviews of some media content. In the society of the spectacle abuse of the big data collected and analysed through social networks can even change outcomes of a referendum, or presidential elections. Considering the fact that the correlation between the degree of media literacy and the democratic development of some society has been proved, this paper explores the media literacy awareness of Twitter users in Croatia (primarily journalists, influencers and politicians) and their perception of their own consumption and dissemination of false news via social networks.

The Ideological Discourse on Start-ups: Media, Public Policies and Patterns of Subjectification

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In my speech, I propose to analyze the relationship between start-up ideology, policy discourse and patterns of subjectification. Discussing the results of a research carried out in Apulia (Italy) between 2015 and 2017, I primarily will show that the start-up ideology - propagated through websites, magazines, TV programs and other centers of cultural production - is not a mere communicative phenomenon: translating it on a concrete level, in fact, the Apulian policy-maker placed it at the foundation of the public policies for young people, contributing to generate a discourse that, in a Foucaultian sense, has assumed a normative tenor, able to produce and to demand specific patterns of subjectification.

The beneficiaries of these policies were young men described with an industrious ethos, shaped on the ideal-type of the Florida's creative class and characterized by skills, attitudes and endowments of social and cultural capitals which are typical of the "entrepreneur of himself". It's the founder of start-ups, in fact, the desired product of the policies, which are placed in a cultural regime encapsulated within the dynamics and contradictions of digital capitalism.

At this stage, it seems necessary to ask:

- Who are the start-uppers "produced" by the public policies?
- How do they live?
- Which cultural logics, life strategies and social trajectories are proper to them?
- How do they justify their actions and socialize themselves to the start-up values?
- How do they put their subjectivity to work?

Based on the analysis of interviews with the founders of digital start-ups beneficiaries of the Apulian policies, I will answer these questions, trying to disclose the functioning of the link between the ideological discourses on start-ups, the role of public policies and the processes of subjectivation.

Regulating the Internet Intermediaries in a Post-Truth Era

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The present media ecology has been called by some the era of ‘platform capitalism’ or the ‘attention economy’, in which personal data ‘is the new oil’. There are significant structural reasons to see this particular moment as something deeper. The new platforms, like Facebook and Google are two-sided markets, attracting data-providing consumers at limited costs and selling their tracked attention to advertisers; they hold unprecedented structural market power due to the benefits of ‘network effects’, soaking up the bulk of online and especially mobile advertising; their dominance and reach allows them to make unparalleled investments in new technologies of artificial intelligence, cloud computing and machine learning.

These issues came more fully to public attention during 2016 in the context of the UK referendum on EU membership and the US Presidential election, principally around arguments about ‘Fake News’. Part of the purpose of this article is to address some of the political, policy and regulatory issues which arise. The focus by the mainstream media on issues relating to the power of the internet intermediaries over the past twelve months has been valuable, but policy solutions have been scarce. There has been increasing attention, in respect of demands on the major internet intermediaries to clamp down on hate speech, terrorist materials, privacy concerns, and so on. The internet intermediaries are not beyond the law and can be regulated. This paper discusses some of the approaches which are being developed and argues for a new category of ‘information utilities’ which would encompass truly dominant internet intermediaries such as Facebook and Google.

Let's Pretend It Isn't There. On the Neglect of Class Conflicts in Consensus Communication About Sustainability Visions

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This paper examines sustainable development discourses while addressing the neoliberal structures within which these discourses take place. The analysis focuses on public information in the case of municipality citizen magazines with the (democratic) assignment to communicate sustainability visions and actions to the local residents. It is argued here that these sustainability discourses hold an inherent conflict and perform the paradoxical act of being political in a neutral way. It has been pointed out that public information texts highlighting the subject of sustainability avoid more confrontational class politics by focusing on collaboration and consensus that wishes to emphasize the non-ideological character of sustainability (Raco and Lin, 2012). One possible dilemma arising in this technical, consensual part of authority communication is how to discursively approach issues in the sociopolitical context that can have a negative impact on sustainability. According to Fuchs (2017) questions about capitalism and class are largely neglected when actions that support increased sustainability are being promoted within our society. The aim of this paper is therefore to examine how communication practices maneuver discursively in the paradox of putting the accent on sustainable solutions while being situated within a neoliberal context where unsustainability in terms of gaps between different social groups is increasing. Following the work of scholars in the tradition of Frankfurt School ideology critique who argue that sustainability in fact is highly ideological (e.g. Luke, 2005, Redclift and Woodgate, 2013, Fuchs, 2017) underlying assumptions about class and capitalism in mainstream sustainability discourses will be analyzed.

Environmental Risks (Non) Communication? Media Discourses Around the Ecological Compensation in Urban Infrastructure Projects

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Urban infrastructure projects raise the standard of living in urban areas. However, the development of these projects usually endangers the surrounding natural environment. In most of the cases, it is impossible to avoid the negative effects. Therefore, it becomes extremely important to have ecological compensation mechanisms enabling to compensate for the environmental losses. In this context, the role of our popular media is very significant: communicating about the urban infrastructure projects, highlighting their benefits and / or potential risks can encourage or discourage an application of ecological compensation measures.

This presentation aims at discussing the media discourses around the urban infrastructure projects in Lithuania. The main focus is on the environmental risks these projects encompass, the ecological compensation measures and how they are communicated. An author would specifically address the following questions: what risks of urban infrastructure projects are discursively constructed? What kind of rhetorical measures are used and which storylines are dominant? What power relations are emerging and what kind of discourse coalitions are formed? Are media discourses encouraging or discouraging the ecological compensation measures in urban infrastructure projects in Lithuania?

