



Dynamics of Virtual Work

Conference

University of Hertfordshire, Fielder Centre
September 3-5, 2014

SPEAKERS AND ABSTRACTS

The Dynamics of Virtual Work: the Transformation of Labour in a Digital Global Economy

International conference

Venue: University of Hertfordshire Fielder Centre, Manor Rd, Hatfield, Hertfordshire AL10 9TP

Day 1. September 3, 2014		
	12.00-14.30	COST Action MC meeting
CONFERENCE OPENS		
A	15.00-16.00	<p>Opening plenary session</p> <p>Chair: Ursula Huws</p> <p>Vincent Mosco, <i>Lost in the Cloud: Virtual Work in a Material World</i></p> <p>Discussion</p>
	16.00-16.30	Break
B	16.30-18.30	<p>Plenary session</p> <p><i>Offshore Outsourcing – the global picture</i></p> <p>Chair: Jane Hardy</p> <p>Monique Ramioul, <i>Understanding the impact of offshore outsourcing on work: what can we learn from the business functions approach?</i></p> <p>Peter Bøegh Nielsen, <i>Measuring international organisation and sourcing of business functions - results from the second European survey.</i></p> <p>Clair Brown, <i>Job Quality and Domestic and International Sourcing of Business Functions: survey results from the USA</i></p>



C	19.00-21.00	Buffet reception
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Day 2. September 4, 2014			
D	9.00-10.30	Plenary session <i>Theoretical approaches to virtual work</i>	
		Chair: Keith Randle Christian Fuchs, <i>Theorising Digital Labour. A Cultural-materialist Perspective.</i> Rudi Schmiede, <i>Digital Labour and the accumulation of capital</i> Eran Fisher, <i>Audience Labour Struggles over value in social media; the case of Facebook's Sponsored Stories advertising plan</i>	
E	11.00-13.00	<i>Virtual work and value chain restructuring</i> Chair: Jyoti Choudrie	<i>The changing character of creative labour</i> Chair: Richard Miller
		Graham Hollinshead, Jane Hardy and Moira Calverley <i>Embedded Tendencies and the Offshore Outsourcing of Software Development to Ukraine</i>	Jaka Primorac <i>Towards more insecurity? Virtual work and sustainability of creative labour</i>
		Jörg Flecker and Andrea Smioski <i>Dynamics of service value chains: Delocalization and relocation of digital work</i>	Romina Surugiu <i>Freelancing, micro-work, piece-work and the changing identities of digital journalists</i>
		Premilla D'Cruz <i>Legal Process Outsourcing in India: A move up the value chain?</i>	Roei Davidson and Nathaniel Poor <i>Crowd funding and the transformation of culture workers into interactive service workers</i>
		Mascha Will-Zocholl <i>New topologies of engineering work - informatisation, virtualisation and globalisation in the automotive industry</i>	Errol Salamon <i>Digital Media Labour Organising: A Profile of the Precariat Newsworker</i>
			<i>Critical theory and digital labour</i> Chair: Christian Fuchs Chuck Davis and Cyrus Bina <i>Virtual Work/Digital Labor and Marx's Value Theoretic</i>
			Steve Wright, Emiliana Armano and Raffaele Sciortino <i>Facebook as a value-producing machine on the net? Interpretative hypotheses and traces of a phenomenology</i>
			Andrea Fumagalli <i>The concept of life subsumption in cognitive bio-capitalism: valorization and governance</i>
			Jakob Rigi <i>Peer Production and the Dethroning of Productive Labor for Capital from the Vantage of Cognitive Labor</i>

	13.00-14.00	Lunch		
F	14.00-16.00	Crowdsourcing Chair: Jörg Flecker	Work-life balance and virtual work Chair: Juliet Webster	Understanding audience labour Chair: Eran Fisher
		Irene Mandl and Maurizio Curtarelli <i>Crowd employment and ICT based, mobile work – Implications on working conditions and the labour market</i>	Audrone Nakrosiene <i>Satisfaction with telework and the influence of telework on individual's work-life balance.</i>	Göran Bolin <i>Media use as value-generating labour: Audience work in digital media markets</i>
		Sally-Anne Barnes, Anne Green, Maria de Hoyos, Beate Baldauf and Heike Behle <i>Crowdsourcing: what does it mean for employability and skills?</i>	Michaela Stumberger <i>The appropriation of one's own purpose using digital media at work: exploring employees' practices of demarcation and integration</i>	Rob Heyman <i>Identifying the sites of exploitation used to create ethical surplus in Facebook</i>
		Alessandro Gandini, Ivana Pais and Davide Beraldo <i>Independent work on digital platforms: The case of Elance</i>	Karen Van Aerden <i>Contemporary employment arrangements, new ways of work and work-related well-being in the European labour force</i>	Vassilis Charitsis, Per Skålen and Henrietta Huzell <i>Constructing the data-prosumer: self-quantification and the gamification of running in Web 2.0 platforms</i>
			Besarta Vladi <i>The challenges of virtual work in Albanian organizations</i>	Emma Keltie <i>Authorised participation: participatory cultural practices as a form of labour within the culture industry</i>
	16.00-16.30	Break		

G	16.30-18.30	Organisation and management of virtual workers Chair: Steve Shelley	Making labour visible in new online economic activities Chair: Vassil Kirov	Virtual work and the commodification of culture and the commons Chair: Martha Michailidou
		Matti Vartiainen <i>Employee and team leader competences in global virtual work</i>	Wing-Fai Leung <i>App Men and Her: Taiwanese online entrepreneurship and gender</i>	Katarzyna Kopecka-Piech (Presentation via video link) <i>Playbour for brand. How borders between labour and leisure are blurring in the new media</i>
		Thomas Ryser, Elisabeth Angerer and Hartmut Schulze <i>Towards a model of collective competences for global and virtual collaboration</i>	Tatiana Mazali <i>Digital creativity professionals in italy: a national survey.</i>	Julia Velkova Öberg <i>Workflows, labour and value in open animation production: an ethnographic study of a distributed animation training creation</i>
		Steffen Steglich <i>Globally distributed cooperation – challenges of work based on modern information and communications technology</i>	Toby Bennett <i>Cultured work in created industries: the discursive world of the major record label</i>	Frederick Harry Pitts <i>Form-giving fire: value production and the creative industries as Marx’s ‘work of combustion’</i>
		Mina Di Marino and Kimmo Lapintie <i>Teleworking in third places</i>	Lucía del Moral and Ivana Pais <i>Time-base exchange as a feminized altruistic process? Confronting digital and traditional time banks in Italy and Spain</i>	David Rapaport <i>Laughing All the Way to the Data Bank: The Privatization of Information Technology In the Ontario Public Service (1975-2000)</i>
	18.45	Travel to Hatfield House and view house and gardens		
	20.00	Dinner		

