



# CYBERNATIONALISM AND THE WORLD: POPULISM, IDENTITY, AND SYMBOLIC POLITICS IN THE DIGITAL AGE

CENTER ON DIGITAL CULTURE & SOCIETY

**APRIL 23, 2021**

**8:30AM to 3:00PM ON ZOOM**

# SCHEDULE

**8:30 AM**

## Opening Remarks

**John L. Jackson, Jr.**

*Walter H. Annenberg Dean and Richard Perry Professor  
Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania*

**Guobin Yang**

*Grace Lee Boggs Professor of Communication and Sociology  
Director, Center on Digital Culture and Society  
Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania*

**8:45–9:30 AM**

## Keynote Speech

### Cybernationalism and Global Governance

**Heli Tiirmaa-Klaar**

*Estonia's Ambassador-at-Large for Cyber Diplomacy  
Visiting Fellow at Perry World House, University of Pennsylvania*

**Chair: Michael C. Horowitz**

*Richard Perry Professor and Director  
Perry World House, University of Pennsylvania*

**9:30–10:50 AM**

## Panel One

### Making Neo-Nationalist Subject in Japan: Intersection of Nationalism, Jingoism and Populism in the Digital Age

**Satofumi Kawamura**

*Junior Associate Professor of philosophy and communication  
Kanto Gakuin University, Japan*

**Koichi Iwabuchi**

*Professor of Media and Cultural Studies at the School of Sociology  
Kanto Gakuin University, Japan*

## **Pseudo- Polarization of Public Opinions About Wuhan Diary in Chinese Digital Space–The Impacts of Cyber-Nationalism and Context Collapse on the Attitude Change of Comments on Fang Fang’s Social Media Posts**

**Hailong Liu**

*Professor, Renmin University of China*

## **Banal Nationalism and the Legitimacy of Entertainment in Contemporary China**

**Kui Zhou**

*Professor, Communication University of China*

**Chair and discussant: Jacques deLisle**

*Stephen A. Cozen Professor of Law & Professor of Political Science  
Director, Center for the Study of Contemporary China*

**11:00 AM– 12:00 PM**

## **Panel Two**

## **Go Wuhan, Go China!': Chinese Cybernationalism and the COVID-19 Crisis on Online Video Platforms**

**Florian Schneider**

*Senior University Lecturer in the Politics of Modern China  
Leiden University, The Netherlands*

## **The BTS Sphere: ARMY’s Transnational Cyber-Nationalism on Social Media**

**Dal Yong Jin**

*Distinguished SFU Professor  
Simon Fraser University, Canada*

**Chair and discussant: Seung-Youn Oh**

*Associate Professor  
Department of Political Science, Bryn Mawr College*

# SCHEDULE

**12:30–1:30 PM**

## **Panel Three**

### **Dialog Splitter: Nationalism, Social Media, and Schismatic Algorithm in Southeast Asia**

**Merlyna Lim**

*Canada Research Chair in Digital Media and Global Network Society  
Professor in the School of Journalism and Communication  
Carleton University, Canada*

### **Media, Humor, and People-Making: The Case of the 'Mufflerman' in Digital India**

**Aswin Punathambekar**

*Associate Professor  
Department of Media Studies, University of Virginia*

**Chair and discussant: Radha S. Hegde**

*Professor  
Department of Media, Culture and Communication, New York University*

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**1:40–3:00 PM**

## **Panel Four**

### **Shields, Fortresses and Guards: An Analysis of Nationalist, Populist Politics and the Rise of Cybernationalism in Turkey**

**Bilge Yesil**

*Associate Professor of Media Culture, College of Staten Island  
Doctoral Faculty of Middle Eastern Studies at the Graduate Center, City  
University of New York*

### **The Curious Absence of Cyber-nationalism in Latin America: Lessons for the Study of Digital Sovereignty and Governance**

**Silvio Waisbord**

*Professor and Director  
School of Media and Public Affairs, George Washington University*

**Martin A. Becerra**

*Professor  
Social Sciences Department, the National University of Quilmes, Argentina*

