The Stanford Kyoto Trans-Asian Dialogue

Digital Media as a Catalyst for Political, Cultural, and Economic Change in the Asia-Pacific Region

FINAL REPORT | DECEMBER 2013

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The Stanford Kyoto Trans-Asian Dialogue 2013:

Digital Media as a Catalyst for Political, Cultural, and Economic Change in the Asia-Pacific Region

Final Report

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Overview

The digital information technology (IT) revolution currently underway is profoundly reshaping economic activity, influencing politics, and transforming societies around the world. It is also forcing a reconceptualization of the global and local: many of the technologies, platforms, and fundamental disruptions are global in nature, but national or local contexts critically influence the uses and effects of IT.

Digital media—broadly conceived as digital platforms for information creation, transmission, and consumption—is a core driver of the IT revolution. Information is the very essence of civilization itself, and the advent of digital media fundamentally transforms our relationship to information. We have already seen: 1) *the Internet maturing as a platform* for posting, disseminating, and consuming information, such as online news startups, video such as YouTube, microblogs to evade censorship, and as *a global marketplace* for selling software, advertising, and even personal information; 2) *the diffusion of mobile communications*, making information available across geographic and socioeconomic boundaries; and 3) *the widespread adoption of social networking services* that represent exploration into the next stage of relationships between people, groups, firms, and other entities.

Digital media is also at the crux of the "global meets local" dynamic, since digital media is by nature global, but differences in economic, political, and social conditions across countries lead to wide variation in its impact. For example, digital media is argued to have been a catalyst in the Arab Spring demonstrations that led to regime shifts in Tunisia, Egypt, and then Syria, but digital media in itself may not lead directly to a regime shift in China— due to government success in sophisticated censorship and physical network design.

The Asia-Pacific region provides a fascinating array of countries for examination of the political, economic, and sociocultural effects of digital media on the modern world. Economies range from developing to advanced. Governments include varied democracies as well as one-party regimes. The press enjoys relative freedom in some countries, undergoes limited constraints in others, and is tightly controlled in a few. Populations range from dense to sparse, and from diverse to relatively homogenous.

Four major themes were explored at the 2013 Kyoto Dialogue:

Digital Media versus Traditional Media

Around the world, digital media is disrupting traditional media, such as newspapers and television. Traditional business models are undermined, new entrants proliferate, and experimentation abounds with no endgame in sight. Questions for countries with well-established traditional media include: What are the patterns for the emergence of new players? To what degree do they threaten the traditional? In countries with less diffused traditional media, what are the opportunities enjoyed by digital media?

Beyond business models, the social and political functions of digital media may differ from those of traditional media—particularly where traditional media is subject to close governmental control. Who are the new entrants and what new functions do they provide? Has traditional media failed as sources of information? What shifts have occurred in how people get information, and how does this differ across countries?

Digital Media and Political Change in Asia

Digital media opens up vast new information flows that can influence political change. From the perspective of grass-roots movements and civil society, digital media provides new tools to congregate, coordinate, and demonstrate. Governments that strongly control civil society, such as China and Vietnam, were alert to the role digital media played in the Arab Spring. What is the potential for digital media in civil society and democratization? In democratic countries such as Japan, South Korea, or India, how is digital media transforming civil society? For example, Japan's peaceful anti-nuclear demonstrations, coordinated through digital media, displayed an entirely new pattern.

From the perspective of governments, digital media presents not only challenges, but new opportunities to monitor, gather information, and respond to the public. In strong state countries, control of information flows

Participants and observers from the fifth and final 2013 Stanford Kyoto Trans-Asian Dialogue gather for a group picture outside the Kyoto International Community House.

to the people and information gathering about people are the cornerstones of state control. How are these states adapting their attempts at controlling media in the face of pervasive digital media? In democratic systems, deciding what information to channel to which voters at what point in election cycles is a critical part of any electoral strategy. How are governments and parties using digital media to reach their constituencies and what is their effectiveness?

Social Change and Economic Transformation

As a core part of the IT revolution, digital media has opened up new domains of innovation that transform industries and economies. For advanced countries, it raises serious questions about how best to profit from digital platforms whose underlying technology is increasingly controlled by American multinational firms. For developing countries, the question is how to best take advantage of the world-class computing resources, global markets, and extensive reach enabled by the technological platforms underlying digital media. Instruments such as smartphones and the digital content conveyed on those devices are altering interpersonal relations and even the struggle against poverty in societies such as India.

The advent of social network services is also altering how we conceive of social connections. How do these networks affect groups such as the Korean or Filipino diasporas, and what are the implications for identity, "imagined communities," and group identification? In what ways is the cohesiveness of groups enhanced by connections such as Facebook or Twitter, and in what ways are groups fragmented along interest cleavages, with people exposed to only ideas and groups of their choice? How does digital media impact social change and how does that impact lead to economic transformation in both developed and developing countries?

Digital Media and International Relations

The growth of digital media produces a powerful and sometimes troubling impact on international relations in the Asia-Pacific region. It can provide greater cultural understanding and regional integration but also aggravate tensions. Cultural phenomena such as the wildly popular Korean pop star Psy (of "Gangnam Style" fame) arise from the availability of digital media, which allows a video to "go viral" on a global scale in weeks. Conversely, tensions over territorial and historical issues in Northeast and Southeast Asia gain credence and momentum from discussion on digital media platforms, often pushing governments to act in ways detrimental to peace and stability. How does digital media influence international relations in the region? Is it a force for positive change or a source of instability? Finally, the rules governing critical parts of the physical infrastructure upon which digital media depend, such as governance of the Internet, are increasingly contested in the international domain.

The fifth Stanford Kyoto Trans-Asian Dialogue focused on these issues surrounding the impact of digital media. The Dialogue brought together scholars, policy experts, and practitioners from the media, from Stanford University and from throughout Asia. Selected participants began each session of the Dialogue with stimulating, brief presentations, and participants from around the region engaged in off-the-record discussion and exchange of views.

天台宗
宝泉院

AGENDA

Wednesday, September 11, 2013 — Participants Arrive

6:30 p.m.–8:00 p.m. RECEPTION FOR PARTICIPANTS (Westin Miyako Hotel)

Thursday, September 12, 2013 — Dialogue Day One

9:15 a.m. WELCOME
Gi-Wook Shin *Director, Shorenstein APARC*

9:30 a.m.–12:30 p.m. SESSION 1: DIGITAL MEDIA VERSUS TRADITIONAL MEDIA
Martin Fackler *Tokyo Bureau Chief, New York Times*
Woosuk Choi *Editor, TV Chosun*

12:45 p.m.–1:45 p.m. LUNCH (On-Site Restaurant)

2:00 p.m.–5:00 p.m. SESSION 2: DIGITAL MEDIA AND POLITICAL CHANGE IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC
Premesh Chandran *Founder, Malaysiakini*
Cherian George *Associate Professor, Nanyang Technological University*
Shanto Iyengar *Professor, Stanford University*

6:00 p.m.–8:00 p.m. DINNER (Westin Miyako Hotel)

Friday, September 13, 2013 — Dialogue Day Two

9:15 a.m.–11:45 a.m. SESSION 3: SOCIAL CHANGE AND ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION
Aaditeshwar Seth *Professor, IIT Delhi; Director, Gram Vaani (Voice of the Village)*
Kenji Kushida *Research Associate, Shorenstein APARC*

11:45 a.m.–1:00 p.m. LUNCH (On-site restaurant)

1:00 p.m.–4:00 p.m. SESSION 4: DIGITAL MEDIA AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
David Straub *Associate Director, Shorenstein APARC*
Hu Shuli *Editor-in-Chief, Caixin Media*
Ichiya Nakamura *Professor, Keio University*

5:00 p.m.–6:30 p.m. PUBLIC SYMPOSIUM AND PANEL DISCUSSION (Event Hall, KICH)
Moderator: Masahiko Aoki *Senior Fellow, FSI*
Panelists: Premesh Chandran
Martin Fackler
Hu Shuli
Ichiya Nakamura

6:45 p.m.–8:00 p.m. CLOSING RECEPTION (Special Conference Room, KICH)

Saturday, September 14, 2013 — Optional Activity: Tour of Kyoto

2013 STANFORD KYOTO DIALOGUE FINAL REPORT

Digital Media versus Traditional Media

Session 1

Martin Fackler, Tokyo bureau chief of the *New York Times*, and **Woosuk Choi**, editor of political news at TV Chosun, launched the session. Several important points were raised in the presentations and subsequent discussion. The discussion revolved around several themes that set up discussions for the other sessions as well.