Day 3. September 5, 2014

H	9.00-10.30	<p align="center">Plenary session <i>Gender and virtual work</i></p> <p>Chair: Wing-Fai Leung</p> <p>Michal Frenkel, <i>Telecommuting, work and family: an intersectional perspective</i> Katharine Sarikakis, <i>Changing geographies of production and consumption in the global online porn industry: the impact on sex workers</i> Juliet Webster, <i>How can you tell a virtual worker from any other? Issues in the analysis of the class and gender relations of virtual work</i></p>		
I	11.00-13.00	<p><i>The identification of virtual work and challenges of governance and regulation</i> Chair: Rudi Schmiede</p>	<p><i>Subjective aspects of virtual work</i> Chair: Patricia Vendramin</p>	<p><i>Emerging occupations on the Internet</i> Chair: Michael Willis</p>
		<p>Nabeel Goheer and Kaire Holts <i>Understanding and Regulating Digital Work</i></p>	<p>Egle Butkeviciene and Egle Vaidelyte <i>Changing patterns of individual working behaviours and attitudes towards virtual work in Lithuania</i></p>	<p>Aphra Kerr <i>The Occupational implications of Digital Games as a Service</i></p>
		<p>Bjarke Refslund <i>The political Economy of Danish firms international sourcing – implications for wages and employment</i></p>	<p>Premilla D'Cruz <i>Internal and external workplace cyberbullying: Exploring a unique stressor of the digital economy</i></p>	<p>Heather Hofmeister and Alexandra Florea <i>Occupational Identities and Quality of Life of Digital Workers: Subjective assessments</i></p>
		<p>Nathalie Greenan, Sylvie Hamon-Cholet and Frédéric Moatty <i>ICTs and Working Conditions in France</i></p>	<p>Tanja Carstensen <i>Web 2.0 as material side of the transformation of work. (New) demands of webwork and individual coping strategies</i></p>	<p>Paško Bilić and Vladimir Cvijanović <i>Working for the algorithm: the case of Google raters</i></p>
		<p>Vassil Kirov <i>New forms of work and employment and challenges for the social partners in Europe</i></p>	<p>Karin Moser <i>Effects of cultural background and professional status on emotional and behavioural reactions in electronic communication between health care professionals</i></p>	<p>Jurij Smrke <i>The emperor's new spectacles</i></p>
	13.00-14.00	<p align="center">Lunch</p>		

J	14.00-15.00	<p><i>Virtual work and the blurring of spatial and organisational boundaries</i></p> <p>Chair: Matti Vartiainen</p>	<p><i>Virtual work and the 'real' world</i></p> <p>Chair: Bjarki Valtysson</p>
		<p>Patricia Wolf; Laura Guggiari, Peter Troxler</p> <p><i>Open knowledge sharing and co-creation: Earning a living from a co-created idea</i></p>	<p>John Carter McKnight, Adam Fish</p> <p><i>Financialization: process innovation in the new financial workplace</i></p>
		<p>Vili Lehdonvirta and Mark Graham</p> <p><i>Does connectivity create opportunity? Structure and evolution of online labour markets</i></p>	<p>Rares Halbac</p> <p><i>Virtual work in the tourism sector</i></p>
	15.00-15.30	Break	
K	15.30-17.30	<p>Plenary session</p> <p><i>Media convergence, digitisation and the implications for labour</i></p> <p>Chair: Pamela Meil</p> <p>Catherine McKercher, <i>Converging Toward Precarity: Journalism in the digital world</i></p> <p>Dennis Collopy, <i>Control of the End (user) or the End of Control? The IPR dilemma posed by user generated content and its impact on professional creators</i></p> <p>Jean Paul Simon, <i>The Digital Shift in the Media and Content Industries</i></p> <p>Bjarki Valtysson, <i>Mission impossible: Cross media communication, user-generated content & the Digital Agenda for Europe</i></p>	
	17.45	CONFERENCE CLOSES	

The Dynamics of Virtual Work: the Transformation of Labour in a Digital Global Economy

Book of Abstracts

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ABSTRACTS

Barnes, Sally-Anne; Anne Green, Maria de Hoyos, Beate Baldauf and Heike Behle

Crowdsourcing: what does it mean for employability and skills?

Dr Sally-Anne Barnes, Professor Anne Green, Dr Maria de Hoyos, Beate Baldauf and Dr Heike Behle,
Institute for Employment Research, University of Warwick (UK)

The development of the Internet, and in particular Web 2.0 innovations, have led to new forms of Internet-enabled exchanges, such as crowdsourcing (outsourcing work online), crowdfunding (raising money online, including for start-ups) and online volunteering (giving time with tasks, including ICT and non-ICT related tasks). Crowdsourcing is the outsourcing of work to a large group through an open call made possible through advances in technology and individual access to personal computers and the internet. Individuals engaged in this form of employment do so for a variety of personal reasons, such as needing to earn extra money or that it enables flexible working. However, the literature highlights deficiencies in our understanding of how engaging in this form of employment impacts and influences an individual's career, skills development and progression.

The aim of this paper is to explore recent qualitative case study research on crowdsourcing in Europe funded by the Institute for Prospective Technological Studies (Joint Research Centre, European Commission) as part of its larger research programme. The paper will focus on what this form of virtual work means in terms of employability skills and the potential impact on individuals to gain, sustain and progress in the labour market. It will highlight how different forms of crowdsourcing may be regarded as enabling support factors that can assist both individuals and employers by facilitating the connection of labour supply and demand and the exchange of resources such as time and money. As a growing form of employment, there are also important questions around what role policy can play in ensuring individuals engaged in this form of virtual work improve their employability and skills. The research underscores the diversity of virtual work platforms and users. This means that from a policy perspective a 'one size fits all' approach is unlikely to be effective; rather support needs are likely to vary by platform and by types of user, which will be highlighted in the paper.

The paper will conclude crowdsourcing can both help change the landscape of employment opportunities (negatively and positively) and also provide an environment in which employability skills may be further developed. The way in which employers' use of the platforms impacts on employment and skills development opportunities for workers will be discussed. It will show that changes may be negative (in terms of quality and quantity of employment and opportunities for employer-provided training), positive (in terms of provision of new employment and skills development opportunities) or either negative or positive (in terms of changing practices and work organisation).

Bennett, Toby

Cultured work in created industries: the discursive world of the major record label

Toby Bennett, King's College, London (UK)

When it comes to evaluating the kinds of transformative impact that digital technologies might have had on industrial organisation, the music industry is often considered to be something of a test case. To invoke a commonly-used metaphor, music is seen as having been the ‘canary in the mine’ for business in the digital world and, in its wake, other (particularly rights-based) industries reportedly have much to learn. Such a claim clearly calls for empirical investigation in order not to get bogged down in the seductive and contested ‘hype’ that characterises this world: and consequently, a number of sites of musical production, circulation, and consumption have been given much attention in recent years. Yet, despite the fate of the record label (especially the global ‘majors’) having been a central concern of such debates, the ‘work’ of creative reproduction (as opposed to artistic creativity) that such intermediaries perform has been given surprisingly short shrift. This area requires urgent attention, I suggest, because it is in the corporate environment of creative industries that the boundaries between contemporary ‘creative’ labour and more traditional (what might perhaps be termed ‘non-creative’) notions of work are least well defined: spatially, discursively, and affectively.

This paper emerges out of early reflections from an ongoing study of work post-‘digital crisis’ inside the major labels of the UK’s recorded music industry. I argue that work inside the major record label usually demands a deep sense of emotional investment from its occupants and that this is felt not only by those workers routinely dubbed ‘creative’ (the A&R workers, marketers, radio pluggers) but also by those in more standardised roles (the administrators, finance assistants, legal secretaries). This investment includes the much-vaunted ‘passion for music’ that routinely appears on recruitment literature; alongside an understanding of how the industry’s different components fit together; as well as a frequently nostalgic commitment to the plight of musicians, labels, venues and so on. The social necessity of this kind of affective or even emotional labour has long been understood – but its reproduction requires more than mere presence in the workplace. To ‘live well’ in the music industry environment involves immersion in a more textual world of journalism, biography, film, PR, social media and pub gossip (for example), through which circulates stories, myths, rumours, advice, rhetoric, statistics, etc. It is this latter world that has been most profoundly transformed by the wider digital context – both its formal organisation and its content – changing the way in which workers understand and relate to the industry.

I argue that investigations into contemporary manifestations of work call for a focus on the ways in which discursive elements of working environments interact with their material realities. I suggest that this has a number of consequences for research into ‘desirable’ industries (such as music) and, more generally, for conceptualising work in relation to the current economic, political and technological climate. Firstly, if we understand creativity to be produced simultaneously in both material and immaterial spaces then, even if not all work in the music industry is directly ‘cultural’, it is nonetheless ‘cultured’, unsettling implicit assumptions about the creative/non-creative divide. Secondly, it allows insight into ways in which work that is not primarily associated with technology might be indirectly affected by technological change. Thirdly, there are methodological implications for studying working environments that are embedded in a semi-public textual hinterland. I draw together work from a number of studies in cultural and creative industries, as well as my own research, to address these issues.