## **Cybersecurity as Statecraft**

**Norma Möllers**

*Assistant Professor  
Department of Sociology, Queen's University*

**Chair and discussant: Min Jiang**

*Professor, Communication Studies  
UNC Charlotte*

*Funding support of the symposium comes from Perry World House.  
Co-sponsored by the Center for the Study of Contemporary China.*



# ABSTRACTS

## PANEL 1:

### **Making Neo-Nationalist Subject in Japan: Intersection of Nationalism, Jingoism and Populism in the Digital Age**

**Satofumi Kawamura**

*Junior Associate Professor of philosophy and communication  
Kanto Gakuin University, Japan*

**Koichi Iwabuchi**

*Professor of Media and Cultural Studies at the School of Sociology  
Kanto Gakuin University, Japan*

This paper considers how digital media communication reconfigures “neo-nationalist subject” in the Japanese context. Neo-nationalist subject is not the so-called modern national subject that holds a collective identity as the rationale regulating his/her decisions and behaviors, but rather is the fragmented subject that has concern only on his/her own self-interests and is more likely to be affected by information on what may become the threats to his/her self-interests. This subject has the implicit anxiety that neoliberal economy would make his/her life condition contingent, in particular if he/she is disobedient to neoliberal policies, and is willing to align him/her on the side of neoliberal camps as a “preemptive” action. Overviewing the rise of cyber-nationalism in Japan since 1990s, we will discuss how affect-driven digital media environments produce neo-nationalist subject whose self-defensive desire to transfer oppressive force of neoliberal economy to others perform as the key supporter of authoritarian governance by attacking alternative movements and ideas within borders. We will also consider how neo-nationalist governance penetrates in society so as to promote the culture of hate and modern racism through intricate intersection of nationalism, jingoism and populism in the digital age.

CONTINUED ▼

# **Pseudo- Polarization of Public Opinions About Wuhan Diary in Chinese Digital Space—The Impacts of Cyber-Nationalism and Context Collapse on the Attitude Change of Comments on Fang Fang's Social Media Posts**

**Hailong Liu**

*Professor, Renmin University of China*

Cyber-nationalism plays a big role in online deliberation and polarization of public opinion in China. Many scholars have centered on the manifestations, factors, and consequences of polarization on social media. So far, empirical evidence that accounts for polarization or depolarization effects in non-democratic contexts is lacking. This study takes the changes of public opinion about Wuhan Diary as a case to understand the dialectics and dynamics of attitudinal polarization in the national prevention of the Coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19) in China. We analyzed the distribution of attitudes, attitude changes, and the features of bipolar opinions towards Fang Fang and her Wuhan Diary under Fang Fang's social media posts. Rather than capturing the evidence of polarization of public opinions towards Fang Fang, we discovered pseudo attitudinal polarization: polarization of opinions and attitudes only existed at specific moments. The polarization was temporal, as the debates of Fang Fang's controversies were mainly driven by public events rather than polarized political positions among the discussants. The big data analysis suggested that the distribution of attitude and willingness of expressing opinions from different perspectives changed overtime. More importantly, we found that a spiral of silence gradually appeared among these commenters of Fang Fang and Wuhan Diary. We argue that cyber-nationalism and context collapse on Chinese social media contributed to the changes of attitude and opinion expression in the debates of Fang Fang and her Wuhan Diary.

## **Banal Nationalism and the Legitimacy of Entertainment in Contemporary China**

**Kui Zhou**

*Professor, Communication University of China*

The history of TV variety entertainment programs in contemporary mainland China, born out of the CCP's revolutionary literary route, is a manifestation of the transformation of the social and cultural structure. Based on a systematic review of the introduction of "entertainment" as a modern idea in mainland China, the article tries to analyze the its entanglement with Chinese nationalism since communist revolution, and the recent rise of fandom banal nationalism empowered by ICT technology, and the implication to the dynamics of the Chinese media system.

