Platform Capitalism, Communication and Culture in South Asia

South Asian Studies Association of Australia (SASAA) Research Symposium 2019

Tuesday 18 & Wednesday 19 June 2019
Curtin University, Bentley Campus
Welcome to Perth, Western Australia!

The Platform Capitalism, Communication and Culture in South Asia research symposium aims to bring together original and up to date work on the emergence of platform economies in the region. It will examine the ways in which the growing platformisation of not just communications and media but business and governmental operations is occurring in South Asia. How platformisation processes are shaped by, and transform other information markets, wider national economies, regulatory structures and cultural dynamics in South Asia are issues that will be explored in this two-day event.

2019 Symposium Location

The 2019 SASAA Research Symposium will be held at Curtin University's Bentley campus in Perth, Western Australia. More specifically, the program will take place in the Centre for Aboriginal Studies (Building 211: Level 2, Room 222). You can download the campus map or use the interactive map online.

2019 Symposium Organising Committee

Scott Fitzgerald (Curtin University)
Adrian Athique (University of Queensland)
Vidobdh Parthasarathi (Jamia Millia Islamia)
Shishir Jha (IIT Bombay)

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# SYMPOSIUM SCHEDULE

## Tuesday 18 June 2019

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Time</th>
<th>Session</th>
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| 9.00 – 9.30 | **Registration**  
*Building 211: Level 2, Room 222* |
| 9.30 – 9.45 | **Welcome** by Professor Steve Mickler, School of Media, Creative Arts and Social Inquiry, Curtin University |
Adrian Athique, Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, UQ |
| 10.30 – 11.15 | **Platform Anxieties in India**  
Pradip Thomas, School of Communication and Arts, UQ |
| 11.15 – 11.30 | **Break** |
| 11.30 – 12.15 | **Audience Measurement, and Platform Capitalism: Implications for Indian Media Industries**  
Harsh Taneja, Department of Advertising University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign |
| 12.15 – 13.15 | **Lunch** |
| 13.15 – 14.00 | **Peer Rating in the Sharing Economy: Better Service Delivery Or Controlling The Service Providers?**  
Vigneswara Ilavarasan, School of Management, IIT Delhi |
| 14.00 – 14.45 | **The Networked Media Economy and the Indian Gilded Age**  
Scott Fitzgerald, School of Management, Curtin University |
| 14.45 – 15.30 | **Platformization of News in India**  
Usha M Rodrigues, SCCA Arts & Ed, Deakin University, Melbourne |
| 15.30 – 15.45 | **Break** |
| 15.45 – 16.30 | **Informality, Archives and Platforms: YouTube and Bhojpuri Media**  
Akshaya Kumar, Humanities and Social Sciences, IIT Indore |
| 16.30 | **Project Plenary: India's Platform Economy: Impact, Aptitude and Implementation**  
Shishir K. Jha, Adrian Athique, Vigneswara Ilavarasan, Scott Fitzgerald and Pradip Thomas (Chair: Akshaya Kumar) |

## Wednesday 19 June 2019

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| 9.30 – 10.15 | **Privacy, Mass Surveillance and Platform Capitalism in India**  
Pawan Singh, SHSS Arts & Ed, Deakin University, Melbourne |
| 10.15 – 11.00 | **Carrier, Content and Consumption: The Portfolio of Fear and Risk in India**  
Hrishikesh Arvika, School of Communication and Arts, UQ |
| 11.00 – 11.15 | **Break** |
| 11.15-12.00 | **Notes on the Trajectory of Platform Media in India and Australia**  
Tom O'Regan, School of Communication and Arts, UQ |
| 12.00 – 13.00 | **Lunch** |
| 13.00 – 15.00 | **Plenary and Research Workshop: Media Platforms in Asia: Comparative and Collaborative Approaches**  
Michael Keane, Thor Kerr, Harsh Taneja (Chair: Tom O'Regan) |
| 15.00 | **Concluding Remarks**  
A/Prof Adrian Athique & Dr Scott Fitzgerald |
ABSTRACTS


Taking the historical example of the emporium, this paper attempts to situate India’s emerging platform economy within the historical evolution of market exchange in the subcontinent. I argue that the market systems constituted by media platforms are, like all markets within a true economy, significantly dependent upon their interaction with other markets. In India, this includes the aggregation of erstwhile media industries along with informal markets for ‘services’, increasingly under the aegis of finance capital and the operators of mobile digital infrastructure. From this wider perspective, we can trace the expansion of a ‘mediated economy’ through which an increasing number of exchanges are being aggregated within portals designed to value capture from social economies. Rather than framing this process as disruptive, this paper seeks to illustrate how India’s platform economy has been shaped by pathways established within the distinctive economics of media systems.

