Anime against Neoliberalism in Chile (with Camilo Diaz Pino)

[opening music]

00:22 **Juan Llamas-Rodriguez**: Welcome to the Global Media Cultures Podcast. I am your host Juan Llamas-Rodriguez. Today we're discussing Japanese animation in Latin America and the uses of popular entertainment as protest symbols. Our guest is Dr. Camilo Diaz Pino, he's an assistant professor of Media and Culture at West Chester University of Pennsylvania, where he teaches courses on media production and cultural studies. He obtained his PhD at the University of Wisconsin-Madison with research focusing on the circulation of Asian media to Latin America. He also has professional experience in 2D and 3D animation and in live TV production. Camilo, welcome to the Global Media Cultures Podcast.

01:04 **Camilo Diaz Pino**: Thank you, Juan.

01:06 **JLR**: I would start by asking you, could you talk to us about what is your work about, broadly or specifically, and why does this topic interests you? What do you think it's an important area to study?

01:18 **CDP**: My work focuses within the broad area of what I've been calling trans-peripheral media circulation, and in particular looking at the ways in which emergent markets, peripheral markets, and peripheral identities grow to exist within a wider global media community and marketplace. Which is to say then that I'm focusing specifically on the place of Latin America within these dynamics, and using its interactions with Asia as a sort of under-explored but still historically very well-established area of circulation, communication and what we could call trans-culturation, that is to say cultural intermingling.

02:02 **JLR**: So today we're discussing specifically your article “Weaponizing Collective Energy: Dragon Ball Z in the Anti-Neoliberal Chilean Protest Movement,” which was published in the journal *Popular Communication*, volume 17, in 2019. Can you give us a brief history of this particular article? When you began working on it, how did this project originate, and then how did the ideas change in the process of researching and writing it?

02:29 **CDP**: This is actually one of those papers that a lot of scholars develop early on in their careers, because this happened actually in a graduate school class. It was being taught by Professor Jonathan Gray at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and it focused in particular on audience studies, and within this I was really interested in looking at the ways in which Latin American identity and Latin American popular culture felt interpellated with Japanese animation in a way that I saw as completely distinct to that of the way in which we commonly talk about anime or commonly talk about Japanese culture in general, when it enters the United States. This study emerged from an interest in seeing this phenomena that I detail in this article about this student protest using this very detailed element of a Japanese show in order to make a point about very idiosyncratic Chilean history and Chilean politics, while at the same time, as a further connection, connecting to a wider history of neo-liberal state reforms and neo-liberal policy making and popular responses to that.

03:41 **JLR**: So let's talk about a little bit of the context. So can you give us a brief introduction to the Chilean student protests that you're writing about, like that particular moment but also where does that come from, what are the protests going up against, and then how does that feed into recent Chilean history?

04:02 **CDP**: So the Chilean student protests of 2011 can be situated within a longer history of anti-neoliberal activism. Now, this ties all the way back to 1973 with the coup that was imposed, of course, with CIA backing by Augusto Pinochet, which at that time toppled what substantially at the time was the world's first democratically elected socialist administration. And so, of course, during the Cold War this provoked a lot of fear from specifically the United States and its administrations, and so when they imposed a reactionary military junta, what happened was a total overhauling of not just then the Chilean political system but also its social system, via the privatization, not just then of state-owned services and not just then of resources, but also a sort of cultural privatization, a mass fear imposed of course through very violent means, but that came simply as a vehicle for now what we could call the dominant world system of, of course, mass privatization of companies, mass privatization of the economic sector and the social sector.

05:27 **CDP**: But of course the concurrent notion then of social isolation that goes on with that. This notion then of a lack of collective consciousness. Consequently in the wake of the dictatorship, that is to say when democracy was re-established in 1990, this notion and this trauma of an atomized society, of a society that did not see itself as a collectivity, that still persisted. And so what is notable then about the 2011 protests is

that they represent a re-consolidation of collective agendas, which had been fought for by the same people who in many senses were the ones traumatized by the dictatorship, but because of the fear imposed by the dictatorship and because of the neo-liberal logics imposed by that same regime, it took basically another couple of generations to overcome that fear and to see which parts of the previous administration, of basically socialism, were worth rescuing and to pick up that thread again.