Bilić, Paško and Vladimir Cvijanović

Working for the algorithm: the case of Google raters

Dr Paško Bilić, Institute for Development and International Relations, Zagreb and Faculty of Economics, University of Zagreb (Croatia)

Dr Vladimir Cvijanović, Faculty of Economics & Business, University of Zagreb (Croatia)

The dominance of Google for information search on the web is hard to overemphasize. Since the entrance of the company in the field in 2004 it has developed rapidly to take the leading position and become a single, dominant player (Vaidyanathan, 2011). It has diversified its business model to include such services as YouTube, the Android platform for mobile phones, Gmail, etc. However, its dominant product is web search which depends heavily on internet users and their labour (Lee, 2011). Simultaneously, search-result standards such as customer satisfaction and relevance are given precedence over fairness and representativeness (Van Couvering, 2007). The company justifies this position through a legitimizing digital discourse (Fisher, 2010) in which the algorithm, it is claimed, is constantly and cumulatively improved to provide neutral and objective search results. The claims of objectivity are the basis for maintaining the position of algorithms as “legitimate brokers of relevant knowledge” (Gillespie, 2014). In that sense we view the algorithm as an instrument for control and domination (Marcuse 1998). However, recently revealed information about globally distributed workers, the so-called raters, opens strong counter-arguments to this digital discourse. The raters are periodically provided lists of Google search queries to match them with the websites that return the highest estimated semantic relevance to each individual query. In other words, according to the instructions given by Google, the raters simply rate the relevance of search results for individual search queries. Google claims that they test new tweaks and updates to the algorithm and those human estimates and interpretations do not enter the algorithm’s search index. While it is impossible to know exactly what the actual influence on indexing is, it nonetheless allows us to make certain claims from an ideology critique position. The work of raters points to certain fractures in the technological legitimacy discourse (Fisher, 2010; Rieder and Sire, 2013) which claims the technological supremacy of the algorithm can answer global information needs of all internet users. Similarly to Garnham (2006) who argued against the division between base (economy) and superstructure (ideology) in critical thought, we will attempt to connect the ideological aspects of Google’s digital discourse with concrete work practices of Google raters. This will enable us to see where ideology intersects with labour and how they are connected. We will also explore how the work of raters is fitted into the company’s digital discourse and how technology mediates the relationship between the raters and the company. Taking this type of work into account enables us to analyse Google’s global power and value creation as well as to discern the influence of technology and other relevant factors in Google’s business. In the presentation we will provide some empirical data from the analysis of Google’s official documents as well as from the interviews with Croatian raters. Their work is task oriented and localized since raters only perform tasks for local language search queries. The raters do not work on the same query list at the same time. Unlike crowdsourcing where internet users work towards a common goal, the individual raters accept available tasks and get remunerated for the solved tasks. This process points toward a novel and specific type of fragmented, individualized and localized type of virtual work for a global multinational company.

Bøegh Nielsen, Peter

Measuring international organisation and sourcing of business functions - results from the second European survey

Peter Bøegh Nielsen

Plenary Speaker

Presentation will be available on conference website



Bolin, Göran

Media use as value-generating labour: Audience work in digital media markets

Professor Göran Bolin, Department of Media & Communication Studies, Södertörn University (Sweden)

In the late 1970's, Dallas Smythe (1977) initiated a debate on the role of media audiences in the creation of economic value for commercial broadcasters. The audiences for broadcasting, it was held, worked in the service of the broadcasters through watching the commercials, something later to be developed into producing 'surplus viewing time'. While this take on audience activity was not unproblematic (hence the following 'blindspot debate'), the arguments from the debate has been revived in the light of digital media use, and the fact that media users today are contributing to the economic profits of media corporation in a more direct way than in the broadcast era of Smythe. Arguably, media users have been equipped with means of production in ways they were not in the pre-digital era, and there have opened a range of possibilities for media users to be creative, inventive, productive through these new technological means (i.e. mobile phones, laptops, tablets, etc.), and the software connected to these. Correspondingly, the media corporations have also been equipped with new tools for generating value, with new business models around these tools, often building on algorithmic surveillance and data mining of the activities of the media users.

Elsewhere (Bolin 2012) I have theorized this in terms media users being involved in two production-consumption circuits: in the first circuit (1) the media user activity produce social difference (identities and cultural meaning) in a social and cultural economy (most often with non-profit motifs), which is then (2) made the object of productive consumption as part of the activities of the media and culture industries, with the end product being economic profit. Where cultural, aesthetic and social value stand at the centre of the first production-consumption circuit, economic value is at the centre of the second. The advantage of explaining the relationship between media use and organised and industrialised media and cultural production this way, is that it takes into consideration the motifs and the gains of the media user, thus explaining why he or she contributes to the industrialised production process with their 'free labour', as Terranova (2000) labels it.

Now, the arguments about the two production-consumption circuits were put forth theoretically, and in an on-going research project is interviewed media users on their role in these two circuits with the aim of further theorising the various value forms that appear at the intersection of media user activity, and organised and industrialised media and cultural production. The paper is empirically based in a series of focus group interviews with Swedish media users of different ages and with different media user profiles, and in the paper is presented the different user approaches to the four themes of creativity, labour, value and surveillance.

Brown, Clair

Job Quality and Domestic and International Sourcing of Business Functions: survey results from the USA

Clair Brown

Plenary Speaker

Presentation will be available on conference website



Butkeviciene, Egle and Egle Vaidelyte

Changing patterns of individual working behaviours and attitudes towards virtual work in Lithuania

Dr Egle Butkeviciene, Egle Vaidelyte, Institute of Public Policy and Administration, Faculty of Social Sciences, Arts and Humanities, Kaunas University of Technology (Lithuania)

This paper discusses increasingly heterogeneous nature of work in contemporary societies, focusing on the analysis of individual working behaviours in Lithuania, as well as public perceptions of work itself, relations between leisure and work life, and public attitudes towards virtual work.

This paper is based on results of representative public opinion survey, conducted in Lithuania in 2013 (N=1194). This survey is one of the first attempts to analyse attitudes and experiences of Lithuanian population towards virtual work. The survey has been conducted under the research project "International Social Survey Programme: Monitoring of Lithuanian Social Problems" (ISSP-LT), that has been implemented under national scientific program "Social Challenges to National Security", funded by a grant from Research Council of Lithuania (No. SIN-07/12). The goal of this project was to continue the long-term monitoring of social problems and to analyse the attitudes and experiences of Lithuanian population in the following thematic areas: "Social Policy", "Family, Work and Gender Roles", "National Identity" and "Virtual Social Networks" and "Virtual work".

The topic of virtual work hasn't received much attention from academic researchers in Lithuania yet, as virtual work is still a novel issue in Lithuania. Thus, we employ theory of diffusion of innovations as theoretical background for interpretation. Exploring patterns of virtual work diffusion at individual (micro) level, in the paper the authors follow theories that focus on adopter studies in explaining patterns of innovation diffusion. Diffusion theories focusing on adopter studies are concerned with explaining and predicting the patterns that innovations follow as they spread across a population of potential adopters (Rogers, 1995, Surry, 1997). Rogers states that innovations are diffused over time in a pattern that resembles the s-shaped curve (Rogers, 1995). At the beginning of diffusion process, the adoption of an innovation goes through a period of rather slow growth; then experiences a period of relatively rapid growth, and, finally, the innovation's rate of adoption will stabilize (Surry, 1997). According to Rogers (1983, 1995), the individuals within a social system do not adopt an innovation at the same time. Rather, they adopt in over-time sequence. According to this, individuals can be classified into adopter categories: innovators, early adopters, early majority, late majority and laggards. Diffusion research found that earlier adopters had more years of formal education, higher social status, and greater degree of upward social mobility than late adopters. The communication behaviour of early adopters included more social participation, more interconnections through personal networks, and greater exposure to mass media (Rogers, 1995, Surry, 1997).