2. “Platform Anxieties in India” – Pradip Thomas

Despite all the hype about the e-commerce market in India that is projected to be in the region of US$120 billion in 2020 and 100 percent government support for FDIs in this sector, growth has been slow reflected in the fact that in the FMCG sector alone, e-commerce accounts for a mere 2-3 percent of the leading FMCG, Hindustan Lever’s total revenue. While there are attempts at consolidation in specific sectors such as food delivery where Swiggy and Zomato are battling it out for dominance, the restaurant to consumer market is much larger than the platform to consumer market. While food delivery is certainly an area that will see growth and innovation, growth and innovation across other retail and service platforms are by no means assured given the evidence that the profit imperative has begun to eat into the earnings of labour involved in initiatives such as Uber and Ola thus compromising the promised freedoms and much-hyped potential for earnings. Despite all the initiatives launched by the government of India to usher in a cashless economy (Digital India, Make in India, Start-up India, Skill India and Innovation Fund), cash remains king in most parts of India and cash on delivery remains the preeminent transactional mode. This disconnect between the government’s ambitions and projections and ground realities is being mediated via an internal politics such as the RSS’s economic advocacy unit, the Swadeshi JagranManch’s vociferous opposition to e-commerce MNCs, mixed communications on restrictions to MNC involvement in e-commerce, lack of on-ground preparedness for the logistics of e-commerce, and perhaps most publically, in the government’s own anxieties over consumer uses and abuses of platforms such as WhatsApp and Facebook and access to platforms that enable mapping and cartography that circumvent the government’s control over territorial and geographic data.

This presentation will explore the uneven development of the platform economy in India, both in terms of e-commerce and citizen transactions that are key to the GOI’s aspirational project, Digital India.
3. “Is peer rating in sharing economy for better service delivery or for controlling the service providers?: An exploratory study of ratings of digital platforms in urban transportation in New Delhi, India” – Ravinder Kumar Verma and Vigneswara Ilavarasan

The paper argues that projected symbiotic relationships between the digital platforms, like Uber, the service providers, the drivers and the customers are not even. The sharing economy is lopsided towards the platform owners and the customers. These arguments are emerging from an ongoing study of rider sharing platforms in New Delhi, India. The study primarily focuses on the rating mechanism present in the platforms.

The customers give a rating after the rating and the drivers give rating for the customers. The drivers are expected to sustain a threshold amount of rating to receive better trip offers. The platforms claim that rating of customers is used for ride allocations. The allocation of rides is supposedly done by the autonomous algorithms. The algorithms use various parameters - availability of taxis, nature of geographical area, number of ride requests, and traffic conditions, for ride allocation and calculating and fixing charges.

The study finds that drivers are unaware of the implications of the rating systems, especially the linkage between the work and ratings. There seems to be a bias in favour of platforms and customers. The components used in the rating scales are more for customers than the drivers. The algorithm seem to replicate the contemporary discourse on interactions between the workers and employers. There is a need for bringing more human intervention in the relationships between the platforms and the service providers, drivers. The paper also discusses the implications for actors in the sharing economy.

The paper is based on ongoing qualitative interviews with the drivers in the platforms in New Delhi, India and secondary data analysis of ratings obtained from the drivers.

4. “The Networked Media Economy and the Indian Gilded Age” - Scott Fitzgerald

For the past decade a common suggestion from academics, politicians and commentators is that Indian capitalism is beginning to resemble the US Gilded Age (Sinha 2011; Gandhi and Walton 2012; Walton 2017; Crabtree 2018). This comparison with the nineteenth-century American robber barons emerges because of the rapid development of a range of Indian billionaires (Ambani, Mittal, Adani) who are particularly associated with so-called rent-thick sectors, including infrastructure, telecommunication and media. Rather than innovative, productivity-enhancing Schumpeterian rents, these sectors are argued to be characterised by extractive rents, which achieve returns above those of ‘fully competitive markets’ via political patronage, preferential access to state-controlled resources and monopolistic market power. Although concentration ratios in the network media economy were lowered by privatisation and liberalisation in the 1990s, today some Indian regulators are concerned about rising concentration in the rapidly expanding telecommunications and digital media sectors, as major industrial groups enter these markets and pursue merger and acquisition strategies. For instance, in late 2015 Reliance Industries, India’s largest business group by market capitalisation and second largest by revenue, entered the telecom industry via its subsidiary Reliance Jio and prompted substantial consolidation, as smaller firms exited or merged with other firms and Jio emerged as the third largest operator.

