

# [RE]VISIONS

PROTEST AND RESISTANCE

COMMUNICATION GRADUATE CAUCUS  
8TH ANNUAL ACADEMIC CONFERENCE  
IN ASSOCIATION WITH  
THE PAUL ATTALLAH LECTURE SERIES  
PRESENTING KEYNOTE SPEAKER  
PROFESSOR ANDREW CHADWICK  
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

NATIONAL ARTS CENTRE  
MARCH 7TH & 8TH 2013  
[WWW.CARLETON.CA/CGC](http://WWW.CARLETON.CA/CGC)

# [RE]VISIONS

Protest and Resistance

## MESSAGE FROM THE CONFERENCE CO-CHAIRS

Welcome to the 8<sup>th</sup> Annual CGC Academic Conference *[Re]Visions: Protest and Resistance*. We are excited to welcome presenters from across Canada and internationally to talk about this year's theme and share their academic research.

For the past seven years, this conference has grown in size and stature in the academic community. Graduate students and researchers have submitted top rate papers and were able to network with leading scholars in their fields. We want to thank all of this year's participants for helping us continue this trend into year eight.

A great deal of work has gone into planning and organizing this conference. We want to thank Dr. Ira Wagman, Ph.D., Dr. Eileen Saunders, Ph.D., and Coleen Kornelsen for their support at every stage. We want to thank executive members of the 2012/2013 Communication Graduate Caucus as well as our volunteers for their work.

We hope you enjoy this year's conference and look forward to continuing the discussion afterwards.

Danielle Allard, MA2  
Conference Co-Chair

Derek Antoine, PhD2  
Conference Co-Chair

## The Carleton University School of Journalism and Communication in collaboration with the Communication Graduate Caucus presents the 5th Annual Paul Attallah Keynote Lecture



**Professor Andrew Chadwick, University of London**  
**March 7, 2013 6:30 PM at the National Arts Centre, Le Salon**

Andrew Chadwick is a Professor of Political Science in the Department of Politics and International Relations at Royal Holloway, University of London, where he founded the New Political Communication Unit in 2007. He has authored numerous publications in the field of digital media and political communication, including the award-winning book *Internet Politics: States, Citizens, and New Communication Technologies*. He is a co-editor (with Philip N. Howard) of *The Handbook of Internet Politics* and the founding editor of the Oxford University Press book series, *Oxford Studies in Digital Politics*. His new book *The Hybrid Media System: Politics and Power* will be published by OUP in the summer of 2013. Visit Andrew Chadwick's official website: [www.andrewchadwick.com](http://www.andrewchadwick.com)



## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

We would like to thank the following Carleton University departments and organizations as well as faculty, staff and students in the School of Journalism and Communication. This conference would not have been possible without their tremendous support:

School of Journalism and Communication  
Office of the Provost and Vice President Academic  
Graduate and Postdoctoral Affairs  
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The Carleton Graduate Student Association  
The Carleton University Canadian Studies Department  
The Carleton University History Department

### **The Communication Graduate Caucus (CGC) Executive Committee:**

Adeel Khamisa, Krista Hatfield, Derek Antoine, Danielle Allard, Vladlena Mitskaniouk, Genevieve Tilden, Justine Mallah, Emily Lieffers, Masoud Nematollahi

### **Conference Committee Members:**

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Dr. Melissa Aronczyk – Dr. Miranda Brady – Carole Craswell – Dr. Eileen Saunders  
Dr. Mary Francoli Colleen Kornelson – Dr. Karim H. Karim – Dr. Chris Russill  
Dr. Ira Wagman – Dr. Michael Dorland

## CONFERENCE SCHEDULE – THURSDAY, MARCH 7TH

**9:00 – 9:30 am Registration & Coffee** [*Location: Le Salon*]

**Panel: Revisions and Rights – 9:30 a.m. – 10:45 a.m.** [*Location: Le Salon*]

**Panel chair:** Dr. Karim H. Karim, Ph.D.

**Wesley Petite** – How David Charmed Goliath – A Rortian Analysis of How to End the Oppression of the Gay Community

**Madison Trusolino** – ‘A Student Strike, a Popular Struggle’: Resistance and Media Representation in the Neoliberal Era

**Ryan Lux** – The Quebec Student Strike

**Panel: Special Undergraduate Panel– 10:30 am – 12:00** [*Location: The Fountain Room*]

**Chair:** Dr. Ira Wagman, Ph.D.

**Xiaofei Han** – [THE GREAT FIREWALL AND SELF-REGULATION OF INTERMEDIARIES:] Censorship in China’s Cyberspace and Corporate Responsibility

**Kayla Ross** – The Evolution of Prison Designs

**Edward Coe Spethman** – 93.1 FM CKCU “Monday’s Encounter”

**Eva Morin** – The Scars of the Holocaust

**Sarah van den Berg** – Urban Indigenous identities in the music of the Electric Pow Wow

**Lunch – 12:00 – 1:30** [*Location: Le Salon*]

**Panel: Computing and the State – 1:30 pm – 2:45 pm** [*Location: Le Salon*]

**Chair:** Dr. Mary Francoli, Ph.D.

**Trevor Smith** – From Instrumental to Communicative Reason in Politics and Computing

**Hadrian Mertins-Kirkwood** – Exporting the Internet: US Communications Hegemony and Global Internet Governance

**Benjamin Todd** – The Integration of ICT into Revolutionary Movements

**Panel: Culture, Movements and Media – 1:30 – 2:45** [*Location: The Fountain Room*]

**Panel Chair:** Dr. Eileen Saunders, Ph.D.

**Genevieve Tilden** – Bricolage Culture

**Tyler Braun** – Meal Interrupted: Jane Bennett and the Slow Food Movement

**Rebecca Elliott** – Branding Bytowne: Exploring the role of serialized television in representing Canada’s capital

**Break & Networking – 2:45 – 3:00**

**Panel: Civic Engagement and Media – 3:00 pm – 4:15 pm** [*Location: Le Salon*]

**Chair:** Dr. Michael Dorland, Ph.D.

**Tomasz Wiercioch** – CBC Public Spaces and the Active Participant: Does the Hamilton Digital-only Experiment Facilitate Engagement?