Results presented in this conference are excerpts of a wider project "The perception and practices of ecological compensation: urban infrastructure projects in Lithuania and Sweden (EnCom)". The project is based on multiple case study approach, and in Lithuania focuses on these urban infrastructural projects: cogeneration power plant in Vilnius, Western bypass in Vilnius, construction of sludge treatment facilities in Kaunas, development of residential area, commercial building construction Klaipėda, and recreational park in Siauliai town. The research data includes texts from various stakeholders published in popular media channels. The content of the media is analysed using critical discourse analysis strategy and NVivo software.

Corporate Ideological Discourses on Openness

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Democratic society depends on open access to information and knowledge for their citizens. For the citizen open access to information is a necessary condition for the free opinion formation that is one of democracy's cornerstones. Openness as a concept has had a revival during the last few decades related to issues concerning new digital ICTs. Open source software code, open knowledge platforms like Wikipedia, open social networking and content platforms as Facebook and Youtube, open access and open university courses (MOOCs) within academia, and open data related to notions of open government, have all contributed to this. Openness has increasingly, and in several differing ways, been used ideologically by corporate, political and NGO-based actors during this period. The former capitalist strategy, based on denying access to informational goods, has reach some limits because of digital ICT's affordances, and the contemporary capitalist strategy therefore involves alternative business models that all make use of the concept *open*. This paper identifies ideological uses of openness by corporate and political actors in order to hide the actual exploitation going on within their business or within the business they facilitate. For example: open government's discourses on transparency and accountability, Facebook's talk of social connectedness, Youtube's creative prosumer culture, and the commons-supporting of Red Hat. The exploitation goes on by relating differing regulatory enclosures of services, that to some extent are built on either open data, code or content (but never all of them open at the same time), to the their various revenue models, as well as their exploitation of users' productive activities, citizens' data generating actions, or non-remunerated wage labour. Finally, the paper contrasts the various mixes of enclosures, exploitative relations and revenue models with the ideological discourses on openness surrounding them.

Social and Political Change on the Front Pages of Croatian Daily Newspaper – Case Study of the 1960s

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By analyzing noun frequencies and by grouping them thematically, the research will analyze *Večernji list*, Croatia's longest running national daily newspaper, published since 1959. The goal is to see whether it is possible to detect social and political change in the country through the analysis of front pages' headlines. In literature, social change is defined as "a transformation in the organization of society and in patterns of thought and behavior through time" (Macionis, 1987: 638 as cited by Sztompka, 1993: 6).

The research is exploratory since the topic has not been extensively studied apart from the study by Danielson and Lasorsa who analyzed the social change on the front pages of *The New York Times* and *The Los Angeles Times* in the course of 100 years and concluded how "the flow of symbols through time does seem to reflect real social change" (1997: 114).

The used method is thematic text analysis in terms of assessing "the presence or absence of theme" as well as "the attempt to measure the intensity, as reflected in the frequency with which the theme is present" (Stone, 1997: 38). Thematic analysis is based on the assumption of "a relation between the occurrence of themes and the interest in these themes by the producer of the text" (Popping, 2000: 39).

The research is divided by decades and in first phase will include the period from 1959 to 1969. The sample of front pages was generated using a computer algorithm that randomly selected a date for each month in the given year span (analysis of 114 front pages for the 1960s). This first phase is expected to provide themes and values that prevailed on front pages in 1960s while the ultimate goal of the research is to see how these themes changed through decades (year span 1959-2019) along with the changes in political and economic system (self-governing socialism in contrast to capitalism in democracy).

Media Frames of the Refugee Crisis in Serbia

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The increase of the flow of people from Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan seeking refuge in Europe since 2015 has caused severe pan-European crisis, which induced diverse political, security and humanitarian, national and supranational responses. The crisis has been studied from many angles, but general consensus about the interactive relationship between media coverage of the crisis and public and political discourse about the crisis exists. Research which examine how media visualize refugees (Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2017), manage refugees voices (Chouliaraki & Zaborowski, 2017), represent (Franquet Dos Santos Silva & Brurås, 2018) or frame (Caviedes, 2015) the European refugee crisis recognize that discourses of the crisis are shaped by political agendas as well as processes of simultaneous politicization and mediatization of immigration (Krzyżanowski et al., 2018). The aim of this paper is to broaden our knowledge about the patterns of mediatization and politicization by analyzing media frames of the refugee crisis in Serbia.

Media coverage of the crisis dating from 2015 until 2017 and reported in six daily newspapers and four national TV stations (including their online versions) was included in the analysis. Based on inductive reading of media texts and previous studies (Benson & Wood, 2015; Kim et al, 2011) we have pre-defined: three “problem” frames (differentiating problems for political system, society and refugees); two “causal” frames (ascribing (un)legitimate causes to migration); and two “solution” frames (introducing humanitarian/defensive measures).

Additionally, for the problem and solution frames the attribution to external (outside Serbia) or internal (Serbian) actors was coded. Results of our research demonstrate that “legitimate” refugees are mostly portrayed as problem for external political systems and societies, which usually exercise defensive solutions, while Serbia’s response to crisis was highly “humane”.

Our findings align with previous conclusions according to which media and political debates are nationally contextualized in relation to: transit/destination position of the country; past experiences with seeking or offering refuge; levels of Euro-skepticism and strength of right wing political actors (Triandafyllidou, 2017). In that respect Serbia represents the transit country, with recent experience in hosting refugees from ex-Yugoslav territories during the civil wars in the 90-ties, and with strong pro EU integration politics since 2000. Such characteristics allow specific way of mediated politicizing of the crisis, which could be further interpreted within the theory of crisis exploitation introduced by Boin et al. (2009). Namely, mainstream Serbian political actors have exploited crisis generated framing contestations at the European level to portray internal solutions as “good” in comparison to “bad” external management of crisis, in order to marginalize internal oppositional frames and avoid dealing with policy impacts of crisis.