Drawing on data analysis based on the Centre for Monitoring the Indian Economy’s PROWESS database (e.g. Bhattacharjee & Agrawal 2018; Smith 2015) and detailed industry reports (KPMG, Ernst & Young), this paper reassesses the insights offered by Fernand Braudel’s analysis of capitalism for a political economy of the media and cultural industries. From the perspective offered by Braudel’s distinction between capitalism and the market economy, capitalists only assent to competitive market relations when other avenues to profit-making are blocked. They instead prefer the exceptional profits of the antimarket, the intentionally opaque zones where Braudel argues ‘the great predators roam and the law of the jungle operates’. The media and cultural industries’
organisational structure has long been characterised by the tendency towards oligopoly, if not monopoly, due to specific socio-economic characteristics and political considerations. Nonetheless, according to the Braudelian perspective, recent developments in these sectors associated with politically-patronised corporate expansion, financialisation and vertically integrated concentration have reinforced the inherently anti-competitive context in which the majority of the global media operate. In reviewing such ongoing changes in the Indian media, the paper provides a broader conception of competition based on classical political economy's notion of real competition (Shaikh 2016), which problematises the divide between ‘economic life’, ‘fully competitive market economy’, and capitalism.

5. “Platformization of News in India” – Usha M Rodrigues

India has over 850 television channels, 100,000 news publications and over 500 radio stations. The circulation and viewership of legacy media continue to grow despite a shift towards online and mobile news consumption, and video-on-demand services. There are other pull and push factors that have changed the news media dynamics in India, where on the one hand increasing population and literacy are facilitating a growth trajectory for Indian language news media; on the other hand, the accessibility to affordable internet and mobile services and some prominent political parties’ increasing use of direct communication platforms such as Twitter, Facebook and WhatsApp have put pressure on legacy media. India is also one of the fastest growing markets for some of the multinational social media platforms with over 300 million users for Facebook and 200 million users for WhatsApp.

The multisided competitive market conditions and political rhetoric have made the legacy media more vulnerable to the growing allegation of being elite and not connected with the grass-roots. Concerned about the rising popularity of social media platforms, a number of legacy media mastheads have incorporated social media strategies and converged their newsrooms to produce news for a variety of platforms. This paper considers the impact of the changes in production processes and the shifting of platforms for news in India. It also examines the rise of online only news media and their digital strategies by engaging with audiences on social media platforms. As a research in progress presentation, the paper will signpost some of the changes taking place in the Indian news media industry: market structures, content creation-distribution-consumption patterns and consider the impact of platformization of news in India.

6. Informality, Archives and Platforms: YouTube and Bhojpuri Media - Akshaya Kumar

In the 1980s, the emergence of the audiocassettes led to an explosion of recorded music all over north India in particular. In various so-called dialects, and musical traditions blending ideas of ‘folk’ with new motifs, singer-performers began to record albums in Delhi-based studios. The volume kept expanding even as the music videos emerged on VCDs first and DVDs later. Increasingly now, the mobile phone has become the primary portable device on which most of the sub-regional music videos thrive, whether transferred offline, or streamed and downloaded online. YouTube has thus gradually become the pre- eminent archive of a burgeoning vernacular media industry which includes films, music videos and recorded stage shows in the so-called dialects of Hindi, such as Uttarakhandi, Haryanvi, Marwari, Bhojpuri, Maithili, and Khortha. While pavement vendors and media markets in large cities of north India still display a large catalogue of titles and albums, YouTube far exceeds the utility of any such vendors as an archive with reliable metadata along with the popularity metrics as well as audience demographic profiles. What then is the relationship between informal economy and YouTube, as a key platform within the platform economy? Particularly with respect to Bhojpuri films and music, this paper will elaborate how YouTube has formalised, standardised and consolidated the economy, and also helped the emergence of aggregator channels. The paper will assess the site of the live concert stage as the challenger to this formal aggregation, and as a platform economy.
7. Privacy, Mass Surveillance and Platform Capitalism in India: The Beleaguered Career of Aadhaar, India’s Biometric Identity Programme – Pawan Singh