The empirical part is focussed on the analysis of a question what are the patterns of virtual work adoption in Lithuania. As just around 2% of population work virtually in Lithuania, we explore characteristics of early adopters. Also empirical analysis is concentrated on questions how people evaluate their work, what are the experiences with virtual work, whether people working virtually feel safe in different life situations such as retirement, illness, unemployment, childbirth compared to those who work in a traditional way; how do they perceive and evaluate contemporary changes in Lithuanian society, whether they adapt to them more easily than those who work in a traditional way.

Carstensen, Tanja

Web 2.0 as material side of the transformation of work. (New) demands of webwork and individual coping strategies

Dr Tanja Carstensen, Hamburg University of Technology (Germany)

During the last few years, there have been fundamental transformations in work as well as in technology. Globalization, increased economic competition, an accelerated capitalism and political deregulation have changed working conditions and caused a range of contradictory effects, which are among others discussed as 'de-limitation', 'subjectivation', and 'precarisation'. Individuals face new challenges at work; they are forced to act in a more self-responsible, flexible, and self-organized way. A reduction of control and autonomy on the one side, and a tendency towards self-exploitation on the other side are some of the effects.

Regarding technology, the Internet, and especially what is known as Web 2.0, have led to prominent changes which also demand new practices of individuals. Weblogs, wikis, and social networks have become places for information management, public self-presentation, identity management, feedback, discussion, and networking. It is striking that Web 2.0 and the transformation of work deal with similar principles and norms. Thus, both changes make practices such as self-responsibility, self-management, and self-presentation into everyday actions.

Against the background of Science and Technology Studies concepts, which discuss the mutual relation of technology and society as 'co-construction' or 'co-production', technology can be considered expression, materialization, or objectification of social relations and negotiation processes. It incorporates room for manoeuvring in design and use and therefore has to be investigated concerning its materialized social constructions. At the same time technology is not reducible to its social constructedness; it is not only a passive object in social conflicts but is, with its materiality, also a resistant and active participant in social transformations. Technologies enable, support, and norm actions, they establish new enrichments as well as new forces, they solve and pose problems. As a consequence, Web 2.0 can be considered the materialization of the transformation of work. Weblogs, wikis and social networks support, ease, increase, normalize, and create (new) demands of work.

My paper focuses on these (new) requirements and demanded skills as well as on individuals' room for manoeuvring and individual usage patterns of Web technologies in working contexts. Therefore I first put recent results of sociology of work, sociology of technology and Internet research into a dialogue. In the following, I present results of the research projects 'Subject formations and digital culture' (http://dimeb.informatik.uni-bremen.de/skudi/?page_id=71#english) and 'Work 2.0. New demands on employees and their workers' councils from the use of social media' (http://www.tuhh.de/agentec/forschung/socialmedia_english.htm), following the questions:

- What role does Web 2.0 play within the transformation of work?
- What kind of new practices, demands, room for manoeuvring and enforcements are generated by Web 2.0?
- What kind of challenges do individuals perceive?
- How do they cope with these changed social and technological environments? Where do they resist, draw borders against or ignore both social and technological calls for action, what do they negotiate, where do they adapt or subordinate themselves?
- How far do Web 2.0 technologies lead to new options for enrichments and assistances at work, and how far do they create additional pressure and risks?

Impacted areas are: working time, permanent availability, public self-presentation, data protection, privacy, surveillance, collaboration, compression of work, skills and qualification, etc.

Carter McKnight, John and Adam Fish

Financialization: process innovation in the new financial workplace

Dr John Carter McKnight, Department of Sociology, Lancaster University (UK)

Dr Adam Fish, Department of Sociology, Lancaster University (UK)

Many discussions of the impact of information and computing technology (ICT) on work focus on its transformation of the spatiality of work: from the downtown office tower to the café and living room. This transformation has affected everything from the gendering of domestic activities to expectations of the length of the working day. Yet the very visibility of spatial disruptions may obscure other fundamental changes within the ICT-driven work environment. Ideologies and practices refined within the software development industry are wreaking structural transformations upon other industries, even while the spatiality of work practices may continue in traditional modes.

Borrowing from the theory of social mediatization, we call this potentially revolutionary process social financialization. Generally, social mediatization argues that peer-to-peer logics from social media are embedded within new domains of business and sociality, for example, personal financial asset management. The process by which financial logic follows social mediatization, expanding into previously private spaces, we call social financialization. This process shares with social media a number of discourses: peer-to-peer collaboration, transparency, participatory design, disintermediation, and granularity. As these discourses have transformed product design, corporate engagement with customers, and citizen expectations in a broad range of fields, they are now working changes upon the financial system.

However, where financial mediatization generally examines the effects of social media ideologies and design upon users of financial products and consumers of financial information, it necessarily implies disruptive effects upon the processes of their creation. Contrary to a dominant narrative of the virtualization of work, that of the production of social financialization is drawn from a process of software development stressing co-location within an open-plan office, instantaneous and serendipitous lateral flows of information, corporate and employee risk-taking, and disruptions of routines at every scale.

These ideologies and practices may create a spatially traditional environment, but in practice require and enable worker creativity and responsibility in a way much routinized, outsourceable, virtual work does not. In this light, virtual work may replicate a Fordist paradigm rejected by the design-focused logics of the production of social financialization.

Our case study of social financialization is Zopa, a peer-to-peer finance and technology company which developed out of the hype of Web 2.0 and after the global financial crisis that merges both social mediated and social financial logics. Zopa's work practices are spatially traditional: a group of clerks in an office building in central London, working roughly 9 to 5. Yet the company is explicitly designed around the notion of applying software development practices to finance, focusing on agility, extensive beta and A/B testing, and constant product iteration, in contrast to a conventional financial services model which it sees as trapped by 20th Century business practices.

We apply this case study to interrogate the transformative role of software development beliefs and practices upon the financial industry, with a particular focus upon why process innovation, rather than the disruption of the spatiality of work, is seen as a crucial value proposition. We examine the changing demands placed upon the worker in an environment of social financialization, in contrast to those demanded by the virtual workplace. We question whether the workplace practices of social financialization can scale, or if problems of information processing and decisionmaking continue to favor traditional processes past the startup phase – in short, whether social financialization is more than an aspect of the startup mentality, due to wither in a mature organization, ICT innovations notwithstanding.

Charitsis, Vassilis

Constructing the data-prosumer: self-quantification and the gamification of running in Web 2.0 platforms

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Web 2.0 has had an immense effect on the way the capitalist system operates as its user generated nature presents great opportunities for appropriation and exploitation of labour. Fostered by the interactive social features of Web 2.0 technologies, consumers are no longer passive receivers of brand messages but have transformed into “prosumers” as they actively engage in the creation of value and content. While prosumption did not emerge with the advent of Web 2.0, it is the social nature of Web 2.0 and its universal acceptance and popularity that contributed to the steep rise in prosumption activities in recent years (Fuchs 2013, Ritzer and Jurgenson 2010). In fact, digital prosumption is the main manifestation of the popular concept of value co-creation in consumer markets, which has been hailed as the future of marketing theory and practice (Pralhad and Ramaswamy 2004; Vargo and Lusch 2004).

Cova and Dallı (2009) provide a comprehensive analysis of the work that consumers conduct as through interaction, collaboration, consumption –or even resistance to consumption- they become prosumers and create content, products, concepts, services, experiences, generate ideas and actively co-create market value. However, more recent technological advancements allow for new modes of prosumption to emerge as “smart” tracking technologies are increasingly becoming part of our everyday lives. From networked household appliances that gather data and give you the opportunity to remotely monitor and manage your home, to interconnected smart cars that can collect data and improve road safety, and from environmental sensors that can detect public health risks, to sensors and devices used from businesses to track and influence consumers’ behaviours, there are endless possibilities afforded by modern technology to track monitor and control inanimate objects, as well as people, and create what has been called the Internet of Things. But this is even more exemplified and epitomized through the self-quantified movement which explores the numerous new possibilities provided by mobile and digital devices along with the social features of Web 2.0 platforms to monitor, measure, represent and discipline the human body (Lupton 2013). Relating to the notion of the Internet of Things, self-quantification aspires to enhance the human abilities through self-knowledge, although critics question whether it can actually improve the experience of living (Albrecht and Michael 2013). More importantly, it promotes a post-panopticon culture of constant participatory-surveillance and control of the human being that can be seen as a manifestation of Deleuze’s (1992) notion of the society of control. In that sense, the user’s self-tracked life itself becomes the subject of prosumption and his/her activities provide the necessary data upon which companies develop their products and services as individuals are digitized and transformed into “dividuals” within multiple vast banks of information systems (Martinez 2011).