## PANEL 2:

### **'Go Wuhan, Go China!': Chinese Cybernationalism and the COVID-19 Crisis on Online Video Platforms**

**Florian Schneider**

*Senior University Lecturer in the Politics of Modern China*

*Leiden University, The Netherlands*

When the COVID-19 virus broke out in China, foreign observers speculated whether the Chinese leadership was facing its 'Chernobyl Moment'. Suspicions of earlier attempts at a cover-up and assessments of the subsequent lockdown of virus-stricken Wuhan as both draconic and idiosyncratic raised questions about the ruling Chinese Communist Party's ability to retain its legitimacy in the face of the crisis. China's leadership, however, defied these foreign expectations and turned the crisis into a national success story. This paper explores the role that digital media played in cementing this success, specifically how various actors mobilized nationalist sentiments and discourses through online videos during the Wuhan lockdown. By focusing on visual discourses, online commentaries, and the affordances of the digital platform Bilibili, the paper analyses the role that 'hip' and youthful content played in the authorities' attempts to guiding online audiences to rally around the flag, showing how the rallying cry 'Go Wuhan' (武汉加油) became the vehicle for various actors to create patriotic representations and discredit critics.

### **The BTS Sphere: ARMY's Transnational Cyber-Nationalism on Social Media**

**Dal Yong Jin**

*Distinguished SFU Professor*

*Simon Fraser University, Canada*

BTS fandom has been one of the strongest, and many ARMY members have dedicated themselves to protect BTS from numerous controversies, while promoting the group's messages, which can be identified as cyber-nationalism. By employing a critical discourse analysis on BTS fans' social media posts and their online activities surrounding a few incidents, including Japanese network TV Asahi's cancellation of BTS's scheduled appearance in November 2018 and #BLM in June 2020, this article attempts to develop cyber-nationalism in the context of the BTS fandom. It investigates the formation of transnational cyber-nationalism, and then discusses the ways in which ARMY members as citizens in the BTS sphere utilize cyberspace, in particular, social media, not only to form alliances but also to protect BTS. Finally, it articulates how transnational cyber-nationalism in tandem with BTS has shifted the notion of cyber-nationalism, which can be identified as negative, even patriotic parochialism into constructive and socio-culturally corrected cyber-movements.



## PANEL 3:

### **Dialog Splitter: Nationalism, Social Media, and Schismatic Algorithm in Southeast Asia**

**Merlyna Lim**

*Canada Research Chair in Digital Media and Global Network Society  
Professor in the School of Journalism and Communication  
Carleton University, Canada*

Empirically grounded in the context of Southeast Asia, my paper examines the surge of nationalism (and populism) on social media. In my examination, I discuss these contemporary forms of nationalism in light of their predecessors and analyze how these changes are linked to digital platforms, especially social media. I anchor my analysis in three accounts; first, by discussing nationalism as a form of cultural expression (and less an ideology) within the historical context. Second, by exploring how the national digital ecosystems contribute to the everyday reproduction of national. And lastly, by examining how social media intensify this reproduction through the effects of algorithmic bias. Here, I argue that algorithms, which are embedded in social media practices, are schismatic. They act as dialog splitter that further deepen the division between different and competing types of nationalism and facilitate the emergence of political clusters rooted in binary affective rhetoric.

### **Media, Humor, and People-Making: The Case of the 'Mufflerman' in Digital India**

**Aswin Punathambekar**

*Associate Professor  
Department of Media Studies, University of Virginia*

This presentation will explore how new visual cultures of media production and circulation shape political culture(s) during the time of elections. In forging connections across news, popular culture, and unfolding political events, I argue that culturally resonant memes and satirical videos - in this case, involving a populist leader in New Delhi - link the time of elections to the continuous, daily time of politics. With a focus on contemporary India, I show how some media artifacts become part of an intricate, networked, yet comprehensible intertextual field that connects elections to long-standing political issues and debates around class, caste, and nationalism. I will also situate this phase of participatory culture in relation to the institutional logics of digital media companies and their partners (political parties in particular) that govern the making of a 'people' in contemporary India.

