

## SYMBOLIC DIMENSIONS OF MEDIATED ACTIVISM: A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

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References in the following bibliography have been organized by source journal, highlighting the recent work on this topic that has appeared in a number of important media and communications journals.

### ***Asian Journal of Communication***

Jack Linchuan Qiu, "Mobile communication research in Asia: changing technological and intellectual geopolitics?" *Asian Journal of Communication* 20, no. 2 (2010): 213-229. doi: 10.1080/01292981003693393.

In this article, Jack Qiu writes on the history and status of mobile communication research in Asia. He provides a map of where this field stands in terms of its practitioners, journals, institutions and organizations. Despite the growth of interest in this field, Qiu argues that the regional institutional support for this kind of research is weaker than it should be. This is a rich and eclectic field, Qiu states, and the intellectual solidarity among its practitioners has yet to develop.

Koichi Iwabuchi, "Globalization, East Asian media cultures and their publics." *Asian Journal of Communication* 20, no. 2 (2010): 197-212. doi: 10.1080/01292981003693385.

In this piece, Iwabuchi provides a critical perspective with respect to the literature on hybridity, consumer sovereignty, and the rise of Asia and how these are arguably providing a more participatory environment for communication. For Iwabuchi, we need to be careful about the claims of de-Westernization. What is important in this article is the emphasis on the role of the state. Iwabuchi wants us to be careful about the ways in which the nation state provides the space of investment for transnational media industries. In other words, while inter-Asian connections is to be welcomed and endorsed, the very fact that connectivity exists doesn't mean that these connections have a strong public nature. The state's endorsement of media culture as part of nation-branding, he argues, demonstrates the lingering role that ideology plays in the configuration of power at the global level.

Bayu Sutikno & Julian Ming-Sung Cheng, "How global companies communicate in host country: a glocalization strategy in web space." *Asian Journal of Communication* 22, no. 1 (2012): 58-77. doi: 10.1080/01292986.2011.622777.

Corporate web sites have significant roles in building a positive image with stakeholders, particularly in a host market environment with different cultural backgrounds and values. A content analysis was conducted to study the glocalization strategies of corporate web sites and depiction of cultural values of 47 international brands which were identified as having Indonesian web sites. The four types of glocalization strategies of corporate web site content differed in the depiction of cultural values on their web sites. The differences could be found in overall analysis and four of five cultural dimensions such as collectivism, uncertainty avoidance, power distance and high context communication. It integrates the theory of glocalization strategy and cultural values in the context of cyberspace, which represents a pioneering attempt in investigating the aforementioned issue.

Lu Tang, "Media discourse of corporate social responsibility in China: a content analysis of newspapers." *Asian Journal of Communication* 22, no. 3 (2012): 270-288.  
doi: 10.1080/01292986.2012.662515.

In this article, China's economy and leading corporations' ethical stance are discussed in relation to corporate social responsibility. China's five leading governmental and metropolitan newspapers' CSR coverage in 2009 are taken into consideration (one national newspaper (People's Daily) along with that of four local newspapers (Guangzhou Daily, Xinming Evening News, Yangzi Evening News, and Chongqing Evening News). Theories of agenda setting, framing, and agenda building undergird the research in this article. The article suggests that the newspapers' discussion is mostly dominated by the discourse of governments and corporations.

Chalisa Magpanthong, "Thailand's evolving Internet policies: the search for a balance between national security and the right to information." *Asian Journal of Communication* 23, no. 1 (2013): 1-16. doi:10.1080/01292986.2012.717089.

This research is based on a survey of news reports on Internet censorship in Thailand. News stories were drawn from the academic database LexisNexis. The dates chosen for the search were items appearing between January 1995 and May 2009. Three keywords were used for searches are Internet, censorship, and Thailand. The article suggests that the government, inspired by social welfare concerns, allocated resources to maximize internet use. However, these concerns also coincided with concerns of control. In other words, the government wanted to make internet widespread, which in turn forced the government to implement more control in relation to national security, social morals, and limiting political criticism. Another idea in this article is that it was the politicians, rather than the royal family, that structured the internet regulations and that is why it is less consistent and contingent based on different factors.

### **Critical Sociology**

Marko Ampuja, "Globalization Theory, Media-Centrism and Neoliberalism: A Critique of Recent Intellectual Trends." *Critical Sociology* 38, no. 2 (2011): 281-301.  
doi: 10.1177/0896920510398018.

At the center of Marko Ampuja's analysis is the kind of argumentation that is found in

approaches towards globalization where this process is simply marked as a radical rupture. For Ampuja, exemplars of this perspective are found at the scholarship of Arjun Appadurai and Manuel Castells. Ampuja argues that these approaches are highly media-centric and ahistorical. For him, the rise in this kind of a scholarship is also aligned with the rise of neoliberalism. As he argues, "in the period characterized by capitalist triumphalism and the lack of social alternatives, it becomes understandable that we have recently witnessed a renewed fascination with the shifts in the spatio-temporal constitution of society which new media and communication technologies are said to have caused" (p. 297).

### ***Democratic Communiqué***

Nicole Cohen, "The Valorization of Surveillance: Towards a Political Economy of Facebook." *Democratic Communiqué* 22, no. 1 (2008).

Nicole Cohen proposes a political economic analysis of Facebook. She argues that "Although Web 2.0 has presented a shift away from "old" top-down media models, there remains continuity through change: Facebook continues familiar models of extensive commodification, with surveillance playing a key role in this process". For Cohen, the novelty comes through the constitution of a more active audience commodity under post-Fordist capitalism. Through an empirical analysis of Facebook press releases and updating Dallas Smythe's concept of audience commodity, Cohen argues that in the contemporary condition, "capital reacts to a dynamic from below" (p. 17) and paves the way for a moment where "capitalist social relations and market forces extend into multiple aspects of social life" (p. 18).

### ***Global Media and Communication***

James Miller, "NGOs and 'modernization' and 'democratization' of media: Situating media assistance." *Global Media and Communication* 5, no. 1 (April 2009): 9-33. doi: 10.1177/1742766508101312.

James Miller looks at the politics of media assistance through the example of NGOs. Going back to the history of Cold War, Miller demonstrates how media assistance became possible especially through journalism training and even accelerated after the fall of Berlin Wall and in the post-colonial Africa. He points to the complex dimensions of NGOs' involvement in media assistance where the ideology of altruism and the discourse of democracy are interlinked.

Suzanne Franks & Kate Ribet, "China—Africa media relations." *Global Media and Communication* 5, no. 1 (April 2009): 129-136. doi:10.1177/1742766508101318.

This paper is a review of a one-day conference held at University of Westminster in 2008.

### ***Jan Pieterse, "Representing the rise of the rest as threat: Media and global divides."***

*Global Media and Communication* 5, no. 2 (August 2009): 221-237. doi: 10.1177/1742766509341616

Pieterse's article is a continuation of his scholarship on the "rise of the rest" and how the

dynamics of globalization have changed to the extent that the rest is a major global actor. However, Pieterse's analysis of media reveals how Western media portrays the rise of the rest in such a way that the kind of colonialist dichotomies regarding the West and the rest are perpetuated. The rise of the rest as a threat and reproduction of 9/11 narratives are major pillars of this media dialectic. What Pieterse argues is that there has been a shift in the representation of the rest, especially after 2008, where the rest has come to be seen as the "rescuer" of the West.

Sangeet Kumar, "Google Earth and the nation state: Sovereignty in the age of new media." *Global Media and Communication* 6, no. 2 (August 2010): 154-176. doi: 10.1177/1742766510373716.

Kumar's article emphasizes the continuities with respect to the formation of social power. The unit of analysis is Google Earth, which, according to the author, represents not a rupture but a continuity with respect to how digital networks operate in the contemporary moment. Kumar challenges the liberal claims by Google that it represents the global good with respect to access to free information. Kumar fuses empirical data (how governments responded to Google Earth; debates with respect to Israel and Palestine; and the specific case of India and her concerns about security) with social theory and ultimately argues that it is early to claim that the nation-state is dead. In the specific case of India and her debates with Google, we understand how Google had to concede, but this does not necessarily mean that the power of the nation state is unchallenged. Indeed, nation states are trying to figure out how they can restructure their legal/technological infrastructures to respond to their crisis vis-à-vis the diffuse networked environment.

Vibodh Parthasarathi, "Deciphering Chindia: Two accents of media governance." *Global Media and Communication* 6, no. 3 (December 2010): 329-336. doi:10.1177/1742766510384973.

This article complicates the processes through which the TV environment in both China and India has been deregulated and liberalized. Parthasarathi argues that the rise of both countries cannot account for the processes that each underwent. The author's comparative analysis suggests that the "institutional fabric of deregulatory processes in each country" was one factor as to how deregulation of TV broadcasting differed (p. 335). For Parthasarathi, China presents a "confidently reformed framework of statutory regulation," whereas India is described as an "ad hoc experiment(s) with multi-stakeholdership" (p. 329). As argued in the article, "while maximizing rent has been the sole strategy for the Indian state, the regime of media governance in China has demonstrated entrepreneurship of a sort scarcely seen in either Anglo- American or Rhineland renditions of capitalism."

Elizabeth C. Hanson and Yu Zheng, "Foreign direct investment policies in Chindia's digital media." *Global Media and Communication* 6, no. 3 (December 2010): 337-345. doi:10.1177/1742766510384974.

This article is along the similar lines of Parthasarathi's 'Deciphering Chindia' and is critical of the "simple democracy vs authoritarian distinction" (p.344). The conditions for regulation in

India seem to present a more fragmented picture whereas China's case signals a more concerted effort from the perspective of the state. The complexity of the FDI environment in India is implied in the following passage, worth quoting at length:

The resulting FDI landscape in India for telecommunications and the media is complex and often described as inconsistent. This is not surprising given the multiple competing objectives of the Indian government. It seeks to maintain enough control to avoid a dominating foreign influence in these important sectors of the economy. At the same time, it wants capital and technology that foreign firms can provide. And, equally important, it must satisfy the array of bureaucratic and business interests, as well as consumer demands (p. 338).

Deregulation within telecom industry in India seems to have been a gradual process in India:

As of 2010, companies providing basic, cellular, and value added services, as well as Internet Service Providers, are allowed up to 74 per cent foreign equity, and up to 49 per cent (the previous limit), through the automatic route. However, there are certain security and management conditions attached to foreign ownership. Up to 100 per cent FDI is permitted in infrastructure, as well as electronic and voice mail, but beyond 49 per cent must go through government approval, and 26 per cent of the equity must be divested 'in favor of the Indian public' within five years (Government of India, 2010; Kohli-Khandekar, 2010).

While becoming a member of WTO did change the rules of the game, China is more cautious when it comes to telecom deregulation:

For the telecom sector, the Chinese government's ultimate goal was to promote self-reliant development and create national champions that can successfully compete against global telecom operators. It has an incentive to use foreign capital to create competitive dynamics and enhance the efficiency of telecom operators, but it will not allow foreign firms to establish a significant presence in core services such as fixed-line and mobile services (p. 341).

Hu Zhengrong and Lei Zhang, "Dragon and Elephant: Who will win?: Chindia in the Chinese netizen's view." *Global Media and Communication* 6, no. 3 (December 2010): 374-377. doi:10.1177/1742766510384978.

This article reports a content analysis of Qianguo Forum, a highly influential bulletin board system in China. Sampling 162 entries, the authors ask the following questions in order to understand how nation is negotiated in the transnational space of the internet:

1. What aspects of India catch the Chinese netizen's attention?
2. How are relations between India and China, in the Chinese netizen's view?
3. What kind of comparisons do Chinese netizens make between China and India?

Their analysis suggests that “India is usually considered as a rival and competitor rather than a partner or ally that shares common interests with China” (p. 375).

Dong Han, “‘Use’ is an anagram of ‘sue’: Cultural control, resistance, and the role of copyright in Chinese cyberspace.” *Global Media and Communication* 7, no. 2 (August 2011): 97-113. doi: 10.1177/1742766511410218.

Through the case study of an online video (Mantou), Dong Han discusses the intellectual property regime and how citizens expressed discontent against this repressive regime within cyber space. What is interesting, and important, in this article is that the discontent regarding copyright represented a broader discontent among Chinese citizens, who have been subject to the transformations introduced by neoliberalism.

Vian Bakir, “Torture and intelligence in the War on Terror: The struggle over strategic political communication.” *Global Media and Communication* 7, no. 3 (December 2011): 239-243. doi: 10.1177/1742766511427496.

This is a case study of John Walker-Lindh, a young man who has fought as a member of the Taliban in Afghanistan since summer 2001. The article explores the ways that strategic political communication was deployed with purposes of extracting information without criticizing the use of torture in the War on Terror.

Lei Guo, “Collaborative efforts: An exploratory study of citizen media in China.” *Global Media and Communication* 8, no. 2 (August 2012): 135-155. doi: 10.1177/1742766512444341.

Shortened from the abstract:

This article is a case study that focuses on citizen media in Beijing – specifically, the Dazhalan Project. Combining in-depth interviews and textual analysis, the article demonstrates the uniqueness of citizen media under China’s state-party media system. The article also suggests that it was the collaboration among ordinary citizens, professionals and journalists that made it possible for citizen media to influence the mainstream media frame-building process.

Kalyani Chadha, “Twitter as media watch-dog? Lessons from India’s Radia tapes scandal.” *Global Media and Communication* 8, no. 2 (August 2012): 171-176. doi: 10.1177/1742766512444347.

This brief commentary takes India’s Radia tapes scandal as a case study and addresses how twitter served as a media watchdog. At the same time, the account is by no means celebratory. On the contrary, Chadha raises the need for a cautious optimism with respect to new technologies and argues that new media technologies’ “ability to impact their longstanding patterns is by no means a given” since they do not “determine social practice” (p. 176).

Raka Shome, "Asian modernities: Culture, politics and media." *Global Media and Communication* 8, no. 3 (December 2012): 199-214.  
doi: 10.1177/1742766512459119.