The recent boom of platform economy in India during the close of the second decade of the 21st century has been accompanied by as many opportunities as challenges. A key aspect of the delivery of goods, services and media content through platforms pertains to accurately identifying demographics in order to target them through personalized content. In this dataflow-intensive economic environment, such a development may be understood as a logical strategy deployed by the private sector to maximize value – to the customer as well as for the business – in all senses of the word. But what happens when a state-launched platform blurs the lines between public and private raising a range of concerns that appear graver in the absence of robust regulation?

The Aadhaar project of the Indian government that facilitates biometric-based identity verification of the individual for welfare and other services is one such case. Launched in 2009 under the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government led by the Congress Party, Aadhaar’s decade-long tenure has been fraught with controversies and activist challenges. These pertained to concerns of mass surveillance, the project’s creep into virtually all aspects of life including banking, welfare, taxation and mobile communications, and numerous data leakages, all of which led to numerous legal petitions challenging Aadhaar in the Indian Supreme Court. In 2018, India’s highest court upheld Aadhaar as constitutionally valid for the delivery of state-sponsored welfare to the poor but declared Aadhaar was not needed for banking and mobile telephony. Yet, Aadhaar’s woes continued albeit with a lesser intensity. The privacy question that represents the core problematic of Aadhaar was partially settled by the court’s verdict on mandatory Aadhaar’s constitutionality for welfare but many questions still remain around citizen surveillance, data security and importantly, what does it mean for individual identity to be mediated by a government identity platform in the information age? What happens when private entities provide the technical know-how, design and other expertise to the project while holding important stakes in biometric-enabled identity authentication scheme for delivery of services beyond welfare? And what of the proliferating databases containing various datasets of over a billion Indian citizens?

This presentation examines these questions through a close reading of media debates, legal petitions and expert commentary to bring greater nuance to the analytical coupling of platform-enabled capitalism and mass surveillance. Mainly, the presentation draws upon media studies and legal scholarship around data privacy to consider the conflation between identification – a platform-enabled mediation of identity, and recognition – the implications of identification that are negotiated by the individual. While Aadhaar primarily remains a government project, the question of permitting private players to mandatorily or voluntarily deploy it as an identity authentication mechanism is a vexed one. The presentation offers a brief history of the Aadhaar project, the legal and activist contestations around data privacy and mass surveillance, and appraises the narrative of mass surveillance within the platform capitalism framework in the context of emerging regulation in India.

8. Carrier, Content and Consumption: The Portfolio of Fear and Risk in news media economies in India – Hrishikesh Arvikar

In 2019, India went down further in the World Press Freedom Index from a poor 136 ranking to an abysmal 140. Last year, Cobrapost sting operations revealed how several film personnel and 36 media houses were ready to do Hindutva Propaganda for BJP in 2019 general elections. With case studies of middle rung news media producers like – fence-sitting digital newsfront of Reliance – Firstpost, left-liberal, not-for-profit The Wire.in and the legacy player NDTV – this paper proposes that these varying voices used common media economic strategies of standardization (uniformity and mobility in digital architecture), satchetisation (price-pointing) and diversification (coverage/expanse) but now they face a new challenge by the platform capitalism in the media markets. While these players face intense localised vernacular filled with rumour, insurrection and spillage from below, they also face sweeping change of macrological scale is ushered in by Reliance Jio from

above. Steadily from 2016, when RelinaceJio entered mobile networks with the strategy of 3Cs- Carrier, Content and Consumption which has led to mutable content, and rapid consolidation at the top. Jio is managing and acquiring markets, guiding opinions and devising ecumenical desires in politically polarized world, and creating an endless loop of news information clickbaits for consumers and buyers. While busting each other’s fake news and presenting alternative facts, the middle rung is facing newer players by each passing day, and losses in the market. The middle rung news media houses could always be bought by the bigger players like Jio, hence it is important to study these players and why they lay in stack on top of each other as the markets bundle up. These 3Cs market capture strategies are being used to create – a twofold portfolio – first part- where the commodity of fear propagated the BJP government reach its majoritarian markets of interests, and second- this fear culture is fueled by the media channels across the spectrum in risky, highly competitive, interdependent, digitally aggregated interests of markets.2