Self-quantification can take many different forms as every single aspect of a person’s life can be monitored and quantified. Physical as well as mental and emotional state, somatic activities, consumption habits, financial behaviours and social conducts can all be subjected to self-tracking. Undoubtedly though, fitness activities and especially running is the area where self-quantification has become more prevalent as it has attracted the interest of both companies and end-users. Numerous self-tracking devices have been introduced in the market that not only allow users to monitor their runs in great details (pace, distance, duration, location, heart rate, calories burned etc.) but in conjunction with mobile and web 2.0 technologies promote the gamification and socialization of the running experience through online and mobile communities. This study focuses

on such a running community and explores through virtual and physical ethnographic research how these communities are developed and managed. We draw from Foucault's notion of governmentality and analyse how runners are governed, by disciplinary and pastoral modes of power that are manifested through governmentalities of surveillance, interactivity and competition (Gane 2012), into producing and disseminating their own data through virtual networks and therefore becoming "data-prosumers" in co-creation processes. Following this analysis, we see co-creation as a form of neo-liberal governmentality that aims to produce active subjects that produce value not only in the form of content, products or services but also, and probably more importantly, as data for organizations. User generated data in online environments has been previously analysed as a form of prosumption labour (Fuchs 2013). We expand on this notion of data as prosumption to include ordinary offline activities through an empirical study on a self-quantified virtual running community. We argue that if it is being tracked and shared, every single mundane human activity can become an act of prosumption (and therefore exploitation).

Collopy, Dennis

Control of the End(user) or the End of Control? The IPR dilemma posed by user generated content and its impact on professional creators

Dennis Collopy, School of Creative Arts, University of Hertfordshire (UK)

Plenary Speaker

Presentation will be available on conference website

Davidson, Roei and Nathaniel Poor

Crowd funding and the transformation of culture workers into interactive service workers

Dr Roei Davidson, University of Haifa (Israel)

Dr Nathaniel Poor is an independent scholar

We examine crowd funding as a site where culture workers are transformed into interactive service workers (ISW). Crowd funding constitutes a novel distributed online approach for raising capital (Mollick, 2013). It has the potential to restructure the traditional culture industry value chain and disintermediate traditional gatekeepers such as movie studios, music labels or publishing houses that have been key providers of funding for culture ventures (Hirsch, 1972). Entrepreneurs have established a large number of crowd funding sites first in the United States and later in other developed economies (Carvajal, 2012). While eligibility to use these sites differs from site to site, many of these sites focus on helping fund culture industries projects with varying levels of capital demands. These sites therefore become a key link in the culture industries value chain collapsing the distinction between those who fund culture projects and those serving as their audience. ISWs are workers who provide a service through direct interaction with clients (Hancock, 2013). These might include air flight attendants, bill collectors and other occupations that require considerable emotional labor. This type of labor involves managing feeling in deep ways that construct a pleasant experience for the client but frequently carry significant threats of self-alienation for the service worker who becomes divorced of her true feelings (Hochschild, 1983). In a similar vein, work in the internet industry demands workers become venture laborers, investing

their private time and identity in their employing venture even though such ventures are often extremely risky (Neff, 2012). In addition, some forms of ISW, especially in retail contexts rely on aesthetic labor whereby service providers' behavioral style must conform to particular commercial requirements, excluding certain social groups (Williams & Connell, 2010).

We argue that given the early evidence of the importance of social networking and other forms of direct contact with the audience of potential crowd funders for the success of crowd funding projects (Mollick, 2014), successful crowd funding potentially demands considerable emotional, venture and aesthetic labor and might have important implications for the creative process. The ISW prism allows us to consider the varying strategies used by culture workers to raise funds through crowdfunding sites, the implications this financing form and more specifically the need to intensively maintain connections with their audience have for their craft, and the emotional barriers to entry which perhaps limit CF's potential to level the culture industry playing field as is argued regarding social production more generally (Benkler, 2006).

We will conduct a qualitative textual analysis of 20 crowd funding pages in two prominent crowd funding sites, Kickstarter.com (United States) and Headstart.co.il (Israel). Three cases will focus on crowd funding efforts that received considerable publicity – Spike Lee, and Amanda Palmer in the U.S. and Uzi Weill in Israel – and therefore had an important role in publicizing this financing form. In those cases we will also analyze the media coverage surrounding these cases. The other 17 cases will be chosen from two sectors that vary in the extent to which ISW has traditionally been an integral part of work: pop music as an example of a culture form that has traditionally involved high levels of interaction with the audience and film/television which has involved lower levels of interaction with the audience during the creative process. We purposively sample sectors with varying degrees of ISW in order to examine the varied impact crowd funding might have on culture industries workers and so to avoid over-generalization. We will conduct a thematic analysis (e.g., Davidson, 2012) of the efforts used to raise money as evident on the crowd funding site categorizing the forms of labor evident in the discourse and practices on these sites. We will specifically analyze the “rewards” offered to the backers and on-site interaction between the creator and his potential funders and the forms of labor they reflect. In addition, we will conduct 10 semi-structured interviews with culture workers in the two sectors in both countries who used either successfully or unsuccessfully a crowd funding platform. These interviews will investigate from the workers' perspective the nature of the labor – venture (customer support), aesthetic, emotional as well as organizational – involved in promoting a crowd funding venture and workers' perception of its impact on the creative process.

Davis, Chuck and Cyrus Bina

Virtual Work/Digital Labor and Marx's Value Theoretic

Chuck Davis, Professor of Labor Studies, Indiana University (USA)

Cyrus Bina, Distinguished Research Professor of Economics and Management, University of Minnesota (USA)

Our goal is to develop a theoretical framework for understanding the dynamics of virtual work in contemporary capitalism. We shall attempt to do so by locating the concept and significance of digital labor within Marx's value theoretic; and address the importance and continuity of this application to digital labor and virtual work in contemporary capitalism. We feel our approach fits well within one of the Conference's streams: Value Creation in the Internet Age. Our Paper will address commodification and value creation in virtual work/immateral production.

We will argue Marx's labor theory of value and method – dialectical materialism are important for this task. Our desire is to not confuse nor conflate appearance with substance while examining the development of virtual work, but instead to “reveal the relationship between the way things are and the way they appear to be”. Critically relevant, therefore, for us, is grasping the two-fold character of the commodity labor power as digital labor – in that it has both use value and exchange value – a material and social (value theoretic) quality simultaneously – a result of the historical development of capitalist social relations. We believe appreciating this distinction between capacity to work – labor power, and its application – labor, is crucial for fully capturing the role of virtual work in advanced capitalism. Our plan is to develop our theoretical approach through reviewing literature by French Post-Modernists, Hardt and Negri, and others in their attempts to explore the meaning, development and importance of digital labor/virtual work.

D’Cruz, Premilla and Ernesto Noronha

Internal and external workplace cyberbullying: Exploring a unique stressor of the digital economy

Ernesto Noronha and Premilla D’Cruz, Professors of Organisational Behaviour, Indian Institute of Management in Ahmadabad (India)

Anchoring and driving contemporary workplaces, information and communication technology and devices (ICTDs) are integral to organizational success resulting in advantages in efficiency, productivity and innovation. Yet concomitant with the digitalization of the workplace are misuses of technology at individual, group and organizational levels with varying manifestations and degrees of impact. In line with this, cyberbullying is emerging as the preferred form of harassment among employees and warrants research attention given the nascent stage of knowledge here.