## PANEL 4:

### **Shields, Fortresses and Guards: An Analysis of Nationalist, Populist Politics and the Rise of Cybernationalism in Turkey**

**Bilge Yesil**

*Associate Professor of Media Culture, College of Staten Island*

*Doctoral Faculty of Middle Eastern Studies at the Graduate Center, City University of New York*

Long before they became buzzwords in analyses of contemporary Europe and the U.S., nationalism and populism have been breeding in various media and political systems around the world, successfully deployed by authoritarian and other leaders to achieve domestic and foreign policy goals. In this paper, I use Turkey and the ruling AKP government (Justice and Development Party) as a case study to explore nationalist, populist dynamics that have shaped the country's digital ecosystem over the last decade.

Online public sphere in Turkey is highly-politicized and polarized operating within the parameters set by the AKP's digital surveillance schemes and prosecutorial logic. At the same time, users and groups affiliated with the AKP (trolls, party officials, regime supporters, etc.) harass dissidents on Twitter and Facebook and overwhelm these sites with nationalistic messaging. While these problems are not specific to Turkey, the AKP's exploitation of socio-cultural and historical grievances vis à vis the West make the country's digital ecosystem especially vulnerable to the rise of cybernationalist practices.

In June 2020, the AKP launched the Digital Transformation Project in order to safeguard Turkey and its citizens from "global technology behemoths" such as Facebook and Twitter and "the new world order they are designing." One of the key components of this project is "Cyber Homeland," which emphasizes the securing of Turkey's digital borders and protecting the nation from influence operations and minimizing cyberattacks that allegedly undermine Turkey's national unity and corrupt its youth.

In this paper, I discuss how Cyber Homeland and similar initiatives (data localization, clean internet) are informed by the AKP's nationalist populist logic that views digital communication, West-based tech companies and social media sites in the context of cultural imperialism and digital colonialism. Through a close reading of policy statements and white papers produced by state agencies (Cyber Security Council, National Cyber Incidents Response Center) and using examples from recent information operations undertaken by non-state actors (AKP-affiliated social media operatives, Turkey-based hacker groups), I argue that the rise of cybernationalism in Turkey is articulated with ethno-nationalist, populist politics and conspiratorial thinking. I show how the AKP's ideational framework which is premised on "us vs. them" cleavages shapes online governance around perceived threats to national unity and sovereignty—a recurring theme in various anti-Western conspiracy theories.

# The Curious Absence of Cyber-nationalism in Latin America: Lessons for the Study of Digital Sovereignty and Governance

**Silvio Waisbord**

*Professor and Director*

*School of Media and Public Affairs, George Washington University*

**Martin A. Becerra**

*Professor*

*Social Sciences Department, the National University of Quilmes, Argentina*

As scholars with a longstanding interest in media industries and policies in Latin America, we start with a simple empirical observation: the curious absence of debates and strong efforts to regulate digital media in the region grounded on nationalistic arguments. For the past two decades, the region has largely adopted a laissez-faire, deregulatory approach on fundamental issues about the structure and the functioning of the Internet, including the performance of global digital platforms, content traffic, data ownership and access, and speech. Latin America has largely stayed away from the kind of cybernationalism identified with China, Iran, and Russia as well as the European Union's position of sovereignty as competing alternatives to the market-centered, hegemonic power of the US model. This strikes us as a notable reversal in the tradition of media policies in the region and contrasts with the position on sovereignty and digital ecosystems in other regions of the world. This paper seeks to explain why nationalist discourses and digital sovereignty are not central to digital policies in Latin America.

## Cybersecurity as Statecraft

**Norma Möllers**

*Assistant Professor*

*Department of Sociology, Queen's University*

Cybersecurity has become a key site for techno-scientific statecraft, that is, the mobilization of science and technology to produce state power and construct national identity. My research considers national cybersecurity programs as 'territorialization projects': states' ongoing struggle to mobilize science and engineering in order to transform globally distributed information infrastructure into bounded national territory and invest it with patriotic meaning. Territorialization projects thus attempt to nationalize information infrastructure in a twofold sense: building and monopolizing infrastructure as well as creating normative ideas about nation—who is a digital citizen, and who isn't; or what constitutes "good" and "bad" digital citizens. In my research on German cybersecurity policy, I found that such normative ideas about nation and citizenship were routinely organized around racist, xenophobic, and gendered stereotypes about imagined Others. In the context of this panel, I would like to put two observations up for discussion: first, infrastructure-building projects to maintain