The Communication of “Terror”: The “Frames” in the European Newspapers

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In a historical moment marked by profound changes, the sense of uncertainty, instability, and mistrust felt by the people seems to pour into a symbolic target that, in some cases, coincides with the image of an individual or group of people who may pose a threat (an example is the Islamic world vs. the western world). These dynamics are strongly influenced by the information conveyed by mass media in their dual role as both mediators of reality and *opinion leaders*; this aspects are particularly relevant if we consider the media’s ability to offer the public representations (and so, *frames*) on which to base and restructure interactions and social actions. The news about terrorist attacks often act as a sounding board for some social issues, such as crime, protection, and the safety of individuals and entire communities, which, when considered in their entirety, may give rise to situations defined as moral panics, *i.e. general alarm*. In support of the above, the present paper aims at illustrating a comparison of the *media frames* offered by some of the main European national newspapers of four episodes related to four European countries: Nice on July 14, 2016; Berlin on December, 19, 2016; London on June 3, 2016 and, Barcelona on August 17, 2017. The reason for this choice regard the “nature” of the episodes themselves: we are talking about a truck threw on the crowd. The *frames* proposed for the description and interpretation of the events, could help in spreading within the public opinion a sense of *general alarm* measured, for example, by public surveys that become representative of a kind of reality perceived dangerous and unstable.

Pluralizing the Immigration Issue: Discursive Strategies in the Italian Newspapers Arena

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This paper presents the most relevant results of a survey aimed to analyse the building process of the “immigration issue” as a result of the interaction among political actors, news media and civil society in Italy. The survey analyses and compares three six-month samples in 2008, 2014 and 2017, years in which important focusing events occur, determining turning points and frame-shifting phases. The two examined outlets are *Corriere della Sera* and *la Repubblica*, the most circulated and influential newspapers in Italy, particularly devoted to articulate the public debate through a multi-perspective approach.

We present original research data deriving from the content analysis of the news coverage by the above mentioned two newspapers. We analyse the following primary dimensions, in a longitudinal approach: 1) the sub-issues; 2) the actors who gain visibility in the media arena; 3) their represented interaction; 4) the concurrent frames around which the debate is organized; 5) the role of the newsrooms’ strategies.

Results show that, in all sample-periods, in the Italian papers arena a re-arrangement of the source-setting takes place: the central role of the domestic political actors is antagonized by the positioning of numerous actors of the civil society (especially in 2008 and 2017) and by the intervention of the European Union (especially in 2014).

This evolution of the main actors’ standing brings interesting consequences on the interaction dynamics, as a salient factor in redefining the issue frame. Such process is favoured by the logics adopted by the two outlets, that commit to advocate against racism, to support hospitality policies, and to verify the effectiveness of the government role.

Communication for “Patient Liberation”. The Role of New Media in the Case of CCSVI in Multiple Sclerosis (MS)

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In Western societies, it seems necessary to reflect on the dominant medical model, which often assigns the patient a marginal position with respect to political and economic issues. The case of the recent Italian scientific discovery of CCSVI (Chronic Cerebrospinal Venous Insufficiency) as a possible cause of Multiple Sclerosis (MS), appears emblematic and indicative of how the disclosure and dissemination of a new discovery that could prove decisive for patients, has been opposed by official medicine, represented here by the traditional neurological approach, while it has found its greatest diffusion online, through the mobilization produced mostly by worldwide patients suffering from multiple sclerosis.

The article examines some opportunities for change observable in the communication of new media, which in our case have become weapons in favour of a possible “patient liberation”. “Liberation Treatment” has, in fact, been defined as the treatment resulting from scientific discovery, consisting in the removal of venous obstructions by angioplasty, and “Liberation War” is the name given to the action of patients with MS requesting the recognition of the new treatment.

The methodologies used are online patients survey and doctor interviews; the analysis of documents and texts produced online by doctors and patients. It was found that web tools play a significant role in the dissemination of information and in raising patients’ awareness, in developing mutual support and in the production of collective actions, and finally, in generating a shift in public opinion towards a “liberation” recognized to patients.

The Digital Inequality and Labour Transformations. The Need to Take Digital Competences Into Account to Secure a Decent Work

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Digitization is driving massive labour market transformation across the globe. The paradigm called "Industry 4.0" is a new socio-technical system that reconfigures the relationship between people, organizations, technologies and production systems, proposing a new relationship between society and industry in the name of digitalization process (Mazali, 2017). Industry 4.0 enabling technologies are: interconnected collaborative robots and additive manufacturing, augmented reality and virtualization and simulation of processes, the vertical and horizontal integration of information inside and outside the industries (integration along the value chain from producer to consumer), industrial Internet systems; cloud storage systems and big data analytics and cybersecurity. The Industry 4.0 combines the model of automation with a model that adopts the characteristic features of the digital culture: knowledge-based systems, a pervasive use of sensor technology, process flexibility and adaptability.

The technological environment 4.0 requires new literacies and competences (Piaac-Ocse, 2013; EU, 2013) to ensure the updating of workers. Digital competence becomes more and more a key concept in discussions on the kind of skills workers need in the Industry 4.0 paradigm. The role of digital literacy becomes central to reduce social inequalities (Warschauer, 2003), in the new workplaces too.