**Guy Hoskins** – The cocoon syndrome and the butterfly effect: Models of digitally-enabled civic engagement in mature and new democracies

**Geneviève Chacon** – Citizens in the Newsroom? Constructing Political News in the Digital Era

## CONFERENCE SCHEDULE – FRIDAY, MARCH 8TH

**9:00 – 9:30 am Registration & Coffee** [*Location: Le Salon*]

**Panel: Information Flows and Narratives – 9:30 am – 10:45 am** [*Location: Le Salon*]

**Chair:** Dr. Mary Francoli, Ph.D.

**Suzanne Waldman** – From Flows to Pools: Old and New Metaphors for Resource Management

**Emily Lieffers** – Retelling NATO's Story: Struggles for a Strategic Narrative

**Justine Mallah** – A Theatrical Performance vs. an Ideal Speech Situation: An Analysis of the Doctor's Office

**Panel: Idle No More and the Struggle over Technology – 10:30 am – 11:45** [*Location: The Fountain Room*]

**Chair:** Dr. Miranda Brady, Ph.D.

**Derek Antoine** – Hashtag activism: How the #IdleNoMore movement is reclaiming Indigenous history online

**Benjamin Klass** – The Technological Imperative in Canada and the Idle No More Movement

**Lunch – 12:00 – 1:30** [*Location: Le Salon*]

**Panel: Web Activism – 1:30 pm – 2:45 pm** [*Location: Le Salon*]

**Chair:** Dr. Chris Russill, Ph.D.

**Robert Woodrich** – #Occupy Twitter: A Content Analysis of Toronto Activists' Use of Twitter During the Occupy Movement

**Rachel Melis** – Masking Transparency: Anonymous Revolt

**Frédérique Bournot** – What you see is what you get: How the illustration of silenced women reinforces patriarchal ideology

**Panel: Protest and Resistance – 1:30 pm – 2:45 pm** [*Location: The Fountain Room*]

**Chair:** Dr. Melissa Aronczyk, Ph.D.

**Sarah Harney** – Decentralized Resistance: Black Bloc in the Age of Empire

**Josh Hissa** – Anonymous as Modern Trickster: An Ancient Perspective on the "End Boss of the Internet"

**Jennifer Boland** – Optimum Exposure: The Visage, Resistance and Regulation

**Break & Networking – 2:45 pm – 3:00 pm**

**Panel: Control and Regulation – 3:00 pm – 4:15 pm** [*Location: Le Salon*]

**Chair:** Dr. Ira Wagman, Ph.D.

**Lianrui Jia** – Control of Critical Internet Resources: a case study of the Internet in China

**Jaclyn Nardone** – Burning Down the Great Firewall, One Keystroke At A Time: China's Changing Mediascape, From Online Censorship To Digital Activism

**Adeel Khamisa** – Getting lost in "the cloud": Corporate control over the processing and storage of cultural content and information

**Derek Antoine, Carleton University**

*Hashtag activism: How the #IdleNoMore movement is reclaiming Indigenous history online*

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The #IdleNoMore movement in Canada dominated the national discussion for well over two months in 2012/2013. The grassroots movement has successfully and forcefully put Indigenous issues into the public realm with blockades, spontaneous round dance performances, protests, and social media mobilization. While the media has focused on the movement's opposition to unilateral changes in federal laws such as First Nations governance, environmental protection, and treaty rights, I argue that the movement has equally engaged in reclaiming and reasserting Indigenous history into the national consciousness.

Since contact, European settlers have taken to defining North American Indigenous peoples through media, public policy, and the circulation of stereotypes that denied Indigenous peoples their histories (Francis, 2011; Smith, 2009). Popular media images of Indigenous peoples in paintings, print, cinema, advertising, radio and television have recast diverse nations and cultures into one monolithic group, the Indian, stuck in the past and ignoring their identity's evolution (Nagel, 1996; Marotta, 2011). This image, however, has been disrupted as Indigenous peoples have taken to producing their own cinematic content online as well as through Indigenous owned and operated print, radio, and television stations (Pratt, 2010; Ginsberg, 2008; Roth, 2005.) This disruption continues through Indigenous protest online and activist use of social media to counter dominant narratives. In the proposed paper I demonstrate that the #IdleNoMore Twitter hashtag serves as a powerful reclaiming space where Indigenous activists are telling their own stories, challenging traditional media images, and policing Indigenous identity borders.

**Jennifer Boland, Carleton University**

*Optimum Exposure: The Visage, Resistance and Regulation*

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Often, in communication studies, our examinations of visual culture are concerned with representation. However, what role does the visual play in non-representative communicative forms? In particular, how can seeing and its role in witnessing and determining evidence impact our current regulatory environment? To explore some of the ways in which we take for granted the role of the visual in our culture, I will address two recent legal struggles regarding the display of the face: Bill C-309, which seeks to outlaw the wearing of masks during illegal protests; and the recent court decision to allow a particular sexual-assault victim to wear her niqab while testifying. When considering these two examples several questions regarding communication, regulation and resistance immediately come to mind—particularly those which have to do with identifiability. In this presentation, however, I will consider in particular how theories of visual culture and the image could contribute to an understanding of the cultural importance and function of facial display, concealment, and identifiability. Why do we seem resistant to the idea of concealment as a right? How is concealment positioned as a resistant strategy? Is this a fear of misrepresentation and deception, or do we fear being seen while unable to see?

**Frédérique Bournot, York/Ryerson University**

*What you see is what you get: How the illustration of silenced women reinforces patriarchal ideology*

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Recently, social advocacy campaigns have focused mainly on images of brutalized women. Despite its good intentions, social advertising that depicts a sad reality in a very passive way does

not always adapt to the literacy of its targeted audience. I will analyze this trend and its potential to promote violence against women, whether it is sexual and/or domestic.

The first article identifying the use of marketing as a social tool to change human behavior was written in 1971 by Philip Kotler and Gerald Zaltman, and was entitled "Social Marketing: An Approach to Planned Social Change". It defines social marketing as "The use of marketing principles and techniques to advance a social cause, idea or behavior" (Kotler and Lee 2011). Social marketing now represents a large part of the advertising market and represents close to a fifth of the budget of non-government organisations.