06:40 **CDP**: In many ways, as a position that was defiant towards not just the dictatorship and its cronies but the leaders that have come to the fore since, who may be democratic, but at the same time have done nothing to dismantle this mass privatization, which is a long way of saying that these student protests were concentrated predominantly on the privatization of the educational system, which is something that I'm sure students studying today in the United States are all too familiar with. Crippling student debt, an insecure job market to go into, which means then is your education even worth anything? And the treatment, as with so many other things, of something that perhaps should be a public service as a private privilege.

07:27 **CDP**: And so these students were confronting this notion of the privatization of public life, the privatization of public resources, by trying to discursively re-center the argument, saying "How can we re-collectivize this ethical framework?" And so it begins with education but then it extends to every other social service, it extends to every other area of public life as well. And so other scholars for instance have talked about this as a student-led protest rather than simply a student protest, as something that students were at the forefront of, but in fact represents a massive public rupture. And, alongside this, an overcoming of fear towards the dictatorship. Now more recently we can see this happening then in 2019, happening all over again, in which people likewise are reacting to mass privatization.

08:24 **CDP**: Now, in the case of this particular protest that I cover here, I'm looking at one instance of performance art as protest, which is to say these organizers saw an element of this Japanese show, of an animated show, *Dragon Ball Z*, and they read this instance as one of a gathering of collective power. Within the plot of the show, the hero Goku gathers the life energy of every living being on the planet in order then to defend the planet against the imposition of just a violent monster, shall we say. And the students then, and their allies, saw this moment and read it in such a way so that, "How then can we interpret this fantasy cartoon in a way that can likewise evoke this

sense of collective power, of consolidating everyone's energy in order for everyone's benefit?"

09:32 **CDP**: And what was fascinating to me about this was that it really cemented the extent to which not just then this show, *Dragon Ball Z*, was popular, but the extent to which it was so deeply understood by the general populace. Because in order for this to work it's not just then putting on a costume and making a vague reference, it's evoking a very specific detailed plot element, which is to say that we might expect something like this from say, the popularity of *Star Wars* or perhaps *Harry Potter* in the United States, things like that. But to evoke such a specific moment of an anime, that to me reads as evidence, if you will, of the penetration of Japanese popular culture and these certain texts within the wider Chilean and perhaps even Latin American popular media-scape.

10:29 **JLR**: But also, you point out one of the issues, or one of the interesting aspects, of this is it's a Japanese show and its popularity within Chile or its acceptance by the general population was different because it was Japanese. Not because it was Japanese but rather because it wasn't American, because it wasn't coming from what was usually the dominant importation of external.

10:57 **CDP**: The relationship with Japan in Latin America doesn't have these burdens, it doesn't have this baggage attached to it, and at the same time, when we look at the history of Japanese media exportation, we are looking at a history of a market that has grown now into a very powerful media export, but has only recently begun to position itself as such, that for a very long time from say the 1960s up until the mid-1990s, the Japanese anime exportation market has positioned itself as sort of a cheaper alternative to US animation and to cartoons perhaps even from Europe. And in doing so, you see then traces of affinity between Japanese programming methods and the programming methods used by other more peripheral media exporters, such as many localities in Latin America. For instance, you see the idea then of short-run television programming, that is to say a single season that is meant to tell a story with beginning, middle, and end. Because you can't invest that much in any single story necessarily. And within that then you get story formats that actually mirror the notion of the telenovela quite closely.

12:23 **JLR**: Yeah.

12:23 **CDP**: So much so that when anime was first imported into Latin America in the 1970s it was often interpreted as either children's telenovela or just animated telenovela. The language was more or less interchangeable. And so having this point of affinity, what the scholar Joe Straubhaar calls "cultural proximity" perhaps, we have then a point through which the Latin American media market and the Latin American media-scape can sort of latch on to Japanese media importation in a way that, despite all the cultural differences that are present, is able then to have this point then of relatability, of familiarity even, that then allows there to be this vehicle for the insertion of so many alien elements.

13:13 **JLR**: And it's fascinating too to note how we always think of, well, the things that would have a cultural affinity or will be similar, will always be at the level of the symbols or the stories, but one of the... Noting Japanese animation in Latin America it's actually more the format that helped, already have a way of watching television, of knowing that it was a story with beginning and end, in a short format, and that allowed for audiences to be open to receiving this entire mythology that they weren't familiar with perhaps, and that becomes extremely popular.