This editorial provides a great introduction to the debates around modernity, global capitalism, and why the need to understand Asian modernities matters. There is a lot to take from this piece; but a useful statement is below to sketch, albeit perhaps superficially, the spirit of the editorial:

There is no one Asian modernity that is recognizable, nor is there an Asian essence. We do not want to essentialize Asia or even attempt to craft a homogenous regionalist Asian identity in our desire to engage with modernities in and of Asia. *Repeating an ossified area studies model is not the goal here.* To engage Asian modernities is to recognize the pluralities of Asia's histories and its presents. It is also to recognize: (1) how those histories are linked to the diverse geopolitical flows within Asia, as well as towards Asia and out of Asia; and (2) how those histories are also violently entangled with the histories of Europe and North American colonialisms. *'Our modernities' are not neat bounded spaces with hard cultural walls; they are products of complicated histories, invasions and global/regional flows that have made up different parts of Asia (p. 208).*

William Mazzarella, "'Reality must improve': The perversity of expertise and the belatedness of Indian development television." *Global Media and Communication* 8, no. 3 (December 2012): 215-241. doi: 10.1177/1742766512459120.

*Formal Abstract:*

This essay argues against reducing the recent history of global television to an oversimplified transition between 'statist' and 'consumerist' dispensations. As apparently irreconcilable ideologies of television, the statist and consumerist models represent two ways of imagining the relation between the deployment of media and the project of modernity. Despite their surface differences, both share a tendency to imagine television in primarily 'representative' rather than 'constitutive' terms: they both evaluate television according to its ability to represent or address supposedly pre-existing publics, as opposed to its power to help constitute those very publics. I develop the question of the constitutive potential of television by reconsidering a decade of Indian television history – the mid-1970s through the mid-1980s – that is generally dismissed as a transitional phase between statist and consumerist paradigms. Through a discussion that is empirically grounded in the Indian experience, I proposes categories that might inform comparative explorations of media and modernity in an age of globalization.

Masoud Kamali, "Multiple modernities and mass communications in Muslim countries." *Global Media and Communication* 8, no. 3 (December 2012): 243-268.  
doi: 10.1177/1742766512459121.

*Formal Abstract:*

The concept of multiple modernities is increasingly influential in mainly Western academic circles. Although the multiple modernities thesis challenges established West-centric understandings of the modern world, it also risks praising 'the modern' as the end of history and our preordained destiny. Multiple modernities' global history cannot be separated from the colonialism, slavery, wars and exploitation that have formed our modern world and its inequalities. The multiple modernities thesis also illuminates a cultural and religious battlefield in which a Western concept of linear modernity, with a 'developmental path' that should be followed by all countries, is highly contested. The division of societies into the dichotomous categories of modern versus traditional – a legacy of the 'grand narratives' of classical social theory – also creates the foundation for other divisions, including the dichotomy of the modern Christian 'Us' versus the traditional Muslim 'Them'. Such West-centric history-telling is part of a field of cultural authority in which the battle over the right to shape the past and present of various societies is taking place. There is no singular model of modernity; global modernization programs and processes have taken place in a variety of cultural and political environments, creating multiple models of modernity. This article critically explores the shortcomings of the West-centric theory of singular modernity. By focusing on the modern transformation of mass communication in Muslim countries, it argues that both traditional means of mass communication, such as *manbars*, and modern media, such as newspapers and tape recorders, have been used effectively for mobilization of masses by revolutionary Muslim groups. It also argues that Islam is not incompatible with modernity or democracy, and that Islamic groups have been an integral part of modern democratic developments in Muslim countries.

Audrey Yue, "Queer Asian mobility and homonational modernity: Marriage equality, Indian students in Australia and Malaysian transgender refugees in the media." *Global Media and Communication* 8, no. 3 (December 2012): 269-287. doi:10.1177/1742766512459122.

*Formal Abstract:*

In recent years, the regulation of mobility has seen marriage equality emerge as a homonational discourse of progressive gay and lesbian politics championed on the erasure of homophobia to end systemic discrimination. While homonational modernity promotes the superiority of a nation through sexual openness, it also mobilizes the fear of homophobia to marginalize racialized and sexualized minorities through sexual quarantine. Using media case studies on Indian student migrants and Malaysian transgender refugees from the Asian Australian diaspora, this article examines how homonational modernity regulates the queer mobility of diasporic Asian subjects. The article uses these case studies to interrogate homonational modernity and, in doing so, hopes to create a critical platform for a politics of queer Asian mobility. Critically illustrating how 'Asia' (e.g. Malaysia and India) and the Asian diaspora (e.g. Asian refugees and queer migrants in Australia) have been made present in Australian's homonational modern imagination as sites of inclusion and exclusion, this article provides a critical approach to the regulation of mobility that allows for the intervention of and accounting for the uneven distribution of race, sex and gender that conditions personal mobility, revealing the institutional constraints and privileges that shape queer liberalism and homonormativity.

Eric Kit-wai Ma, "Compressed modernity in South China." *Global Media and Communication* 8, no. 3 (December 2012): 289-308. doi: 10.1177/1742766512459123.

*Formal Abstract:*

This article examines the changing role of Hong Kong in what I propose as the formation of a compressed modernity in South China. In the 1980s through the 1990s, the Hong Kong liberal mediascape was over-spilling onto many developing cities in south China, fueling the desire for modernity among the people in the region. Since the return of Hong Kong to China in 1997, the Greater Pearl River Delta, in which Hong Kong is a small but influential city, has become increasingly interconnected socially, culturally and in terms of infrastructure. The formation of this 'compressed modernity' is illustrated by four case studies. In case one, a magazine had become the site of imagining modernity via the representations of Hong Kong society in the 1980s. In case two, a television drama in the 1990s vividly expressed the longing for knowledge of the capitalistic market. Case three is an ethnographic study of a toy factory in South China, which, in the 2000s, was managed by Hong Kong managers equipped with modern skills of marketing, logistics, and international trade. Case four is another ethnographic study, this time of a disco bar, which demonstrates the juxtaposition of the lifeworlds of the working class and the consumerist lifestyle of the rising middle class in the region. The 'compressed modernity', as illustrated by these cases and theorized in this article, has multiple socio-cultural layers juxtaposed against each other, rendering it a social formation very different from popular versions of modernity in developed countries.

***Global Media Journal: Indian Edition (available after 2010)***

Madhupa Bakshi & Manali Bhattacharya, "MILES TO GO: EFFECTIVENESS OF RTI FOR WOMEN." *Global Media Journal: Indian Edition* 1, no. 2 (December 2010): 1-8.

This article analyzes the effectiveness of RTI for women but considers information to be something a "natural right of citizenship", linked with "food, wages, work, dignity, and a life free of violence". The analysis is carried out through examples. What is good about this article is its discourse, which is not liberal. It regards information as a highly political and contested terrain of struggle in terms of how citizenship is constructed.

Manas Pratim Das, "RTI AND BEYOND." *Global Media Journal: Indian Edition* 1, no. 2 (December 2010).

The article considers RTI as a progressive step but at the same time warns that the exemptions are limiting what can potentially be achieved with RTI. For Das, especially the power of the government and corporations are put in a more liminal or negotiable status. Das also questions as to how willing media houses will be as far as participation within RTI is concerned.

Vivek Ahuja, "CYBER EXTENSION: A CONVERGENCE OF ICT AND AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT." *Global Media Journal: Indian Edition* 2, no. 2 (December 2011).

This article is written from the perspective of business and explores how ICTs can be used more efficiently to increase the involvement and productivity of Indian rural agricultural workers. Basically, through a case study, Ahuja argues that the information needs of farmers need to be met in relation to information about the market, subsidies, technologies, weather forecasting etc.

***Global Media Journal: Mediterranean Edition***

Merih Taskaya, "Sectoral Distribution of Surreptitious Advertising in the Process of Neo-Liberalism in Turkey." *Global Media Journal: Mediterranean Edition* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 29–38.

This study evaluates surreptitious advertising in the Turkish media by focusing on neo-liberal policies. Surreptitious advertising is defined as "the introduction of products, services, commercial brands or activities of a producer or service supplier in television and radio programs, newspapers, magazines, and movies, outside the advertisement time band and area." The data were gathered through a content analysis of audits, verdicts and other official reports dealing with surreptitious advertising. The present quantitative state of surreptitious advertising applications in any sector has been investigated by considering the damage caused by neo-liberalism. The results show that the level of surreptitious advertising is very high in sectors subjected to advertisement restrictions.

Christos A. Frangonikolopoulos & Ioannis Chapsos, "Explaining the role and the impact of the social media in the Arab Spring." *Global Media Journal: Mediterranean Edition* 7, no. 2 (Fall 2012): 11–20.

This article has a balanced perspective in that the authors do not claim that social media was responsible for the revolution. Rather, they argue that social media was important for social organization and protest. They make the argument that social media was useful for giving a shape to the fluidity and agency of people, which in general is overlooked or even marginalized in the context of the Arab World, as it was theorized as "social non-movements" by Asaf Bayat. They have a very good contextualization of the socio-economic conditions within which revolution took place, as opposed to narratives that fetishize technology and social media.

***Global Media Journal: Turkish Edition***

Banu Akdenizli, "Internet, Sovereignty and the State: An Evaluation on How the Internet Influences National and International Governance." *Global Media Journal: Turkish Edition*, (2011).

*Formal*

*Abstract:*

This study in evaluating arguments of how the Internet heralds the end of state sovereignty aims to consider how the Internet both nationally and internationally can at the same time have positive influences on governance. This article claims that despite the general tendency to regard the Internet as a technology that needs to be controlled, it can also be seen as a tool that strengthens national and global governance. This article firstly illustrates the

conventional wisdom on how the Internet threatens state sovereignty. In doing so, it considers arguments on globalization and its effects on the state. The second half of the article focuses on how in the face of globalization forces the concept of sovereignty can be restructured, and how the state's attitude towards information and communication technologies, particularly the Internet, can potentially strengthen state sovereignty and power structure.

Note: This is like a critical literature review of sovereignty and internet without a major focus on Turkey. Rather, it has a broad framework focusing on globalization, identity, nation state, and sovereignty.

### ***The Information Society***

Siobhan Stevenson, "Digital Divide: A Discursive Move Away from the Real Inequities." *The Information Society* 25, no. 1 (January/February 2009): 1-22.

#### *Formal Abstract:*

Within the context of the telecommunications policy environment in the United States during the 1990s, the Department of Commerce's *Falling Through the Net* reports can be read as a 7-year ideological project to legitimize U.S. government's deregulatory policies. This article analyzes the "digital divide" as rhetorical trope in a neoliberal ideology, which placed responsibility for social and economic success in the emerging global information economy at the level of the individual and not the system, effectively foreclosing on any class-based analyses of the problems associated with the transition from a Keynesian welfare state and industrial economy to a neoliberal and globalized information economy. Unpacking the discursive significance of the "digital divide," with special focus on public libraries and projects of the Gates Foundation, illuminates how it foreclosed on the possibility of alternative problem definitions by making the problem a technical and administrative one rather than an issue of historic class struggle. The article draws on open-source projects in developing countries to offer an alternate frame for formulating policies for equitable access to information and communication technologies (ICTs).

Note: This is a materialist analysis of what the discourse of digital divide means as part of the neoliberal reconfiguration of media and communications sector. It is not just a theoretical critique, though. It does look at the key legislations in the US context and the complex policy environment shaped by state, civil society (Gates Foundation) and corporate actors through which we end up discussing communication as a technical problem. Stevenson skillfully links the problem to the new intellectual property regime as part of the broader information society and approaches digital divide as part of what Harvey calls "class restoration" What seems to be important in this analysis is how discourses – in this case digital divide – has a transformative power and can shape politics materially.

Pyungho Kim, "The Apple iPhone Shock in Korea." *The Information Society* 27, no. 4 (July-September 2011): 261-268. doi: 10.1080/01972243.2011.583826.

This article addresses the ways in which the discourse around a new media technology – in this case iPhone – is a highly political one and is mostly shaped by state and corporate actors. This issue is discussed in relation to the hardships introduced by the i-phone when it first

came to Korea. As the author argues, "technology is perceived in hardware-centric, commercially oriented, and consumerist terms. Technology policymaking in Korea is deeply imbued with these mundane, practical, and pragmatic notions of technology" (p. 266).

Wei-Ching Wang, "Origins of Wage Inequality in an Information Society: The Case of Taiwan." *The Information Society* 1 (January 2013): 1-12.  
doi: 10.1080/01972243.2012.739264.

This article applies Theil index to understand wage disparity in Taiwan as part of the information societies. It provides a history of how the information economy in this country came into being. It is a highly quantitative analysis and the outcomes of the analyses are:

- a. Taiwan's income and wage inequality has risen steadily since 1980, after its historically lowest point in the 1970s
- b. main sources of the increasing wage inequality are primarily information-intensive manufacturing and information-intensive service industries
- c. labor in the information-intensive industries enjoyed higher, increasing wages and also expanded the wage gaps between workers in these industries and other traditional labor-intensive industry workers (p.10).

James Pick, Tetsushi Nishida & Xi Zhang, "Determinants of China's Technology Availability and Utilization 2006-2009: A Spatial Analysis." *The Information Society* 29, no. 1 (January 2013): 26-48.  
doi: 10.1080/01972243.2012.739266.

This is a social scientific spatial analysis of how technology has been adopted and deployed in China 2006-2009. It analyzes determinants of technology availability and utilization in China's 31 administrative units using data on technology adoption and socioeconomic factors. The main finding is that "the most dominant determinant of technology levels is export commodities value" (p. 46). That is to say, geographies that heavily house manufacturing clusters will need more technology. The second geography where technology is heavily used is innovation and business centers such as Beijing and Shanghai. From a social scientific perspective, and the maps they provide are useful, what this article ultimately does really is to point to the uneven and combined development with respect to technology in China.

### ***Information Technologies & International Development***

Sumit K. Majumdar, "Globalization and Relative Compensation in India's Information Technology Sector." *Information Technologies & International Development* 6, no. 1 (2010): 21-33.

#### *Formal Abstract:*

This article evaluates the relationship between foreign earnings and wage share for a large number of information technology-sector arms in India over a recent six-year period. The results that are established, after accounting for the fact that exporting is an endogenous

phenomenon, show that the foreign earnings and wage share relationship is positive and significant for Indian arms during the entire period of analysis. In general, there has been disquiet that the gains from growth are not shared with employees, and that other arm stakeholders appropriate these gains. The arms that are actively engaged in the global information technology economy have, in part, been cognizant of providing higher rewards to their key human capital resources, and the consequences of globalization have been positive for the employees of Indian information technology arms.