I will pay special attention to visual components and how they represent cultural symbols. Most advertisement campaigns rely on inspiring pity, as opposed to encouraging empowerment. On the other hand, commercial advertisement has mastered the art of selling ideals (McFall 2004). So why wouldn't social advertising use the same strategies? In order to understand how this might be accomplished, it is important to consider the cultural symbols being used. As Dawn Burton points out: "Insufficient attention has been paid to cultural differences resulting in communication failures" (Burton 2009).

**Tyler Braun, McGill University**

*Meal Interrupted: Jane Bennett and the Slow Food Movement*  
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Jane Bennett's work on vital materialism seeks to expand our conception of agency to encompass such things as animals and inanimate objects. Drawing on Deleuze and Guattari's term "assemblage", Bennett argues that agentic capacities are best conceived of in terms of a multitude of objects acting in concert to achieve a variety of ends. Bennett's hope is that her more expansive conception of agency may lead to a reformulation of eco-politics that would be better able to take into account the needs and wants of all things. However, this opens Bennett's project to the criticism that it understates human responsibility, and that, as a result, it risks negating political action entirely. Addressing these criticisms, I draw on Jacques Rancière's work on aesthetics and sensation as elaborated by Davide Panagia, and the ideas of the Slow Food Movement, in order to argue that the problem is not how to cast non-human actants as political actors per se, but rather, more precisely, how to develop projects that might allow us to perceive non-human actions in terms of their political implications.

**Geneviève Chacon, Université Laval**

*Citizens in the Newsroom? Constructing Political News in the Digital Era*  
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Considering how the media could strengthen the democratic public sphere, Norris (2010) distinguishes three ideal functions of news media systems : watchdog over the powerful, agenda-setter calling public attention to social problems, and gatekeeper (or gate-opener) communicating a variety of social and political perspectives. How are new technologies impacting the capacity of political reporters to perform these functions? How are social media modifying the way political news are produced? Our research problem, which we submit for this conference, emerged from these questions.

First, we present a review of the literature on the evolution of political journalism. We focus on how the recent reconfiguration of media ecology (Gurevitch, Coleman and Blumler, 2009) influences two dimensions of political news production : time and sources. On one hand, the accelerating pace of production transforms the "news cycle" (Bennett, 2011). Simultaneously, new technologies and social media allow non-elite actors - citizens, activists, social movements - to integrate the political news agenda (Chadwick, 2011; Messner and DiStaso, 2008), traditionally reserved to a small number of elite/professional actors (Gans, 1979; Charron, 1994). According to Chadwick (2011), this hybridization of old and new media modifies - subtly but decisively - power relations

among political news actors. These theoretical considerations bring us to enunciate specific research questions.

We conclude the presentation by discussing methodological challenges associated to the study of transformed news media production environments and of the actors (both journalistic and political, elite and non-elite) engaged in the production of political news.

**Rebecca Elliot, Carleton University**

*Branding Bytowne: Exploring the role of serialized television in re-presenting Canada's capital*  
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A city captured most often with the image of the Parliament Buildings, Ottawa has typically been perceived as a sleepy, stuffy government town. Official attempts to re-brand the city and emphasize various social, cultural, and environmental attributes have been less than successful. Technically Beautiful. City of Trees. Just Like You. These are all short-lived slogans that Ottawa has used in the recent past in attempts to create an identity that is both distinct from other cities and attractive to the public, as one of the most important functions of city branding is its influence on tourism.

One area of image management that has not been fully explored in the capital, however, is the role of non-traditional place marketing through the film and television industry. Film and television productions have the potential to re-present a location to the national and international public, functioning as an informal contributor to destination branding initiatives and as a motivator for film-induced tourism. Serialized television programs that encourage the development of a relationship between audience, storyline, and filming location, I argue, are particularly powerful in shaping place perceptions. Accordingly, through a case study of CBC's Michael: Tuesdays and Thursdays (2011), the first non-political series since 1987's Not My Department to be both filmed and set in Canada's capital, I will discuss the potential of this series to offer an alternative image of Ottawa that may contribute to the city's re-branding efforts and function as a catalyst for tourist activities.]

**Xiafei Han, Carleton University**

*[THE GREAT FIREWALL AND SELF-REGULATION OF INTERMEDIARIES:]*  
*Censorship in China's Cyberspace and Corporate Responsibility*  
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China has witnessed a "miracle" in telecommunication infrastructure development during past decades and is now the country with the largest number of Internet users, supressing the United States (CNNIC, 2012). On one hand, Chinese government considers telecommunication technology and Internet as key driving forces of the economy in the information society; the government has also imposed heavy censorship on online content and exercised extensive surveillance of citizens' online activities on the other. With a great deal of assistance from Western technology companies as well as international and domestic intermediaries, the rigid control in cyberspace has been achieved through a combination of technical strategies and regulation to maintain social and political stability. This paper examines the roles of technology companies and intermediaries in building the filtering and censorship system in China's cyberspace. According to Deibert and Rohozinski (2010), practices of Internet controls are categorized into three generations. This paper focuses on the discussion of the first-generation controls, which is the construction of the Great Firewall and the role of a Western participant, Cisco, and the second-generation controls, among which are the practices of self-regulation by domestic and Western intermediaries active in China. The paper further presents several hurdles currently faced by the regulating process of Internet companies in terms of corporate responsibility, given the efforts and debates on both national and international levels.



**Sarah Harney, University of Windsor**

*Decentralized Resistance: Black Bloc in the Age of Empire*  
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Contrary to how it is portrayed by mainstream media, Black Bloc is not an anarchist social movement. Those who utilize it describe it as a primarily defensive, yet “proactive” protest tactic. Black Blocs are typically composed of loosely affiliated individuals from various social movements, with no one particular political ideology. Though protestors who are utilizing Black Bloc do not typically hesitate to strike back in the face of police violence, their methods also include defending and “de-arresting” other protestors. This tactic is misinterpreted and criticized by mainstream media and activists alike. This begs the question, what political and societal ideologies does this type of resistance confront? Is a refusal of dominant ideologies in this manner effective in contemporary activism? This paper will critically analyze Black Bloc protest tactic with regards to concepts of empire and the multitude, autonomist Marxism and the socialized worker, and bio power. Focusing on the biopolitical nature of immaterial labour, it asks whether symbolic violence against capital can ever be effective in influencing subjectivity. It will detail the development of Black Bloc as a tactic, while examining whether refusal of this kind is an effective form of resistance in the age of Empire.