13:50 **CDP**: Yeah, especially if we compare it, for example, to the concurrent US animation that was being imported at the time, which was very episodic, was very close-ended, which US cartoons only now recently have likewise been influenced by anime in order to have more serialization and even more drama within children's oriented media.

14:10 **JLR**: Exactly. So would you say... Was *Dragon Ball Z*... So *Dragon Ball Z* in some ways is representative of this trend, of the importation of anime to Latin America. Was there anything particular or distinct about the importation of *Dragon Ball Z* as a show?

14:28 **CDP**: I think a lot of it has to do with circumstances aligning in this sense, in that we have to think that the history likewise of anime in Latin America, just as with anywhere else, has gone through its ebbs and flows. Whereas in the 1970s you got a lot more family-oriented programming that was adapted, for example, from children's literature. Neoliberalism pops its head up again, and because we start seeing children as a viable market that you can then sell franchises to, we get then the concurrent rise of things in the United States like *Transformers*, *My Little Pony*. And in Latin America, alongside this, we also see the opportunity to do action-oriented series, particularly for boys, still maintaining these dramatic elements, still maintaining the serialized stories, but now looking at this a lot more as something that can exist within sort of a franchise

culture. And so in the early 1990s this actually begins primarily with Mexico, because there we had suddenly gotten the emergence of a more competitive television market, whereas the Mexican TV market had been predominantly dominated by Televisa, which at the time was virtually a monopoly.

15:44 **CDP**: We get at the emergence of TV Azteca, who then start importing a bunch of new anime. Televisa latches onto this, and suddenly we have a competition of seeing who can import the most popular, who can import the most lucrative of these anime, usually for boys but also things oriented towards girls. And so *Dragon Ball Z* emerges as sort of the biggest fish within this pond. It emerges as the biggest figure within a longer stream of media that includes things like *Saint Seiya* from Japan, includes things like *Cardcaptor Sakura*, later on includes of course *Pokemon* and *Digimon*. And *Dragon Ball Z* sort of emerges right in the middle of all this. And because of its intense serialization, because of the fact that it is an incredibly long series, and with a lot of intergenerational relationships and romance and action and just a lot of dialogue, we get a situation then in which people got to know these characters perhaps.

16:50 **JLR**: An entire generation grew up with these characters. Year after year watching them. So let's talk about the Genki Dama aspect of it, because if I... And it's been a while since I've seen *Dragon Ball Z*, but if I remember correctly, even the fighting scenes are individual. There's usually a one-to-one, two people are creating a fight, but the move of the Genki Dama is a move that as you are theorizing is speaking back to a collective, even though it is mastered by the one person. Right?

17:25 **CDP**: Absolutely, yes.

17:28 **JLR**: So why is this significant? Why is this particular move sort of significant, even within the show and then picked up by the student-led protests after that?

17:36 **CDP**: You're absolutely right that there is this common trope, especially within action anime, of focusing on one-on-one battles and one-upmanship and rivalries and all sorts of things. There is a lot of concentration on the individual. However, this has always put intention with the notion of collective benefit and of the individual as, we can call them, an avatar for collective will. To be a good guy in an action anime is to speak for a collectivity, even if you're doing so as an individual. And usually then within the climax of this genre we will often see this notion of the subsummation of collective will within individual agency, that is to say that the climax usually involves the individual

channeling a collective will of some sort. And sometimes that involves then the protagonist absorbing the power of individuals within their team or being granted this collective energy and will. And *Dragon Ball Z* is one of perhaps the codifiers of this trope.

18:48 **CDP**: The notion that the climax will usually come down to Goku, who is a very messianic figure, who is pure and good and very strong, and innocent, perhaps most importantly. Him absorbing this and the important aspect of this is that this is voluntary energy, that we then get this exception then to the individual story, which still needs sort of the individual messianic figure to translate it, because we still need to have a hero to root for, but very importantly, it requires a collectivity, a plurality to grant this power for collective benefit importantly. This isn't simply about exalting the individual, it's about the individual as acting as an agent for this collective. So in *Dragon Ball Z*, we see this then in several climaxes. And within the student protest, what made this, I think, particularly attractive for the protest leaders were several factors. First in that it occurred, of course, within a very popular media text, which means then that this act could be understood. Secondly, it is something that lends itself to an easy visual translation.