Subhash C. Bhatnagar & Nupur Singh, "Assessing the Impact of E-Government: A Study of Projects in India." *Information Technologies & International Development* 6, no. 2 (Summer 2010): 109-127.

*Formal Abstract:*

In recent years, there has been extensive investment in e-government throughout the developing world. Still, little is known about the impact of those investments, partly due to a lack of assessment guidance. This paper reports development of an assessment methodology that could be used in developing countries to justify investments in e-government, as well as to establish a performance benchmark for future projects. This framework identifies key stakeholders, dimensions on which the impact needs to be measured, and a methodology of measurement. Client value is measured primarily in two dimensions: 1) cost to the client of accessing services, and 2) perception by the client of quality of service and governance. In a limited way, the financial cost-benefit impact to the agency implementing the project is also studied. The paper takes India as its example location for application of the framework, presenting assessment results from eight e-government projects which estimate the difference between client ratings of computerized and (earlier) manual systems. Clients indicated an overwhelming preference for computerized service delivery, with reports of fewer journeys, less waiting time, and some reduction in corruption (marginal in places). The results provided a tentative affirmation of the improvements that may be possible through the use of ICTs in delivering government services in developing countries. Overall impact showed wide variation across projects, highlighting the need to pay greater attention to process reform in the design of e-government projects. Measurement of direct monetary benefits to the clients provides a basis for determining the service fees that could be charged. An assessment of incremental costs of processing a transaction can help evaluate the feasibility of a public-private partnership model. The Government of India has adopted the framework used in this study to assess the impact of all mature projects implemented at the national, state, and local levels.

Ethan Zuckerman, "Decentralizing the Mobile Phone: A Second ICT4D Revolution?" *Information Technologies & International Development* (2010): 99-103.

This article makes a comparison between mobile phones and Internet in terms of their potential to contribute to development and raising incomes of developing nations. Zuckerman is more cautious about the potentials of mobile phones since he argues that "Mobile networks tend to be less competitive, less generative, and less protective of privacy than the Internet" (p. 100), in a way, still technologizing the whole debate. For him, "the Internet is a largely

decentralized network, while mobile phone networks tend to have central points of control” (p. 100). This article is not critical at all!

Sumit Majumdar, “Innovation Capability and Globalization Propensity in India's Information Technology and Software Industry.” *Information Technologies & International Development* 6, no. 4 (Winter 2010).

*Formal Abstract:*

This article examines the impact of R&D spending on firms' export earnings patterns, for a panel data set of several Indian information technology and software sector firms, over the period of fiscal years 2000–2001 to 2005–2006. The results of the analysis show that R&D spending has been associated with a significant rise in firms' average export earnings levels. These results point to the need for a substantial increase over the current levels of R&D currently being undertaken by information technology and software firms in India.

Nirmali Sivapragasam & Juhee Kang, “The Future of the Public Payphone: Findings from a Study on Telecom Use at the Bottom of the Pyramid in South and Southeast Asia.” *Information Technologies & International Development* 7, no. 3 (Fall 2011): 33-44.

Public payphones, such as traditional payphone booths, have been in use since the late 19th century. However, with growing telephone ownership, particularly of mobile telephones, demand for public payphones has experienced a decline in recent years, in both developed and developing countries. Despite this, provision of public payphones continues to be a part of universal service obligations in some South Asian countries. This article examines the changing demand for these phones in developing countries, particularly in the context of low-income earners, through two consecutive surveys of bottom of the pyramid telecom users in 2006 and 2008 in six South and Southeast Asian countries. The study finds that, although demand for public payphones is declining in general, they still play a role among the poorest of the poor, and even among mobile owners. It recommends alternative forms of public payphones based on mobile technologies and suggests more inclusive mobile services for all.

***Information, Communication & Society***

Micky Lee, "A Political Economic Critique of Google Maps and Google Earth." *Information, Communication & Society* 13, no. 6 (2010). doi: 10.1080/13691180903456520.

This article provides a critical take on Google Maps and Google Earth from a political economic perspective where technology is situated within broader socio-economic forces. Micky Lee rightly argues that technology is not neutral and constituted along political decisions rather than just technical. Through algorithms and prioritizing certain choices, Google does organize spatial and territorial knowledge and does this along its commercial interests.

Saskia Sassen, "Digital formations of the powerful and the powerless." *Information, Communication & Society* 15, no. 4 (2012).

An unnecessarily long article which basically says digital networks have created a new formation where the elite and the social activists are using new technologies in different ways and ultimately shape the political in new terms. Sassen does draw on sociology, transnationalism, and some STS but really, it reads as an article without an adequate answer to the "so what" question. Here is a paragraph that is a bit clear and gives a sense of what the argument is:

The privately operated global financial system not only weakens the authority of traditional state actors but also consolidates the power of new global capitalist elites that are actually geographically concentrated in global cities. We see here the shaping of circuits of power that are both elec- tronic and have thick territorial anchors. Resource-poor actors who use these electronic networks to improve their ability to survive and ensure their own locally autonomous governance, have the effect both of potentially undermining state authority and weakening the hold that the global capitalist system has over these actors (p. 469).

**Qiongyou Pu & Stephen J. Scanlan, "COMMUNICATING INJUSTICE?: Framing and online protest against Chinese government land expropriation." *Information, Communication & Society* 15, no. 4 (2012). doi: 10.1080/1369118X.2012.665937.**

This is an important article in the sense that most of the literature focuses on new media activism in the urban context. Here, it is the Chinese farmers who struggle against land expropriation (content analysis of high traffic websites in two incidents: Wang Shuai and Wu Baoquan) by their government. The authors particularly argue that "concise framing and continuous media attention" are key to having success as far as social protest is concerned.

#### ***Journal of Arab & Muslim Media Research***

Ahmed Hidass, "Radio and television in Morocco: New regulation and licensing for private channels." *Journal of Arab & Muslim Media Research* 3, no. 1-2 (2010): 19-36.

The article is a complicated institutional and legal history of how radio and TV broadcasting in Morocco has been opened up and how the state is now in “competition” with private channels. The field for private media is quite tough, the article reveals, and the state is now providing subsidies, which raises questions for freedom and censorship. While the power of the state is contested, the article interestingly points to two conferences where workshops were not even public and this does raise important questions about the power of the elite classes, the Makhzen, in this country.

Anissa Daoudi & Emma Murphy, “Framing new communicative technologies in the Arab world.” *Journal of Arab & Muslim Media Research* 4, no.1 (2011): 3-22.

This is another interesting and analytical piece in terms of really framing the kind of discourses around new media technologies in the Arab world and the scholarship around it. The authors diagnose 5 kinds of discourses: discourses of development, emancipation, subordination, adaptation and resistance. According to them, the first three are mostly deployed by political research while the latter two are used by linguistic research. What they propose is a new cultural studies approach with a big investment in interdisciplinary approach. Their definition of culture is one that is fluid and dynamic, rather than essential and fixed. The references of the article can be useful for further research. But again, the classification of the discourses was a useful aspect of this piece.

Nermeen Sayed, “Towards the Egyptian Revolution: Activists’ perceptions of social media for mobilization.” *Journal of Arab & Muslim Media Research* 4, no 2-3 (July 2011): 273-298.

Sayed’s article is an ethnographic study of activists prior to the revolution. She explores new media use of activists. The study reveals that there is a major correlation between online and offline activism. Sayed argues that activists turn to online media since they feel mainstream media doesn’t serve them. (Not a mind blowing article, but still interesting).

Khalil Rinnawi, “Al Jazeera invades Israel: Is satellite TV challenging the sovereignty of the nation state?” *Journal of Arab & Muslim Media Research* 5, no. 3 (September 2012): 245-257.

This article explores the relationship between belonging, nation state, and satellite TV. Rinnawi’s analysis is based on interviews (500) with Arab Palestinian community of Israel and how they relate to the state of Israel after watching Al Jazeera. It can be thought within globalization studies and media, while feelings of distance may not be necessarily mean the erosion of sovereignty, in my mind.

### ***Journal of Media Business Studies***

Zhan Li & John Dimmick, “Transnational Media Corporations’ Strategies in Post-WTO China: Approaches of three Global Leaders.” *Journal of Media Business Studies* 2, no. 2 (2005): 35-59. doi: 10.1080/16522354.2005.11073432.

The article examines the strategies established by three transnational media corporations (TNMCs) in the Chinese media market after its World Trade Organization (WTO) entry. The

strategies employ a theoretical model that involves the interactions of a company's risk in terms of environmental uncertainties and control in equity ownership. The three corporations are Walt Disney Co., News Corp., and Sony Corp. Report shows that these companies have plans for increasing control through engaging in higher forms of ownership and localizing their products.

### ***Journal of Media Economics***

Mu Lin, "Changes and Consistency: China's Media Market After WTO Entry." *Journal of Media Economics* 17, no. 3 (2004): 177-192. doi: 10.1207/s15327736me1703\_4.

The article evaluates the opening up of China's markets. There is one subtle point here though. It is argued that opening up doesn't necessarily mean giving the hold of media control. The argument is that China in the long run will have to open up more not necessarily due to WTO pressure but rather the internal demand for quality programming.

Geetika Pathania-Jain, "Global Parents, Local Partners: A Value-Chain Analysis of Collaborative Strategies of Media Firms in India." *Journal of Media Economics* 14, no. 3 (2001): 169-187. doi: 10.1207/S15327736ME1403\_3.

This article is an intervention into the literature regarding globalization and provides a value-chain analysis of media firms in India. The interaction between global companies and local ones is a highly dynamic and interactive one. The article basically argues that global companies mostly give the creative space to their Indian partners, whereas marketing, distribution, and technology require a more homogenous and standardized practice. Below is a quote that kind of summarizes the article:

When examined systematically through the value-chain analysis attempted in this study, the implications of such corporate alliances become visible. What is clearly emerging is a split between the creative aspects of cultural production, including the creative products themselves on one side, and other aspects of industrial practice and structure such as marketing and distribution on the other. Although the former are largely unaffected by this tendency toward standardization, the latter, which are undergoing a process of industrialization and harmonization with global practice, are clearly responding to a global impetus sans territoriality and affiliation, in the process hastening the integration of Indian cultural industries with the world television system. What continues to merit the attention of international cultural communication scholars, then, is the one-way flow of expertise to local subsidiaries that is evident in most aspects of cultural production, such as planning, production, technology-training, marketing, and distribution.

### ***Media, Culture & Society***

Yong Zhong, "Relations between Chinese television and the capital market: three case studies." *Media, Culture & Society* 32, no. 4 (July 2010): 649-668. doi: 10.1177/0163443710367696.

This is a hard core political-economy article that seriously charts the TV scene within China (the author discusses three of the listed companies, CTM, SOP and HTBI, which are related to CCTV, OSTV and HSTV respectively). The findings are:

Chinese TV has become more commercialized: "as a result of commercialization, Chinese television has generally assumed a binary structure, consisting of a political administrative hierarchy and a business vehicle, thus becoming a government business. The national network has become both a political machine known as China Central Television and a media business known as China International Television Corporation (p. 665).

The state control is still ongoing, even at the level of companies listed in the stock exchange: "the relationship between the government businesses and the listed companies is a lateral one except in the case of HTBI in relation to HRTIC and to HSTV. Like all other listed media companies, CTM and SOP are under the direct control of government businesses that hold the controlling share of the listed stock. On the basis of the shareholding structure, an argument can even be made that these listed companies are not genuine commercial entities" (p. 665).

Taberez Ahmed Neyazi, "Cultural imperialism or vernacular modernity? Hindi newspapers in a globalizing India." *Media, Culture & Society* 32, no. 6 (November 2010): 907-924. doi: 10.1177/0163443710379664.

Taking Dainik Bashkar as a case study, "This article, through a micro-level study, unravels how the rise of Hindi newspapers in a globalizing India compels us to rethink 'media imperialism' as a theory. While questioning the concept of media imperialism, the article also conceptualizes the rise of Hindi newspapers as what I have termed 'vernacular modernity', which is the critical appropriation of Western modernity reproduced in indigenous form. By adopting technological innovation and being sensitive to local cultural values, Hindi newspapers have been able to provide hybrid content to their readers. Such a hybrid content is sensitive to the vernacular realm of Hindi publics while incorporating a modern outlook and values" (p. 908).

The key term in the article is "vernacular modernity", and I am just not sure how we assume modernity, locality, indigenous values, authenticity, hybridity, without taking into broader imperial relations. And this list has a couple of articles at the beginning just analyzing the politics of these concepts.

Tong Jingrong, "The crisis of the centralized media control theory: how local power controls media in China." *Media, Culture & Society* November 32, no. 6 (November 2010): 925-942. doi: 10.1177/0163443710379665.

Jingrong complicates the top-down perspectives on Chinese media control in this article. Jingrong argues that in some cases, "it is local power rather than the central authority that actively controls media. In some cases, such local media control aims to protect local interests, interests that some- times even oppose the central government's will and national interests"

(p. 925). Focusing on two examples (death of miners in Zuoyun and collapse of Fenghuang Bridge), the article argues that “local power actively controls media to protect local interests rather than national interests, which fragments the party-state’s monopoly of propaganda control” (p. 926)

Micky Lee, “Google ads and the blindspot debate.” *Media, Culture & Society* 33, no. 3 (April 2011): 433-447. doi: 10.1177/0163443710394902.

Lee reviews the blindspot debate and updates with respect to Google, which, for the author, “an all-in-one content provider, advertising agency, and ratings firm” (p. 434). In the case of google, what is sold are the keywords, search results, and ratings. What provides google the monopoly that it enjoys is through its Google ads system.

Srirupa Roy, “Television news and democratic change in India.” *Media, Culture & Society* 33, no. 5 (July 2011): 761-777. doi: 10.1177/0163443711404467.