Digital versus Traditional Media

In the initial framing of the issues for participants, we framed one of the debates as traditional versus digital media. Participants presented contrasting views about the blurring distinction between traditional and digital media. Almost 15 years since the advent of the Internet as an open platform for digital activity, many of the traditional media do not consider themselves traditional any more. One participant noted that their company is **"not a newspaper with a website, but a website with a newspaper."** Put simply, there is no traditional media that does not use new media. That being said, in some places, notably Japan, the large news media consider themselves newspapers first. An interesting image was raised by another participant who said they are aiming to become a "Harry Potter newspaper," referring to the popular fiction world with wizards and magic. In the Harry Potter stories, photographs are live motion pictures with their depicted characters moving and waving, and the major wizarding world newspaper has stationary text with embedded moving pictures.

The Business Model Challenge

Arguably the single greatest challenge facing news media companies today is the search for viable business models, and the difficulty in monetizing news. On the one hand, cost structures have decreased radically. Running a photograph on the top page of a newspaper used to be a very costly undertaking, but digital tools now allow posting photos and gathering short video clips to be cheaper than ever. However, quality reporting, with skilled journalists and editorial expertise, is still expensive.

Various aspects of the business are being **commoditized**, leading to intense pressure to find business models that provide value. Various organizations around the world have experimented in different ways. There have

been several sources of commoditization. One of the earliest media companies to put their content online discovered that their subscriber base immediately fell by up to 90 percent. Another experiment by a major news organization was to shift to an advertisement-only model. This did not work out, since few people clicked on the ads, forcing the company to shift to a mixed model of advertising and subscription. Seeing consolidation in the industry, one major newspaper purchased a middle-tier publication, only to find that it had to write off almost the entire investment over the next few years. A Silicon Valley-based middle-tier newspaper, for example, was disrupted when its lucrative classifieds section was commoditized by the online classifieds and peer-to-peer commerce site, Craigslist, along with its competitors; revenue fell by almost half in a few years, and it drastically shrank its presence. Pressured on areas of their business models, some major newspapers, such as the *Wall Street Journal*, chose to give up their independence rather than face extinction. While this bought time, they are still under pressure to find a profitable business model.

The rise of online portals, such as Yahoo! Japan, Naver (Korea), and Sina.com (China) that dominate their respective countries in search, has proved highly challenging to traditional business models. Each portal site has a lineup of a few news pieces, and whenever a piece from established media is chosen for the top page, their access numbers rise dramatically. The portals therefore have significant power, particularly in highly connected countries. While the portals do provide opportunities for new players, such as Videonews.com of Japan, by providing incredible reach, they have also contributed to driving smaller players, such as OhMyNews! of South Korea, into difficulty. The rise of portals was largely unexpected—one participant noted that when they put their content online early in the game, had they known about portals, they would have created a portal instead.

Martin Fackler, Tokyo bureau chief for the New York Times*, speaking at the first session.*

Woosuk Choi (right), editor of political news at TV Chosun, makes a comment while Masahiko Aoki listens on.

The primary victim of the waves of commoditization has been middle-tier papers, such as the *Baltimore Sun* and *Philadelphia Enquirer*, which used to have global reach. These middle tier papers used to have foreign correspondents and substantial staff, but after the disruptions, they have been largely bought out or have transformed into very local offerings carrying mainly news wire pieces and local news. The result has been a polarization, with a very small number of remaining global scale companies and local papers. The main loss is the resulting inability to cover stories from multiple angles.

What are some viable adjustment strategies? One participant noted that the advent of tablets and apps led to some improvement in

revenue—users seemed more willing to pay for subscriptions that allowed content to be seen on dedicated tablet apps. However, the road to sustained profitability is still a long way off. As for how to cope with the relentless commoditization, differences in national contexts and industry structures affect the strategies. The Japanese newspaper industry, for example, is very different from that of the United States. In a country with less than half the population (around 130 million), the largest Japanese newspaper, the *Yomiuri*, has just over 9 million paper edition subscribers. In the United States, the papers with the highest paper circulation are the *Wall Street Journal* and *New York Times*, with approximately 2.4 million and 1.9 million, respectively. In Japan, the newspaper companies own the distributors as well, leading to an industry structure in which the 2000 or so employees in headquarters for the largest paper is dwarfed by a workforce of 20,000 people in delivery services. The Japanese papers' strategies to adjust are therefore tempered by this employment reality, as well as the cushion of higher paper circulation. Combined with demographic change as Japan's population greys, this can lead to a far stronger emphasis on retaining paper circulation than elsewhere—although pressures are nonetheless substantial.

Ensuring the Reliability and Trust of New Organizations

With the advent of digital media, some of the major questions revolve around issues of reliability and trust in news. These are related to factors such as skills and value-added. The issues facing various types of media also seem to differ between democratic countries with free press, and currently or previously authoritarian countries where press freedoms are curtailed.

Why do you trust your news source? This is a fundamental question with which news organizations grapple. On the one hand, there is the well-established media in free press countries, whose reliability, skill, and content are the basis for its reputation. One participant journalist who moved from a well-established media company to a small new online news organization remarked that he discovered the degree to which he had depended on the reputation of his employer when at his previous, major news organization. After entering the new company, he confronted widespread skepticism, with questions such as "How do you know this is an important story?" and "Why should we believe you?" The reputation of his previous employer had ensured that if it printed a story, it was considered newsworthy just because they had published it.

On the other hand, after crises and events that challenged the creditability of traditional media, new media gained widespread acceptance in various countries. For example, one participant noted that the U.S. media had been complicit in going along with the U.S. government in reporting weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, which later proved to be false. In Japan, a participant from a major daily noted that in their organization a crisis occurred after they reported a scientist's claims regarding successful cloning of human genomes, without conducting sufficient background checks. The scientist's claims turned out to be false, including his employment credentials, leading to internal self-examination and critiques. A different Japan-based participant contended that there was a widespread perception in the country that media in Japan lost public trust in their reporting after the March 11, 2011 disaster, particularly regarding the Fukushima nuclear accident. Traditional media were slow to release information, waiting for the government, which was slow and cautious, while online sources and social media were full of misinformation and sensational falsehoods; people did not know where to turn.

In developing countries where free press was or is curtailed, or has limited reach, however, new digital media can have greater legitimacy than established media. Citizen journalism can point to issues that established media have been unable or unwilling to cover, leading some to see it as more authentic and trust-

worthy. The dilemma, of course, is then how to filter for propaganda, and check sources for authenticity. The issue of defamation lawsuits also weighs heavily on smaller or independent journalism. Even in developed countries, such as South Korea, the use of policies surrounding libel charges has been controversial when used recently in political cases.

A key ingredient noted by several participants as a way for established news companies to retain trust was to keep quality high by developing skills. The training of journalists was seen as an important way to maintain this quality. Participants from Japanese and Korean organizations, where labor mobility is low, noted that they spent years training new college graduates to become reporters. Space constraints of newsprint were also noted to be useful training to raise the quality of writers. Prominent news providers from developing countries also noted that they had training programs, though not as long. A traditional media participant mentioned the internal debates about journalists carrying video and audio recorders to the site of their interviews to post immediately, with concerns over the trade-off between the ability to publish immediately, and the need to ensure quality.