20:04 **CDP**: If we look up, for example, these protest videos and imagery, we see that the protesters actually built a gigantic sphere made out of paper and framework, plastic framework, going around it, which means that it was something that even then if you didn't understand the intricacies of the plot, it was still visually impressive and was something that required collective energy just to enact. The collectivity of it is visually and performatively self-evident. Thirdly, we can also talk about the fact that the student protesters were able to latch on to this because they were able to displace this collective will, not on to one of their own leaders but on to Goku. Nobody was performing as Goku within these protests, they were able to displace this onto projected screens and accompanying advertising in which they re-dubbed Goku's voice saying, "We have to collect this collective will so that I can protect all of us." Again, a deferral of collective energy onto a symbolic figure rather than onto this notion then of a cult of personality for their own leadership.

21:17 **CDP**: As an addition to this, the protesters themselves actually also employed the help of the Mexican voice actors for this, that they went not to, of course, the Japanese originators of the text, but to their originators, the people who they saw as the voices of these characters, and they very graciously agreed to lend their voices

both to the protest performance itself and to the advertising, to the YouTube activism that was going on alongside this.

21:48 **JLR**: So in some way, they were re-mixing or re-appropriating the text itself, right?

21:52 **CDP**: Absolutely.

21:54 **JLR**: Appropriating it in the figurative sense of actually performing the Genki Dama for the movement, and then translating it, literally using the voices of the dubbers for their own purposes. So how would you... And you touch a little bit about this in the article, but how do you separate this from instances of what Anglo-American usually scholars think about in terms of fan activism? In some ways it is a group of fans of *Dragon Ball Z* using the text for political movements, but you mention, you see this as somewhat different as what we normally think of as fan activism.

22:32 **CDP**: Yes. We can separate fan activism along multiple different categories. Primarily we can consider, for instance, fan activism that is oriented towards the object of fandom itself. So for instance, if in the United States a lot has happened, for instance, with racial erasure of fiction brought to derivative fiction. And so we see activism involved in shaping the way in which the piece of media will be created. This is not that. Likewise, we can talk about fan activism as sub-cultural, that is to say that it is driven by a hardcore of fans of that piece of media in order then to talk about something else. What my colleague, Ashley Hinck, for instance, has talked about the notion then of the "Harry Potter Alliance" and the way in which through fandom as a means of coalescing a given group you then embark upon a variety of progressive causes. Now, this is perhaps related to that but I don't think it's the same thing, because what is being mobilized here is not subcultural, what is being mobilized here is, we could call a much more quotidian or everyday relationship with this piece of loved media.

23:48 **CDP**: What's happening here I see as perhaps aligning itself more with generational politics even. The notion then of this text being widespread and widely understood within a solid chunk of an audience that then now is old enough to be political agents. And perhaps even beyond this, because when we follow the news coverage of this performance it was something that was clearly understood by the news casters and other media commentators who were not of the generation necessarily to sit down and watch *Dragon Ball Z* but were nonetheless familiar enough

with it, so much so that they could say the names of the protagonists, they understood this as a climactic moment. And so to me this evidences then something that is firmly fandom. It articulates itself through the lens of fandom but it is not the kind of fandom, particularly the kind of anime fandom, that we typically observe within a US media-scape, which again tends to be much more sub-cultural or perhaps Japanophilic.

25:01 **JLR**: Yeah, for sure. It's interesting that you point out, it's generational, but it's not deterministically generational. It isn't that, "Oh, millennials are now more politically active." Or "Oh, millennials do this or do that", but it's rather... It's enough of a generation that has grown up outside of the dictatorship, so therefore they're less beholden to the censorship or ways of thinking that people who grew up with the dictatorship are. But then that generation in itself, even by chance, let's say, grew up with this show which allowed them to think through the show about how to mobilize collective energy. Right?

25:38 **CDP**: It's a kind of what we could call, or what Henry Jenkins calls, a notion of cultural poaching, which is reworking the text, re-interpreting the text. Although in this case the poaching doesn't necessarily work against the intended interpretation of the text at all, because that collectivity was there.

25:56 **JLR**: For sure, and the collectivity was the point, right? I think you point out that it's not only... You put it out earlier, it's not only a student protest, it's a student-led protest. And this emphasis on the collectivity, even if it's channeled through some sort of individual figure speaking or acting on behalf of the collective, has ramifications or it's important beyond that particular protest from 2011. It's important how it re-thinks or re-mobilizes social organization for the country.