As the sociologist Jan Van Dijk (2005) explains, digital inequalities are defined in terms of mental access, material access, skill access, usage access. Briefly, Van Dijk defines a multi-faced concept of access, conceived as the total process of appropriation of a new technology. Actions to improve digital skills should not be put in place just to improve productivity, but also to create better jobs. This objective is clear in the slogan of the German trade unions: "better, not cheaper" and "good and fair job" (Industry-Science Research Alliance and Acatech, 2013).

The paper proposed here specifically examines these issues, describing some case studies from an empirical survey conducted in some Italian SMEs, in the year 2018.

New Services, Old Logic: The Role of Oligopolies, Walled Gardens and Intellectual Property Rights in Shaping Audiovisual Markets Such as Pay-TV and VoD

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Information and Communication areas have experienced relevant changes in the last decade regarding the structures and dynamics of the sectors mostly in order to serve the capital needs. Back at the Fordist period, television, radio and cinema were the most efficient means to create a mass of consumers to products thought to be massified, even though there were some counter-hegemonic movements later. The digitization process has promoted deep changes in cultural industries business model and Internet has been playing a central role in the *Informational Capitalism* (Castells, 2009; Dantas, 2013) allowing the rise of new platforms as Pay TV, platforms Over the Top and services like Video on Demand (VoD). Far from being an alternative to the traditional media, the new services and platforms seem to reproduce the same characteristics of the old ones: ownership concentration and scarcity of voice and representation of the majority of population, as can be seen through the lack of content plurality and the misrepresentation of minority groups. Based on the theoretical framework of Political Economy of Communication, this work reflects on political, economic, social and regulatory issues related to the provision of audiovisual content through network industries, understood as a subset of cultural industries dependent on a network for the transport and distribution of contents, which include services such as Pay-TV, VoD and various entertainment services provided on the Internet. I analyse the structures and dynamics of this business segment and discuss the key issues in the regulation of the markets focused on audiovisual to domestic consumption such as the Pay-TV and VoD services, regarding: 1) presence of local content and how it is financed and highlighted in order to compete with international productions; 2) compliance of foreign companies with local legislation, once the process of spacialization has allowed a deeper participation of those companies in markets around the globe; 3) fair competition between major and small providers, ensuring new players and voices in the market, and 4) plurality of contents available and recommendation systems.

The 'Greferendum' and the Eurozone Crisis in the Danish Daily Press

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The presentation will be based on the findings of an article published by the journal of Race and Class in early 2018, co-authored by Yiannis Mylonas and Matina Noutsou. It concerns a critical analysis of the press coverage of the so-called 'Greferendum', a referendum called by the Left-led coalition government of Greece in July 2015, concerning the future of austerity regimes in the country. The study focuses at the coverage of the particular event by the conservative daily press of Denmark, one of the 'core' EU countries, which is not part of the Eurozone. In the last decades, the Danish public sphere has seen the mainstreaming of what has been described as 'liberal intolerance', where themes and frames of mind that was considered as typically racist, begun being articulated with liberal terminology, emphasizing cultural 'deficiencies' as acute reasons for social problems. This study was based in the collection and analysis of all relevant articles published in newspapers 'Berlingske Tidende' and 'Jyllands Posten' between the 29th of June, when the decision for the 'Greferendum' was publicly announced, and the 17th of July, after the 'Greferendum' results became public, and the Greek government's eventual caving in to its creditors demands (as represented by the 'Troika') for the continuation of austerity regimes. The articles selected were read and coded according to the main themes they included in their developing of the Greek crisis, austerity and referendum case. These codes were then organized according to three, interrelated, broad thematic categories, based on relevant critical theory analyzing hegemonic public discourses. The broad thematic categories are "a post-democratic realism", "the upper-class gaze" and "orientalism and cultural racism". The study concludes that all newspapers reproduce the prevailing hegemonic frames in favour of austerity that circulate in other European public spheres too. The hegemonic, culturalist-moralistic approach to the crisis is reproduced.

Inside a Protest Film Project

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Approaching the Fallist student movement, one is confronted with struggles of framing and presentation. Beginning in 2015 and up until today, student activists in South Africa have brought statues to fall and are organising a variety of protests, demanding 'free decolonized education'. Fallists present themselves mainly through social media platforms, such as Twitter hashtags and Facebook pages. Here, they align Fallism to the historical master frame of black liberation and anti-apartheid struggles. In the contested field of public media discourse, they also frame Fallism as an intersectional movement, led and inspired by black radical feminism. I have worked together with activists at the University of Pretoria in 2017, to create a protest film, which is part of that same framing process. As a white German researcher, film has been a tool and possibility of conducting militant feminist and decolonial research, not on Fallism, but with Fallists and for the purposes and utopias of their movement. Today, I am writing my master thesis on this film project, researching the use of film and social media platforms in the process of representing and framing Fallism. I would like to present our film and my thesis at the ESARN18 conference, depicting counter-narratives and images of resistance in a struggle for decolonisation, currently happening at South African universities.