The speeding up of reporter news cycles was raised as a significant change driven by the rise of digital media. A foreign correspondent noted how after a major story, such as recent elections, the news organization required numerous article versions for various issues around the world: first was a newswire-type reporting noting that the public vote was underway; then there was another newswire-style piece simply reporting the outcome for the European market; then there was a final, more in-depth analysis for the United States. Given the advent of the twenty-four-hour news cycle, stories that had previously taken two days or so were now compressed into multiple stories during a single day. A healthy exchange of perspectives among various participants raised a fundamental dilemma—traditional news with slower news cycles, such as not publishing online pieces until the print version was out, was criticized for being slow and static, but defended from the perspective of having enough time to ensure quality.

The Relationship Between Media and Readers

A fundamentally new attribute of digital media is the ability to receive feedback from readers, which can be shared with other readers. Participants shared a variety of perspectives over these new dynamics. By and large, a general consensus seemed to be that, particularly for large organizations, online feedback from readers did not take any precedence over the core activities of writing quality articles with high quality editorial judgment—that the function of news organizations was not to pander to readers based on opinion surveys or online feedback, but to provide pieces that intelligent readers would want to read. Participants pointed to the disproportionate online presence of "netizens" who get worked up over particular issues, such as history issues surrounding Japan and its neighbors. A major global news organization pointed out that massive online reactions can also be triggered from surprising quarters, such as a passionate debate over the precise title of a producer/director in a special effects movie, which triggered the need to make an editorial judgment whether to issue a small amendment or not.

In the discussion, an interesting observation was made regarding a potential difference between developed and developing countries. In developing countries, which might not have had highly developed traditional media to begin with, the rise of Internet portals as a common entry point for people gathering news may actually provide youth with more world news than before. The participant noted that when he was growing up, it was a challenge to get world news. However, the youth today are exposed to a variety of news items—even if they were not seeking the stories to begin with—and may actually more aware of the world than otherwise.

Digital Media & Political Change in the Asia-Pacific

Session 2

In the second session, **Premesh Chandran**, founder of Malaysian digital media company Malaysiakini, presented his experience growing the company as a new, independent voice to foster democracy in Malaysia. **Cherian George**, from Nanyang Technical University of Singapore, then provided a well-reasoned note of caution and call for balanced views of digital media. **Shanto Iyengar**, professor of political science and communications departments at Stanford University, then presented an overview of recent frontier scholarship in related areas.

Gi-Wook Shin (left) makes opening remarks at Sunday's public symposium.

Malaysiakini was widely credited with providing a new voice for independent media during the latter days of long-time rule by Mohamad Mahathir, with many outside observers crediting Malaysiakini as playing a major role in the country's democratic transition.

Tempering the Irrational Exuberance Surrounding Digital Media in Political Change

An important set of points to emerge from the presentation and discussions is that digital media does not, on its own, automatically revolutionize politics or foster greater democratization. While the Internet and digital media can play an instrumental role, particularly where traditional media is tightly controlled by the government with a long-term government in power, participants cautioned against the hype of digital media undermining its very potential.

For example, one participant raised an interesting anecdote. He was repeatedly inter-

Malaysiakini—New, Digital Media Driving Democratization

Malaysiakini, which means "Malaysia Today" has been a force for democratization in Malaysia. Founded in 1999, it has been widely regarded from both inside and outside Malaysia as the first major, successful media platform that helped facilitate democratic transitions, as long-serving Mohamad Mahathir stepped down in 2003, bringing a series of transitions thereafter. Malaysia's traditional media was largely controlled by the government, and when Malaysiakini was faced with political repression, such as heavy-handed police presence, crowds came out to support Malaysiakini. Malaykini is now the number one pnews portal, with over 60 employees and 1.5 million dollars of annual revenue. This is far smaller than traditional newspaper, which sport billion dollar market capitalizations, but with 60-70% Internet penetration in Malaysia, Malaysiakini is now solidly in the mainstream of Malaysian media. Its initial readership growth was far faster, and its political impact was far greater, than it had initially expected.

Like all new digital media, Malaysiakini grappled with the challenges of finding a viable, sustainable business model. It began with advertising, but when this was insufficient, it moved to a mix of advertising and subscription models, which has served it well so far.

Looking forward, Malaysiakini faces numerous challenges. These include intense market competition, in which its very success has bred new competitors. The government is also vying for new ways to control digital media. Challenges facing all other digital media, such as whether subscription models can survive, and how to retain top staff, and whether mobile penetration will further reduce advertising revenue, are questions that must be grappled.

viewed by Western media reported interested in Singaporean elections. It turned out the reporters were interested in casting the election, taking place in one of the most connected societies in the world with long-term one-party rule, as the first Internet election. However, the underlying political fundamentals, rather than the availability of new digital media and social network skills, shaped the outcome. The participant realized that the Western media were otherwise uninterested in the Singaporean elections—they simply wanted to cast it as the first Internet election. Then, when the participant went to write a chapter for an academic edited volume, the editors commented that he was underplaying the role of the Internet—an angle they had heard on major global media.

One conception is that the Internet helps those who help themselves. If those who are part of a revolution do not actively participate to foster change, "others on the Internet" will not necessarily carry out change for them. The term *slacktivism* may be appropriate, suggesting that the Internet and digital media are certainly not sufficient conditions for social change. The underlying concern is the mistaken sense that digital media makes social change so easy that concerned citizens don't need to try hard to participate. However, the question that needs to be asked instead is what is the missing link in the causal chain that will produce political change. One useful conception is that the Internet is a catalyst, but even a large number multiplied by zero is zero. The Internet is such a powerful multiplier that it can have a large effect, but in other cases, there may be better returns by investing in other parts of civil society.

Frontier Scholarship on the Political Consequences of Digital Media

Numerous academic studies have shed light on the political consequences of digital media. Much of the research has been conducted in the

United States, and implications can be drawn for Asia as a region.

Several recent, interesting studies regarding the effects of digital media on the distribution of civic resources get to the question of whether digital media levels out the playing field or drives greater inequality. The abundance of information requires greater selectivity. The question then becomes on what basis that selectivity is exercised. Following personal interests, this tends to lead to greater demand for entertainment. An influential book, the *Myth of Digital Democracy* by Matthew Hindernmen, contends through a careful analysis of web usage data that most political blog readership goes to a small number of highly educated professionals, with online news readers concentrating their attention on the top twenty new organizations.

A recent study shows that with the advent of portals, visitors to Yahoo! Japan were actually exposed to accidental learning of political information. In the list of top news items, political news was mixed in with entertainment and other news. Visitors therefore had an opportunity to get exposure to news that would not have otherwise sought out. It remains to be seen whether this is a sufficient substitute for the inadvertent news that television viewers in the 1970s and 1980s were exposed to; the most popular news program in the United States at the time was CBS, not because it had the best news, but because the most popular sitcom aired immediately afterwards.

The effects of digital media on party polarization is an important topic of inquiry. The abundance of news can lead partisans to seek out information supporting their views. Studies show that in the United States, compared to the 1960s, the social distance across party lines is now stronger than religion or any other social attribute. It seems that the ability to tune out opposing views had contributed to polarization.

A fruitful area for future research is the reduced costs for collective action that digital

(clockwise from left) Nanyang Technological University's Cherian George speaks during session 2; Premesh Chandran (right), cofounder of Malaysiakini.com, at the public symposium; Shanto Iyengar (left) provided an overview of recent, interesting scholarship on digital media and politics.

media enables, and its effects on regime stability. This is still a developing area, currently lacking empirical social science research since it has only been 15 years or so since digital media came of age. Potential variables include the strength and reach of traditional media, the regulation of telecommunications, and the structure of social cleavages.

Government Relationships with Digital Media

Lively discussion revolved around the issue of governments' relationships with digital media, and effects on the power of civil society. Participants from various countries raised an interesting common theme: in places ranging from Malaysia to Singapore to Russia, governments initially did not interfere with new digital media firms. At the time, it was far from obvious what the new digital Internet platforms would be capable of, and governments did not pay particular attention to the emergence of these platforms.