**Josh Hissa, Wilfred Laurier University**

*Anonymous as Modern Trickster: An Ancient Perspective on the “End Boss of the Internet”*  
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This paper seeks to challenge dominant narratives of Internet dissent specifically regarding the web collective Anonymous. Dominant narratives around Anonymous actively reduce the public’s understanding of the group, limiting it to a hacker group, an association of online activists, trolls, and even cyber-terrorists. Additionally, such narratives constrain the collective’s potential for evolution. To oppose these narratives this paper explores Anonymous as a modern day Trickster, borrowing from the anthropological traditions of Hyde, Rudin, Doty, Hynes and others. The core Trickster attributes of indeterminability, base humor, power inverting and boundary pushing behaviors, and evolution through failure are shaped by these aforementioned works. From this theoretical base, the ancient characterization of the Trickster is explored and applied in the modern context of Anonymous. The works of Coleman and Olson play a foundational role in the exploration of Anonymous’ history, recent developments, and relation to Tricksterism. The paper critically examines the origins of the collective on 4chan, later operations against the Church of Scientology, and the hacking spree of Lulzsec through the theoretical paradigm of the Trickster. The conclusions of the paper detail that there is no single ‘correct way’ to view Anonymous, its impact, or its potential. Dominant reductionist narratives limit and curtail the development of Anonymous; the Trickster designation does not. Instead, examining Anonymous as a modern Trickster adds layers to discourse, increasing the depth of understanding of the collective while rejecting the limiting provisions of dominant narratives and illuminating the enhanced possibilities and potential of organized political dissent through Anonymous.

**Guy Hoskins, York University**

*The cocoon syndrome and the butterfly effect: Models of digitally-enabled civic engagement in mature and new democracies*  
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The role of digital communication technologies in shaping new forms of civic engagement has been well-documented and robustly theorized, especially in the context of mature democracies in the developed global North. There, the ‘civic cocoon’ (Papacharissi, 2010) offers a compelling theoretical model in which to analyse the activity of a swathe of citizenry at once highly networked yet atomized, engaging with political causes fleetingly and piecemeal from the safety of a private digital realm. Conversely, the use of such tools to coordinate street-level protests - exemplified by

the vaunted example of the 'Battle of Seattle' - is indicative of a phenomenon I dub the 'butterfly' model; physical, lithe and visible. The most celebrated cases of digital communication technologies being used for political or civic ends in the global South have tended toward the latter trend, as the deposing of President Estrada in the Philippines is exemplar. (Castells et al, 2007) A certain binary therefore emerges between the notion of the 'cocoon', observed until now exclusively in the developed world, and the 'butterfly' that predominates in developing societies. The clean delineation of theoretical binaries, however, are inevitably sullied by on-the-ground realities and a confluence of factors now evident in emerging democracies such as Nigeria, India and Brazil suggests that this particular one is under threat. The ascent of a burgeoning and restive middle class, a rapid diffusion of smartphones, an enthusiastic adoption of SNS and discredited political elites, collectively create the conditions for a hybrid form of digitally-enabled civic engagement, one that petitions the state from a multi-modal and free-floating public sphere.

**Lianrui Jia, Carleton University**

*Control of Critical Internet Resources: a case study of the Internet in China*  
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The Internet is often treated as invisible infrastructure that resides in a naturalized background. However, as Paul Edwards argues, similar to other infrastructures, the Internet, is in fact a human construction and sociotechnical in nature (Edwards, 2003, p. 188). With Edwards' perspective on technology in mind, this paper aims to challenge the "taken-for-granted", invisible, seamless and global-centric view of the Internet that often seems to prevail in public discourse and argues that the Internet reflects the choices we make regarding technology and the values of a society that come to be reflected in them. While the proliferation of players, such as emerging domestic and transnational private media enterprises, international organizations and the state, complicates the control and governance of the Internet and turns the Internet into a less malleable and more regulable space.

This paper will unfold on two levels: firstly, a systematic review of literatures on the control of critical Internet resources will be provided, with a focus on the work of Yochai Benkler, Lawrence Lessig, Laura DeNardis and Milton Mueller. The second part of this paper investigates how these various control mechanisms that are implemented on multiple layers and at various focal points work within a specific social context- the Chinese Internet. China represents a unique case in global Internet governance not only because it has the world's largest Internet users population, but also the "Great Firewall" is deemed as one of the most complicated filtering systems in the world (Open Net Initiative, 2012) and many of the state's control mechanism has been exported to many other countries (MacKinnon, 2012). Therefore this paper calls for more attentions to be paid at the choices we make that affect the design, use, ownership and control of critical Internet resources and to re-evaluate and re-consider the liberating potentials of the Internet.

**Adeel Khamisa, Carleton University**

*Getting lost in "the cloud": Corporate control over the processing and storage of cultural content and information*  
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This paper analyzes the structural and technical changes within the networked information economy which have increased corporate control over the processing and storage of cultural content. As Mark Andrejevic suggests, the locus of power over information and cultural production has shifted to include not only the transmission of digital cultural content, but also its storage and processing (2006). Companies such as Google, Apple, Microsoft and Amazon have developed computing models which have seen the autonomy of the individual and small-firm content producers diminish. This runs in opposition to the optimism expressed by early theorists of the networked information economy. As Yochai Benkler suggests, the material means of producing and transmitting information and cultural content have become available to technically capable individuals (2009). The modes of cultural expression available to the individual have proliferated to

include blogging, social networking and online content distribution. However, with the rise of web 2.0, characterized by the increased dependence on web based applications, and the development of cloud computing the productive capacity and agency of the individual has come into question. The capital intensive nature of mass processing and storage has caused the flows of cultural content and information production to centralize and come under increased corporate control. This paper suggests as the networked media economy matures it shows signs of regressing to industrial media models characterized by disproportionate corporate control.