Structural Changes in the (Greek) Communication System at the “End” of the Crisis

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Some less or more important economic, social, political and cultural changes take place in Greece in the current period which various actors characterize as “the beginning of the end of crisis”. The same happens in the Greek mediascape. First, there is a change in the composition of the group of so-called “Press Barons” or media moguls, which now consists of a part of old and new businessmen in the field who are also actively involved in non-media business areas. Some old corporations either closed or sold while new ones appeared in the foreground. Secondly, as a consequence of the former, new media organizations emerged as they also changed their political-ideological orientation of their “ancestors”. Overall, the physiognomy, orientation and the relationships between the various media as a whole have changed. Thirdly, a feature, particularly of new media tycoons, is that their activity, and hence the funding of their resources, does not depend on the direct or indirect state funding, while growth tendencies, however, limited, are observed in advertising revenues, it seems cannot be a trustful source of media funding. Losses and unpaid loans still have many of the Greek media. Thus, the overcoming (?) of crisis leads to an unknown up to now transformation of the media sector in an EU Southern country. The presentation will discuss some of the possible ways which the Greek media can follow in the near future.

Child Sexual Abuse News: A Systematic Review of Content Analysis Studies

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Public knowledge and attitudes towards child sexual abuse (CSA) are shaped through media depictions and coverage. Since the media are the main source of information about child sexual abuse, studies of CSA news can help us understand how news is created, how child sexual abuse is presented to the public, and what is the possible impact of such presentation and coverage on the audience. Despite positive potential of CSA news (e.g., primary prevention, development of public policy, alarming public, encouraging victims to disclose sexual abuse), news may support CSA myths (incorrect beliefs about CSA, victims, and perpetrators), violate children's right to privacy and dignity, victimize survivors, create moral panic, become a sort of guide to abusers or even sexually explicit material.

A systematic review of content analysis research is conducted using predefined criteria in order to identify quality studies, main findings, research gaps and to develop recommendations for future studies of CSA news. International databases were systematically searched using keywords in September 2017. Total of 24 original quantitative content analysis studies published in the English language was included in the review and evaluated according to research methodology (units of analysis, sampling, coding and intercoder reliability).

The framework of child sexual abuse news media studies is developed: 1) presentation and coverage of child sexual abuse (n = 16); 2) prevalence of coverage of CSA cases reported to the authorities (n = 2); 3) presentation and coverage of specific child sexual abuse case or issue (n = 6). Conceptualization of identified theories (framing theory, agenda setting theory, newsworthiness theory, moral panic theory and theory of stigmatization) is evaluated and main findings highlighted. Although studies represent valuable contribution, most did not meet content analysis design and reporting standards or both (e.g. calculating intercoder reliability), which seriously compromises validity and replicability requirements. Research gaps, recommendations for future studies and most common errors in conducting content analysis are emphasized.

Online Media and Potential for Civic Action Among the Adolescents in Croatia

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Exposure of children and young people to various sources of information and availability of online networking tools are increasing in a manner that is hard to measure. Online sources are a potential tool for education, raising awareness of the social values and issues faced by members of a community or a society in general. Young people embrace certain values and behaviours towards their peers and members of the society at a relatively early age. At the same time, data show that young people (aged 15-29) in Croatia are inclined to use an online social sphere in a relatively private manner and rarely for undertaking actions that would have impact on a society outside their narrow community. Currently, Croatia is at the verge of social transformations, with a very strong re-traditionalisation in social and political domains and with economic indicators that are far from recovery. A successful democratic consolidation of post-socialist societies depends, among other things, on their citizens' political culture, younger generations included. In such a context, it is of the utmost importance to obtain insights into the development of democratic potential and peer and civic actions among adolescents, who will be the leading force in social transformations in the next decades. This paper aims at inter-connecting insights from the longitudinal surveys conducted in Croatia in 1999, 2004, 2013 and 2018 on the samples of 1.500 young people (aged 15-29), with the results of the EU Kids Online survey conducted in Croatia in 2017 on a sample of 710 adolescents (aged 12-17) and their parents. The analytical framework places the research data inside the analysis of socio-political changes and transformations that Croatian society and economy have undergone since accessing the European Union.

Poverty as Television Spectacle: Shaming Low-income People on Post-socialist Reality TV

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Main aim of this paper is to explore the stigmatization of economic hardship in Czech adaptations of Reality TV programs. The paper puts emphasis on post-socialist peculiarities in cultural negotiations of wealth and poverty. It strives to contribute to the flow of research that builds on cultural rather than socio-economic definition of poverty and it frames poverty as an object of popular discourses in which it is symbolically appropriated and assigned culture-laden meanings.

Poverty is usually seen as a personal failure rather than an inevitable coincidence of structural forces which gives it a stigma of shame in almost every culture. The intensity of poverty-related shame nonetheless increases in societies that value the attainment and manifestation of wealth very highly. Post-socialist societies (including the Czech society) have replaced forced collectivism and egalitarianism of the state socialism with all the more enthusiastic embracement of the market, consumerism, material status symbols, and esteem for the economic success. Drawing on the above, the paper examines if poverty shaming, as practised in the selected Reality TV programs, can be related to the culturally specific post-socialist appreciation for private assets and financial prosperity.

The research question heralding this paper is as follows: What are the potential associations between shaming practices in the selected Reality TV programs and remnants of the socialist habitus in the life-style of low-income participants in the programs? The analysis provides detailed explorations in how is the poverty of socially weak participants televised and if the remnants of socialist era lifestyle (e.g. house equipment, family habits, work intensity or economic literacy, etc.) are used as targets for television-incited shame. The main findings are grounded in the qualitative content analysis of two local Czech adaptations of global Reality TV programs: *Wife Swap (Výměna manželek, TV Nova, 2005-17)* and *Come Dine with Me (Prostřeno, Prima, 2010-17)*.