digital sovereignty are immensely capital-intensive, which raises the question if cybersecurity nationalism will work to exacerbate existing global inequalities. Second, nationalizing information infrastructure means placing statecraft into the hands of scientists and engineers—professionals without any training to think in a civically-minded way—which raises the question about what happens when technologists are making decisions which may have consequences for justice, democracy, and civic life.

## SPEAKERS' BIOGRAPHIES

### **Martin A. Becerra**

*Professor*

*Social Sciences Department, the National University of Quilmes, Argentina*

Martin A. Becerra is Professor in the Social Sciences Department of the National University of Quilmes, Argentina, and Researcher in the National Council for Scientific and Technological Research, Argentina. He has a PhD in Communication Sciences from Autonomous University of Barcelona (Spain) and is the author of several books on media and ICT policy in Latin America. He writes a Spanish blog at: <https://martinbecerra.wordpress.com/>

### **Koichi Iwabuchi**

*Professor of Media and Cultural Studies at the School of Sociology Kanto Gakuin University, Japan*

Koichi Iwabuchi is Professor of Media and Cultural Studies at the School of Sociology, Kwansei Gakuin University. His research interests are trans-Asian cultural flows, connections and dialogue; diversity, multicultural questions and cultural citizenship. His recent English publications include; *Resilient Borders and Cultural Diversity: Internationalism, Brand Nationalism and Multiculturalism in Japan* (Lexington Books, 2015); "Migrancy and Diplomacy: Fostering Cross-Border Dialogue and Collaboration in the Age of Hyper-Mobility" (*The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, 25: 1, 2018); "Trans-Asia as method: a collaborative and dialogic project in a globalized world", in *Trans-Asia as Method: Theory and Practices* (Rowman & Littlefield International, 2019).

### **Dal Yong Jin**

*Distinguished SFU Professor  
Simon Fraser University*

Dal Yong Jin is a Distinguished SFU Professor. He completed his Ph.D. in the Institute of Communications Research at the University of Illinois in 2005. Jin's major research and

teaching interests are on digital platforms and digital games, globalization and media, transnational cultural studies, and the political economy of media and culture. Jin has published numerous books, journal articles, and book chapters. His books include *Korea's Online Gaming Empire* (2010), *Digital Platforms, Imperialism and Political Culture* (2015), *New Korean Wave: transnational cultural power in the age of social media* (2016), *Smartland Korea: mobile communication, culture and society* (2017), and *Artificial Intelligence in Cultural Production: Critical Perspectives on Digital Platforms* (2021). Jin has also published articles in scholarly journals, such as *New Media and Society*, *The Information Society*, *Media, Culture and Society*, and *Information Communication and Society*. He is the founding book series editor of *Routledge Research in Digital Media and Culture in Asia*.

## **Satofumi Kawamura**

*Junior Associate Professor of philosophy and communication  
Kanto Gakuin University, Japan*

Satofumi Kawamura is Junior Associate Professor of philosophy and communication at Kanto Gakuin University. His research interests are political and social theory (particularly on affect and governmentality), comparative philosophy, and media and cultural studies. His recent publications include "the National Polity and the formation of modern national subject in Japan" (*Japan Forum*, 2014), "Japanese Philosophy in Japan: Research, Teaching and Politics" in *Globalizing Japanese Philosophy as an Academic Discipline* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co, 2017), and "Yanagida Kenjuro: a Religious Seeker of Marxism" in *Confronting Capital and Empire: Rethinking Kyoto School Philosophy* (Brill, 2017).