**Benjamin Klass, University of Manitoba**

The Technological Imperative in Canada and the Idle No More Movement  
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The Idle No More Movement has once again thrust the dialectical role played by technology in society into the public spotlight. On the one hand, the protest opposes the role technology plays in the destruction of our environment and cultures. Couched in the language of technological progress and economic benefit, the removal of protections for Fisheries and Oceans paves the way for the state and corporate beneficiaries of agreements such as the Canada-China Foreign Investment Protection Agreement (FIPA) to profit from the extraction of our natural resources, at extreme risk to the environment and with questionable benefit to the Canadian public.<sup>1</sup> On the other, Idle No More joins a wave of movements such as Arab Spring and Occupy Wall Street in utilizing social and other communicative media to facilitate the democratic organization and expression of concerned citizens, Canadians of Aboriginal, European and Asian descent alike. The destructive potential of fracking, oil pipelines<sup>2</sup> and supertankers<sup>3</sup> belongs to technology just as the democratizing power of social media does; how are we to make sense of this seemingly contradictory role of technology in society?

Over 40 years ago, Canada's philosopher George Grant said "We can hold in our minds the enormous benefits of technological society, but we cannot so easily hold the ways it may have deprived us, because technique is ourselves."<sup>4</sup> The Idle No More movement stands as the nexus of technology's Janus-faced role in society, that of progress and deprivation. It gives voice to the deprivation of technological society through an authentic, autochthonous movement. Idle No More uses technology to express what is lost in technological society. In this presentation, I intend to unpack my understanding of this tension, using Grant's powerful but sadly neglected concepts of technology and autochthony, in the context of Idle No More. I respond to the questions: What is the relationship between society and technology? How are Idle No More and similar movements an expression of this relationship?

**Emily Liefers, Carleton University**

*Retelling NATO's Story: Struggles for a Strategic Narrative*  
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NATO has undergone a major evolution over the last twenty years, shifting from a body of collective regional defense to a globalized organization with international security priorities. The organization's struggle to reconcile its original constitution with an increasingly sprawling mandate poses new communication challenges that remain understudied by academics. This paper considers the increasingly difficult process of legitimacy construction in NATO, arguing that structural changes to the international system and member disunity compromise the alliance's ability to project a coherent storyline and public image. This paper examines the issue through a constructivist lens, positing that NATO is shaped not only by material concerns but also by a collection of norms that govern alliance behaviour and identity. This normative underpinning is crucial to alliance cohesion; while NATO has expanded missions beyond its traditional region, alliance norms have not adapted (Kitchen, 2010), resulting in a "hunker-down-in-Europe" attitude (Shea, 2012) that contradicts the alliance's new image as a values community oriented around universal security concerns. This paper examines prior scholastic work on NATO disunity, applying it to Ringsmose and Børgesen's (2011) template for successful strategic narratives and Antoniadou et. al's (2010) conception of strategic narrative as a sense-making structure with a

clear problem and resolution. I argue that NATO must overcome its internal divisions in order to re-write itself and reassert its relevancy as a united player in a post-Cold War environment.

**Ryan Lux**

*The Quebec Student Strike*

The aim of this paper is to analyze the impact of the evolving new media landscape on the Canadian public sphere. Specifically, attention will be focused on the effect new media is having on the English Canadian audience's access and reception to communications of issues focused on 'social crisis' in Quebec. Traditionally, Canadians have depended on two linguistic-based media systems which have very little audience overlap. As a consequence, scholars have argued that no common public sphere exists between Quebec Francophones and Anglophones living in the rest of Canada and that characterizations of the 'Other' in the mainstream English press depended on familiar tropes, frames and values. This paradigm is being challenged with the advent of more accessible and diverse media sources ranging from blogs to social media like Facebook and Twitter. To explore this theme, this paper examines the distinctions between the content and access to reportage on the Quebec strike of 2012, where the linguistic firewall between Quebec Francophones and Canadian Anglophones was breached through blogs like translating the printemps erable, and media sharing via facebook and twitter. Conclusions are drawn that demonstrate new media facilitates affinity-based affiliation which allows bridges to be built across the two solitudes, collapsing the mass-mediated public sphere distinction between Quebec and Canada. Significantly, the media landscape of the student strike allowed, for the first time in any significant way, for a social movement originating in Francophone Quebec, to spread to the rest of Canada, generating conversations more along the lines of class than language.

**Justine Mallah, Carleton University**

*A Theatrical Performance vs. an Ideal Speech Situation: An Analysis of the Doctor's Office*

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Studies have found that effective doctor and patient communication have the ability to quantifiably improve a patient's health as much as many drugs (Traveline, Ruchinkskas and D'Alonzo, 2005). In this paper, I argue that social conventions surrounding the doctor and patient relationship need to be revised as the current norms may produce interactional constraints and impede dialogue, particularly when the patient is an undergraduate student. Applying Erving Goffman's dramaturgy to the relationship makes visible a potentially problematic power structure. More specifically, the layout of the doctor's office as well as the doctor's costume and props, constructs the doctor as the lead actor, who is dramatically portrayed as a busy individual of high-status and high-intelligence who promotes, maintains and restores the health of his patients. He leads the discussion, asks the questions, and tells the patient what to do, while the patient, in turn, plays a passive audience-like role following the doctor's orders. In fact, the literature exploring doctor and patient interactions has highlighted the importance of improving the reciprocal nature of the discussions (Grinyer, 2007; Wright, Sparks and O'Hair, 2008). In order to accomplish this goal, I demonstrate that the four validity claims of Jürgen Habermas' ideal speech situation, a key concept of communicative action, would be an appropriate and practical set of guidelines to implement on both sides of the interaction as it promotes a reciprocal relationship geared towards mutual understanding and consensus (White, 1988).