Becoming Feminist and Hacker: The Cycle of Connected Multitudes and the “On Life” Collective Action

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Since the seminal work of Charles Tilly: *From Mobilization to Collective Action* in 1978, the study of social movements cannot ignore the forms and modalities of the actions undertaken by dissenting groups, and their transformations in time and space. In the past 25 years, the most significant change in repertoires of protest has to do with the growing importance of the Internet and the digital networks. Since the Arab Spring in 2011 until now, we see connected multitudes around the world that create symbiotic spaces in the physical and digital, *in situ* and *on line* (“ON LIFE”), with two characteristics: 1. The intensive use of digital networks which enable more reticular and distributed spaces of participation. 2. The break-up of the boundaries between the public and the private spheres, by fostering the presence of performative spaces in the streets, where “the personal is the political.”

In short, in this paper as part of a major research I will expose research advances on the following hypothesis: Each cycle of protest has specific characteristics that distinguish it from other cycles. The cycle of connected crowds is “feminizing”, it adopts a free-appropriation of feminism and puts it into practice. Also, the network is not only a means, it is constitutive of the way and prefiguring the crowds. Internet practices develops a “hacker ethics” which also permeates the collective action network. Therefore, I explore to what extent collective action is becoming more feminist and reticular. I observe in which degree this is a cross result of: 1. An important implication of women in collective action. 2. An imaginary of a diffuse feminism in all kinds of emancipatory collective action. 3. The more horizontal and connective technology tools provided by Internet.

A Dialectical View on the Public Sphere

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I will argue that a dialectical view is essential for theorising the historical transformations of the public sphere and fulfilling its emancipatory potential. This requires us to view the contradiction between universalism – the normative demand that none shall be excluded from the public use of reason – and the particularism of a class society – the need to maintain the dominance of the ruling class – as the driving force of the historical dynamic of the public sphere. I argue against two false resolutions of this contradiction. The first is that of the early Habermas, who displaces the contradiction between critical and representative publicity in a temporal sequence (the refeudalisation thesis). The other is that of some of his more radical critics, particular Negt and Kluge, who displace the contradiction into the opposition of the “bourgeois” and the “proletarian” public sphere. Instead, I argue that the public sphere must be understood as a unity of contradictions between critical and representative publicity. The public sphere is not simply bourgeois or proletarian, but is both a product as well as a site of class struggle.

Travel and Enjoy Capitalism: Rethinking Ideology today in the context of social media

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There has rarely been any systematic exploration of ideology and social media since the recent years of growth of big data and social media giants like Facebook. Although Althusser's concept of interpellation was essential to understanding the hegemonic nature of media production and viewership for older forms of media, social media have been kept out of this thread of conceptualization owing to the nature of its content and of users now being able to produce content. The contention here is that an omission of ideology critique in analyzing social media is a denial of the real subsumption of culture and subjectivity within late capitalism. This paper begins by rethinking Louis Althusser's notion of ideology as a step toward a more contemporaneous understanding of ideology utilizing a psychoanalytic-semiotic theoretical framework. While a Lacanian - Zizekian intervention explores the status of 'enjoyment' as the main object of ideological discourse today offering an understanding of how subjectivity is constructed, a semiotic analysis of the images shared online identifies precisely the social signifying practices that make representation possible. Clicking and sharing of images online is an act of communication and to that intent it is a signifying act. Semiotics then helps to identify what representations and significations are normalized. A psychoanalytic-semiotic method is put forth, along with examples from a case study on travel images shared by users on social media, as a way to situate the subject within late capitalism without isolating their subjective positions and the structures that enclose them.

Any current understanding of ideology cannot disavow the existence of neoliberalism and how it engulfs subjects and the way in which subjects relate to the social world. While subjects today are constantly interpellated by an injunction to 'Enjoy!' following Zizek, there are coinciding claims that only a neoliberal economic, social and legal framework can fulfil these desires to enjoy oneself. As Althusser argues, it is the phantasmal structure of the imagined relations which interpellates subjects into the capitalist schema. Subjects under neoliberalism are suffused by their Imaginary relationship to the ideology of "free market". If social media is free to use and users can now share whatever they like and like what everyone else shares, how can one be inscribed by any ideology? It is to be remembered that ideology does not work through coercion but through subjects recognizing themselves

within an ideological framework. While “free” is definitely the buzzword for the neoliberal markets, enjoyment is that kernel that underpins this ideology. Capitalism demands a happy consciousness, no matter if your mortgage or debts are too high, you deserve a holiday! Precarious work is marketed as being liberating, so that we can fulfil our ‘#wanderlust’ and travel to exotic locations to upload images to our Instagram accounts. While analysing social media, it is argued here that though the creation and sharing of images, videos and other such content by users online is not in itself an ideological practice, it nonetheless exists and is supported by the systems of representation within late capitalism.

Free Labour in Independent Digital Journalism. A Case Study from Romania

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Using a case study approach (based on non-structured interviews, observations, and thematic analysis of articles) and drawing on Debord's notion of spectacle, this research aims at investigating the activity of a residence of independent digital journalists/writers in Romania.

This residence's aim is to foster the production of journalistic/non-fictional content, outside the institutions that materialize the dominant world view at the social and individual level: mainstream media institutions. The journalists work for free, and they have the freedom of selecting topics and angles without editorial constraints. They are committed to the image and tools of the 'old' profession of journalism and to a revival of literary journalism: these may be understood as a quest to create a disruptive alternative to the digital spectacle. This alternative comprises: a physical space, unmediated meetings, mutual understanding, a cooperative-like organization, and the production of journalistic and non-fiction stories about subjects rejected by mainstream media and in forms avoided nowadays by mass-media.