## **Merlyna Lim**

*Merlyna Lim, Canada Research Chair in Digital Media and Global  
Network Society*

*Professor in the School of Journalism and Communication  
Carleton University, Canada*

Merlyna Lim is a Canada Research Chair in Digital Media and Global Network Society and a communication and media professor in the School of Journalism and Communication at Carleton University. An ALIGN Media Lab founder/director, Lim's research interests revolve around the mutual shaping of technology and society, and political culture of technology, especially digital media and information technology, in relation to issues of justice, in/equity and civic/participatory engagement. Among her notable publications are *Roots, Routes, Routers: Communication and Media of Contemporary Social Movements* (2018) and *Online Collective Action: Dynamics of the Crowds in Social Media* (2014). In 2016, Lim was inducted to the Royal Society of Canada's New College of Scholars, Artists, and Scientists.

## Hailong Liu

*Professor, Renmin University of China*

Liu Hailong, PhD, is a professor at the School of Journalism and Communication of the Renmin University of China in Beijing. Dr. Liu is the Chief Editor of Chinese Journal of Journalism and Communication, the Director for the Institute of Communication Study at The Center of News and Social Development. He was a visiting scholar of Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania in 2008-2009. He is the author of *The Idea of Propaganda in China: A History* (Routledge, 2019, in English), *Revisiting the Grey Area: Narration and Memories in the History of Communication Studies* (2015, in Chinese). *Propaganda: Idea, Discourse and Legitimation* (2013, 2020, in Chinese). *Mass Communication Theory: Paradigms and Schools* (2008, in Chinese). He edited *From Cyber-nationalism to Fandom Nationalism: The Case of Deba Expedition* (Routledge, 2019, in English). Now his research interests include political communication, the history of communication study in China, and the culture of new media.

## Norma Möllers

*Assistant Professor*

*Department of Sociology, Queen's University*

Norma Möllers is Assistant Professor of Sociology at Queen's University, where she is also an Associate Member of the Surveillance Studies Centre, and an Affiliate Member of Ingenuity Labs. Her research has examined the politics of artificial intelligence, algorithmic decision-making systems, digital surveillance technologies, and cybersecurity. The broader aim of her research is to understand how digital technologies produce, maintain, or unsettle larger societal patterns of power and inequity, focusing specifically on understanding technologically-mediated processes of marginalization and oppression.

## Aswin Punathambekar

*Associate Professor*

*Department of Media Studies, University of Virginia*

Aswin Punathambekar is an Associate Professor in the Department of Media Studies at the University of Virginia. He is the author of *From Bombay to Bollywood: The Making of a Global Media Industry* (2013), co-author of *Media Industry Studies* (2020), and co-editor of *Global Bollywood* (2008), *Television at Large in South Asia* (2013), and most recently, *Global Digital Cultures: Perspectives from South Asia* (2019). He is currently working on a co-authored book, provisionally titled *The Digital Popular: Media, Culture, and Politics in Networked India*. He serves as an editor of the peer-reviewed journal *Media, Culture and Society* and co-edits the *Critical Cultural Communication* book series for NYU Press. He also serves on the Board of Jurors for the Peabody Awards.

## **Florian Schneider**

*Senior University Lecturer in the Politics of Modern China*

*Leiden University, The Netherlands*

Florian Schneider, PhD, Sheffield University, is Senior University Lecturer in the Politics of Modern China at Leiden University. He is managing editor of the academic journal *Asiascape: Digital Asia*, director of the Leiden Asia Centre, and author of *Staging China: The Politics of Mass Spectacle* (Leiden University Press 2019), *China's Digital Nationalism* (Oxford University Press 2018), and *Visual Political Communication in Popular Chinese Television Series* (Brill 2013, recipient of the 2014 EastAsiaNet book prize). His research interests include questions of governance, political communication, and digital media in China, as well as international relations in the East-Asian region.