China was a country of particular interest, given its traditional control of media, and extensive censorship of online activities. On the one hand, many of the popular accounts about digital media and China contend that it is unprecedented and revolutionary. However, the big question is whether it is really transformative, channeling civil society.

Participants agreed that the government did face a new set of constraints, since events around the country could be recorded at a new scale. This was considered largely unprecedented and positive.

The government has also been put in the odd position of denying rumors that spread via digital media—for example, at one point China Central TV was reporting a tax policy that was the rumor of a new tax policy, rather than the actual tax policy. Two days later, the administration was put in the position of contending that they had not issued such a policy.

For governments, the issue is therefore how to deal with the possibility of such pervasive rumors spreading throughout the country. In China, a new judicial interpretation set a precedent in which producing a rumor that is reposted over 500 times can result in arrest and up to three years of jail time. The leadership is clearly concerned and focusing on tightening their control of digital and social media. This reflects the leadership's belief that digital and social media is a real potential force of change.

The leadership has also appropriated the notion of Internet as freedom of speech for its own use. The leadership will cite Internet usage statistics as evidence of freedom of speech. It can also broadcast information via social media to provide the appearance of being open; the latest case was the Bo Xilai trial, in which a rising star who served as mayor of Dalian, then governor of Liaoning province, was abruptly jailed for corruption. The case was largely seen as the result of political power struggles in which he lost. The government billed the trial as having unprecedented openness, posting information on the official Weibo account (the Chinese equivalent of Twitter). Many overseas media companies actually reported the trial as having unprecedented openness. However, the amount of information posted was actually quite limited, with selected, censored posts about the details of the trial.

There was also the case of pro-democracy protests in over a dozen Chinese cities in early 2011. The media dubbed the protests the Jasmine Revolution, after the protests in Tunisia that led to the overthrow of the government. Howver, this was "the Jasmine Revolution that wasn't." There were widespread calls for public assembly in February 2011. The foreign press became very excited about calls for flash mobs, and they went to the spots where the gatherings were supposed to happen—only to find that nobody showed up. The government had, of course, seen the calls for gathering, and they took it very seriously. That being said, there are signs of real change. There was a case of protests in Dalian against a toxic chemical plant in August 2011, where images emerging from the site made it clear that the protests were well organized and very sophisticated. However, the

protests were never reported in the press. Only when the government decided to shut down the plant did the state media report the issue. This was the first time that it began campaigning against rumors.

One interesting way that social media has been used in politically oriented civil society activities has been through the use of court cases. The government tightly controls public gatherings with political intent, but activists have been using the ability to appear at court cases to listen to proceedings as a way to gather "without political intent" and avoid getting caught by authorities. That being said, the availability of social media can lead to complacency—lots of talk online about how simply watching certain events can be transformative.

A core issue when considering the effects of digital media on political change is what counts as political change. The idea was raised that there can be a variety of areas in which digital media has made a difference, and common political science conceptions of pointing to electoral outcomes as the primary indicator of change might not best fit the experiences of Asia. Perhaps a change in government, rather than change of government should be considered with higher granularity. In China, for example, at minimum, the calculations of officials about what they can get away with have changed, only occasionally reverting to old tendencies of trying to cover up well-recorded events.

Social Change and Economic Transformation

Session
3

In the third session **Aaditeshwar Seth**, Professor IIT Delhi and director of Gram Vaani (Voice of the Village), presented the activities of Gram Vaani, and **Kenji Kushida**, Takahashi Research Associate in Japanese Studies at Shorenstein APARC, presented his research on cloud computing.

SPOTLIGHT

Gram Vaani

Economic and social conditions in India create a distinctive environment from the vantage of digital media. With over 400 million people lacking Internet access, and low literacy rates, text-based services have limited reach—beyond the affordability issue for devices. Mobile Vaani, a service provided by Gram Vaani, meaning "Voice of the Village," based in IIT Delhi, takes this context as a starting point to offer a voice-based service, building and scaling a voice-based citizen media platform.

The Mobile Vaani channel is simple to operate. Users phone a server, which logs the call as a missed call. The server then calls back. Users then leave messages or listen to messages left by others. It community-sources the task of moderation.

Mobile Vaani has proven to be a useful **platform for citizen journalism**. For example, citizens reporting on officials demanding bribes eventually led the offending officials to pay fines. A village ignored by health agencies reported three malaria deaths in a week, leading to the dispatch of a mobile ambulance, fumigation equipment, and first aid.

Over one hundred thousand people can listen to messages left on the Mobile Vaani service. In one of the poorest states, a story was published about the lack of drinking water. The government was eventually held accountable.

One of the particularly noteworthy campaigns was on gender discrimination, with guided discussions.

Mobile Vaani is also a platform for cultural expression and entertainment. Submissions include poetry readings and folk songs. These are all examples of the forum being used in interesting ways—particularly valuable in areas without other forms of media access.

Mobile Vaani is currently in the process of building a sustainable business model. So far it has been fully supported by the social sector, including gender groups and healthcare. The current target is to reach out to the corporate sector and align with government programs.

Gram Vaani also has several other projects using voice-based systems. These range from data collection of income and expense details to build credit scores to recommend people to banks and microfinance lending, to garbage site reporting and monitoring, in which the statuses and disputes are made available on a dashboard and reviewed by the commissioner, as well as automation systems for community radio stations, with uses ranging from entertainment to complaints about police brutality, and children communicating across schools.

Cloud Computing: The Global Meets Local

The structure of the information technology (IT) infrastructure upon which digital media is built can influence how digital media diffuses around the world and how it is used. The advent of cloud computing as the new paradigm of global IT infrastructure entails significant benefits and constraints.

Privacy and U.S. National Security Agency Activities

Recent revelations that the U.S. government was involved in digital information gathering activities far beyond the scope that was previously thought, as leaked by government subcontractor employee Edward Snowden, raised various points for discussion. Given the nature of cloud computing, which concentrates the underlying computing activities in the hands of a small number of firms, the privacy implications are serious. It was surprising to many participants that the Snowden leaks implicated not only telephone companies, which were already known to be cooperative with the U.S. government in providing information about users, but that online giants such as Microsoft and even Google were also complicit with government requests for individual user information.

An interesting contrast of views was raised when one participant noted the very common view that many people consider services such as Gmail to be such an essential tool to their lives that they wouldn't mind government regulation to ensure the service remained accessible. Such views usually go hand in hand with the notion held by these individuals that they, as individuals, have nothing to hide from the government, rendering government access to their email and data not a major concern. Contrasting this view, Western journalists with experience in China noted the concern about keeping their sources anonymous—they used prepaid SIM cards for cell phones, and kept nothing in email. A journalist raised his companywide shift to Gmail infrastructure as a major concern.

A different Asian participant raised the issue of "which government is spying on you matters." He noted that despite the Snowden revelations, many users actually shifted from a domestic service to Gmail due to the fear that their own government was spying on them through the domestic service—and this was widely perceived as worse than the potential threat of US government surveillance. The difference may be in how government surveillance is used; the nature of government surveillance may differ fundamentally between those using digital surveillance for partisan political purposes versus those that are not. The United States, so far, and especially in other countries, has not seemed to be using information gathered through domestic surveillance for partisan politics, either in the United States or abroad, making it a "favorable" government from which to receive surveillance. Another partici-

pant noted that their government had been in negotiations with Google to put a data center in their country, but that when the government insisted on the ability to access information from that Google data center, the talks broke down.

One participant raised a question about "Big Data," the latest buzzword in the IT world promising various forms of value from analyzing massive amounts of user data of various sorts. In response, the presenter expressed skepticism about the value of big data in its current form, marketed as a panacea for various business challenges, on the basis of his recent experience interviewing people in Silicon Valley and the numerous failures of "Big Data" to live up to its promises; in essence, data collected from activities tangential to the core analysis tend to exhibit such high sample bias at such a basic level that even highly sophisticated analytical tools are still often unable to extract value.

Clearing Away the Fog: What is Cloud Computing?