The Issue of Participation in Brazilian Popular Media in Times of Digital Disruption

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Participation is one of the main features of popular communication according to the Latin American tradition. The principle refers to the horizontality between producers and receivers of messages and mainly to the enlarged opportunities for participating in decisions concerning communication processes. The digital disruption has increased the complexity of this discussion, as scholars such as Nico Carpentier recognizes that what can be generally classified as participation may be better described by levels that include access, interaction and the participation itself.

This communication discusses the issue of participation in popular media in times of digital disruption in Brazil, based in interviews with 55 communicators from 2013 to 2016. The debate associates participation with the construction of collective perspectives. It discusses how much a popular media outlet is based on a collective process and is capable of representing its outputs. Digital disruption increases the opportunities for citizens to express their voices through different virtual platforms individually. However, according to the popular communication approach, the search of participation is associated to a process of emancipation, where the dialogue between individuals provides them with conditions for better placing themselves in the world, identifying their rights and engaging in struggles to reach them. It is therefore important to consider the risk of falling into what Jodi Dean call as the “fantasy of participation” provided by what she denominates “communicative capitalism”.

The analytical element relates to the kind of representation that arises from these processes. Improving channels for expression is an important achievement, but it is different from the power of the collective coming from bottom-up processes. The latter are not individually based, but relational, which is different from the idea of one citizen, one smart phone, one medium.

The Unbalanced Communication of Democratic Social Movements in Spain

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Facing the rise of an “antidemocratic” camp legitimizing authoritarianisms and populisms in western countries, how social movements supporting the opposite political view are communicating today, fighting for a “real” democracy, not only as a better political system but also a “way of life”?

How do they translate it by different communication systems across Spain (social network, newspapers, radio, documentary, photography, video, etc) but also on an international scale, with a permanent back and forth between local and global demands or actions? How do they build a rhizomatic network of communication nodes interrelated with each other without any form of hierarchy or leadership?

How did they build a collective willingness in the praxis, corresponding to some ideal patterns of the “real democracy” theory? How do they live up to those principles of horizontal power relationships, transparency and inclusion, of active non-violence to serve an ideal poorly disseminated by mainstream medias?

Starting on the 15th of May 2011, in about one hundred Spanish cities, a wave of protests, wrongfully described by the medias as “spontaneous”, initiated a process of social and political changes. These changes ranged from extra-institutional protest movements (occupation of central and public places, creation of neighborhood committees or autonomous social centers) to the apparition of “movementists” political parties who claimed “the spirit of the 15th of May” and who managed to win local election’s (municipals or regionals). Who are today’s *Indignados* (outraged people), and how do they try to communicate on “real democracy” in Spain?

The aim of this presentation is not to show the causes of citizen movements but to present the effects of several communication actions started in May 2011 on the current daily life of Spanish people, more specifically between Madrid and Cordoba (in Andalusia, southern of Spain).

Finally, we will examine the limits of these principles in the real life, considering the paradoxical

communication of this polymorphic social movement, examining this imbalance between mainstream institution's lack of communication and the effort of private citizen to express its multiple faces.

This presentation will feature some audiovisual contents (video and photography) to illustrate sociological work I conducted between Madrid and Cordoba.

Face(ing) of Hate Speech: Visual Activism and Limits of Public Shaming

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Contemporary public communication is increasingly being characterised by continuous communication efforts of non-journalistic actors and “alternative media” who aim to “remedy” or reframe mainstream media coverage of events, thereby “fixing” their “failure” to (truth)fully represent present social condition. At the same time, contemporary political activism has become characterised by a move from modernist repertoire of contentious action to a feudal one, relying on practices that centre on notions of carnivalesque, ridicule, and public shaming. These two trends have more to do with post-democracy (Crouch), crisis of democratic capitalism (Streck) and acclamatory visibility of refeudalised political power, than with affordances of new technologies to which they are generally relegated to within the public discourse.

This paper will address the question of efficacy of visual public shaming through a case study of ZLOvenija (Evil Slovenia), a short-lived project in which individuals who were posting hate speech messages on Facebook during 2015 refugee crisis were exposed to public on a dedicated website which published their profile photographs along with their hate speech statements, building on stark contrast between the intimacy and familiarity of vernacular images and the harshness of the verbal xenophobic discourse. ZLOvenija’s re-contextualised profile photographs drew on eye-witnessing as photography’s primarily role in public communication, but shifted its purpose into condemnation and public shaming, highlighting in the process the eroded boundaries between public, private and intimate domains characterising contemporary (visual) communication. The paper pays special attention to the use of vernacular photography in the process of constructing/visualising the public, to the act of facing hate speech and questions political efficacy of public shaming.

Interactions at Work: Alternative Media, Social Movements and the Spur of Political Participation in Greece

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The present study evaluates the interactions at work between alternative media and social movements in contemporary Greece. In this regard, our research interest focuses both on the ways in which alternative media spur political participation, and the ways in which participation in social movements gives rise to the production of alternative media practices. Issues to be explored along the interplay of social movements and alternative media include the nature of political interest these interactions generate for diverse social actors and the ways in which they shape how these actors become politically involved.

At the empirical level, the study inquires the relations and positions of diverse grassroots, alternative media in Greece in reference to diverse social movements (from the 1990 student movement and the 1999 anti-globalization movement, to the anarchist and LGTB movements), with particular emphasis in two prominent uprisings that shook the country in the last decade: the outbreak of December 2008 against police brutality followed by a wave of demonstrations and strikes in different cities; and the 2011 “square movement” and the formation of the Greek Indignados (along with relevant South-European movements). The study draws on 16 Greek alternative media (offline and online) projects (long-established ones and projects that were initiated during the last uprisings), probing into the projects’ aims and claims as well as on participants’ discourses on their experiences, values, and ideologies in regard to different movements.