9. Paths to Platformisation: Notes on the Trajectory of Platform Media in India and Australia -Tom O'Regan

The US and China dominate their own experience of media platforms, due to domestically created platforms and domiciled companies, shaped in the crucible of their respective legal, governmental, political, economic and infrastructural development. Here, domestic circumstances shaped the character of their platformisation processes with China and the USA appearing as decisive first markets. The rest of the world is thus adopting– mixing and matching–these Chinese and American platform models to their respective environments. In India and Australia--and indeed much of the rest of the world--these are foreign platforms that have entered into their respective national contexts, adjusting and calibrating to local laws and existing digital infrastructures. In these destination markets, platforms create mostly limited branch office structures, undertake limited R&D activity and pay little tax. Consequently--even in a market as large as is India's--these are secondary markets for the major platform companies and providers. The Facebooks, Alphabets, Tencents and Ali Baba's thereby shape and play out a distinct model of the multinational corporation, that is light on domestic infrastructure building and corporate presence but strong on profit maximisation and extraction of value. Consequently, these American and Chinese platforms have been able to grow and spread very quickly. Social media and search and, to a lesser extent, content platforms (like Netflix in Australia) have been able to enter Indian and Australian markets without needing to recruit domestic partners or acquire local companies. In this paper, I want to use Australia and India as case studies of the global norm of platform media figuring as largely foreign bodies entering into distinct national milieux. In this respect, I want to firstly consider a preceding history of media and communication development in both countries that predisposed them to be welcomers rather than inhibitors of platform entry and development. Secondly I want to consider the longstanding corridor of policy, economic, business, and cultural thought focusing attention on capturing the benefits and opportunities associated with media and technological development.

Lastly I want to assess those aspects of platforms and platformisation which are shaping both Indian and Australian market development and associated regulatory responses as platforms are becoming central features not only of the media landscape but of social, cultural, political and economic life more generally.

PRESENTERS

Adrian Athique

Adrian Athique is an Associate Professor in Cultural Studies at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, University of Queensland. He has an international reputation for his work on Cultural Studies in Asia, contributing a number of major works on international media including The Multiplex in India: A Cultural Economy of Urban Leisure (with Douglas Hill, Routledge 2010), Indian Media: Global Approaches (Polity 2012), Digital Media and Society (Polity 2013) and Transnational Audiences: Media Reception on a Global Scale (2016), The Indian Media Economy (2 Vols) (OUP 2018, with Vibodh Parthasarathi and SV Srinivas) and Digital Transactions in Asia (2019, Routledge, with Emma Baulch). Adrian is also editor of the journal Media International Australia and co-editor of the OUP series Media Dynamics in South Asia.

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Pradip Thomas

Pradip Thomas is an Associate Professor in the School of Communication and Arts, University of Queensland. He has written widely on the media in India, the political economy of communications, communications for social change and media and religion in leading global journals including the Journal of Communication, Media, Culture & Society, the European Journal of Communications and Economic & Political Weekly. His most recent books include 'Communications for Social Change: Context, Social Movements and the Digital (2018), Empire & Post-Empire Telecommunications in India: A History (2019) and The Politics of Digital India (2019).

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Dr. P. Vigneswarallavarasan (PhD - IIT Kanpur) is Associate Professor at the Dept. of Management Studies, Indian Institute of Technology Delhi. He researches and teaches about production and consumption of information and communication technologies (ICTs) with a special focus on India. His specific research interests are Information and Communication Technologies & Development (ICTD); Indian IT industry; and Social Media. He is an active contributor to the international journals and conferences of repute. Dr. Ilavarasan has been a Visiting Research Fellow at United Nations University - School of Computing and Society (Macau). He is a recipient of the Outstanding Young Faculty Fellowship Award at IIT Delhi and Prof. M.N. Srinivas Memorial Prize of the Indian Sociological Society. He is also a Research Fellow at LIRNEasia, a regional ICT policy and regulation think tank. He has received large research grants from IDRC (Canada), Govt. of India, Oxford Analytica (UK), IPTS (European Commission) and IdeaCorp (Philippines). Dr. Ilavarasan had taught at Pondicherry Central University and Indian Institute of Management Rohtak, Indore and Amritsar. His present teaching interests include: Management Information Systems; E-Commerce; Social Media; Business / Market Research Methods; and ICTs, Development & Business.