This is one of the more nuanced and complicated pieces on news liberalization in India. The debate is mostly around state-market dichotomy. Nevertheless, Roy argues that liberalization didn’t necessarily bring about transparency. It did create a more complicated story at the local level, where a diversified news environment emerged. But this diversification – or what Roy calls “provincializing” – doesn’t automatically bring empowerment or resistance at the local level. On the contrary, caste and other inequalities persist in the industry in its liberalized version, as well.

Dhiraj Murthy, “Twitter: Microphone for the masses?” *Media, Culture & Society* 33, no. 5 (July 2011): 779-789. doi: 10.1177/0163443711404744.

In this article, Murthy makes the argument that twitter and ordinary citizens’ use of twitter for news coverage has altered the mechanisms of news production. Through case studies, it is illustrated that mainstream media is paying attention and making use of citizens’ coverage of news through twitter. As it is also acknowledged in the article, the audience pays attention to the news story rather than the original person who tweeted the story. Another issue is that these people are not paid for what they do.

Lijun Tang & Helen Sampson, “The interaction between mass media and the internet in non-democratic states: The case of China.” *Media, Culture & Society* 34, no. 4 (May 2012): 457-471. doi: 10.1177/0163443711436358.

*Formal Abstract:*

The internet is widely seen to have facilitated social movement organizations (SMOs) by providing them with alternative media. In the western context, some authors suggest that additionally SMOs use the internet tactically as a tool to gain access to traditional news media. This usage is seen to reaffirm and reinforce the centrality of print and electronic news media. This article shifts the focus to China and examines the interaction between the internet and the traditional mass media in the unfolding of three internet incidents. It reveals that via the

expression of public opinion on the internet ordinary people are able to collectively shape and even direct conventional news agendas. In China, where the role of the media is to 'direct' public opinion rather than to reflect it, this suggests that the interaction between the two forms of communication serves to challenge state control over the traditional media.

Note: Articles like these are quite problematic even from their title, where China is regarded as "non-democracy". Not that everything is great in China but the essentializing of democracy with the "West" is still something we get to see even in highly respected journals like *Media Culture and Society*. Where in the world do people not resist the state, anyway?

Yik Chan Chin, "Public service broadcasting, public interest and individual rights in China." *Media, Culture & Society* 34, no. 7 (October 2012): 898-912.  
doi: 10.1177/0163443712452700.

This article assumes the existence of a strong Chinese state in terms of defining public service broadcasting. It argues that "that China's public service broadcasting (PSB) policy has been motivated more by the pragmatic ends of securing social stability and cohesion than by moral or humane concerns for the development of citizens". But again, I am not convinced by how democracy, human rights is defined in this article. It presupposes this ideal democracy as it exists in the West. Similarly, history is constructed as this linear path where China is this "anomaly"; a public service broadcasting policy that respects the liberal individual will evolve slowly.

A Miriam B Lips, "Reconstructing, attributing and fixating citizen identities in digital-era government." *Media, Culture & Society* 35, no. 1 (January 2013): 61-70.  
doi: 10.1177/0163443712464559.

This article seems to present a political science oriented communication perspective, where the author discusses the kind of shifts that take place in "ICT-enabled citizen-government relationships" (p. 61). Lips takes the discussion beyond the freedom-surveillance dichotomy. Based on case studies (driver's licence, starting a company online, and e-benefits provision) conducted in the UK and New Zealand, Lips argues that "many e-government service environments are in fact converged online and offline environments, two cases present citizen experiences with a dominantly online service environment and one with a mixed online and offline service environment". (p. 62). This article, apart from making some abstract definitions ['citizen identity reconstruction' as the collection, processing and storage of identity information related to a citizen role identity (e.g. benefit claimant); 'citizen identity attribution' as associating identity information collected or generated in an e-government service environment with an individual (e.g. matching); and 'citizen identity fixation'] and stating that these differ in different cases, does not really seem to be saying a lot.

Tawana Kupe, "Globalization from my African corner." *Media, Culture & Society* 35, no. 1 (January 2013): 139-146. doi: 10.1177/0163443712464568.

Kupe's piece is a very useful article in documenting the location of Africa in the global geopolitical condition and where to situate media and communication studies, as well. For

Kupe, decolonization was certainly a positive move but right after that, Africa came to meet globalization. What is important as far as media and communication studies is that Africa still relies heavily on the West as far as journalism and media consumption is concerned. "Looking East" is not quite something that scholars are doing. As Kupe argues: "Media studies programmes, including the critical ones, are usually delivered in European languages and have followed theoretical frameworks that are largely based on studying media systems in North America and Europe and not the media systems of the rest of the world. They have yet to produce a coherent theoretical response to the emergence of China and its media systems" (p. 146).

Karin Gwinn Wilkins & Florencia Enghel, "The privatization of development through global communication industries: Living Proof?" *Media, Culture & Society* 35, no. 2 (March 2013): 165-181. doi: 10.1177/0163443712468606.

This really is a great article. I do not have much to add to the abstract.

*Formal Abstract:*

Development is meant to alleviate problems in the interests of the public good, yet the growing dominance of private donors problematizes this conceptualization. Working through a political-economic analysis of development, we see global communications as an industry that channels wealth from citizens into the hands of few corporate moguls, who then have the resources to assert their agendas in a global development context. We begin by conceptualizing development and social change within communication studies, paying attention to the privatization of aid within global capitalism. Next, we contextualize our case study, describing the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and ONE, promoted by Bono, as the funding and management settings of the Living Proof campaign. We analyze the initiative's construction of development problems, its articulation of how communication is expected to work toward social change, and its conceptualizations of success. The dominant theme of Living Proof program is that "real people" have achieved development success, which can be shared as "proof" with website consumers. We conclude by considering how such a framing serves the agenda of privatized development within a neoliberal project.

Sanjay Asthana, "Broadcasting, space, and sovereignty in India." *Media, Culture & Society* 35, no. 4 (May 2013): 516-534. doi: 10.1177/0163443712474614.

Looking at legal and historical documents, Asthana investigates the spatial construction of power in India visavis broadcasting. In addition to space, Asthana pushes for being beyond methodological nationalism and explores issues from a transnational perspective. He argues that "that the spatial discourse of the state can be grasped through a *transnational* framework that considers national and international as part of the wider global field of relations" (p. 516).

***Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication***

Dina Matar Talks to Gilbert Achcar, "Arab Uprisings: Geopolitics, Strategies and Adjustment." *Middle East Journal of Culture & Communication* 5, no 1 (January 2012) 7-14.

Some quotes from this interview that I found interesting:

It [Turkey] is not merely a US horse, although the United States of course appreciates the fact that Turkey, a NATO member, is playing an important role. But the key intermediary between Washington and the regional process is undoubtedly Qatar (p.8).

On Qatar's increasing influence:

Al-Jazeera is central in this respect. It has been a greatly successful investment for Qatar. It plays a huge role. Whatever Al-Jazeera costs Qatar—peanuts, when compared to its oil and gas income—its political role has been tremendous. Qatar for a long while now has replaced the Saudis as the main funder of the Muslim Brotherhood. Al-Jazeera employs many MB members, though it remains under Qatari control. At the same time, there are real connections to the United States. The director of Al-Jazeera, Waddah Khanfar, is known to have Muslim Brotherhood connections, whether with the Jordan branch or with Hamas, and yet Wikileaks revealed recently that he also maintained connections with US intelligence. Shaykh Yusuf al-Qaradawi, the spiritual leader of the regional Muslim Brotherhood, lives in Qatar, is funded by the Emirate and operates from there. Qatar replaced the Saudis as main sponsor of the Muslim Brotherhood, especially since 1990 when the Islamic movement refused to support the US deployment in the kingdom (pp. 8-9).

On the Arab Spring:

If we look for a *paradigm shift*, I would say it was in the *absolutely original or unexpected aspect of what has happened and is still happening*. The originality resides in the forms of the movement, its structure—a leaderless, decentralized, network-like movement that has mobilized millions—with some groups much larger than others, but with newcomers using modern technologies in new ways. The diversity of the movement will lead to new potentials. This is something new, not only for the Arabs: it has a universal dimension—there were similar aspects in Iran in 2009, for instance. *It is a trend showing us that the kind of mass movement that we will increasingly see in the twenty-first century will not be a remake of what there was in the twentieth century when the mass movement needed a key party or a charismatic leader to organize protest—from the Leninist party model of the 1917 Russian revolution to Khomeini's charismatic leader model in the 1979 Iranian revolution. Now we have leaderless movements* (pp 12-13).

Communication is now multi-centered, networked and we are seeing how these new technologies are conditioning the forms of protest. The importance of the social media is of course directly proportionate to the undemocratic nature of the local media. Then we come to the more specific aspect of what is happening in the Arab world. The emergence of a new political force which is decentralized, young and relatively educated—not exclusively 'middle class' but educated and belonging to various social layers (p. 13).

Haim Bresheeth, "The Arab Spring: A View from Israel." *Middle East Journal of Culture & Communication* 5, no. 1 (January 2012): 42-57.

doi: 10.1163/187398612X624364.

*Formal Abstract:*

The Arab Spring is one of the most complex and surprising political developments of the new century, especially after a decade of anti-Muslim and anti-Arab western propaganda. While it is too early to properly evaluate the process and its various national apparitions, it is important to see it in a historical context. This article places the Arab Spring firmly within the history of pan Arabism, and the threat it posed to the west and Israel in its earlier, Nasserist phase. The work of Amin, Marfleet and others, is used to frame the current developments, and present the limited view offered from an Israeli perspective, where any democratisation of the Arab world is seen as a threat. This is so despite the obvious influence the Arab Spring had on protest in Israel in Summer 2011, a protest which has now seemingly spent itself; it is fascinating to note that the only protest movement in the Middle East not involving violent clashes with the regime it criticised, is also the one which has not achieved any of its aims.

Gholam Khiabany, "Arab Revolutions and the Iranian Uprising: Similarities and Differences." *Middle East Journal of Culture & Communication* 5, no. 1 (January 2012): 58-65. doi: 10.1163/187398612X624373.

This paper asks the question: "The most significant question for many Iranians was how come that the two revolts in Iran and Tunisia which immediately and rather simplistically labelled as 'Twitter revolution' had a totally different outcome?" (p. 58).

Here are the answers:

Similarities:

The Arab revolutions and in particular the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions, like 1979 revolution, are revolts against dictatorships that were being supported by the United States and its allies. Second, dictatorships in such cases had an organic and direct relationship with the United States and the global capitalist system. Third, in all cases, and usually because of the direct influence of imperialism, sections of Islamists were (are) involved in the fight against dictatorship. Iran has a long history of that (constitutional revolution, nationalization of oil, and 1979) and in Tunisia and Egypt the Islamist groups have become more involved (p. 63).

Differences:

First, the Egyptian and Tunisian revolutions took place thirty-two years after the Iranian revolution, and time is a great teacher. People now have a much better idea and sense of what an Islamic government based on Sharia looks like. It is no accident that one of the main messages of the Islamist parties in Tunisia, in particular al-Nahda, focuses on constantly reassuring their respect for political pluralism and democracy.

Second, the international order in 2011 is very different from that of 1979. The Iranian revolution happened during the Cold War and in close proximity to the southern borders of the

Soviet Union when the first priority of the United States was fighting communism; and in that fight the United States mostly saw the Islamists as allies. In that context, the coming to power of Khomeini was not considered a major tragedy. In contrast the current global order and priorities, in particular since September 2001, are very different

Third, the 1979 revolution took place in a country with massive oil resources (though tourism plays a significant role in the Egyptian and Tunisian economies). And while sections of the Iranian bourgeoisie (Bazaar) in search of a greater share in the Iranian economy (and in particular oil) were happy to accompany and support Khomeini, the market in Egypt and Tunisia has much more solid links with the global economy. This means that the Islamists in Tunisia and Egypt, however fanatical they might be, cannot implement Sharia, dry up income from mostly European tourists and take away the livelihood of millions of citizens.

Fourth, the demographics in Egypt in particular are also different. Ten percent of the Egyptian population are Coptic Christians, and many participated passionately in the Egyptian revolution; one of the significant symbols of the Egyptian revolution was the image of the cross entangled with the crescent. Islamists do not have a homogenized population to rule. In addition, unlike Iran, the Islamists in Egypt and Tunisia are organized into political parties and not in the clergy apparatus (ruhaniyat). The implication of such realities gives a different outlook and shape to the future of political systems and struggles in Egypt and Tunisia.

Helga Tawil-Souri, "It's Still About the Power of Place." *Middle East Journal of Culture & Communication* 5, no. 1 (January 2012): 86-95. doi: 10.1163/187398612X624418.

Great article and really not much to add to the abstract.

*Formal Abstract:*

Against the claim that the uprisings in Egypt were driven by social media, this article argues that territorial place continues to be a fundamentally important aspect of political change—even within the realm of media. Two key arguments are made: first, that territoriality and place are integral to media networks and infrastructures themselves; and second, that media studies needs to give greater importance to such a geography. The author argues that while the uprisings displayed a shifting spatiality, it is nonetheless one that is rooted in real places and embodied practices.

Burcu Sümer, "Turkey and the Middle East: Axis Shifting or Re-tuning?" *Middle East Journal of Culture & Communication* 5, no. 3 (September 2012): 257-260. doi: 10.1163/18739865-00503008.

This is the editorial to a special issue.

Murat Asker & Banu Baybars-Hawks, "Media and Democracy in Turkey: Toward a Model of Neoliberal Media Autocracy." *Middle East Journal of Culture & Communication* 5, no. 3 (September 2012): 302-321. doi: 10.1163/18739865-00503011.

Not much to add to the abstract but of course, this was written before Gezi protests: This paper reveals the ways in which media autocracy operates on political, judicial, economic and discursive levels in post-2007 Turkish media. Newsmakers in Turkey currently experience five different systemic kinds of neoliberal government pressures to keep their voice down: conglomerate pressure, judicial suppression, online banishment, surveillance defamation and accreditation discrimination. The progression of restrictions on media freedom has increased in volume annually since 2007; this includes pressure on the Doğan Media Group, the YouTube ban, arrests of journalists in the Ergenekon trials, phone tapping/ tapping of political figures and the exclusion of all unfriendly reporters from political circles. The levels and tools of this autocracy eventually lead to certain conclusions about the qualities of this media environment: it is a historically conservative, redistributive, panoptic and discriminatory media autocracy.