## **Heli Tiirmaa-Klaar**

*Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs*

*Visiting Fellow, Perry World House*

Heli Tiirmaa-Klaar is Ambassador-at Large for Cyber Diplomacy at the Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. She started her work in Tallinn in September 2018 as Estonia's first Cyber Ambassador. Before returning to Tallinn, Ambassador Tiirmaa-Klaar was Head of Cyber Policy Coordination at the European External Action Service (EEAS). One of the major priorities of Ambassador Tiirmaa-Klaar's work at the EEAS was to kick-start extensive E.U. capacity building programmes in third countries, with a focus on the fight against cybercrime and emerging cyber threats. She was also in the lead for developing the Framework of Joint E.U. Diplomatic Response to Malicious Cyber Activities. Shortly before joining the EEAS, she worked as a Cyber Security Policy Adviser to NATO where she drafted and negotiated the first comprehensive NATO Cyber Defence Policy in 2011. Ambassador Tiirmaa-Klaar holds a Master's degree in international relations and political science. She was a Fulbright Scholar at George Washington University in 1998-1999.

## **Silvio Waisbord**

*Director and Professor*

*School of Media and Public Affairs, George Washington University*

Silvio Waisbord is Director and Professor in the School of Media and Public Affairs at George Washington University. He is the author or editor of eighteen books, as well as articles on journalism, politics, communication studies, media policy, and global social change. His most recent books are *The Communication Manifesto (Polity)*, and *El Imperio de la Utopia (Peninsula)*. He is the former Editor-in-Chief of the *Journal of Communication* and the *International Journal of Press/Politics*. He is a Fellow of the International Communication Association. Waisbord received a Licenciatura in Sociology from the Universidad de Buenos Aires and a Ph.D in Sociology from the University of California, San Diego.

## **Bilge Yesil**

*Associate Professor of Media Culture, College of Staten Island*

*Doctoral Faculty of Middle Eastern Studies at the Graduate Center,  
City University of New York*

Bilge Yesil is an Associate Professor of Media Culture at the College of Staten Island and Doctoral Faculty of Middle Eastern Studies at the Graduate Center, City University of New York. She is the author of *Video Surveillance: Power and Privacy in Everyday Life* (2009) and *Media in New Turkey: The Origins of an Authoritarian Neoliberal State* (2016). She has published widely on internet policy, online surveillance and media, culture and politics in Turkey.

## **Kui Zhou**

*Professor, Communication University of China*

Zhou Kui, Associate Professor, CUC He received his joint Ph. D degree Tsinghua University of China and Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He was an invited visiting Professor at City University of Hong Kong. He worked with Hong Kong based Phoenix Satellite TV as a documentary journalist , where he won the Silver Hugo Award of 2009 Chicago International Film Festival for his documentary of Sichuan earthquake of 2008. Recent publications include: *Contested Visual Activism: A Visual Communications Perspective of Cyber Nationalism in China* *Bodily Experience in Immersive Communication: A Case Study of Virtual Reality Game Players* etc. Influenced by his journalistic career, his academic research mainly focuses on new media and social change, political communication and game studies via qualitative research methods.

# BIOGRAPHIES OF CHAIRS AND DISCUSSANTS

## **Jacques deLisle**

*Stephen A. Cozen Professor of Law & Professor of Political Science  
Director, Center for the Study of Contemporary China*

Jacques deLisle is the Stephen A. Cozen Professor of Law at the University of Pennsylvania. His research and teaching focus on contemporary Chinese law and politics, including: legal reform and its relationship to economic reform and political change in China, the international status of Taiwan and cross-Strait relations, China's engagement with the international order, legal and political issues in Hong Kong under Chinese rule, and U.S.-China relations. His writings on these subjects appear in a variety of fora, including international relations journals, edited volumes of multidisciplinary scholarship, and Asian studies journals, as



well as law reviews. DeLisle is also professor of political science and former Director of the Center for East Asian Studies at Penn and director of the Asia Program at the Foreign Policy Research Institute. He has served frequently as an expert witness on issues of P.R.C. law and government policies and is a consultant, lecturer and advisor to legal reform, development and education programs, primarily in China.