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Harsh Taneja

Harsh Taneja teaches in the College of Media (Department of Advertising) at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign. He received his PhD from Northwestern University in media, technology and society and study connections between media, technology and society focusing on media audiences and media industries. In his doctoral training he combined his experiences gained in the media and advertising industries with social theories and research methodologies to formulate a research program that focuses on media audiences. Harsh's research examines audience behavior, specifically the linkages between media use and social contexts. Secondary areas of interest include media industries and audience measurement.

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Akshaya Kumar

Dr. Akshaya Kumar received the Ph.D. degree in Film and Television Studies from the University of Glasgow, UK. He joined IIT Indore in December 2017 as an Assistant Professor in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences. His forthcoming book is titled "Provincializing Bollywood: Bhojpuri Cinema in a Comparative Media Crucible", and his essays have appeared in Social Text, Television and New Media, South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies and other journals.

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**Usha M. Rodrigues**

Dr Usha M. Rodrigues is a senior lecturer in Journalism in the School of Communication and Creative Arts. Her research interests are investigating contemporary journalism practices across various traditional and new media platforms; and media in India. She has co-authored three books on digital media, globalisation of media industry and news media audiences.

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**Pawan Singh**

Dr Pawan Singh received his PhD in Communication from the University of California San Diego in 2015. His scholarship is situated at the intersection of media and cultural studies, postcolonial studies, gender and sexuality and human rights scholarship. He wrote a dissertation on legal/sexual privacy discourse surrounding the struggle to decriminalize homosexuality in India with respect to global human rights, media representation and local realities of class, caste, religion and gender that shape sexual identity. As an incoming NGN (New Generation Network) scholar, he plans to develop an analytical framework within the department of contemporary history to address the broader themes of postcolonial modernity, nationalism, minority justice and representation and human and economic development during the 1990s and the early 21st century.

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**Hrishikesh Arvika**

Hrishikesh Arvika is currently pursuing his Ph.D. on Early Cinema in Bombay Presidency- its developments, progressions, and delineations at School of Communication and Arts, University of Queensland. Arvika is a filmmaking diploma holder form Xavier Institute of Communication of Film, Mumbai and an M.Phil graduate from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. His dissertation titled - The Cinema of Prabhat- Histories, Aesthetics and Politics at School of Arts and Aesthetics, JNU dealt with questions of film practice, territoriality, and studio space in Western India in the late colonial period. He has published papers to local, regional and international journals, including one on Political economy of Prabhat studio published in Widescreen. Arvika also edited a cultural history entry in a module regarding Prabhat Studio for Sahapedia. He is currently writing a monograph, two film scripts, and a web-series.

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Scott Fitzgerald

Dr Scott Fitzgerald is Senior Lecturer in the Curtin Business School, Curtin University, Perth. His research interests cover cultural industry corporations, creative work, public services (especially education) and new public management. Scott is currently undertaking a comparative research project examining the changing industrial relations landscape within Indian media industries. He has published several chapters in international collections on the media industries and has published the book Corporations and Cultural Industries: Time Warner, Bertelsmann, and News Corporation. Lanham, MD: Lexington. He is a member of the South Asian Studies Association of Australia (SASAA) and the International Association of Media and Communication Research (IAMCR).

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Tom O'Regan

Tom O'Regan took up the position of Professor of Media and Cultural Studies at the University of Queensland in 2004. He has been a key figure in the development of cultural and media studies in Australia and has an international reputation for his screen policy studies related work. In 2002 Tom was elected a Fellow of Australian Academy of the Humanities. He was Associate Dean Research, Faculty of Arts (2010-2011); Head of the School of English, Media Studies and Art History (2005-2008), Director of the Australian Key Centre for Cultural and Media Policy (1999-2002, Griffith University) and the Centre for Research in Culture and Communication (1996-1998, Murdoch University). Tom co-founded the media and cultural studies journal Continuum (1987-1995) and was Australia’s UNESCO Professor of Communication from 2001-2003.

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