Two empirical studies of target experiences undertaken in India highlight the basic features of this phenomenon, progressing our understanding. While both studies are rooted in van Manen's hermeneutic phenomenology, study I focused on internal cyberbullying where superiors, peers and subordinates harass colleagues while study II focused on external cyberbullying where customers abuse front-line employees. Cyberbullying was distinguished by its boundaryless, anonymous, invisible, concrete and permanent nature. It was not unusual for such misbehaviour to cross limits of task performance, career development, employability, temporality, spatiality, relationships and propriety, with the mediated nature of ICTDs decreasing inhibitions and accountability and increasing self-dissociation, particularly when identity could be withheld. Contingent on the mode involved, bullies could leave footprints that served as proof facilitating resolution of the negative acts. Targets of cyberbullying underwent affective and physical harm, which was often severe and long-term. Following the aforementioned similarities, divergence in target coping and redressal experiences were apparent. Targets of internal bullying enjoy the privilege of problem-focused coping to the extent of seeking redressal through intra-organizational mechanisms, though these strategies need not resolve the matter with the latter option often leading to further complications due to managerial rhetoric. In contrast, the ideology of customer sovereignty promoted by the service economy and employer organizations normalizes and legitimizes customer bullying precluding intra-organizational target redressal to the extent that only emotion-focussed coping and re-employment in non-service occupations serve as solutions. Indeed, the concrete and permanent features of cyberbullying, instrumental in tackling the problem in the former instance, are rendered redundant in the latter case. It is pertinent to note that internal and external cyberbullying could be concomitantly experienced.

While cyberbullying calls for unique intervention measures at primary, secondary and tertiary levels that address its distinctive character, the attempt should not overlook the differences between internal and external sources but should be specific to these singular variations if their

efficacy is to be ensured. Indeed, cyberbullying warrants immediate attention not just because of its serious nature and complex implications but more because as ICTDs continue to undergird and propel today's business and as technology itself evolves and penetrates human life at even younger ages than it does now, cyberbullying at work will not only increase but morph in various ways, and keeping pace with this in terms of research and intervention is imperative.

Di Marino, Mina and Kimmo Lapintie

Teleworking in third places

Dr Mina Di Marino and Professor Kimmo Lapintie, Aalto University, School of Art, Design and Architecture, Department of Architecture (Finland)

A dramatic change is occurring in the spatial and social use of urban spaces and public services because of the transition from industrial to information age. Although work still only accounts for a small amount of the activities that take place in public spaces, it can be seen as a signal of newly emerging spatial arrangements. This is happening basically for two main reasons. First, work practices are changing and becoming more flexible, and consequently, new types of workplaces are emerging (Forlano, 2011). Second, the idea that work can be done anytime and anywhere has recently been related to individual needs and preferences (Pyöriä, 2003), and to the possibility that workers can be connected everywhere because of private and municipal wireless networks (Forlano, 2008).

However, the mobile workplace is not a notion describing an abstract space (Brown and Ohara 2003). The meaning of space is being transformed as a result of the acceleration in temporal structure of important human activities (Sirowy, 2007). Consequently, alternative spatial forms need to be referred to the urban everyday life (Lefebvre, 1991). This idea of places and distances losing their meaning is, however, overstated since instant offices are also selected based on their relational, social and physical characteristics. The mobile workplace emphasizes a network of places. In fact, in addition to the home and workplace, teleworkers are using a network of public, semi-public and private spaces (so-called third places) for different types of working. Originally, third places allowed people to engage conversation and enjoy the company of friends. They represented the heart of a community's social vitality, conviviality and democracy (Oldenburg, 2001). Recently, a debate among scholars has regarded the ways in which third places can be used as more than merely informal public gathering places or places for consumption (Soukup, 2006).

Libraries, coffee-shops, train stations and public open spaces are increasingly emerging as temporal working locations. It seems that workers colonize such places and use them for their work with the aim of reaching their objectives more easily, in less time or more enjoyably.

We have studied this new phenomenon empirically with a qualitative structured and semi-structured interview and observation of teleworkers in 10 public indoor and outdoor spaces in the city of Helsinki, Finland.

The interviewees were approached based on their use of IT devices in public libraries, cafeterias, parks and squares. We recorded where they were seated and what furniture they used. We also observed whether or not they were connected spatially.

Our objective was to discover different profiles of workers in 'third places' and related spatial requirements. We discovered the most representative profiles of users based on age category, level of education, type of contract and fields of primary occupation. Also, we asked the teleworkers about their habits, the reasons for why they choose to work in the third places, The results show that a considerable range of activities within research and education, art and culture, information technology, business and finance, and social services and government are performed in

these spaces. As we discovered in our study, spatial requirements of third places, such as street and indoor furniture, Wi-Fi, power outlets, and good access to natural and artificial light, seem to be particularly important for teleworkers. Also, the proximity to their own offices or clients' premises encourages to telework in third places.

It is clear that we are facing a new way of appropriating third places. In this context we can re-think and re-design third places as locations and patterns of change for the cities.

Fisher, Eran

Audience Labour Struggles over value in social media; the case of Facebook's Sponsored Stories advertising plan – Plenary Session

Dr Eran Fisher, Department of Sociology, Political Science, and Communication, Open University of Israel

Recent accounts of social media have developed a powerful critical political economy analysis of social media, employing Dallas Smythe's notion of audience labour, which sees audiencing as a form of working, producing surplus value. Such analysis has been criticized for being too high and dry, employing abstract categories like labour, surplus-value and exploitation to analyze what regular users perceive as a fun, leisure, and empowering activity of using social media. This article begins from the assumption that such critique should be taken seriously as the aim of critical theory is not only to offer an alternative interpretation of reality but also point to social practices and subjects which manifest – albeit in embryonic stages – these alternative views, and delineate how these might be translated to social change. The paper couples the objective-scientific facet critical political economy with subjective-lifeworld categories of media users by analyzing a class-action lawsuit of Facebook users against the company concerning its Sponsored Stories advertising program. The program mobilizes Facebook users as sponsors into ads, which appear on the News Feed of users' friends. Sponsored Stories are generated based on actions performed by users on the social networking site, such as Liking a page. A narrative analysis of the legal case suggests how users' struggle can be read as revolving on defining their participation in social media as a form of work. Users put forth a critique of alienation (demanding that the information they generate belong to them) and exploitation (demanding ownership over the surplus-value they produce). The article concludes that regular users employ audience labour theory in their struggle over digital value, making it a suitable framework for analyzing the political economy of social media, both objectively and subjectively. Moreover, the article argues that rather than seeking a radical change in the political economy of social media, the article concludes that Facebook users seek to better their position vis-à-vis media companies within the existing model of political economy, and get a larger share of the economic value they produce. Rather than putting forth a radical political horizon of a digital commons, users seek to appropriate their commodified immaterial labour power.

Flecker, Jörg and Andrea Smioski

**Dynamics of service value chains: Delocalization and relocation of digital work
University of Vienna (Austria)**

Professor Jörg Flecker and Dr Andrea Smioski, Department of Sociology, University of Vienna (Austria)

The concept of the value chain is usually used to denote organizationally and/or spatially separated stages of an entire production chain, e.g. from research and development to the distribution of products. Recently, research has started to acknowledge the increasing externalisation and

outsourcing of service functions and has shifted attention to the service sector. In various industries and the public sector, complete generic business functions such as specialised accounting, R&D, HR and IT service provision and suppliers of business-process outsourcing, including call centres (Huws et al. 2004; Batt et al. 2009; Taylor 2010) have been reshaped into value chains and networks of service provision that cross organizational and national boundaries. Often, the digitization of information and the modularization and standardization of tasks have been the basis for concurrent processes of delocalization and relocation of work. Thus, the concepts of global value chains (GVC) and production networks (GPN), the related research questions and findings seem to be highly relevant for the analysis of virtual work.