**Rachel Melis, University of Western Ontario**

*Masking Transparency: Anonymous Revolt*

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Political forms of protest have changed radically in the last decade with the proliferation of global networked information technologies. Digital protests, "cyber sit-ins", and in some cases, legally questionable electronic protests have troubled the conventional understanding of civil dissent. Counter-surveillance tactics, employed by some activist groups in response to the constant

monitoring and tracking of everyday life, have varying success and often take up a lot of energy and time. This becomes a tactical form of quelling dissent employed by the state surveillance apparatus. This paper considers the various forms of soft-surveillance employed by state policing that often leads to self-surveilling within social movements. Self-surveillance is prefigured by the growing culture of fear that has been governing society and culture in the last decade. Cultures of fear breed societies of control. Drawing on Asef Bayat's concept of "nonmovements", I explore the possibility for activist communities to begin to see outside of the logic of surveillance, adopting tactics that focus on community networks rather than individual isolation leading to vulnerabilities and the chilling effect.

**Hadrian Mertins-Kirkwood, Carleton University**

*Exporting the Internet: US Communications Hegemony and Global Internet Governance*

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Global flows of both information and capital are increasingly mediated by the Internet due to its unprecedented scale, speed, and flexibility. The decentralized nature of the technology has allowed supranational organizations to emerge as global regulatory bodies, while, simultaneously, national governments are proving increasingly adept at shaping how the technology is developed and used within their borders. The national/global tension created by multistakeholder governance presents a problem for hegemonic states attempting to promote a particular, homogenizing vision of Internet regulation both within and across their borders. The United States government in particular has been obstructed by domestic backlash and criticism from international organizations in its attempts to create a unified, global, commercial model of Internet governance. In response, the US has turned to a different policy arena for achieving the same ends: free trade agreements (FTAs).

This paper assesses the role of FTAs as a growing component of the US' global Internet regulation agenda. By concealing Internet-related provisions in trade deals, the US is able to push contentious policy, which would otherwise attract significant public resistance, onto other countries. This trend is evident historically (e.g. the Chile-USA Free Trade Agreement) and in ongoing deals (e.g. the Trans-Pacific Partnership). What this paper attempts to establish is the relative importance of FTAs by situating them (and US Internet hegemony more broadly) within a holistic model of global Internet governance. The paper concludes that US-led FTAs play a limited, but increasingly important, role in the socio-political-economic arena of global Internet governance.

**Èva Morin, Carleton University**

*The Scars of the Holocaust*

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The paper explores the recent phenomenon of young Israeli Jews who have begun the practice of tattooing the serial numbers given to their older relatives while imprisoned in Auschwitz, as a form of commemoration. The tattoos, a series of numbers on the forearm, were given to prisoners in Auschwitz as an identification mark, and as a way to further dehumanize the Jewish people, as tattoos are deemed illegal under Jewish law. Even after the Holocaust ended, the tattoos remained on survivors' skin as a permanent reminder of their suffering.

In recent years, youth in Israel have begun re-appropriating the serial numbers of their relatives on their own bodies, which sparked conversation regarding if this was the proper way to commemorate the Holocaust and its survivors. Interviews with some of the tattooed youth revealed that while the primary goal of the tattoos is the personal commemoration of their relatives, they also serve a purpose of reminding youth of the real atrocities committed during the Holocaust, as opposed to recent commercialized interpretations of the historical happening found in mainstream culture. The recent tattoos therefore serve to reject and protest the modern commodified projections of the Holocaust by exhibiting actual serial numbers on the human skin.

By challenging social norms and conventions with these visible and shocking tattoos, the Israeli youth attempt to renegotiate their own identity as relatives of Holocaust survivors, as well as honor the history of their relatives. These tattoos therefore serve a narratives to their relatives' experience in Auschwitz, as well as create new narratives for the youth with these tattoos.

**Jaclyn Nardone, University of Windsor**

*Burning Down The Great Firewall, One Keystroke At A Time:  
China's Changing Mediascape, From Online Censorship To Digital Activism*  
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China, the world's Great Firewall, is renown for its innovative and draconian restrictions to the Web. The Communist Party censors an array of topics in cyberspace—Falun Gong, Tiananmen Square protests (1989), democracy, pornography, Tibet, Dali Lama, Liu Xiabo, BBC Chinese and so on. The system of online surveillance, from censoring keyword strokes to tracking IP addresses, has been implemented by cyber police, Google, Yahoo and through netizens themselves via self-censorship. Beyond blocking websites, Chinese authorities regularly arrest citizen journalists who speak out against the regime online. But, as the policing of China's Web develops, so too do its dissidents and their circumvention tactics. From famous bloggers like Han Han to the 'Grass Mud Horse' spoof, this research will explore digital resistance on the Chinese Web and how netizens are infiltrating the Great Firewall to make their voices heard. Web users in China are battling censorship by participating in new online social movements, through local networks such as Sina Weibo and Renren, via text reformatting, code words, memes, satire and more. From Pi San's cartoons to calling the President 'carrot,' Web users in China are experimenting with free speech through comedy, which will be explored through Marieke de Goede's ideas of carnival and money.<sup>1</sup> In addition to de Goede, the work of scholars, bloggers, journalists and organizations will be explored and analyzed; from explanations of new Chinese words<sup>2</sup> by blogger Oiwan Lam to Rebecca MacKinnon's notion of Networked Authoritarianism,<sup>3</sup> Xiao Qiang's theories of Resistance Discourse<sup>4</sup> and Stephen Duncombe's idea of communicative forms.<sup>5</sup>

**Wesley Petite, Carleton University**

*How David Charmed Goliath – A Rortian Analysis of How to End the Oppression of the Gay Community.*  
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This political theory paper was prepared for a course entitled Sociology of Solidarity and explores how Rorty's theories on the contingency of language can help deconstruct heteronormative beliefs more efficiently than universalist claims of human rights. I see the problem to be an epistemic shortcoming and an issue of how truth is established. Rorty offers insight into how this "truth" can be improved and form a more inclusive collective identity. Despite the successes due to the Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms and collective action that has been taken across communities, I believe that there is more to be done to relieve the existential oppression of sexual minorities. My presentation will encompass notes on the formation of knowledge that results in division and oppression of peoples, how the gay community has resisted this oppression historically, and what I see to be the next step, demonstrated in Rorty's Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity. Attaining a more collective existence will be found to possible through using fragments of the here and now rather than claims beyond our accepted truths.