Cloud computing has emerged as the new platform for IT activities. While many of the concepts and technologies underlying cloud computing are not new—indeed the foundations hark back to the 1960s and 1970s—it is a radically new way of delivering computing resources.

Cloud computing delivers computing services—data storage, computation, and networking—to users at the time, to the location, and in the quantity they wish to consume, with costs based only on the amount of resources used.

Cloud computing is uniquely new by simultaneously being an innovation ecosystem, a production environment, and a marketplace.

Cloud computing feeds the innovation ecosystem by lowering the bar for new entrants and facilitating experimentation. Most startup firms no longer require substantial capital outlays to build ICT capabilities. They can rapidly scale up or scale down operations as needed, and they can experiment with highly computing-intensive tasks. Cloud-based tools further lower startup costs. Larger enterprises with pre-existing datacenters can also utilize cloud resources for bursts of computing capacity for experimentation. Within their own data centers, cloud computing-style architectures increase allocation efficiency of internal IT resources—to the extent possible with their corporate organization.

Cloud computing is becoming the baseline for efficiency and functionality for firms' IT infrastructure. Global cloud providers' scale enables far lower total operating costs than consumers' own infrastructure. Since cloud providers can upgrade services in real-time, us-

ers do not incur costly IT infrastructure upgrade costs. This accelerates the implementation of new technologies, to the detriment of those who do not adopt cloud services.

Cloud computing is also quickly becoming a production environment. We are now in an era when IT services are best considered part of production; systems are built, which then deliver services via IT networks. Cloud services, including raw storage and processing power, and platform-level tools, provide the building blocks for creating systems. For example, popular file synchronization and storage service Dropbox, and Netflix's video streaming service, both use Amazon's cloud infrastructure. Google and Microsoft's powerful developer tools provide the ability to automatically generate cloud-based services and applications.

Cloud services extend the innovation platforms worldwide, becoming marketplaces with global reach. This is accentuated by the spread of apps for smartphones, tablets, and browsers, putting within reach powerful building blocks, tools, and entire ecosystems of third-party tools to anywhere with an Internet connection.

For advanced industrial countries, cloud computing provides new opportunities for innovation and entrepreneurship, and promises substantial efficiency gains. For developing countries, cloud services open up new possibilities to enter international markets and find niches in global value networks. As with the previous computing platforms—mainframes, PCs, and networks of PCs—cloud computing is becoming a baseline for national and corporate IT infrastructure against which other forms of infrastructure and service delivery must be measured.

(Left) (l–r) Hiroshi Nozawa, Mariko Horikawa, Masahiko Aoki, and Kenji Kushida meet at the participant reception; (right) Aaditeshwar Seth, director of Gram Vaani (Voice of the Village), listens during session 3.

Digital Media and International Relations

Session 4

David Straub from Shorenstein APARC opened the session by raising key points about the effect of digital media on international relations. **Hu Shuli**, editor-in-chief of Caixin Media Company, discussed implications of China's media environment on its international relations, particularly with Japan. **Nakamura Ichiya**, professor at Keio Media Design center at Keio University, concluded by presenting his work on IT policy, popular culture policy, and his efforts at educating the next generation with digital tools.

One important point in considering the role of digital media and government is that while digital media can constrain governments and force them to pay more attention to the public, thereby helping the causes of pressure groups, the "signal-to-noise" problem of the rise of inaccurate and trivial information can increase as well. In other words, we may have more intelligence but less wisdom, with the possibility of greater polarization and extremism.

We are now entering a world where government actions can be observed at the same time they are occurring. This can increase demands by citizens for immediate action. While government responsiveness can be a good thing, this might happen even before the government knows what is happening, or has sufficient preparation time for implementation. Governments now spend an inordinate amount on "churn"—if they receive a report, they need to determine its veracity, then evaluate its significance. The public, however, may already have the same information and think it is true. Yet, governments need to determine that it is true before acting. They end up chasing ghosts.

Digital media can also amplify public attention to particular issues. The Dokdo/Takeshima dispute between South Korea and Japan is a classic issue. Whenever a Japanese officials says something, regardless of his relative position of power, South Korean media can pick up on it, reinforcing or confirming how they perceive that Japanese more generally feel, and how the government takes its stance. The large amount of reporting makes it seem like a big issue. This is then reported in Japan, where the matter in question and statement were originally not very big issues. Over the years, the Korean response resulted in polling of more

Japanese being aware of, and supporting the Japanese government's view.

In protests against beef imports prompted by fears of mad cow disease, digital media likely accelerated the speed and intensity of the reaction. There is certainly much room for optimism, but the path will not be linear.

The upside of news through digital media is that it is delivered quickly, and is more difficult to be manipulated by officials. For example, if Chinese are interested in Syria, they do not have to rely solely on government-provided news sources.

The danger of the wide availability of digital media is that if it is procured through portals in short, abbreviated forms, it is easy for readers to get emotional very quickly. Opinion leaders are therefore under a new type of pressure; while they can say opinions that differ from those of official leaders, it is almost impossible for them to directly contradict extreme popularists, whose strong sense of national interest drowns out other views. For example, in Sino-Japanese relations, it is almost impossible to hear a single opinion that differs from the Chinese position on the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands dispute. Even opinion leaders who pride themselves on having balanced world views cannot say things such as "We should not care so much," or "Maybe we should pursue a different avenue to find a solution."

There was a strong sense that while digital media can help organize demonstrations, such as in the case of the Arab Spring, Internet democracy will not always lead to the correct direction. Nationalism can easily be provoked and stoked through digital media, which can create feedback to potentially influence leaders' decisions.

SPOTLIGHT

Media in China and the Role of Caixin

China had 591 million web users in June 2013, and 200 million of them were users of Weibo, the Chinese counterpart to Twitter. More than 60 percent of Weibo users shared news stories with followers. Thus, digital media is where most Chinese gather their news, and where public debate takes place. Put simply, there is no need to design a revolution in media because technology is already making it happen.

The main question with the advent of digital media is who is providing the news. In the West, by and large, it is still the news giants. In China, however, it is overwhelmingly new organizations rather than traditional outlets, such as Xinhua. The most popular web news providers are companies born in the Internet age. They identify themselves as Internet companies rather than media companies. This leads to a variety of advantages and shortcomings.

The positive side of the explosion of these new media companies is that the sheer quantity of information is exploding. This is a major change from the historical situation of very limited information. The drawback is that portals such as Weibo do not generate their own news, and do not have their own professional reporters. The news items are often short, lacking sophistication, and are often rumors with a popular and sensationalistic orientation. Their news sources are not necessarily from professional organizations, and the latter usually have no training in ethics and the like, and are unable to exercise edito-

rial judgments for readers, and lack an editorial voice. The ethical problems manifest themselves in issues such as when news is unfavorable to advertisers, they can be hidden or ranked very low in the queue, depending on the amount paid by the advertiser.