26:28 **CDP**: Absolutely. Yes.

26:30 **JLR**: So I think that in and of itself is also a fascinating aspect too.

26:34 **CDP**: I agree, yes.

26:36 **JLR**: Okay, so let's move to sort of a macro-level aspect, so you end up talking about how does this specific case study that you think through and how it relates to the Chilean protests also get us to think about Japanese animation

generally, or how do we displace this US-centrism about how Japanese anime circulates around the world? So can you tell us more about that?

27:02 **CDP**: So, again, if we're going to talk about this from the lens of Japanese media studies or say non-Western media studies, I think that this is an important factor. That the discipline, as with so many others, has been led, within the English-speaking world at least, by the United States' cultural experience of anime. Which in many ways is very fruitful because the Japanese market itself, for them, the United States was in many ways the objective, penetrating and integrating the US market has been one of the major goals of anime producers. At the same time, the United States is a cultural anomaly in this sense, which is to say that while interesting and while worthy of investigation, it should not guide us. It is not particularly useful in thinking about the US as the baseline for anime importation worldwide, because it breaks with so many of these patterns. Again, the US makes so much of its own media, it's a net exporter of media, and it has a large local market that it can cater to itself. So when we look at anime's existence worldwide we should really be investigating what it's doing elsewhere. Similarly, we can look at the ways in which anime entered many other places that existed at, shall we say, the cultural periphery... Sorry, the cultural periphery of the US's reach.

28:25 **CDP**: So, for instance, say the Middle East, which in many ways, and if we're talking about it is a macro region, its states have variably been barred from interacting culturally and politically with the United States. And we can likewise consider the ways in which the implementation of different media technologies and platforms across these regions occurred after the United States. There was more dependency on satellite systems, we had more nation-based TV systems, much like Latin America. And as with Latin America, anime entered there as a cheaper alternative to American animation that was otherwise expensive or simply prohibited in other ways, perhaps cultural reasons as well.

29:12 **JLR**: How have you built us on this work since? So this came out, I guess, late 2018, beginning of 2019.

29:20 **CDP**: Yes.

29:20 **JLR**: How does it go now, what are you working on, based on this?

29:25 **CDP**: Well, this investigation is sort of part of a wider, I guess, a career-long trajectory that I'm trying to build, looking at the the development of these linkages, specifically between Asian media markets as exporters and Latin American media markets as re-circulators and as areas of trans-culturation for these texts. So recently I've been very interested in the way in which anime importation in Latin America represents a precedent or a model for other streams of media importation that likewise have been taking hold in Latin America from Asia. For instance, with K-Pop, K-drama, which started around the early 2000s. We can also consider in this vein Turkish television, which is huge in Latin America. And likewise we can consider, more recently, Indian media, whether music or cinema, that likewise is being quite successful, proving quite successful in Latin America. So that is one area of expansion that I'm interested in, in the development of these cross-cultural relationships that sort of allude or exist outside of this binary of center and periphery, if you will. Alongside this I have, of course, continued looking at Chilean activism because, your students might be aware of this, we've been having a lot of activism since 2019, and which is indeed continuing to this day. And when people could be out in the streets about it, they were tearing things up.

30:57 **CDP**: The capital city of Santiago was basically torn down brick by brick by bare hands in the center city, over people's dissatisfaction with a massively privatized and stratified social system. So much so that now we are having serious debates about rewriting the constitution that was established under the dictatorship, which was unable to be altered since the return of democracy. And so within that I am likewise looking at the ways in which elements of Asian media importation are being used and re-contextualized and mobilized by Chilean activists. More recently we could see the fallout of this, for instance, in the way in which the Chilean government was complaining and vilifying K-Pop popularity among Chilean activists, and they were more or less blaming K-Pop as an instigator of social unrest, which if you've ever listened to a K-pop song, even if you did speak Korean, this is not political music.

32:06 **JLR**: Right, right.

32:07 **CDP**: But it was being interpreted as such and being... Not even interpreted as such, it was being enjoyed incidentally by Chilean protesters, and once it was politicized by the government it became a banner under which Chilean progressives and anti-neoliberal activists were uniting.