Nur Uysal, Jared Schroeder, & Maureen Taylor, "Social Media and Soft Power: Positioning Turkey's Image on Twitter." *Middle East Journal of Culture & Communication* 5, no. 3 (September 2012): 338-359. doi: 10.1163/18739865-00503013.

This article is in conversation with the literature on soft power and nation branding. Based on a quantitative analysis of Twitter, the authors investigate how Turkish authorities are deploying twitter for diplomacy. The analysis reveals Turkey is cultivating soft power both in Europe and MENA.

### **Monthly Review**

Stephen Maher, "The Political Economy of the Egyptian Uprising." *Monthly Review* 63, no. 6 (November 2011).

From the article:

The Egyptian revolutionaries are directly confronting the rule of capital, consciously or not. Afraid of the consequences if the movement turns explicitly anti-capitalist, Western governments and IFIs have worked to ensure Egypt remains integrated into the global capitalist system. The "generosity" of the West serves as a means to establish powerful leverage over Egypt's future. By keeping it indebted, the power to shut off the credit spigot can be used to keep Egypt closely linked to foreign capital and strengthen the rule of the Egyptian Army and allied bourgeoisie in the face of popular upheaval. These measures are being carried out under the veil of an orderly transition from Mubarak's rule, economic assistance for the poor, and free and fair parliamentary elections. In enacting them, the West and its allies within Egypt are attempting to demobilize the popular uprising and limit the potential of the revolution to reshape Egyptian society.

### **New Left Review**

**Hazem Kandil, "Revolt in Egypt: Interview."** *New Left Review* 68 (March-April 2011).

Some quotes from the interview:

The theme of revolt: it was everywhere in people's imagination. Two developments were responsible for making ordinary, apolitical Egyptians feel they could no longer carry on with their normal lives. The first was the dissolution of the social contract governing state– society relations since Nasser's coup in the fifties. The contract involved a tacit exchange: the regime offered free education, employment in an expanding public sector, affordable healthcare, cheap housing and other forms of social protection, in return for obedience.

Behind it was this double deterioration—in the scale of economic exploitation and plunder, and in the extent of arbitrary molestation and repression—that made the lives of ordinary Egyptians who had nothing to do with politics increasingly unbearable (p. 19).

On media:

For forty years, the media were all controlled by the state, under what Nasser first called the Ministry of National Guidance and later Sadat the Ministry of Information. But in the nineties, out of the confidence I have described that no serious opposition remained, Mubarak allowed independent media to appear—a certain number of newspapers, satellite television channels, and a very strong independent cinema—that openly criticized the President, his family and the state of the country. There were only a few red lines that could not be crossed. Foreigners are often surprised that a movie like *The Yacoubian Building* could be made in Egypt, but there were many other films no less critical of the regime, some of them more so. How was all this possible? In good measure, the attitude of the regime was that if there is no organized opposition, all this would be just talk (pp. 39-40).

Cihan Tuğal, “**Democratic Janissaries? Turkey's Role in the Arab Spring.**” *New Left Review* 76 (July-August 2012).

This article by Cihan Tugal explores the dynamics of change in Turkish foreign policy under AKP since the Arab Spring and the context of the Syrian conflict. It's a well-written analysis where we get to see how Turkey's foreign policy is increasingly shaped by sectarian lines and the dichotomy between moderate and radical Islam needs to be complicated:

Internationally, proponents of a Turkish model for the Islamic world often counterpose it to the examples of Iran or Saudi Arabia, set at the opposite end of the spectrum. The developments of the past year suggest a different picture. The main demarcating lines in the region are getting less ideological and are no longer drawn between the 'moderate Islamists' and the conservatives. The exacerbation of the Syrian conflict has begun to crystallize supposedly 'primordial' sectarian differences. Unlike as they may be in some respects, Saudi Arabia and Turkey now find themselves in the same camp, with Iran as the common enemy. But though the situation may change, it is Saudi Arabia, with barely a third of Turkey's population, that seems to be having the greatest success in shaping the current political flux in its own interests. Not a murmur is raised by the 'international

community' when it subjects its own Shia population to the same treatment Assad metes out to Syrian protesters (p. 23).

Rob Lucas, "The Critical Net Critic." *New Left Review* 77 (September-October 2012).

This is a review of *The Shallows*.

*Formal Abstract:*

Advances in information technology have generated both delirious boosterism and gloomy prognoses of computer-assisted decline. Rob Lucas engages with the sceptical current exemplified by Nicholas Carr's *The Shallows*, tracing its conceptual underpinnings and identifying its lacunae—political, economic, historical.

**Asef Bayat, "Revolution in Bad Times." *New Left Review* 80 (March-April 2013).**

Bayat in this article discusses why the hope for the new order in Egypt did not meet the expectations. He calls for patience (he always did in his seminar) and says:

The point is not to disparage the idea of radical revolutions, for there are many positive aspects to such experiences—a novel sense of liberation, free expression and open-ended possibilities for a better future being among the most obvious. Rather, it is necessary to highlight the fact that the revolutionary overthrow of a repressive regime does not in itself guarantee a more just and inclusive order. Indeed, radical ideological revolutions may carry in themselves the seeds of authoritarian rule, for the overhaul of the state and the elimination of dissent may leave little space for pluralism and broad political competition. By contrast, 'refolution' may create a better environment for the consolidation of electoral democracy because, by definition, it is unable to monopolize state power. Instead, the emergence of multiple power centres—including those of the counter-revolution—can neutralize the excesses of new political elites. Thus Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood and the Tunisian Ennahda party are unlikely to be able to monopolize power in the same way that the Khomeinists did in post-revolutionary Iran, precisely because a range of powerful interests, including those of the old regime, remain active and effective.

It may then be worth considering another understanding of 'revolution', along the lines developed by Raymond Williams in *The Long Revolution*—that is, a process which is 'difficult', in the sense of complex and multifaceted, 'total', meaning not just economic but social and cultural transformation, and 'human', involving the deepest structures of relationships and feeling. Consequently, rather than looking for quick results or worrying about set demands, we might view the Arab uprisings as 'long revolutions' that may bear fruit in ten or twenty years by establishing new ways of doing things, a new way of thinking about power. Yet at stake are not merely semantic concerns about how to define revolutions, but the hard problems of power structures and entrenched interests. However one characterizes the process—as 'long revolution', or as one that begins with

the radical transformation of the state—the crucial question is how to ensure a fundamental shift from the old, authoritarian order to inaugurate meaningful democratic change, while eschewing violent coercion and injustice. One thing is certain, however: the journey from the oppressive ‘old’ to the liberatory ‘new’ will not come about without relentless struggles and incessant popular mobilization, in both public and private realms. Indeed, the ‘long revolution’ may have to begin even when the ‘short revolution’ ends (pp. 59-60).

### **Television & New Media**

Paula Chakravartty, “Modernization Redux?: Cultural Studies & Development Communication.” *Television & New Media* 10 (January 2009): 37-39.  
doi: 10.1177/1527476408325730.

“Given that “information societies” (emerging or established) are deeply divided as often by neighborhood and regional inequities as by national and transnational borders, I argue that media studies, and especially critical cultural studies, must pay greater attention to a parallel and often understudied terrain in the globalization of the media and information industries, the arena of development communications transformed.”

Dan Schiller, “Actually Existing Information Society.” *Television & New Media* 10, no. 1 (January 2009): 147-148. doi: 10.1177/1527476408325108.

Schiller is simply reiterating his arguments in a very precise, 2.5 page manner for the special issue of *Television & New Media*. He rejects both utopian and dystopian descriptions of the information society and calls for a historical-materialist analysis:

No serious analyst can fail to be profoundly impressed by these systems and services. Yet they do not supersede existing social relations. Any careful analyst must situate them in the information society that we live in right now, not in some future or hypothetical space-time.

Miyase Christensen, “New Media Geographies and the Middle East.” *Television & New Media* 14, no. 4 (July 2013): 267-70. doi: 10.1177/1527476413481856.

The editorial to the special issue, where “The topics addressed cover a wide spectrum: circulation of Arab music videos and public discourse; Lebanese bloggers and mediated public spheres; transnational television audiences and ontological security; social media, TV talk shows, and political change in Egypt; youth-generated Arab media and cultural politics; and the Arab Spring as an ephemeral communicative space. Together, the articles provide a panorama of how today’s multimodal media geographies and engaged actors reinscribe public cultures and politics in the Middle East.”

### **Third World Quarterly**

Hannes Ebert & Tim Maurer, “Contested Cyberspace and Rising Powers.” *Third World Quarterly*

34, no. 6 (July 2013): 1054-1074. doi: 10.1080/01436597.2013.802502.

*Formal*

*Abstract:*

The USA developed and has therefore historically played a lead role in cyberspace. Yet rising powers, including BRICS, have been increasingly challenging the established regime. China and Russia submitted a joint proposal on information security to the United Nations in 2011. India, Brazil, and South Africa have been focusing on the information society since their 2003 Brasilia Declaration. These initiatives demonstrate that cyberspace has become hotly contested. However, there is still a need to explain this divergence. Are rising powers challenging the USA because of their national interests, the urge to maximise their security, or do factors such as values and political structures explain the different trajectories vis-à-vis the hegemon? This article examines the foreign policies of BRICS from 1995 to date, explaining the influence of different path-dependent origins, of the systemic shift and the type of political system, together with rising civil society pressure.

Fabiano Mielniczuk, "Brics in the Contemporary World: changing identities, converging interests." *Third World Quarterly* 34, no 6 (July 2013): 1075-1090. doi: 10.1080/01436597.2013.802506.

*Formal*

*Abstract:*

This paper aims to address the reasons why the acronym BRICS is moving from being an easy marker to guide foreign investors interested in emerging markets to denoting an important political group of countries determined to promote major changes in international relations. Theoretically the paper draws on social constructivism to demonstrate that the changing identities of BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) can be treated as the main cause of the convergence of their interests in the international arena. Through a detailed analysis of these countries' statements at the opening sessions of the UN General Assembly from 1991 to 2011, their social claims about themselves are retraced and the way they have judged the international sphere in which they engage is captured, in order to demonstrate the changing character of their identities. These new identities, it is argued, created the opportunity for converging interests, which explains the emerging political structure of BRICS. The paper concludes that, after four major summits and a significant number of wide-ranging low-level meetings, BRICS might be considered one of the major long-lasting forces shaping the new architecture of international relations in the 21st century.

Crystal A Ennis & Bessma Momani, "Shaping the Middle East in the Midst of the Arab Uprisings: Turkish and Saudi foreign policy strategies." *Third World Quarterly* 34, no. 6 (July 2013) : 1127-1144. doi: 10.1080/01436597.2013.802503.

From its conclusion: The cases of Turkish and Saudi foreign policy strategies provide interesting insights into how emerging powers conduct foreign policy under conditions of uncertainty. Economic clout forms a strong backbone to the prominence of each. In addition, it is evident that the foreign policy behaviours of either one cannot be disaggregated from

internal politics. The motivations behind the actors they support and mechanisms they use to support these actors are perhaps most telling. Where Turkish strategies may be more intrepid as Turkey tries to re-carve a space for itself in the wider MENA, Saudi Arabia seeks to consolidate its position. Using the tools of ideology and symbolism along with patronage and diplomacy, both Saudi Arabia and Turkey are doing a precarious dance to find and retain space in a rapidly changing region.

Tobias Denskus & Daniel E Esser, "Social Media and Global Development Rituals: a content analysis of blogs and tweets on the 2010 MDG Summit." *Third World Quarterly* 34, no. 3 (April 2013): 405-422. doi: 10.1080/01436597.2013.784607.

*Formal*

*Abstract:*

Social media content generated by web logs ('blogs') and Twitter messages ('tweets') constitute new types of data that can help us better understand the reproduction of global rituals in the context of international development policies and practice. Investigating the United Nations High-level Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly on the Millennium Development Goals (MDGS), a three-day event held at UN Headquarters in New York in 2010, as a case study, we examine a sample of 108 blog entries discussing the meeting, as well as 3007 related tweets. We find that topics receiving the densest coverage mirrored existing priorities as defined by the MDGS. Although most blog entries created content which, in contrast to tweets, went beyond spreading mere factual or referential information on the event and even included some critical commentary, sustained debates did not emerge. Our findings suggest that social media content accompanying the Summit reproduced global development rituals and thus failed to catalyse alternative priorities for and approaches to international development.

André Bank & Roy Karadag "The 'Ankara Moment': the politics of Turkey's regional power in the Middle East, 2007-11." *Third World Quarterly* 34, no. 2 (2013): 287-304. doi: 10.1080/01436597.2013.775786.

This article is a very ambitious one in terms of magnifying Turkey's position in the region. As of today (2014), Turkey's foreign policy is failure and it is not that easy to assign Turkey that much of an autonomous role outside the regional imperial relations.

*Formal*

*Abstract:*

Around 2007 Turkey became a regional power in the Middle East, a status it has maintained at least until the outset of the Arab Revolt in 2011. To understand why Turkey only became a regional power under the Muslim AKP government and why this happened at the specific point in time that it did, this article highlights the self-reinforcing dynamics between Turkey's domestic political-economic transformation in the first decade of this century and the advantageous regional developments in the Middle East at the same time. It holds that this specific linkage—the 'Ankara Moment'—and its regional resonance in the neighbouring Middle

East carries more transformative potential than the 'Washington Consensus' or the 'Beijing Consensus' so prominently discussed in current global South politics.

Oliver Stuenkel, "Rising Powers and the Future of Democracy Promotion: the case of Brazil and India." *Third World Quarterly* 34, no. 2 (April 2013): 339-355.  
doi: 10.1080/01436597.2013.775789

*Formal Abstract:*

The dominant position established powers have traditionally held in global affairs is slowly eroding. One of the issues profoundly affected by this process will be democracy promotion, an area traditionally dominated by the USA and Europe on both the policy and the academic level. While several rising democracies—such as Brazil and India—may seem, from a Western point of view, to be ideal candidates to assist the USA and Europe in promoting democracy in a 'post-Western World', emerging powers like these are reluctant to embrace the idea. What does this mean for the future of democracy promotion once the USA's and Europe's international influence declines further?