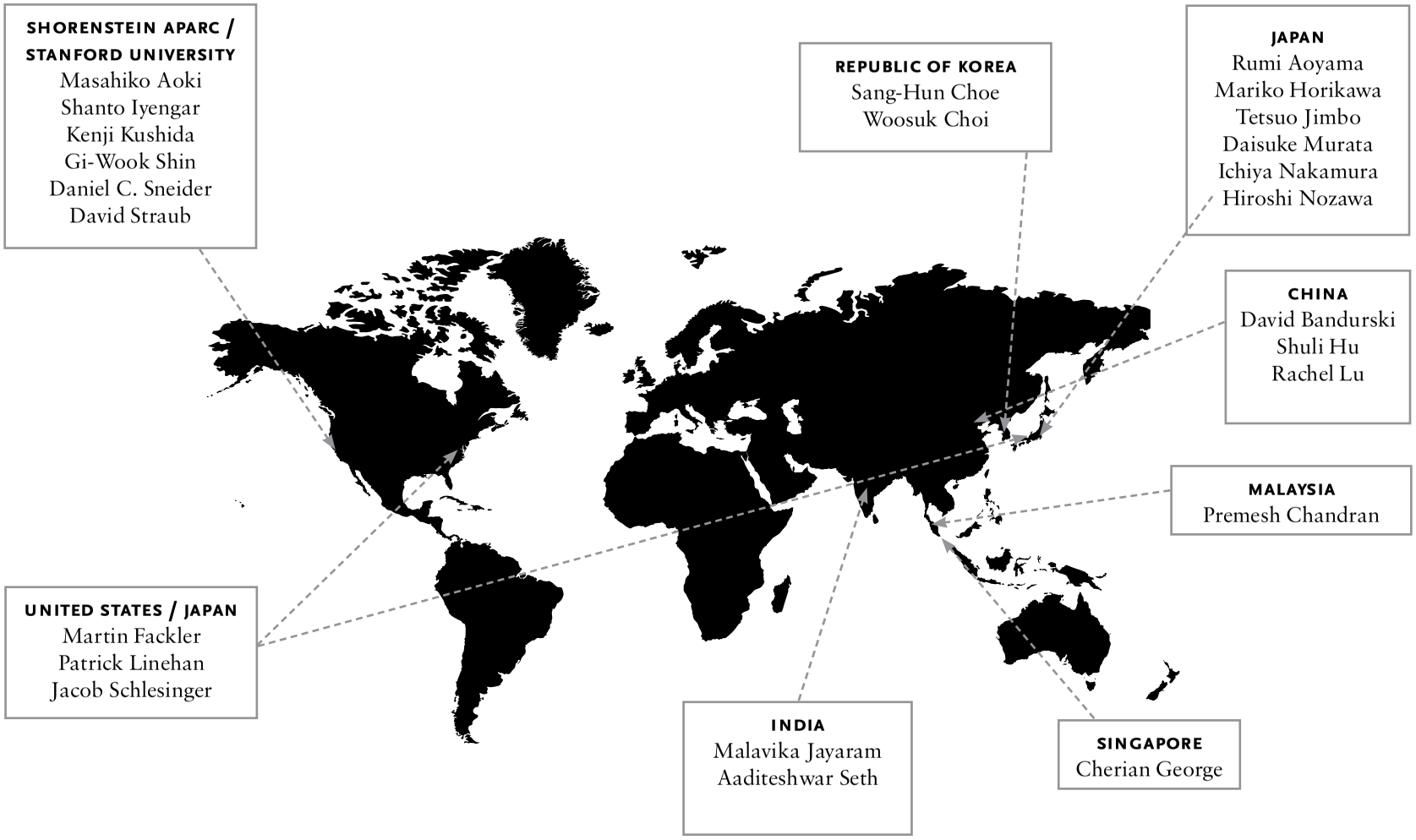
The advent of this type of digital media is creating an information rift; government officials mainly read official newspapers, but people don't.

Caixin Media Group is an independent media company that offers primarily financial and business news through a variety of means. It offers a weekly news digest, and it also uses Weibo as a platform. Caixin grew up with the Internet, and learned from Internet company business models. It is focused on training professional journalists, taking several years to train new graduates.

Hu Shuli (right) and Nakamura Ichiya both participated on a panel in the public symposium.

(Left) David Straub joins the discussion in session 4; (Right) Participants tour Kyoto on Saturday.

2013 KYOTO DIALOGUE PARTICIPANTS



Participants by Country

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Shuli Hu
Editor-in-Chief, Caixin Media Company, Ltd.; Dean, School of Communication and Design, Sun Yat-Sen University

Rachel Lu
Cofounder, Tea Leaf Nation

INDIA

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Fellow, Berkman Center for Internet and Society, Harvard University

Aaditeshwar Seth
Professor, IIT Delhi; Director, Gram Vaani ("Voice of the Village")

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Rumi Aoyama
Professor, Research Institute of Current Chinese Affairs, School of Education, Waseda University

Mariko Horikawa
Deputy Manager, Database Department, Digital Media Group, Yomiuri Shimbun

Tetsuo Jimbo
CEO, Video News Network; Editor-in-Chief, videonews.com

Daisuke Murata
President and CEO, Murata Machinery, Ltd.

Ichiya Nakamura
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Hiroshi Nozawa
Senior Administrator, Asahi Shimbun

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Woosuk Choi
Political News Editor, TV Chosun

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Premesh Chandran
CEO, Malaysiakini

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Cherian George
Associate Professor, Wee Kim Wee School of Communication and Information, Nanyang Technological University; Director, Asia Journalism Fellowship

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Shanto Iyengar
Harry and Norman Chandler Professor of Communication, Department of Political Science

Kenji Kushida
Takahashi Research Associate in Japanese Studies, Shorenstein APARC

Gi-Wook Shin
Director, Shorenstein APARC; Tong Yang, Korea Foundation, and Korea Stanford Alumni Chair of Korean Studies; Founding Director, Korean Studies Program; Senior Fellow, FSI; and Professor of Sociology

Daniel C. Sneider
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Masahiko Aoki is the Henri and Tomoye Takahashi Professor Emeritus of Japanese Studies in the Department of Economics, and a senior fellow of the Stanford Institute of Economic Policy Research and the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford University. He is a theoretical and applied economist with a strong interest in institutional and comparative issues. His preferred field covers the theory of institutions, corporate architecture and governance, and the Japanese and Chinese economies.

Aoki's most recent books are *Corporations in Evolving Diversity: Cognition, Governance, and Institutions* (Oxford University Press, 2010) and *Toward a Comparative Institutional Analysis* (MIT Press, 2001). His research has been also published in leading economics journals, including the *American Economic Review*, *Econometrica*, the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, *Review of Economic Studies*, the *Journal of Economic Literature*, *Industrial and Corporate Change*, and the *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organizations*.

Aoki was the president of the International Economic Association from 2008 to 2011, and is also a former president of the Japanese Economic Association. He is a fellow of the Econometric Society and the founding editor of the *Journal of Japanese and International Economies*. He was awarded the Japan Academy Prize (1990) and the sixth International Schumpeter Prize (1998). Between 2001 and 2004, Aoki served as the president and chief research officer of the Research Institute of Economy, Trade, and Industry in Japan.

Aoki graduated from the University of Tokyo with a BA and an MA in economics, and earned a PhD in economics from the University of Minnesota in 1967. He was formerly an assistant professor at Stanford University and Harvard University, and served as both an associate and full professor at the University of Kyoto before rejoining the Stanford faculty in 1984.

Rumi Aoyama is professor at the Research Institute of Current Chinese Affairs in the School of Education at Waseda University. Her research specialty is contemporary Chinese diplomacy. Her book, *Gendai chuugoku no gaikou* (Contemporary China's foreign policy), was honored with the 24th Masayoshi Ohira Foundation Memorial Prize. Aoyama's other recent publications include "Chinese Diplomacy in the Multimedia Age," in *A New East Asia: Toward a Regional Community*, ed. Kazuko Mori and Kenichiro Hirano (Singapore: National University of Singapore, 2007), and *China's Global Strategy* (Akashi Press, 2011). She earned a PhD in law from the Graduate School of Law at Keio University and was a visiting researcher at Stanford University in 2005–06.

David Bandurski is a researcher at the University of Hong Kong's China Media Project and editor of the project's website. He is a frequent commentator on Chinese media. He received a Human Rights Press Award in 2007 for an investigative piece in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* on China's use of professional associations to enforce Internet censorship guidelines. David was also co-recipient of a Merit Prize in Commentary in 2006. His writings have appeared in the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, *Index on Censorship*, the *South China Morning Post*, and other publications. He is the coauthor of *Investigative Journalism in China* (HKU Press, 2010), a book of eight cases on Chinese watchdog journalism. He is currently working on *Citybound*, a book of reportage about urbanization in China (Penguin, 2014). In addition to his work with the China Media Project, David is a producer of Chinese independent films through his Hong Kong production company, Lantern Films. His most recent feature production, *The High Life*, directed by Zhao Dayong, won several awards, including the FIPRESCI Critics Award (Hong Kong Film Festival) and the Werner Fassbinder Prize (Mannheim-Heidelberg International Film Festival).