Paradoxically, in spite of the focus of GVC and GPN research on processes of relocation of work and shifts in the international division of labour the interrelations between space, place and labour have received surprisingly little attention (Smith et al. 2002, Coe et al. 2008). Questions of space and place relate to different scales and several levels of inquiry including companies attempts at 'regime shopping' and 'institutional arbitrage' to capitalise on cheap labour and to get access to talent and skills; value chain dynamics such as spatial restructuring and upgrading of particular locations; the implications of place and nationality for workers' identity and solidarity; 'spatial asymmetry' between capital and labour; workers' cooperation over distance and their needs for face-to-face interaction and mobility; etc. As far as corporate spatial strategies are concerned a basic distinction can be made between relocation of work (e.g. offshoring), which includes a deliberate decision-making on locations, on the one hand, and, on the other, delocalisation of work (e.g. through global crowdsourcing) suggesting a perceived 'placelessness' of activities. Yet, in both cases work remains place-based and thus needs to be analysed within the dialectics of global information spaces and local fixity of work and labour.

The aim of the conference contribution is twofold. First it will harness the GVC and GPN perspective for the research of virtual work. Second, it will tease out, in this context, the aspects of space and place in the research on value chains and production networks. Drawing on a literature review and on our own empirical research on value chain dynamics and relocation of work in service industries this paper thus explores the spatial dynamics of value chains and networks, the degree of local embeddedness of digital work and the social construction of space in working relationships with a special focus on digital work in the IT and creative industries, where the partly immaterial character of products facilitates relocation and delocalization. In doing so, it addresses various levels of analysis including the international division of labour, the role of institutional and geographical environments, the local embeddedness of workers and 'spatial asymmetries' between capital and labour, as well as workers' competition and cooperation over distance along value chains.

Frenkel, Michal

Telecommuting, work and family: an intersectional perspective

Dr Michal Frenkel, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Israel)

Plenary Speaker

Presentation will be available on conference website



Fuchs, Christian**Theorising Digital Labour. A Cultural-Materialist Perspective – Plenary Session**

Professor Christian Fuchs, Unified Theory of Information Research Group (Austria) and Professor of Social Media, University of Westminster, Communication and Media Research Institute, Centre for Social Media Research (UK)

This presentation discusses some aspects of theorising digital labour.

It aims to update some of Raymond Williams' theoretical contributions by applying them to the realm of digital labour. I will first focus on a discussion of foundations of Raymond Williams' Cultural Materialism approach. Second, I will discuss the relationship of work and communication. Third, I focus on how labour and ideology are connected.

Fourth, I will connect the preceding thoughts and concepts to the discussion of digital labour. Fifth, I will draw on thoughts by William Morris and Raymond Williams in order to make some conclusions about 21st century communism.

Fumagalli, Andrea**The concept of life subsumption in cognitive bio-capitalism: valorization and governance**

Professor Andrea Fumagalli, Department of Economics and Management, University of Pavia, Italy

Capitalist exploitation is described by Marx with two forms of subsumption: "formal" and "real", as outcome of the historical evolution of capitalism and the continuous metamorphosis of the capital-labor ratio. Those two subsumptions refer to two different concepts of surplus value: absolute and relative.

The historical period of formal subsumption corresponds to the period of pre-industrial capitalism which reaches the threshold of the Industrial Revolution and the first stage of capitalism, in which the exploitation of labor and its submission to the capital takes place "on the basis of a working process that pre-exists" (K. Marx, *The Capital*, 1, ch. VI unpublished, p. 53). In this context, the added value derived from the extensification of labour through the continued lengthening of labour time.

With the transition to real subsumption, the process of exploitation and valorization is based on the intensification of the labor process, through parcelization of labour activity and the exploitation of static and size scale economies (Tayloristic mode of accumulation).

Nowadays, with the shift towards what some post-workerist scholars define "cognitive bio-capitalism", we assist to a new metamorphosis of the capital-labour ratio and the emergence of a new form of subsumption, called life subsumption. This paper tries to define it and the main elements about the new form of valorisation and governance

Gandini, Alessandro; Ivana Pais, Davide Beraldo

Independent work on digital platforms: The case of Elance

Alessandro Gandini, Università degli Studi di Milano (Italy)

Dr Ivana Pais, Università Cattolica del Sacro, Milano (Italy)

Davide Beraldo, Università degli Studi di Milano (Italy)

The rise of the digital economy has brought along the emergence of platforms which allow supply and demand of different industries to meet fruitfully in newly productive ways. Specially, as concerns independent and freelance work in the knowledge industry, a number of platforms have emerged to get independent clients and contractors on digital environments which make easier and more productive to get into transactions and freelance contracts. These platforms operate as highly mediatized, productive milieus which allow demand and supply to meet on a large global scale.

Particularly, on the side of supply these platforms offer a new and promising alternative for traditional independent and freelance work, particularly in post-crisis circumstances, as these allow to personally and independently compete for contracts on a global scale, escaping from local “urban” networks of contacts and recruitment opportunities which are described in the literature as the most importance source for getting jobs and establishing a remunerative freelance career (Blair 2001; Christopherson 2002, 2008; Grugulis and Stoyanova 2011, 2012).

This contribution looks more in depth at one of these platforms: Elance. The aim of this work is that of studying the matching between demand and supply on Elance, shifting from a macro-level (countries) to a meso-level to focus on the analytical elements that consent to understand the socio-economic dynamics governing the transactions between 'elancers' and clients on the platform. The research hypothesis focuses particularly on the role played by the personal reputation of the clients and contractors on the platform, as a regulator for market relations. The purpose is that of understanding the network dynamics among contractors and clients on Elance to see whether and how patterns of network formations may affect outcomes (reputation, earnings, trust) which are proxies of professional success on the platform.

This work is based on a large dataset of over 3000 observations of transactions entertained by individual clients and contractors on Elance, brought to us in partnership by the platform itself. The data set is analyzed through the techniques of social network analysis together with basic statistical inference.

The emergence of such platforms is changing the practices and organizational arrangements of freelance knowledge work. As shown by the contributions contained in Volume 7, Number 1 of *Work Organisation, Labour and Globalisation*, entitled 'Working Online, Living Offline' (2013, eds), the expansion of digital production is enabling a large range of transformations involving labour at all levels, including distributed cooperation, a significant process of 'deskilling' and the widespread diffusion of project-based work. This contribution looks at this scope of instances by focusing precisely on this latter aspect, in the figure of contractors and freelancers who work 'piecework' on different projects on a contractual basis.

The implications of such transformations are multiple, both positive and negative, and will be discussed in large extent. These essentially concerns: a) the evolution of global labour markets in the knowledge economy, which are increasingly entrepreneurialized and managerialized, thus inducing into freelance careers – and, to a large extent, into a growing fragmentation and individualization of knowledge work; b) the dimensions of value production which pertain online platforms, which cast a light on different conceptions of value and new modalities of valorization of knowledge in highly-connected environments, which are challenging the existing orders of worth

based on labour-time; c) the organizational aspects concerning such platforms, which unveil different structures and schemes showing insights of contamination of the 'market' logic coming from different approaches and perspectives, such as those commonly known as “peer-to-peer”.

Goheer, Nabeel and Kaire Holts

Understanding and Regulating Digital Work

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Exponential progress in technology, coupled with the dawn of digitization and rise of Internet are radically transforming the world of work. The advent of personal computers and gadgets with round-the-clock internet connectivity have shifted it away from conventional workspaces such as factories and designated offices to distributed workspaces, mobile offices, homes and virtual assembly lines. Work that used to be manual and local is becoming digital and global. These changes were incremental in the past. The rate of change has dramatically accelerated in the last couple of years and we have reached an inflection point where curve is about to bend very fast. (Brynjolfsson and McAfee, 2014).