32:27 **JLR**: That's fascinating and an interesting turn from thinking about the use of *Dragon Ball Z* for example, which was very conscious used from the protesters to mobilize a popular media text to speak against the privatization initiatives of the government, but this one they didn't originally start like that, but the politicization by the government itself made it so, right?

32:52 **CDP**: Absolutely. And perhaps, we should be aware that especially the more economically and socially conservative sectors of the Chilean government, for them “all that Asian stuff” is the same thing, unfortunately. And so I would not be surprised if part of the reason that K-Pop was vilified was precisely with the awareness that anime culture was being mobilized by anti-government activists as well already.

33:18 **JLR**: So they just saw it all is the same, and it's like, "Oh well this will probably soon become equally politicized,” right? Yeah, yeah.

33:25 **CDP**: It's an odd mix of both cultural and generational xenophobia, basically.

33:31 **JLR**: Yeah, yeah, for sure. I mean, the generational aspect, as you keep tracing it, both from the protest in 2011, now the more recent protests in 2019, is really interesting, mostly because... Or one of the reasons why, is that it points to how the dictatorship has this still very long shadow, even though it officially ended in 1990, they still have the constitution, Chile still has the constitution that sort of mandates all these things that prevents progressive movements from trying to move away from all this privatization, which is why the student-led protests continue to this day. But at the same time, it has been 8 years since 2011, to the 2019 I guess, and it's interesting that new texts or new media objects keep coming up as a way to articulate that continued frustration with the privatization. Right?

34:28 **CDP**: Exactly. It's a tricky thing as well, in which we can see the resonances of this, or at least the potential resonances of this, in other localities as well. Because it should be pointed out that Chile's experience with this privatization of civil society, it is a precedent to the same thing that then was imposed in the United States, in Britain, throughout Europe, in other parts of Latin America, this notion of the privatization of social life, this is something that Chile experienced first and perhaps particularly traumatically, but it is something that we are negotiating right now. When we look for instance now at responses and activism that is in response to the multiple abuses of the current administration, so much of that is responding likewise to a system in which

collective responsibility is being essentially privatized and made into something profitable for certain people.

35:32 **JLR**: Yeah, even here in the United States the movement to cancel student debt, right? So that students don't... A whole generation doesn't grow up with crippling debt that will not allow them to flourish in any sectors is in some ways maybe 10 years after the Chilean students were protesting against it. But it's part of the same system, so it makes sense that this is part of the same protest against it too.

36:00 **CDP**: Exactly. The difficulty in the US context with regard to how to respond to this, is that whereas in Chile neoliberalism can so easily be connected to dictatorship that it is fairly easy to point out, at least discursively, to connect repression to privatization. Whereas in the United States we can see then that the responses to this have been more difficult to articulate because US-based protests are so often, and understandably so, so often entrenched in identity politics, and so the notion of collective benefit has, for very concrete reason, has been difficult to coalesce in US activism.

36:43 **JLR**: Yeah. We're still waiting for the figurative and literal Genki Dama to be used in the US protests.

36:49 **CDP**: Absolutely.

36:50 **JLR**: To mobilize that collectivity. Yeah.

36:54 **CDP**: This particular mix of Japanese media in Latin America, again, represents one example of the means through which quotidian trans-culturation happens in other places. And, again, the crisis, if you will, of how to articulate collectivity, of how we are going to communicate a sense of self and a sense of community that has been so actively attacked by almost every aspect of social organization right now. And that we should really then look towards the peripheries that have had perhaps the most violent experiences of this, that have had to deal with this on a most confrontational level, because they are going to be the ones who are going to find the means of articulating these needs more effectively. That US activism I'd say has perhaps already been doing when, for example, the Black Lives Matter protesters were listening to Palestinian protesters about how to deal tactically with police repression, that I think that there is something to be said for the people not working at the center of world power to see how people have responded to world power at its peripheries as well.

38:07 **JLR**: I think that's a great insight that we need to take. Camilo, thank you so much for joining us.

38:18 **CDP**: Thank you so much for having me.

[closing credits music]

40:45 **JLR**: This episode of the Global Media Cultures podcast was produced by me, and edited by Alan Yu. Opening music by Podington Bear. Closing credits music by cloud mouth. This project is supported in part by the School of Arts, Technology, and Emerging Communication at the University of Texas at Dallas.

The Global Media Cultures podcast introduces media scholarship about the world to the world. I'm Juan Llamas-Rodriguez. Thank you for listening.