Premesh Chandran is the cofounder and CEO of Malaysiakini.com, the leading online medium in Malaysia, which reaches over 2.5 million readers per month in four languages (English, Malay, Chinese, and Tamil).

Founded in 1999, Malaysiakini has won a number of international awards including ones from *Asiaweek*, *Businessweek*, the International Press Institute, and the Committee to Protect Journalists. The site has also been featured in various books and journals, most recently in the *International Journal of Press/Politics*.

Premesh has been a democracy activist since his university days, taking up issues related to human rights and democracy in Asia. He has worked as a teacher, a labor researcher, and as a senior writer at the Malaysian daily newspaper *theSun*. Apart from Malaysiakini, his passions include science, social entrepreneurship, and human rights. He holds a degree in physics and an MA in international studies. He is also a recipient of two fellowships, the TED Fellowship 2010 and Asia Foundation's Chang-Lin Tan Fellowship 2010, and was named Media Personality of the Year 2012 by the Association of Accredited Advertising Agents.

Sang-Hun Choe is the Korea correspondent for the *International Herald Tribune*. Before joining the newspaper in 2005, he worked for the *Korea Herald* and the Associated Press Seoul bureau. He was the 2010–11 Fellow in Korean Studies at the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center at Stanford University. Choe has won many awards for his reports on Korea and Myanmar, including a Pulitzer Prize, George Polk Award, a Korea Journalists' Association award, a Human Rights Press Award in Asia, and two Society of Publishers in Asia awards, as well as the Asia Society's Osborn Elliott prize. He is coauthor of *The Bridge at No Gun Ri* (2001) and *How Koreans Talk* (2002) and coeditor of *Korea Witness: 135 Years of War, Crisis and News in the Land of the Morning Calm* (2006). He received a BA in economics from Yeungnam University and an MA in interpretation and translation from the Hankuk University of Foreign Studies in Seoul.

Woosuk Kenneth Choi is the political news editor at TV Chosun, a subsidiary of the Chosun Media Group in Korea. He covers the Blue House as well as foreign affairs and military issues.

Prior to his current position, Choi was deputy executive editor of the Business and Industry Department at the *Chosunilbo* (2010–12), responsible for market coverage in automotive news and foreign investment in Korea. In addition, he was in charge of the *Chosunilbo*'s launch of its broadcasting business (2009–10).

From 2005 to 2009 he was the *Chosunilbo*'s Washington correspondent, covering developments such as the North Korean nuclear crisis, the Korea-U.S. bilateral relationship, and the Korea-U.S. free trade agreement.

Choi has covered political affairs, social affairs, and business and economics for the past 19 years, since he joined the *Chosunilbo* in 1992. He holds a BS from Worcester Polytechnic Institute, an MPA from Harvard Kennedy School, and an MA in political science from the University of Pennsylvania. He is a regular participant of the Davos Forum in Switzerland.

Martin Fackler is the Tokyo bureau chief for the *New York Times*, covering Japan and the Korean Peninsula. A native of Iowa who grew up in Georgia, he was first captivated by Asia more than 20 years ago when he spent his sophomore year in college studying Mandarin and classical Chinese at Taiwan's Tunghai University. A chance to study Japanese at Keio University in Tokyo led him to Japan, where he later did graduate work in economics at the University of Tokyo. He has masters degrees in journalism from the University of Illinois at Urbana and in East Asian history from the University of California, Berkeley. In addition to the *New York Times*, he has also worked in Tokyo for the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Associated Press and Bloomberg News. He has also worked for the AP in New York, Beijing and Shanghai. He joined the *New York Times* in 2005, working first as Tokyo business correspondent before assuming his current position in 2009. In 2012, Martin was a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize in international reporting for his and his colleagues' investigative stories on the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear accident that the prize committee said offered a "powerful exploration of serious mistakes concealed by authorities in Japan." He is the author of *'Hontō no koto' o tsutaenai Nihon no shinbun* (Credibility lost: The crisis in Japanese newspaper journalism after Fukushima), a critical look at Japanese media coverage of the 2011 earthquake and nuclear disaster.

Cherian George is a Singaporean writer and academic, and associate professor at the Wee Kim Wee School of Communication and Information, Nanyang Technological University. He serves as the director of the Temasek Foundation–NTU Asia Journalism Fellowship, which brings together accomplished journalists from across Asia for a three-month sabbatical program. He is also an adjunct senior research fellow of the Institute of Policy Studies at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, National University of Singapore.

George researches journalism and politics, including the political economy of news, professional norms, censorship, and alternative media. His doctoral dissertation was published as *Contentious Journalism and the Internet: Towards Democratic Discourse in Malaysia and Singapore* (National University of Singapore Press and University of Washington Press, 2006). He is the author of two other monographs: *Singapore: The Air-Conditioned Nation* (Landmark, 2000) and *Freedom From the Press: Journalism and State Power in Singapore* (National University of Singapore Press, 2012). He is the editor of the journal *Media Asia*.

Before joining academia, he was a journalist at Singapore's national daily, the *Straits Times*. George takes an active interest in media policy and media reform. He is a member of the Media Literacy Council under the Ministry of Communication and Information. He blogs at Journalism.sg, AirconditionedNation.com, and MediaAsia.info.

George has an MA from Columbia University's School of Journalism and a BA in social and political sciences from Cambridge University. He completed his PhD in communication at Stanford in 2003.

Mariko Horikawa is deputy manager at the Database Department of the Digital Media Bureau at the *Yomiuri Shimbun*. After graduating from Sophia University, she joined the *Yomiuri* in 1984 and has worked for the newspaper since then. Starting off as a police reporter for Miyagi Prefecture, she worked for the international news department (1986–89), city news department (1989–90), the *Daily Yomiuri* (1990–92, 1995–98, now called the *Japan News*), the *Yomiuri*'s English newspaper, and the health and medical news department (1998–2003) before moving to the digital media section. Horikawa was the first female reporter for the Miyagi regional bureau and the first woman to serve as bureau chief for an overseas bureau in Sydney. She was a visiting lecturer at the School of Journalism at the University of California, Berkeley, in 2004 and lectures occasionally at Meiji University and Tokai University. Horikawa worked as a researcher to develop new business areas in digital media before she joined the database department in 2010.

Shuli Hu is editor-in-chief of Caixin Media, and dean of the School of Communication and Design at Sun Yat-sen University.

Internationally recognized for her achievements in journalism, Hu was awarded the 2012 Missouri Honor Medal for Distinguished Service in Journalism. She was listed among Top 100 Influential People of 2011 by *Time*. She was twice named one of Top 100 Global Thinkers by *Foreign Policy* in 2009 and 2010. The *Caixin* editorial team, under her leadership, won the 2011 Shorenstein Journalism Award from Stanford University. In 2007, she received the Louis Lyons Award for Conscience and Integrity in Journalism from the Nieman Foundation at Harvard University. In 2006, Hu was called China's most powerful commentator by the *Financial Times*, and the *Wall Street Journal* cited her as one

of Asia's Ten Women to Watch. Hu was named International Editor of the Year by the *World Press Review* in 2003 and one of *Businessweek*'s Fifty Stars of Asia in 2001.

Hu serves as a member on the Reuters Editorial Advisory Board. She is a member of the International Media Council of the World Economic Forum, and a regional advisor for the International Center for Journalists.

Hu studied development economics as a Knight Journalism Fellow at Stanford University in 1994. She earned a BA in journalism from the People's University of China in 1982 and an EMBA through Fordham University and the China Center for Economic Research at Peking University in 2002.