Michael Givel, "Modern Neoliberal Philanthropy: motivations and impact of Pfizer Pharmaceutical's corporate social responsibility campaign." *Third World Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (February 2013): 171-182. doi: 10.1080/01436597.2012.755013.

*Formal Abstract:*

One of Pfizer Pharmaceutical's general corporate goals is that no person anywhere should be restricted from receiving essential and affordable medicines. From 2009 to 11 Pfizer's internal corporate social responsibility (CSR) programmes were private corporate efforts that were discretionary and limited in scope and impact. All Pfizer's csr preferred public policy governmental positions encompassed neoliberal government requirements based on market and profit considerations, with no positions demonstrating, in detail, how universal provision of drugs for all would be provided. Currently Pfizer's csr efforts represent a dichotomy when compared with the general corporate goal of not restricting essential and affordable medicines in order to provide medicines for all.

Roberta Hawkins, "A New Frontier in Development? The use of cause-related marketing by international development organisations." *Third World Quarterly* 33, no. 10 (November 2012): 1783-1801. doi: 10.1080/01436597.2012.728315.

*Formal Abstract:*

This paper examines cause-related marketing (CRM) initiatives where the purchase of a product by a North American consumer triggers a donation from a corporation to an international development organisation. CRM is quickly gaining in popularity within the non-profit sector. It is now a common means for raising funds and awareness and as such has

been deemed a 'new frontier in development aid' yet this 'new frontier' has received little academic attention outside of the business management and marketing literatures. The paper extends these literatures using insights from development studies. This approach is used to analyse empirical research on the use of CRM by development-focused organisations in North America. The paper argues that the CRM model raises particular challenges within international development that require further analysis. These challenges include the coupling of development funding to consumption and the simultaneous marketing of products and development causes as a means of awareness raising.

Jan Nederveen Pieterse, "Leaking Superpower: WikiLeaks and the contradictions of democracy." *Third World Quarterly* 33, no. 10 (November 2012): 1909-1924.  
doi: 10.1080/01436597.2012.728324.

*Formal Abstract:*

While US government agencies endorse and support the democratic potential of the internet and social media overseas, the criticisms of the WikiLeaks disclosures of US diplomatic cables reveal the bias in relation to transparency and democracy. This poses a wider problem of connectivity combined with hegemony. This paper discusses what the criticisms of the WikiLeaks disclosures reveal. After discussing the enthusiasm about 'hyperconnectivity', the paper turns to the WikiLeaks disclosures, and next spells out global ramifications of the leaked cables, the problems of transparency and hegemony, frictions between democracy and democratisation, and the role of banks blocking donations to WikiLeaks.

Mattias Vermeiren & Sacha Dierckx, "Challenging Global Neoliberalism? The global political economy of China's capital controls." *Third World Quarterly* 33, no. 9 (October 2012): 1647-1668.  
doi: 10.1080/01436597.2012.720841.

*Formal Abstract:*

This article engages with critical IPE scholars who have examined the rise of China and its impact on the neoliberal world order by analysing whether China poses a challenge to the neoliberal norm of free movement of capital. We argue that China's capital control regime is marked by a contradiction between its domestic social relations of production and its global geo-economic ambitions. On one hand, the key *raison d'être* of China's capital controls is to protect and consolidate an investment-led accumulation regime that redistributes income and wealth from Chinese workers to its state-owned enterprise sector. Dismantling these controls would result in changing social relations of production that would not necessarily benefit Chinese industrial and financial capital. On the other hand, China's accumulation regime has found itself increasingly constrained by the dynamics of US monetary hegemony, making the contestation of US structural monetary power a key global geoeconomic ambition of China's ruling elites. In this regard, China would have to challenge the dominance of the US dollar by promoting the international role of the renminbi and developing liquid financial markets. Since it would have to abolish its capital controls in order to achieve this, there is a plain contradiction between its domestic and global objectives. A good understanding of this contradiction is necessary in order to be able to assess whether China will be capable of

challenging the neoliberal world order in general and the norm of free movement of capital in particular.

Clive Gabay, "The Millennium Development Goals and Ambitious Developmental Engineering." *Third World Quarterly* 33, no. 7, (August 2012,): 1249-1265. doi: 10.1080/01436597.2012.691829.

*Formal Abstract:*

Donor governments have been accused of not doing enough to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), while the MDGs have been accused from other quarters of not doing enough for development. The former position takes the MDGs as an unquestionable good, while the latter posits them as a Western ruse for the sedimentation of core-periphery relations. This paper transcends this debate, identifying in the goals a logic of ambitious social, cultural and spatial engineering. Inspired by Foucauldian development anthropology, the paper highlights three themes implicit in MDG texts, requiring biopolitical interventions on bodies, societies and spaces, namely risk, sex, gender and family; Homo Economicus; and the city. The paper concludes with a reflection on the likelihood of resistance to such interventions.

Rhys Jenkins, "Latin America and China—a new dependency?" *Third World Quarterly* 33, no. 7 (August 2012): 1337-1358. doi: 10.1080/01436597.2012.691834.

This is a very good article in terms of complicating the rise of China and what that means as far as imperial relations within Latin America are concerned.

*Formal Abstract:*

Economic relations between China and Latin America have grown rapidly over the past decade. This paper documents the growth of trade, foreign direct investment (FDI) and other financial flows between China and Latin America and identifies the interests of China in the region as a source of raw materials, a market for exports of manufactured goods and an area of diplomatic competition with Taiwan. It points to the asymmetric nature of the relationship in terms of the relative importance of bilateral trade to each partner, the composition of trade flows, and the balance of FDI flows. It shows that these show many of the characteristics of centre-periphery relations. However, China is far from becoming a new hegemonic power in Latin America and the latter's relations with the USA and Europe continue to be more significant than those with China.

Monica DeHart, "Remodelling the Global Development Landscape: the China Model and South-South cooperation in Latin America." *Third World Quarterly* 33, no. 7 (August 2012): 1359-1375. doi: 10.1080/01436597.2012.691835.

*Formal Abstract:*

China's explosive growth and growing international influence have prompted policy makers and scholars to question how that country will reshape the global development landscape. While Western observers have used the concept of the China Model to describe China's development strategies and the potential threat they pose to Western liberal traditions, Chinese policy makers have promoted South-South cooperation to emphasise China's goal of a harmonious world order based on nation-state sovereignty and mutual benefits. This article explores these two competing organising principles with a focus on how each concept frames global development politics and China's relations with its development partners. Drawing on ethnographic research on China's new relationship with Costa Rica, I examine the assumptions and effects of these concepts in terms of how they shape specific development encounters. These examples suggest the intransigence of historical development inequalities and identities, which both support and limit China's global impact in significant ways.

Dorine E Van Norren, "The Wheel of Development: the Millennium Development Goals as a communication and development tool." *Third World Quarterly* 33, no. 5 (June 2012): 825-836. doi: 10.1080/01436597.2012.684499.

This needs to be read vis-à-vis the Gabay piece also published in this journal.

*Formal Abstract:*

Despite the shortcomings of the Millennium Development Goals as a development tool, they have proven to be an important communication tool that is worth preserving after 2015. Inclusion of important themes of the Millennium Declaration and elements of the capability theory is essential in a post-2015 system, as well as putting human rights and gender principles at its core. Process orientation rather than end goals could lead to 'Millennium Development Actions' with 'Progress Signs', which, represented in a circular symbol, form a 'wheel of development', complemented by a Wheel of Governance.

Hilal Khashan, "The Eclipse of Arab Authoritarianism and the Challenge of Popular Sovereignty." *Third World Quarterly* 33, no. 5 (June 2012): 919-930. doi: 10.1080/01436597.2012.687509.

*Formal Abstract:*

This paper proposes that the tumultuous events associated with the Arab uprisings are unlikely to engender democracy in the foreseeable future. At best, they will probably produce unstable political orders on the basis of accommodation and ad hoc political alliances. The argument of this paper lends itself to analysis through the examination of Arabs' experience with (1) failed reforms, (2) regime defiance, (3) the gap between youth awakening and sociopolitical reality and (4) the uneasy encounter between nascent competence, confidence and political consensus. The author's assessment suggests that recent dramatic developments in the Arab region are only the beginning of a long process of political evolution that is unlikely to be concluded before the successful resolution of the issue of political identity and the transformation of Arab publics from subjects into citizens.

David Ludden, "Imperial Modernity: history and global inequity in rising Asia." *Third World Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (April 2012): 581-601. doi: 10.1080/01436597.2012.657419.

*Formal Abstract:*

In the recently generalised historical coincidence of neoliberal free- market policy trends with accelerating global economic growth and inequality, India and China stand out as world regions with distinctive histories of imperial inequity. The rise of Asia shows that globalisation does not work the same way everywhere. In Asia historical dynamics of imperial territorialism generate inequities that fit global patterns through their absorption and mediation of capitalism. Economic reforms that brought Asia into global leadership ranks express imperial forms of power, authority, and inequity whose long histories need to be understood to make sense of Asia and global capitalism today. This article focuses particularly on India.

Some great quotes on Eurocentricism in history and social history:

Modern capitalist imperialism may have crowned Europeans with supreme status, and Asian nationalists may have fought European imperialists to make free nations, but a reproduction of old imperial forms of inequity also occurred inside transitions from empire to nation in Asia, something which continues to shape patterns of global inequality today (p. 584).

On imperial territory and what it means to live in imperial territory:

Three features of imperial territory are most critical for this kind of history: ranking, mobility and unevenness (p. 585).

Empires do not have a homogenous structure, especially temporally and spatially:

Historians nevertheless typically treat empire as a unitary political form whose shifting geographies and fluid temporalities can be crammed into flat maps and rigid timelines that describe the 'rise and fall' of each empire as a separate institutional entity. This kind of enclosed regime history provides an orderly chronology of imperial succession and creates a logical endpoint for imperial history in the mid-twentieth century, but obscures the fact that imperial forms of power and authority have structured human space for millennia (p. 586).

April Biccum, "Marketing Development: celebrity politics and the 'new' development advocacy." *Third World Quarterly* 32, no. 7 (August 2011): 1331-1346. doi: 10.1080/01436597.2011.600107.

*Formal Abstract:*

Politics and culture, once considered separate, are now fusing in new and interesting ways. Political activism is becoming popular, particularly through the expansion of a new kind of

development advocacy made highly visible through celebrity involvement. Theorists of globalisation celebrate the democratisation of civil society made possible by new information and communications technology; critical theorists will note the various ways in which ICT ambivalently makes the contradictions in global capitalism more obvious and has become the means by which globalisation is contested. Some metropolitan governments have sought to capitalise on this new knowledge economy by making knowledge for development part of their strategies to produce 'global citizens' necessary for the global economy. This paper examines the linkages between celebrity and government-funded development advocacy in Australia, which comprise the introduction of free market principles to form a marketing campaign for neoliberal globalisation.

Nir Kshetri, "Cloud Computing in the Global South: drivers, effects and policy measures." *Third World Quarterly* 32, no. 6 (July 2011): 997-1014.  
doi: 10.1080/01436597.2011.586225.

This article has a lot of data with respect to how the global south (China, India and Vietnam as some examples) are investing in cloud computing and deploying it within the state.

*Formal Abstract:*

Cloud computing has started to transform economic activities in the global South. Many businesses are taking advantage of the pay-as-you-go model of the technology, and its scalability and flexibility features, and government agencies in the South have been investing in cloud-related mega- projects. Cloud-based mobile applications are becoming increasingly popular and the pervasiveness of cellphones means that the cloud may transform the way these devices are used. However, findings and conclusions drawn from surveys, studies and experiences of companies on the potential and impact of cloud computing in the developing world are inconsistent. This article reviews cloud diffusion in developing economies and examines some firms in the cloud's supply side in these economies to present a framework for evaluating the attractiveness of this technology in the context of evolving needs, capabilities and competitive positions. It examines how various determinants related to the development and structure of related industries, externality mechanisms and institutional legitimacy affect cloud-related performances and impacts.

Emma C. Murphy, "The Arab State and [Absent] Civility in New Communicative Spaces." *Third World Quarterly* 32, no. 5 (June 2011): 959-980.  
doi: 10.1080/01436597.2011.578972.

*Formal Abstract:*

This study examines how Arab states have constructed national regulatory regimes for satellite television and telecommunications which undermine or inhibit the emergence of the three normative requisites for a civil political culture: freedom, equality and tolerance. Drawing on case studies of Jordan, Egypt and the UAE, the study argues that, by failing to be either self-limiting or to protect civil society from its uncivil components in the new communicative spaces provided by these technologies, the Arab states are attempting to

reconstruct their own dominant (new) media spaces and so prevent the conditions which might foster democratic political cultures of civility.

A useful quote:

That is not to say that the new regulatory regimes are completely regressive ... But the Arab state is capricious— its record is undeniably one of arbitrary and self-interested interpretation of its own laws—and without independent regulation it becomes clear that there is little scope for a culture of civility to be either consistently defended by the state, or to find space for its expression free from the state's own interference. Control is exerted through the state's own appropriation of sector regulation, heading off political criticism and challenges through infrastructural and/or architectural gatekeeping, financial requirements, threats of penalty... (p. 977).

Ziya Onis, "Power, Interests and Coalitions: the political economy of mass privatisation in Turkey." *Third World Quarterly* 32, no. 4 (May 2011): 707-724.  
doi: 10.1080/01436597.2011.567004.

*Formal Abstract:*

Privatisation has been on the policy agenda in Turkey since the mid-1980s. Yet progress was slow throughout the first two decades of the Turkish neoliberal experiment. More recently, however, Turkey has experienced a major privatisation boom in the aftermath of the 2001 crisis. This paper tries to understand the nature of the recent privatisation boom from a political economy perspective and attempts to account for the paradox of the mass or hyper-privatisation experience of Turkey, comparable with Mexico and Argentina in the 1990s. A key concept here is the 'pro-privatization coalition'. An attempt is made to understand how this coalition is progressively strengthened while the power of the anti-privatisation coalition has been undermined in the post-2001 era. An interesting insight in this context concerns the importance of legal and institutional changes which also help to shift the balance from the anti- to the pro-privatization coalition. The final part of the paper aims to study the changing nature of resistance to privatisation by selective references to the opposition to some of the major privatisation deals in Turkey.