Overall, the analysis reveals a dialectical relation between alternative media and social movements in Greece. It indicates diverse political claims made, both within and beyond traditional ideological identifications, by diverse social actors engaged (some of them for

the first time) in alternative media; and, a number of dispositions, practices and processes developed through the social movements' and alternative media interactions that condition (alternative) forms of political participation. In addition, the analysis points out significant differences between alternative media interactions with the 'December 2008' movement ("rhizomatic" linkages) and their interactions with the 'Indignados movement' ("segmentary" linkages), in terms of (de)generating political interests and (re)configuring the ways citizens engage themselves politically.

Can New Forms of Encryption Allow Privacy and Regulation to Coexist?

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In 1991, Phil Zimmermann, released PGP (Pretty Good Privacy): A free email encryption package designed originally as a human rights tool. Zimmerman was subject to a three-year criminal investigation for violation of US exports restrictions of cryptography, but PGP became the most widely used email encryption package in the world.

At this point in time, two opposing political approaches emerged:

In Silicon Valley, libertarian, techno-utopian, counter-culture ideologies were prevalent, and now that public-key cryptography was available and free, “crypto-anarchy” emerged and the ‘cypherpunks’ gained momentum (e.g. Julian Assange). Cryptography was seen as a weapon in the war between the individual and the enemy state. (Cypherpunk manifesto 4.12.2: “The inherent evils of democracy”, 4.11.3: “Technological solutions over legalistic regulations”).

In parallel, many attempts were made by the government to limit the use of public-key encryption including encryption back doors (e.g. Clipper chip developed by the NSA). These were closely aligned with efforts in the area of digital rights management designed to combat free peer-to-peer content distribution models (e.g. Napster) since all these systems rely on strong encryption at their core. All these efforts failed primarily since government institutions, with little collaboration and support from the industry, developed these technologies secretly.

In this paper, these two opposing approaches will be revisited in the context of recently exposed colossal failures of social media sites to regulate content and protect people’s private data. Based on this analysis, a new more fine-grained approach for balancing people’s privacy and need for governance is proposed.

Ideology, Labour Time, Commons and Commodities: On the Capitalist Exploitation of Educational Content Producers

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This presentation intends to tackle the ideological basis of capitalist *exploitation through reproduction* (exploitation of unpaid copies of material knowledge).

As a case study, it focuses on the ideological discourses that frame the exploitation of academics producing content for online courses by for-profit companies.

More specifically, I will discuss the role that two ideological beliefs have in disguising and legitimizing this kind of exploitative processes. On the one hand, the discourses regarding the commons (free, openness, etc) that neglect the commodification going on. On the other hand, and more importantly, the deeply rooted assumption that the *value of knowledge* produced by workers/content producers must be measured in units of *time*, that helps to avoid questions regarding the relation between profits and unpaid copies.

As the argument unfolds, three topics mentioned in the CfP will be threaded: the (partially new) role of intellectual property in this kind of business model, global supply chains of informational commodities and tensions and struggles in informational labour environments.

The theoretical approach relies on a theory of capitalist exploitation (Zukerfeld, 2017). Secondary sources include stats from governments agencies and company reports, whereas primary sources are twin short surveys (in English and Spanish) answered by 129 academics.

The most important and controversial finding of this paper is that associating remuneration with labour time is not only theoretically wrong in this case, but might be a part of the dominant ideology of informational capitalism which, as such, functions helping to achieve exploitation.

The “Net Neutrality” Debate in Peripheral Contexts: Ideological Discourses, Economic Struggles and Policy Analysis

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The debate surrounding the so-called “Net neutrality” has scarcely been tackled distinguishing the interests of central and peripheral countries. It might be the case that policies that are useful for developed and internet-rich countries are not necessarily the best for developing and internet-poor countries. However, as it happened regarding other policies (eg. free trade, intellectual property), ideological discourses succeeded in presenting particular interests of an elite as if they were universal, ideology-free truth. To some extent, these discourses and the laws based on them function “kicking away the ladder” (Chang, 2002), as they might be conspiring against an internet based economic development in peripheral contexts.

This presentation is organized as follows. In the first section, we present the basics of the Net Neutrality debate. We trace the origins of the concept in the disputes over the commercialization of the internet in the late nineties around debates about “open access” to networks (McChesney, 2013, Newman, 2016, Schiller, 2000); the emergence of the notion of net neutrality (Wu, 2003); and the terms on which the debate has been structured over the last years.

Secondly, we show that strict Net Neutrality, as promoted and regulated, rarely exists in practice. The very functioning of the internet implies the prioritization of certain data packages over others. Traffic management measures carried out by ISPs, aided by technologies such as deep packet inspection (DPI), are common practice and in many countries not regulated. In addition, there are content or service providers with different economic power, which use content distribution networks (CDNs) or subscribe peering agreements to improve the

transit of their contents. Besides, there are substantial differences in terms of the speed of connection between countries, which contradicts equality and non-discrimination principles.

Thirdly, we analyze “Net Neutrality” discourses and we relate them to liberal philosophy, taking into account their ideological and economic dimensions, as well as the conflicts they conceal.

Fourthly, we try to show that this debate not only encapsulates a tension between software/content providers (eg. Google/Netflix) vs. cable/infrastructure operators (AT&T), but also tensions between companies in central and peripheral countries, and between for-profit companies and non-profit organizations.

Finally, in the light of previous discussion, we consider several alternatives of public policies from the standpoint of a peripheral country.



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