## **Radha S. Hegde**

*Professor*

*Department of Media, Culture and Communication, New York University*

Radha S. Hegde is Professor in the Department of Media, Culture and Communication at New York University. Her research and teaching focus on global media flows, migration, and transnational feminism. She is the author of *Mediating Migration* (Polity Press, 2016), editor of *Circuits of Visibility: Gender and Transnational Media Cultures* (NYU Press, 2011) and co-editor of the *Handbook of Indian Diaspora* (Routledge, 2016). She has served as the co-editor of the journal *Feminist Media Studies*. Her current project is on the renewed circulation of the English language in India and digital language pedagogies of constructing the new Indian citizen.

## **Michael C. Horowitz**

*Richard Perry Professor and Director*

*Perry World House, University of Pennsylvania*

Michael C. Horowitz is Director of Perry World House and Richard Perry Professor at the University of Pennsylvania. He is the author of *The Diffusion of Military Power: Causes and Consequences for International Politics*, and the co-author of *Why Leaders Fight*. He won the 2017 Karl Deutsch Award given by the International Studies Association for early career contributions to the fields of international relations and peace research. He has published in a wide array of peer reviewed journals and popular outlets. His research interests include the intersection of emerging technologies such as artificial intelligence and robotics with global politics, military innovation, the role of leaders in international politics, and geopolitical forecasting methodology. Professor Horowitz previously worked for the Office of the Undersecretary of Defense for Policy in the Department of Defense. He is affiliated with the Center for a New American Security, the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and the Foreign Policy Research Institute. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. Professor Horowitz received his Ph.D. in Government from Harvard University and his B.A. in political science from Emory University.

## John Jackson

### *Walter H. Annenberg Dean and Richard Perry Professor Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania*

John L. Jackson, Jr., is the Walter H. Annenberg Dean of the Annenberg School for Communication and Richard Perry University Professor at the University of Pennsylvania. He was previously Dean of the School of Social Policy & Practice and Special Adviser to the Provost on Diversity at Penn.

Jackson earned his B.A. in Communication (Radio/TV/Film) from Howard University, completed his Ph.D. in Anthropology from Columbia University, and served as a junior fellow at the Harvard University Society of Fellows before becoming Assistant Professor of Cultural Anthropology at Duke University.

He is the author of *Harlemworld: Doing Race and Class in Contemporary Black America* (University of Chicago Press, 2001); *Real Black: Adventures in Racial Sincerity* (University of Chicago Press, 2005); *Racial Paranoia: The Unintended Consequences of Political Correctness* (Basic Civitas, 2008); *Thin Description: Ethnography and the African Hebrew Israelites of Jerusalem* (Harvard University Press, 2013); *Impolite Conversations: On Race, Politics, Sex, Money, and Religion*, co-written with Cora Daniels (Atria/Simon & Schuster, 2014), and *Televised Redemption: Black Religious Media and Racial Empowerment* (NYU Press, 2016), co-written with Carolyn Rouse and Marla Frederick. He is also editor of *Social Policy and Social Justice* (2016), distributed by the University of Pennsylvania Press.

His most recent film, co-directed with Deborah A. Thomas, is *Bad Friday: Rastafari after Coral Gardens* (Third World Newsreel, 2012) *Making Sweet Tea: The Lives and Loves of Southern Black Gay Men*, co-directed with Nora Gross and co-executive produced with E. Patrick Johnson.

## Min Jiang

### *Professor, Communication Studies UNC Charlotte*

Min Jiang (Ph.D.) is Professor of Communication at the University of North Carolina – Charlotte. She is also a CyberBRICS Visiting Professor at FGV Law School, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil and Associate Editor at Sage journal *Communication & The Public*. Her research focuses on Chinese Internet technologies, politics, business, and policies. She has published over 30 journal articles and book chapters, and co-edited 3 special journal issues on the Chinese Internet. She is currently co-editing a book *Digital Sovereignty in the BRICS Countries: Data, Infrastructure, and Services*. Various media outlets including Reuters, Foreign Policy and Financial Times have interviewed her for her work. She was born and raised in China. Prior to pursuing her doctor's degree in the U.S., she had worked at China Central Television (CCTV) and Kill Bill I in her native country China. Dr. Jiang received her bachelor's and master's degrees from Beijing Foreign Studies University and her Ph.D. from Purdue University.

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