Note: what is important in this article is the ways in which three major privatizations (tobacco, oil, and steel) caused different kinds of class and discursive resistance. Onis doesn't talk much about the media coverage and I do not know anyone who actually did that. Only the privatization of the tobacco company (TEKEL) was in the form of strong labor resistance, while the latter two revolved more around the question: is the company going to be sold to a national or foreign enterprise?

Richard Duncombe & Richard Boateng, "Mobile Phones and Financial Services in Developing Countries: a review of concepts, methods, issues, evidence and future research directions." *Third World Quarterly* 30, no. 7 (October 2009): 1237-1258.  
doi: 10.1080/01436590903134882.

*Formal Abstract:*

Research concerning mobile phones and financial services in developing countries has undergone rapid growth in recent years. This paper seeks to improve understanding of the current state of knowledge by reviewing the content of 43 research articles. A framework is developed that differentiates research activity according to a lifecycle model that incorporates financial needs, design, adoption and impact. The review finds that research to date has resulted in a high level of practitioner involvement, providing valuable links from the mobile phone industry to the research community but, as a consequence, research has become too narrowly defined. Thus, issues of assessing financial need and the measurement of impact have been comparatively neglected, while application design and adoption studies have received greater attention. This paper suggests a future direction for research and practice within the mainstream of micro-financial services and finance for the poor, correcting this imbalance, and contributing towards the mobiles-in- development-research agenda.

Dorothea Kleine & Tim Unwin, "Technological Revolution, Evolution and New Dependencies: what's new about ICT4D?" *Third World Quarterly* 30, no. 5 (July 2009): 1045-1067. doi: 10.1080/01436590902959339.

Good article, giving a nice historical overview of ICT4D initiatives. Some quotes to emphasize what the argument is:

Technologies have often been used to fit the ruling paradigm, so it is not surprising that, under a dominant neoliberal paradigm, the internet as a global network has been used towards creating a global, deregulated, ultra-competitive market- place (p. 1060).

This is a David against Goliath struggle. Despite some garage-to-riches stories enabled by the potential for exponential growth of customers in a global network, in this more mature period of internet development, size still matters in the new economy. Larger companies' market share, marketing budget and economies of scale present a challenge to smaller competitors, while governments' power to negotiate deals with ICT companies heavily depends on the size of the domestic market they control (p. 1060).

Yet, the authors also see 4 areas where new digital technologies can help us go beyond the limits of development theory:

1. The speed and power of new digital technologies provide an opportunity for activities to be undertaken at scales not previously envisaged (p. 1061) – *I get the point but the same myth applied to other previous technologies, as well, though.*
2. Networked and decentralised nature of the internet has given rise to new thinking about co-operative and collaborative models of creating software and content which can create more democratic forms of interaction and knowledge production
3. Advances in mobile telephony offer enormous potential for the democratisation of digital technologies. The very rapid adoption of mobile phones across Africa in recent years is testimony to the way in which people across the continent express a demand for them, and are willing to pay for the service

4. A fourth area where ICT4D does indeed offer something entirely new is through the rapid expansion of citizens' journalism, social networking and blogging environments that enable people to communicate and make information available across the world more or less instantaneously

Etienne Cantin, "Modes of Production, Rules for Reproduction and Gender: the fabrication of China's textile manufacturing workforce since the late Empire." *Third World Quarterly* 30, no. 3 (April 2009): 453-468. doi: 10.1080/01436590902742255.

This article is a critical take on the gendered division of labor in China and does point to continuities as far as the participation of female workforce in textile production. It may sound like a perspective that views China as "static" but I did not find that tone in the article. Below is the abstract and some quotes from the article itself.

*Formal Abstract:*

Textile production by rural households has been a major component of political economies in China since at least the late Empire. The petty commodity production of textiles first developed within a pre-capitalist context, marked by the interaction of owner-operator peasant households with a tributary mode of production. Initially petty commodity production led neither to 'industrialisation' nor to the replacement of pre-capitalist forms of household-based production. Instead, it continued to be carried out by people as members of households to which they had unbreakable economic obligations, and over whom kin seniors could exercise state-sanctioned patriarchal power to operate gender transfers. As cheap imports of machine-spun cotton yarns threatened to undercut China's domestic textile industry in the late 19th century, capitalist investors began to operate factories employing the rural women who were the first proletarians to manufacture textiles outside the household, and the forebears of China's new working class of internal rural migrants.

Elements of petty commodity production appeared as early as the Song (960- 1279) dynasty, they found their first coherent form under the Ming (1368- 1644) and Qing (1644-1911) dynasties, when a huge expansion of commodity production and the commoditisation of rural women's labouring capacities occurred. Petty commodity production, however, was not capitalism. It led neither to indigenous industrialisation nor to the replacement of tributary extra-economic extraction as China's dominant mode of production. Until the late 19th century textile production was not premised on the exploitation of formally 'free' but property-less proletarians, but on the extraction of a surplus from female members of owner-operator households to whom they had unbreakable economic obligations, and over whom kin seniors exercised secularly developed forms of patriarchal domination. The primary units of (re)production remained kinship groups, whether households or lineages, and most production took place within these entities, which were protected and indeed largely constituted by the state's capacity to subsume relations of production within a code of kin relations. Women and kin juniors were expected to produce more than they consumed in order to accumulate means of production managed by, and largely for, male kin seniors. This constantly available source of 'primitive accumulation' entailed gender practices which enabled

surplus appropriation by male kin seniors. Thus the social construction of Chinese workforces producing textiles as commodities was—and, as we shall see, remains—in large part shaped by the intimate connection that the patrilinear household, the state and other patriarchal institutions enforced between surplus extraction and kinship relations, which became over the centuries extremely significant relations of production (pp 455-456).

Haiyan Wang, Richard P. Appelbaum, Francesca Degiuli & Nelson Lichtenstein, "China's New Labour Contract Law: is China moving towards increased power for workers?" *Third World Quarterly* 30, no. 3 (March 2009): 485-501.  
doi: 10.1080/01436590902742271.

*Formal Abstract:*

China's new labour law is a significant reform that offers workers greater employment security and income protection. It is a product of both unprecedented industrial unrest as well as the Chinese government's decision to move its economy to a higher-wage, higher-technology future. The law has energised many workers, who are now using the courts and the Communist Party-controlled trade unions to press their claims. But the law has also evoked a sharp reaction from many employers, who have sought to circumvent its purposes in two ways. First, they coerce many employees to resign their posts— thereby forfeiting important seniority claims—and then rehire them as new employees. Second, many labour-intensive manufacturers have begun to shutter their factories and shift production to even lower-wage regions of China or Southeast Asia. Although long an instrument of labour control and intimidation, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions has sought to use the new labour law to win for itself a measure of institutional and ideological legitimacy.

What is also interesting in this article is that after labour militancy, a considerable number of factories shut down in Guangdong, and despite this, the economic growth was enviable from the perspective of Europe and North America.

To a large degree the new labour law, created at the peak of domestic discontent, is an effort to harness conflict within a legal framework, thereby channelling anger away from direct labour militancy against the government. By providing favourable legal provisions for the most oppressed workers, the new law actually encourages them to channel the fight for their legal rights to their own employers—rather than merely rail against an 'unfair society'. But such individualised grievances, no matter how successful, are no substitute for collective organisation within the Chinese working class (p. 498).

***New Political Economy***

Richard Sandbrook, "Polanyi and Post-neoliberalism in the Global South: Dilemmas of Re-embedding the Economy." *New Political Economy* 16, no. 4 (September 2011): 415.

*Formal Abstract:*

Although Karl Polanyi studied a different epoch and focused on Europe, his ideas have inspired an outpouring of studies on contemporary problems and prospects in the neoliberal era. The bulk of these studies pertain to industrial countries or global economic issues. However, the human, environmental and financial impact of market deregulation is arguably more devastating in the 'developing' countries than in the core. A question thus arises: do Polanyi's reflections on progressive alternatives to liberalism clarify contemporary debates on development alternatives in the Global South? I contend that democratic socialism – Polanyi's preferred remedy to the 'demolition' of society and nature occasioned by market civilisation – is problematical in light of what we have learned from the twentieth century, but his framework for evaluating alternatives – featuring the re-embedding of economy in society – remains as powerful as ever, I support this argument with an exploration of socialism and social democracy – as well as community – based alternatives arising from 'reciprocity'. Each possibility raises distinctive dilemmas, as an analysis of cases reveals.

Pádraig Carmody, Godfrey Hampwaye & Enock Sakala, "Globalisation and the Rise of the State? Chinese Geogovernance in Zambia." *New Political Economy* 17, no. 2 (April 2012): 210. doi: 10.1080/13563467.2011.552107.

Sam Hickey, "Beyond 'Poverty Reduction through Good Governance': The New Political Economy of Development in Africa." *New Political Economy* 17, no. 5 (November 2012): 683. doi: 10.1080/13563467.2012.732274.

*Formal Abstract:*

The new political economy of development, characterised by the rising powers' new resource finds in many poor countries and the financial crisis, has driven development ideas and practices towards a paradigm shift, moving it beyond the post-Washington Consensus which marked the high point of development's 'Poverty Reduction through Good Governance' agenda. This has important implications for the extent to which developing countries remain governed by the institutional and ideological imperatives of development. Optimists suggest that this could herald a new era of sovereignty that enables African countries to take fuller control of their governance and development priorities, including a shift towards a 'southern consensus' around structural transformation, whilst pessimists argue that the hegemony of orthodox development ideas has only been partially reordered and that new problems of sovereignty are now emerging. Insights from Uganda suggest that both of these scenarios are currently unfolding, leaving the outcomes uncertain and much to play for. What remains of the 'good governance' agenda has yet to adapt itself to this new politics of development, which requires the emergence of new forms of developmental state in Africa.

Alison J. Ayers, "Beyond Myths, Lies and Stereotypes: The Political Economy of a 'New Scramble for Africa.'" *New Political Economy* 18, no. 2 (2013): 227.

*Formal Abstract:*

Commentators across the political spectrum have increasingly drawn attention to a 'new scramble for Africa'. This 'new scramble' marks the latest chapter of imperialist engagement, with not only Western states and corporations but also those of 'emerging economies' seeking to consolidate their access to African resources and markets. The 'new scramble for Africa' involves therefore significant transformations related to shifts in global politico-economic power. However, as this article elaborates, much of the burgeoning literature on the 'new scramble for Africa' is premised upon problematic substantive, theoretical and ontological claims and debates. In particular, the article seeks to challenge two commonplace and related narratives. Firstly, the highly questionable representations of the scale and perceived threat of emerging powers' (particularly China's) involvement in Africa, in contrast to the silences, hypocrisy and paternalistic representation of the historical role of the West. Second, and relatedly, debate and analysis are framed predominantly within an ahistoric statist framework of analysis, particularly that of inter-state rivalry between China and other 'emerging' states vs. Western powers. Absent or neglected in such accounts are profound changes in the global political economy within which the 'new scramble for Africa' is to be more adequately located.

### ***Foreign Affairs***

"PREPARING FOR THE NEXT GENERATION: ICT SET TO BECOME A MAJOR DRIVER OF THE TURKISH ECONOMY." *Foreign Affairs* 88, no. 1 (January/February 2009): 7-8.

#### *Formal Abstract:*

The article, a part of a special advertising section of the magazine, reports on the growth of the information and communications technology industries in Turkey. Contained in the article is information about Turkcell, a telecommunication organization and the only Turkish business to be listed on the New York Stock Exchange. Süreyya Ciliv, the chief executive officer of Turkcell, is quoted on reasons for the dominance of his company in Turkey's telecommunications marketplace. Information on cellular phone use in the country is also included.

Walter Russell Mead, "Empires of Trust: How Rome Built--and America is Building--a New World." *Foreign Affairs* 88, no 1 (January/February 2009): 188-189.

The article reviews the book "Empires of Trust: How Rome Built--and America Is Building--a New World," by Thomas F. Madden.

And this is the whole review:

Since the birth of the American republic, writers and commentators have been drawing foreboding analogies between the state of the United States and the fall of Rome. Madden has taken this tired old chestnut and done something fresh with it. Pointing out that Roman power rose very high and lasted thousands of years (Constantinople fell to the Ottomans more than 2,100 years after the founding of Rome), Madden asks what, analogies with the rise of Rome, rather than its fall, can teach about the future of U.S.

power. The core similarity between the two states, he argues, is the degree to which their power flowed from a mix of factors: strong legal and military cultures, a distaste for foreign engagements, fidelity to allies, and a craving for security. The result in both cases was a slow and hesitant expansion and the creation of increasingly strong alliances. Although anti-Romanism was as common among Rome's allies and clients as anti-Americanism is today among the United States', in the last analysis, Rome's neighbors generally preferred to influence Rome's policies as allies rather than to fight Rome on the open field. The value of historical analogies over the millennia is necessarily limited; still, Maddens fresh take on the United States and Rome is provocative and stimulating and will give readers interested in both ancient and modern history much food for thought.

Richard N Cooper, "Protectors of Privacy: Regulating Personal Data in the Global Economy." *Foreign Affairs* 88, no. 3 (May/June 2009): 169-170.

The article reviews the book "Protectors of Privacy: Regulating Personal Data in the Global Economy," by Abraham L. Newman (Cornell University Press, 2008).

The entire review:

France, Germany, and the United Kingdom were early to adopt comprehensive national policies to protect privacy in the age of computers and high-bandwidth communication. The European Union followed with a directive in 1995. Since then, many countries--and not just prospective EU members--have broadly adopted the EU's approach. The United States, in contrast, has followed a much more limited course in assuring, monitoring, and enforcing the protection of privacy. Transatlantic tensions arose in the 1990s as the EU insisted that U.S. firms operating in Europe impose European restrictions on the flow of information between and within firms. Tensions were greatly exacerbated after 9/11, as the U.S. government increased its demand for information, especially with respect to telecommunications and travel, in the interests of thwarting terrorist and criminal activities. This book traces the origins and evolution of privacy legislation in the computer era and argues that the presence of autonomous privacy agencies in Europe gave Europe an advantage in intergovernmental negotiations over the protection of privacy. The author finds that regulatory capability with enforcement powers is a separately identifiable source of "power" in influencing the shape of global rules. This story is well told, but readers looking for a thoughtful discussion of the proper boundary between "privacy" (good) and "secrecy" (often bad) will be disappointed.