**Kayla Ross, Carleton University**

*The Evolution of Prison Designs*  
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Prisons can easily communicate a repressive environment where the architecture oppresses the freedom of individuals and promotes mass conformity. However, with the advancements in architectural designs, the repressive atmosphere that is constantly present in incarceration

facilities is becoming less evident. Through gamma analysis, this paper argues that although prisons create a repressive environment, they have become less repressive over time with the evolution of prison designs. This paper begins by providing a brief summary of the changes in the architecture of prisons over the past century. Afterwards, it presents a gamma analysis along with its findings of the four primary types of prison designs: the radial, the telephone pole, the courtyard, and the campus-style. Please note that the distributiveness index, the accessibility index, and the integration index are the main components of the gamma analysis that will be analyzed. Finally, prior to concluding, this paper discusses what other considerations might be taken into account when analyzing the repression found in prisons such as changes in prison ideologies, prison functions, and the level of respect between officers and offenders. In addition, if prisons are going to become decreasingly repressive with the evolution of prison designs, there is a risk that the punitive function of prisons will be compromised.

**Trevor Smith, University of Western Ontario**

*From Instrumental to Communicative Reason in Politics and Computing*  
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By analyzing a number of recent oppositional political movements (Occupy, Anonymous, Arab Spring) I argue that what these movements have in common is a desire for more political engagement and conflict. The modern liberal state is marked by a serious lack of opportunities for serious sustained participation in combination with a consensual style of governance which forecloses a robust and critical conflict of opposing political choices and opinions. Against this backdrop, oppositional political movements have increasingly augmented their physical protests with online activity which serves as a nascent political stage in which individuals can participate in decision making and engage in conflicts of opinion that are necessary for politics.

These attempts to find a new space for politics online manifest a shift in thinking about technology, and in particular computers. When computers were mainframes that were so big and expensive that only governments and massive corporations and universities could afford them, they were seen as implements of a form of technological instrumental reason that only led to more repression and less hope for a democratic politics (Horkheimer & Adorno, Marcuse, and Arendt express this view), but I argue that with the invention of the PC and more importantly the internet, the computer has brought on a shift in thinking about technology as communicative rather than as instrumental in nature, which is being reflected in the attitudes toward technology in these recent oppositional political movements. A participatory and conflictual understanding of politics is intensely communicative in nature, and thus must embrace the shift toward communicative computing in order to have any hope of reinvigorating our stale and stagnant system of administrative governance.

**Edward Coe Spethmann**

*93.1 FM CKCU "Monday's Encounter"*

Ethnic minorities are often under- and misrepresented in mainstream Western media. Therefore, there is a need for ethnic media and programs to exist in order to give these cultural diasporas a platform and voice within the Western media discourse. This paper examines this topic with a case study of 93.1 FM CKCU's program "Monday's Encounter". The Serbian program seeks to give an alternative view of the dominant commentaries and ideologies offered by mainstream Western media about the events which took place during the Yugoslavian civil wars and the cultural codes and perceptions which have existed thereafter. In its own way, the program very specifically wishes to disrupt the dominant discourse, challenge historical narratives, and offer an alternative viewpoint of events, using Carleton's community radio station to connect with the Ottawa-Serbian diaspora as well as the community of Ottawa as a whole. This paper gives a historical background of events leading to the creation of "Monday's Encounter", examines the purpose of the program, and then provides a discussion of if and how the program fulfills this purpose.

**Genevieve Tilden, Carleton University**

*Bricolage Culture*

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There is nothing more evolving, more changing or more (re)envisioned than the cultural products of our society, which almost all, most importantly have a communicative and/or mediated base. As the immense developments in technology over the 20th and 21st centuries have allowed our society to create, post and share more mediated content than ever before, it has also be criticized as lacking in originality, as pirated and heavily latent with subversive intent and/or messages.

This paper examines theories related to content production, to the esthetics of art and image, to notions of originality and examines the context of our current society and its cultural products. Based in a post-modernist perspective, the author examines and discusses various theories and notions related to cultural production, namely: pastiche, convergence, bricolage, intertextuality, hyperreality and “mashups”. Pulling inspiration and theoretical support from RIP: A Remix Manifesto, a National Film Board documentary by Brett Gaylor, the author parallels contemporary issues of cultural production featured in the film, with a critical theoretical analysis.

The author argues that while mashups, remixes, sampling, memes etc. are highly common, celebrated and criticized cultural products of this current generation, the techniques, uses and production of these cultural products are by no means unique to our current cultural context. Rather, the author demonstrates how the re-use, re-configuration or bricolage of ideas and applications, whether it be visual, audio, text etc. have always been at the base of cultural production, and that culture in general, notably that of the current society, is a culture of re-appropriation, a bricolage culture. In its argumentation and demonstration of the thesis, the presentation and paper in-itself is a bricolage of audio, visual and text, pulling from various theories and examples to embody to the thesis.

**Benjamin Todd, Carleton University**

*The Intergration of ICT into Revolutionary Movements*

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This paper uses a Marxist framework to examine some of the issues inherent within capitalism that contributed to the 2011 political revolution within Egypt and the circumstances that led up to the Egyptian revolution. This paper addresses issues created by revolutionary movements, how Internet communication technologies (ICTs) were utilized, such as in the case of the Arab Spring; illustrating how new communication technologies can help to build both local and global cooperation between the often fragmented political opposition. The Internet and social media sites are gaining political significance within the Middle East, and other countries where mainstream media is often directly under government control. The Internet provides access to a growing number of useful services that can help facilitate discourse and solidarity worldwide, creating new possibilities for organizational forms and social relations, within which individuals can challenge the dominant social structures and mental conceptions of the world.

This is an argument echoed by Toffler (1980), who suggests that a bitter struggle is now raging between those who seek to preserve the old ways and those who seek to supplant it and once we do, we have a powerful new key to understanding the world. More importantly—whether we are setting policies for a nation, strategies for a corporation, or goals for one’s own personal life we have a new tool for changing the world. However, societal problems cannot be addressed through technology alone. Only society in cooperation with technology can solve them.