Shanto Iyengar holds the Chandler Chair in Communication at Stanford University, where he is also professor of political science and director of the Political Communication Laboratory. Iyengar's areas of expertise include the role of mass media in democratic societies, public opinion, and political psychology. Iyengar's research has been supported by grants from the National Science Foundation, the National Institutes of Health, the Ford Foundation, the Pew Charitable Trusts, and the Hewlett Foundation. He is the recipient of several professional awards, including the Philip Converse Award of the American Political Science Association for the best book in the field of public opinion, the Murray Edelman Lifetime Achievement Award, and the Goldsmith Book Prize from Harvard University. Iyengar is author or coauthor of several books, including *News That Matters* (University of Chicago Press, 1987), *Is Anyone Responsible?* (University of Chicago Press, 1991), *Explorations in Political Psychology* (Duke University Press, 1995), *Going Negative* (Free Press, 1995), and *Media Politics: A Citizen's Guide* (Norton, 2011).

Tetsuo "Teddy" Jimbo is a journalist, the CEO of Video News Network, a Tokyo-based video production company that provides documentary reports to television stations around the world, and editor-in-chief of videonews.com, a web-based video news service operated by Video News Network.

Prior to establishing Video News Network in 1996, Jimbo was a reporter for the Associated Press, *Christian Science Monitor* and other news organizations, going independent in 1994. Beginning in 1994, Jimbo developed the use of video journalism, a news reporting and production method in which a reporter uses video and sound on his own as a tool for reporting.

Video News Network obtained a broadcasting license from the Japanese government to broadcast the U.S. business news network CNBC in Japan in 1997, and he became a director of the CNBC Japan board and bureau chief of its Tokyo Bureau.

In 2000 videonews.com was launched and Jimbo became its editor-in-chief. He co-anchors its weekly news program, "Hard Talk on Demand." Jimbo has taught journalism at Ritsumeikan University (2005–10) and at Waseda University's Graduate School of Journalism (2008–13). He specializes in environmental issues, media ethics, international conflicts, and food safety.

He has authored dozens of books and produced documentaries on these topics. His 1997 documentary on the still-remaining anti-personnel land mines that threaten civilian lives daily in Angola, Mozambique, Bosnia, Afghanistan, and Cambodia won the Galaxy Award for excellence in a television documentary. His 2003 book about the small Pacific Island of Tuvalu—which is threatened by rising sea levels, possibly a result from global warming—was nominated for Ohya Soichi Non-fiction Award.

Jimbo has a BA in international politics from International Christian University and an MS in

journalism from the Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University. Born in 1961 in Tokyo, he now lives in Tokyo with his wife and son.

Kenji Kushida is the Takahashi Research Associate in Japanese Studies at the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center. He holds a PhD in political science from the University of California, Berkeley, and was a graduate research associate at the Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy. Kushida has an MA in East Asian studies and BAs in economics and East Asian studies, all from Stanford University.

Kushida's research interests are in the fields of comparative politics, political economy, and information technology. He focuses mainly on Japan with comparisons to Korea, China, and the United States. He has four streams of academic research and publication: institutional and governance structures of Japan's Fukushima nuclear disaster; political economy issues surrounding information technology; political strategies of foreign multinational corporations in Japan; and Japan's political economic transformation since the 1990s.

His recent publications include *Japan Under the DPJ: The Politics of Governance and Transition,* coedited with Phillip Lipscy (Shorenstein APARC, 2013), "Industrial Policy Reconsidered in a Digital World" with John Zysman (in *Japan Spotlight*, 2013), "The Fukushima Nuclear Disaster in Comparative Perspective" with Phillip Lipscy (in *Environmental Science & Technology*, 2013), "Syncretism: The Politics of Japan's Financial Reforms" with Kay Shimizu (in *Socio-Economic Review*, 2013).

Kushida's scholarship related to digital media include "Services with Everything: The ICT-Enabled Transformation of Services" in *The Third Globalization* (Oxford University Press, 2013) with several coauthors; and "Clouducopia: Into the Era of Abundance" (CLSA Blue Book 2013), "The Gathering Storm: Analyzing the Cloud Computing Ecosystem and Implications for Public Policy" (in *Communications & Strategies,* 2012), and "Diffusing the Cloud: Cloud Computing and Implications for Public Policy" (in *Review of Policy Research*, 2011), all with Jonathan Murray and John Zysman.

Malavika Jayaram is a widely recognized legal scholar for her work on privacy, free expression, and internet policy in India. A practicing lawyer specializing in technology law, she has a special interest in new media and the arts, and advises startups, innovators, educational institutions, and artists on digital rights, cultural heritage, and the dissemination of creative work. As a Fellow at the Centre for Internet and Society (CIS), she reviews and maps legislative and policy developments in the privacy and internet governance domain. As a Fellow with the Berkman Center for Internet and Society at Harvard University, she is focusing on India's e-governance schemes and the new biometric ID project.

Previously, Jayaram worked for eight years in London with the global law firm Allen & Overy in the Communications, Media & Technology group, and as vice president and technology counsel at Citigroup. She was one of ten Indian lawyers featured in *The International Who's Who of Internet e-Commerce & Data Protection Lawyers 2012* directory and was recently voted one of India's leading lawyers—one of only eight women to be featured in the "40 under 45" survey conducted by Law Business Research, London. Jayaram is on the advisory board of the *Indian Journal of Law & Technology* and is the author of the India chapter for the *Data Protection & Privacy* volume in the *Getting the Deal Done* series. A graduate of the National Law School of India, she has an LLM from Northwestern University, Chicago, and is working toward a PhD in law. During 2012–13 she was a

visiting scholar at the Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania, within the Center for Global Communication Studies.

Patrick Joseph Linehan is currently consul-general of the U.S. consulate serving Osaka and Kobe. A native of Boston, he graduated from Arizona State University in 1974 with a BA in political science and Russian, and from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1977 with an MA degree in political science. From 1979 to 1980, he was a Fulbright Fellow to Finland.

In 1984 he entered the U.S. Foreign Service and specialized in public diplomacy. He is now a member of the career senior foreign service with the rank of minister-counselor. He has represented the United States overseas on assignments in Helsinki, Finland; Christchurch, New Zealand; Seoul, Korea; Yokohama, Sapporo, and Tokyo, Japan; Brasilia, Brazil; and Ottawa, Canada. Linehan's most recent assignments have been as minister-counselor for public affairs in Seoul; embassy spokesman in Seoul and in Tokyo; counselor for public affairs at the embassy in Brasilia; and minister-counselor for public affairs at the embassy in Ottawa. He speaks Japanese, Korean, and Portuguese.

Rachel Lu is cofounder and editor of *Tea Leaf Nation*, an English-language online magazine that synthesizes and analyzes Chinese social media. Since its founding in 2011, *Tea Leaf Nation* has become a partner site with both *ChinaFile*, an online publication by the Asia Society, and *The Atlantic*. *Tea Leaf Nation* aspires to be a must-read source to China experts of all stripes—journalists, diplomats, academics, analysts—while remaining fun and accessible to casual China watchers. *Tea Leaf Nation*'s founding team and its dozens of contributors scour Chinese social media every day to spot trends, gauge sentiment, and carry major news stories one level deeper. *Tea Leaf Nation*'s mission is to deliver the most interesting content on China's social media that brings the country to life, humanizing the countless millions behind the text.

Ms. Lu received a bachelor's degree in economics and international studies from Yale College and a JD from Harvard Law School. She currently lives in Hong Kong.

Daisuke Murata is president and CEO of Murata Machinery, Ltd., in Kyoto, Japan, a company specializing in manufacturing textile machinery, machine tools, logistics systems, factory automation systems, and communication equipment. Murata has served as vice president of the Japan Institute of Material Handling since 2008 and as vice president of the Japan Textile Machinery Association since 2004. He received a bachelor's degree in economics from Hitotsubashi University in 1984 and an MBA from Stanford University's Graduate School of Business in 1990.

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Gi-Wook Shin is the director of the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center; the Tong Yang, Korea Foundation, and Korea Stanford Alumni Chair of Korean Studies; the founding director of the Korean Studies Program; a senior fellow of the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies; and a professor of sociology, all at Stanford University.

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