Lawrence D Freedman, "Wired for War: The Robotics Revolution and Conflict in the Twenty-first Century." *Foreign Affairs* 88, no. 3 (May/June 2009): 171-172.

The article reviews the book "Wired for War: The Robotics Revolution and Conflict in the Twenty-first Century," by P.W. Singer (Penguin Press, 2009).

In contrast to the recent past, when it was assumed that the future of warfare would be technologically determined, forecasters are now looking instead to social and ideological factors, demographic pressures, and the struggle for vital resources. Singer, who in his past books has shown a keen eye for new features in the strategic landscape, knows that technology has to be kept in context. He has, however, become fascinated by military robotics. Increasingly "dull, dirty and dangerous" battlefield tasks that once had to be done by people could soon be done by machines. If this means that humans may be able to stay clear of harm's way, it may have a significant impact on governments' readiness to fight, as well as on the form of combat that results. The role of unmanned aerial vehicles and devices for dealing with roadside bombs in Afghanistan and Iraq illustrate the potential, but Singer does not quite prove that the impact of these technologies will be transformational. Their role will always be limited by the extent to which conflicts require human contact (for example, as part of a counterinsurgency strategy). Nonetheless, as Singer explores the issues raised by military robotics--meeting with entrepreneurs, engineers and operators, ethicists, and pundits--his enthusiasm becomes infectious. With its informal style and cultural references, and because of its topic, *Wired for War* is a book of its time: this is strategy for the Facebook generation.

Walter Russell Mead, "From Colony to Superpower: U. S. Foreign Relations Since 1776." *Foreign Affairs* 88, no. 4 (July/August 2009): 138-143.

A literary criticism of "From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations Since 1776," by George C. Herring is presented. It comments on the difficulty in writing a comprehensive text on U.S. foreign relations in one volume and the need to cut extraneous material to provide a comprehensive examination. It states that Herring's stance is more historiographically conservative than other similar texts. It mentions U.S. relations with Native American peoples and its effect on foreign relations.

Wesley K Clark & Peter L Levin, "Securing the Information Highway." *Foreign Affairs* 88, no. 6 (November/December 2009): 2-10.

In this article the author discusses the importance of computer network security to national defense in the United States. The author considers threats of cyberspace attacks committed by both government and private hackers. He notes that software protection is not the only threat to national security, issues with hardware are reported to be responsible for the failure of nuclear facilities and gas pipelines.

This can be read in its entirety since the authors are WESLEY K. CLARK, a retired four-star General, was Supreme Commander of NATO from 1997 to 2000, led the alliance of military forces in the 1999 Kosovo War, and is a Senior Fellow at the Ron Burkle Center for International Relations at UCLA.

PETER L. LEVIN was the founding CEO of the cybersecurity company DAFCA and is now Chief Technology Officer and Senior Adviser to the Secretary at the Department of Veterans Affairs.

The views expressed in this article do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. government.

Richard N Cooper, "Piracy: The Intellectual Property Wars from Gutenberg to Gates/Against Intellectual Monopoly." *Foreign Affairs* 89, no. 5 (September/October 2010): 154-155.

The article reviews two books which are "Piracy: The Intellectual Property Wars From Gutenberg to Gates" by Adrian Johns and "Against Intellectual Monopoly" by Michele Boldrin and David K. Levine.

The first use of the term "piracy" to refer to the theft of intellectual property was in seventeenth-century England, and today it can mean anything from bootlegging a DVD to reproducing patented drugs. Johns, a historian, has written an erudite treatment of the origin and evolution of this type of piracy. Offering a dispassionate account of the interaction between the illegal diffusion of intellectual property and its defense, he observes that this evolution continues. The whole idea of intellectual property, he even speculates, may well end within the foreseeable future.

In *Against Intellectual Monopoly*, the economists Boldrin and Levine argue boldly and forthrightly that patents and copyrights are unnecessary evils--legal monopolies without merits--and should be abolished altogether. Remarkably, they have found no empirical evidence that patents and copyrights live up to their stated rationale of encouraging discovery and literary production (which is not to say that there might not be particular examples). They do find a great deal of evidence, however, that the introduction of patents and copyrights actually inhibits discovery and innovation--and even discouraged musical composition in the United Kingdom of the nineteenth century. That these laws have been foisted on poor countries by Europe and the United States through international trade negotiations is a matter of serious concern for the authors.

Ian Bremmer, "Democracy in Cyberspace." *Foreign Affairs* 89, no. 6 (November/December 2010): 86-92.

In this article the author discusses aspects of the political uses of the Internet. He notes that conventional wisdom states that democratized telecommunications brings about the democratization of repressive societies. The author warns that the interplay of cyberspace and the Internet with the liberalization of politics is a complex set of propositions. While the Internet may assist in the erosion of some authoritarian power, the author suggests that its impact on world politics and international relations is not clear.

A quote from the article:

But a closer look at these examples suggests a more complicated reality. Only in democracies--the Philippines, Ukraine, Lebanon, and Colombia--did these communications weapons accomplish an immediate objective. In Myanmar, Zimbabwe, and Iran, they managed to embarrass the government but not to remove it from power.

As Wriston acknowledged, the information revolution is a long-term process, cyberspace is a complex place, and technological advances are no substitute for human wisdom. Innovations in modern communications may help erode authoritarian power over time. But for the moment, their impact on international politics is not so easy to predict.

Adam Segal, "Chinese Computer Games." *Foreign Affairs* 91, no 2, (March/April 2012): 14-20.

The article discusses the lack of potential for an alliance between the United States and China in the area of cyber crime prevention. The author explains that in 2011 computer hackers accessed the files of various governments and international organizations to steal military secrets and intellectual property. This lack of potential revolves around the nations' different understandings of Internet access rights, which are restricted in China over fears of political instability. The author notes that the Chinese government relies on industrial espionage and therefore does little to regulate cyber crime.

Daniel Byman, "Why Drones Work." *Foreign Affairs* 92, no. 4 (July/August 2013): 32-43.

A very concerning article in terms of its endorsement of drones from the lens of international relations and terrorism:

The article looks at the use of drone aircraft for targeted missile attacks as part of U.S. counterterrorism policy, as of 2013. The author notes that drone attacks have raised controversy, and he presents a case for the view that drone attacks are an effective and legitimate element of U.S. military policy. He says that by killing thousands of leaders and members of al-Qaeda and other terrorist groups, primarily in Pakistan and Yemen, the drone strikes ordered by U.S. Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama have significantly weakened those groups. He argues that alternative strategies would have been riskier for the U.S. military.

Audrey Kurth Cronin, "Why Drones Fail." *Foreign Affairs* 92, no. 4 (July/August 2013): 44-54.

This is also another concerning article since there is no mentioning of the death of innocent people, or human lives.

The article looks at the use of drone aircraft for targeted missile attacks as part of U.S. counterterrorism policy, as of 2013. The author presents a case for the view that drone attacks are an ineffective tactic in meeting the strategic goals of U.S. counterterrorism policy. She says killing the leaders of a terrorist organization, as drone strikes have done in the case of the al-Qaeda terrorist group, does not necessarily destroy the organization. She argues that such killings, as well as the collateral civilian deaths, enhance al-Qaeda's propaganda and recruitment. She also says the use of drones has weakened strategic cooperation on counterterrorism between the U.S. and the countries targeted by U.S. drone strikes, particularly Pakistan and Yemen.

Kenneth Cukier & Viktor Mayer-Schoenberger, "The Rise of Big Data." *Foreign Affairs* 92, no. 3 (May/June 2013): 27-40.

A well-written, interrogating piece on big data. Not theoretical or Deleuzian like the recent rise in humanities. Below is the abstract and some quotes to consider.

*Formal Abstract:*

The article discusses the effect of increasing quantities of digital information, or big data, on the way humans interact, communicate, and learn, with information on how it has altered the popular perception of data. Topics include the determination of correlative rather than causative relationships in statistical research using large quantities of data, the lack of accuracy and precision of data created through resources such as the Internet, and the ability of technology to produce larger statistical samples

Ultimately, big data marks the moment when the "information society" finally fulfills the promise implied by its name. The data take center stage. All those digital bits that have been gathered can now be harnessed in novel ways to serve new purposes and unlock new forms of value. But this requires a new way of thinking and will challenge institutions and identities. In a world where data shape decisions more and more, what purpose will remain for people, or for intuition, or for going against the facts? If everyone appeals to the data and harnesses big-data tools, perhaps what will become the central point of differentiation is unpredictability: the human element of instinct, risk taking, accidents, and even error. If so, then there will be a special need to carve out a place for the human: to reserve space for intuition, common sense, and serendipity to ensure that they are not crowded out by data and machine-made answers.

This has important implications for the notion of progress in society. Big data enables us to experiment faster and explore more leads. These advantages should produce more innovation. But at times, the spark of invention becomes what the data do not say. That is something that no amount of data can ever confirm or corroborate, since it has yet to exist. If Henry Ford had queried big-data algorithms to discover what his customers wanted, they would have come back with "a faster horse," to recast his famous line. In a world of big data, it is the most human traits that will need to be fostered -- creativity, intuition, and intellectual ambition -- since human ingenuity is the source of progress.

Big data is a resource and a tool. It is meant to inform, rather than explain; it points toward understanding, but it can still lead to misunderstanding, depending on how well it is wielded. And however dazzling the power of big data appears, its seductive glimmer must never blind us to its inherent imperfections. Rather, we must adopt this technology with an appreciation not just of its power but also of its limitations.

***Insight Turkey***

Sadik Ünay, "Global Transformations and the MENA: A Comparative Political Economy Analysis." *Insight Turkey* 13, no.1 (2011): 175-198.

*Formal Abstract:*

The regional geographical entity known as the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) has been at the epicenter of global power struggles over the course of the last centuries with an ever-increasing intensity. While the region has been a popular subject in the literature of political science and international relations due to the sheer volume of conflicts raging within the parameters of its borders, writings on international/ comparative political economy focused on alternate regions such as East Asia characterized by a sustainable economic growth potential. This study aims to make a critical contribution to the political economy literature by conducting a theoretically and historically informed analysis on the transformation dynamics in the MENA region. To this end, the multi-faceted legacy of colonialism; the role of oil as a strategic resource; structural changes in the world economy; and divergent politico-economic reform trajectories in the wake of economic globalization will be evaluated.

Note: This article does provide some useful information and background but comes nothing close to the perspectives provided by scholars like Cihan Tugal and others. The political economy is only in the title. It doesn't even problematize the notion of democracy that it seems to endorse. It is obviously liberal democracy; that is it.

**Cambridge Review of International Affairs**

Branwen Gruffydd Jones, "Good governance' and 'state failure': genealogies of imperial discourse." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 26, no. 1 (March 2013): 49-70. doi: 10.1080/09557571.2012.734785.

*Formal Abstract:*

Current international policy discourse routinely characterizes the condition of African states in terms of either 'good governance', on one hand, or 'fragility' and 'failure', on the other. This conceptual vocabulary and analytical approach has become entrenched within the public imagination more broadly, and is reproduced in academic analysis, largely without serious questioning or critique. Some scholars, however, have argued that the entire discourse of 'state failure' should be rejected as a valid approach to understanding, analysis and explanation of social and political conditions in Africa. This position seeks both to demonstrate the analytical and explanatory emptiness of the conceptual framework of 'state failure', and to reject the uncritical adoption of strands of imperial discourse by academic scholars. This article contributes to this position by examining the failed state discourse as a modern form of racialized international thought. It argues that the discourse must be recognized as a contemporary successor to a much longer genealogy of imperial discourse about Africa and other non-European societies.

Julian Reid, "Politicizing connectivity: beyond the biopolitics of information technology in international relations." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 22, no. 4 (December 2009): 607-623. doi: 10.1080/09557570903325520.

A Deleuzian critique of IT-oriented theories and policies of connectivity.

*Formal Abstract:*

The traditional way of politicizing information technology (IT) in international relations is to raise questions concerning access. Rarely is the question posed of what IT does to people, how becoming connected subjectifies peoples, constituting them as a socius distinguished by properties and capacities of connectivity. Thus does this article address the biopolitics of connectivity; the implication of IT in liberal governance; the evolutionary posthumanism that has inspired faith in the governance properties of IT; and, crucially, the war and violence that are legitimated internationally on account of this faith. Following this critique it asks how to constitute an alternative politics of connectivity. How can we rework the concept of connectivity to conceive of alternative political horizons and possibilities? Exploring questions of the quality and intensity of connectivity, at expense of disciplinarily hegemonic ones of equality and quantity, the article engages with the rhizomatic theory of connectivity as advanced by Deleuze and Guattari

Elgin M. Brunner & Myriam Dunn Cavelty, "The formation of in-formation by the US military: articulation and enactment of infomantic threat imaginaries on the immaterial battlefield of perception." *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 22, no. 4 (December 2009): 629-646. doi: 10.1080/09557570903325454.

*Formal Abstract:*

This article explores the role of perception management as a doctrinal concept in the construction and deconstruction of threats. Threat construction involves a continual, reciprocal and constitutive relationship between the attribution of meaning and practice. It takes place in an environment changed by the multiple forces of the so-called information revolution, in which discursive links are forged between technology and victory as well as between scientific progress and military superiority. Through articulation and enactment, information and information technology are represented as both threatening and threatened in three dimensions: dependency on information as data, possible loss of information superiority, and loss of control over information as image. The enemy 'Other' in these threat constructions is everywhere and nowhere at the same time, and is seen as being greatly empowered by the same tools that empower the United States military establishment. But while, for many military actors, regaining control in the information domain through technological innovation seems more or less straightforward, the immaterial battlefield of perception proves harder to master. We purport that military strategists do not seem to fully grasp the illusionary nature of the belief that the information space is a thing to be shaped at will and without restrictions