**Madison Trusolino, Simon Fraser University**

*‘A Student Strike, a Popular Struggle’: Resistance and Media Representation in the Neoliberal Era*

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The 2012 Quebec Student Strike posed important questions about post secondary education in Canada. Mobilizing over a hundred thousand students, participants rallied not only against the tuition fee hikes, but against the growing privatisation of the university where corporate investors increasingly dictate research interests. The coverage of the strike within Anglophone mass media tended to support the neoliberal nature of education as it did not stray away from their own economic agenda. I provide an analysis of why the strike represented a vital break from the current neoliberal discourses surrounding education and mass media. Using theorists from the critical Marxist tradition, including Herbert Marcuse, Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, as well as critical media scholars Noam Chomsky, and Pierre Bourdieu, I illustrate the way in which education and media, under neoliberalism, attempt to stifle forms of resistance. I use Canada's leading national newspaper, The Globe and Mail, as a case study for the entrenchment of neoliberalism within media outlining how the privatisation of education and the commercial mass media run parallel to one another closing off two fundamental areas in which dissent can be vocalized. I specifically look at how The Globe and Mail episodically framed the Quebec student organizations' spokespeople in a featured profile. I find, in particular, that the spokesperson for the 'radical' group CLASSE, Gabriel Nadeau-Dubois, was delegitimized through the focus on his 'celebrity status' and 'good looks.' Dissenting voices are thus presented as individualized rather than as a collective response to systematic social issues.

**Sarah Van Den Berg, Carleton University**

*Urban Indigenous identities in the music of the Electric Pow Wow*  
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Originally submitted as the final paper for a sound studies class, "Urban Indigenous identities in the music of the Electric Pow Wow" explores the ways in which the musical genre of Pow Wow-Step can be heard as a political aural reflection of the experience of the urban Aboriginal young person. Young Indigenous peoples living in urban centres must negotiate aspects of both traditional and urban cultures in efforts to construct empowering identities. Pow Wow-Step is a musical genre that has been popularized by DJ-group A Tribe Called Red (ATCR). It blends the pulsing beats of European Dubstep with the drumming and singing heard at the traditional Pow Wow. Mixing the disembodied sounds of modernization heard in Dubstep with the music of the Pow Wow mirrors the experiences of the Indigenous young person who must also blend the developments of urban centres with the traditions of their people. This paper will identify the political subtext of creating music that reflects such experiences. Considering the marginalization and state-sanctioned racism that has plagued the experiences of First Peoples nation-wide, the fact that a subjugated minority group is creating music for the masses about their experiences is inherently a form of resistance and reclamation. Self-described as "unapologetic about being Aboriginal" (Ball, 2012), ATCR's explicit celebration of and participation in their traditional culture in urban centres has been effective in creating autonomy where autonomy has been lost.

**Suzanne Waldman**

*From Flows to Pools: Old and New Metaphors for Resource Management*

The need to accentuate flow—flow of goods as well as flow of information—is a common-sense maxim of modern life, though it actually constitutes an ideology whose roots are entangled with modern capitalism. At present flow is practically a defining axiom of the age: "fluidity of systems, and the rapid circulation of goods, bodies, and objects ha[ve] ...become[] a paradigm of our contemporaneity" (Monx, in Mattelart, 303). Because the ideology of flow is so interwoven with capitalism it is difficult to mount an argument when flows need to be attenuated or balanced, for instance, when what is flowing is toxic or otherwise destructive to organisms or environments. Yet the sleek, virile imagery of flow—diagrammed with all those arrows that give it the sense of manifest destiny—is traditionally opposed to another powerful and yet subtle image, which is that of the pool. The idea of the pool as a still water that is nonetheless fertile precedes capitalism and signifies stillness, beauty, and eternal replenishment. It bears a semantic relationship to the idea of

a commons, and activists of British Columbia, First Nations groups, and advocates of open-access internet all hew to the imagery of the pool. My paper will provide a graphic overview of the opposition of these images and will suggest further ways that the political potential of the idea of the pool might be expanded in the confrontation with out-of-control capitalism.

**Tomasz Wiercioch, McMaster University**

*CBC Public Spaces and the Active Participant: Does the Hamilton  
Digital-only Experiment Facilitate Engagement?*  
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The Habermasian notion of public space often deals with the relationship between society and technology, with implications for common discourses about media and locality, and may also challenge cultural norms present in communities.

The Spring 2012 launch of a new digital-only Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) station in Hamilton provided Hamiltonians with a unique public service media space to tell their stories and connect with Canadians more broadly. However based on over two dozen interviews with community leaders and focus groups with potential and actual users conducted April-June 2012, findings suggest that in order for CBC Hamilton to be an effective and impactful public space, it needs to adapt its approach to deal with the unique cultural (arts, social justice, environmental, educational, etc.) and interactive pre-occupations of the city, including not ignoring the role of traditional broadcasting forms and approaches.

The research may also suggest that through capitalizing on existing virtual and physical social networks within this community, the CBC can build a space for discussion, which includes protest. However, this requires the Public Service Media (PSM) to acknowledge the audience as active participants in culture

**Robert Woodrich, Wilfred Laurier University**

*#Occupy Twitter: A Content Analysis of Toronto Activists' Use of  
Twitter During the Occupy Movement*  
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This paper explores the relationship between social media and social change. It does so specifically by examining tweets containing the hashtags #occto, #occupyto, and #occupytoronto, all of which were used to carry on a conversation about the 2011 Occupy Toronto movement. Grounded in alternative media and social movement theory, a content analysis is conducted on a sample of 7,858 tweets. A series of research questions were posed within this study, chief among which is the question of whether the Twitter conversation regarding Occupy Toronto placed greater emphasis on the movement's issues or on police and violence. Other works have identified that mainstream media place an emphasis on the latter, and a recent study regarding the 2010 Toronto G20 protests found that activists appear to be mirroring this practice. The findings of this study suggest that Occupy Toronto activists' use of Twitter did not emphasize police and violence, although there was at least one day on which tweets heavily emphasized police and violence over issues by a ratio of seven to one. As such, there appears to be a correlation between an increased police presence at a protest site, and whether activists are reporting on police and violence online.