Wage employment used to be the dominant form of work in the industrial age. The new forms of labour and work are steadily changing the landscape. On one hand, robots and softwares that were introduced a few decades ago to improve efficiency of human labour are increasingly substituting it. On the other hand, new forms of digital and virtual labour are shaping the work landscape of the information and communication age (Scholz, 2012; Holts, 2013).

The changing landscape of work demands a new paradigm of understanding and action by the policymakers. In the new paradigm, boundaries between work and play have blurred; time and space have not remained binding constraints; and the binary division between capital and labour is softening. Management hierarchies at work are transforming into matrices and distributed networks of specialization. The norms of labour rights and collective bargaining are giving ground to share rights and collaborative labour practices. Also, the concept of industrial relations is becoming archaic and giving way to information relations with a new dynamic.

The transformation of world of work brings forward a new set of challenges related to governance of this area at the national and international levels. National governments feel constrained to regulate new forms of virtual work because it is neither confined to a designated space nor limited by time. Secondly, most of this work is footloose and more global in character than national. This brings to the fore the role of a global player- International Labour Organization (ILO), an inter-governmental organization with a transnational mandate for governing the world of work.

Is the ILO ready for the challenges of information and communication age? It does not appear so. We note that the relevance of the institution has been challenged. It does not seem to be ready to deal with the demands of the new economy (Langille, 1999). The organization has failed to understand global shifts in the world of work and unable to respond to the new global reality (Ponticelli, 2009; Standing, 2008). It is stuck in antiquated governance structure and not fit for the twenty-first century (Standing, 2010).

We observe that ILO was established in 1919. It has evolved over time and have done some good work during the industrial age which was duly rewarded with a Nobel Peace Prize in 1969. It is, however, not poised for the challenges of information and communication age. In this paper, we analyze the existing ILO policies and based upon some empirical work, including interviews of senior ILO officials, make a set of recommendations for initiating a reform process. Firstly, we argue that a

different approach is needed to understand the nature and dynamic of virtual work. This would require requisite adjustments in existing taxonomy and labour statistics. Secondly, we explain why a different set of strategies will be needed to deal with information relations as compared to managing industrial relations. Thirdly, we recommend flexible guidance for the world of digital work as opposed to regulation and control through conventions. Fourthly, we suggest a shift in the ILO's technical assistance work in this area. Instead of building government capacities for regulation and labour inspection, it would need to focus on enabling governments understand global shifts in the world of work and prepare them as well as digital workers for self-governance.

Greenan, Nathalie; Sylvie Hamon-Cholet and Frédéric Moatty

ICTs and Working Conditions in France

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In France the social debate has recently questioned the role of ICTs (information and Communication technologies) in suffering at work. This communication will try to identify whether ICT contribute to shaping working condition in France.

The research uses quantitative data from a French linked employer/employee survey on computerisation and organisational change conducted in 2006 (COI survey, for "Changement Organisationnel et Informatisation"). Our results are based on a sample of 7770 firms with 20 employee or more from the market sector within which a sample of 18000 employees is nested.

We distinguish between the ICT equipment of companies and ICT uses by employees. In the company equipment, we identify the existence of specific software or hardware: Intranet, Extranet, ERP, workflow, groupware, RFID and call centres. On the employee side, we distinguish between highly connected uses, more routine uses where employees seldom or never work online and non users of ICTs.

We analyse the working conditions of employees according to the characteristics of their working environment in terms of ICT equipment and to their type of use. We include a set of control variables to account for structural effects related to employees (age, education, etc...) and their firm (size, sector, etc...). Our main results are the following.

First, it is clear that ICTs are not accompanied by adverse working conditions but the type of use is related to contrasted work situations. Users, especially those who work online, concentrate better working conditions, but suffer sometimes from forms of pressure and work overflow, while non-users have less control over their work. Non-users, who are fewer and fewer, face the digital divide: they work less intensively but their work is impoverished, isolated and unsatisfactory

Second the connective dimension of ICTs, indicative of a "trust relationship" between the company and the employee is much more important than the specific characteristics of any ICT equipment. The statistical analysis reveals two major strategies to mobilise labour in connection with ICT. Connected technologies used by "trusted employee", often executives and middle managers in large firms, are associated with labour intensity and work overflow in the private sphere, but also with autonomy and discretion and with a professional happiness or well-being related to the feeling that work is recognised at its fair value. In contrast, routine users or employees in businesses equipped with software that cross the organisation (ERP, process modelling, traceability tools) or a call centre have intense work demands and little job control. In addition, because they are not in a trust relationship, their work is controlled or supervised, although they may have to deal with unclear or contradictory injunctions.

In conclusion, ICTs do not determine mechanistically working condition but interact with the social characteristics of employees as well as with the managerial uses of technology.

Halbac, Rares

Virtual work in the tourism sector

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Travel & Tourism remains a critical sector for development and economic growth for advanced and developing economies alike. A strong T&T sector supports job creation, raises national income, and also benefits the general competitiveness of economies. Despite the global financial and economic crisis, People around the world still want to travel. The tourism industry proved once more that has a resilience and ability to overcome the impact of negative external factors.

The importance of Internet for the travel and tourism industry has increased rapidly over the last few years. The Internet is providing tools for planning travels and is also used to buy tourist products and services on line. Travel and Tourism assume an industry with a large percent of products and services that have a low cost, are frequently purchased, have an intangible value proposition and are more amenable to be purchased over the Internet.

Two main key factors of Travel and Tourism were favored by the intensive use of the Internet: direct interaction with tourism providers and the quality of products. Currently, tourism providers can easily identify and satisfy the constantly changing needs for tourism products. On the other side, for tourists it is much easier to check and/or to penalize the quality of a tourism product.

According to Flash Eurobarometer 370 "Attitudes of Europeans Towards Tourism" from march 2013, the internet is still the most common way to arrange holidays, with 53% using it for this reason in 2012. Around one in five (21%) used someone they know, while 19% used the phone or visited a travel agency. A socio-demographic analysis shows that respondents aged 55+ are the least likely to have used the Internet to arrange their 2012 holiday (39%), particularly when compared to those aged 25-39 (63%). The oldest age group is, however, the most likely to have booked over the counter at a travel agency (23%) or on the phone (22%).

However, will online become the method-of-choice for booking high-end travel where human interface and concierge-like services are still important, and for emerging markets where travel agents still play an important role? We must stress here the importance of price competitiveness which will certainly remain a key differentiator across a variety of dimensions. Today, tourists enjoy near-perfect price-versus-quality transparency through user generated online reviews.

But can we rely every time on these reviews? We must understand that many people don't have a culture of travel and tourism, they don't know the requirements from each country for hotels evaluation and many times they want to have a lot of services for a small amount of money. How can we filter these reviews?

On the other side, the on-line travel agencies although benefit of highly economic advantages (cheap rent for offices, possibility to work from home etc.) they may face some problems in understanding the real necessities of a traveller. A good travel agent must have some knowledge of psychology especially regarding the body language. By understanding the current state of the client, the travel agent can address the marketing strategy that would allow him to sell travel packages.

This paper will present briefly the impact of virtual work in tourism sector (especially in managing a travel agency) and will try to draw some positive and negative effects together with suggestions to overrun the negative parts.

Heyman, Rob

Identifying the sites of exploitation used to create ethical surplus in Facebook

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Current political economic research on social media is pre-occupied with the influence of personalized ads have on consumers to buy certain products. Users have become a prosumer-commodity (Fuchs, 2012). They enable the valorisation of surveillance (Cohen, 2008) through content creation that attracts other users and secondly they create self-referential statements that are used to segment users into profiles, which in turn produces personalized ads. The role of users is reduced to being a commodity although they actively labour apparently free from coercion. Andrejevic (2012, p. 73) problematizes the exploitation on digital services that require UGC to function: "For good reason, it is harder to get worked up about the "exploitative" conditions of user-generated content sites than about the depredations of sweatshop labour and workforce exploitation." Lazzarato (1996) and Arvidsson (2005) argue that the involved efforts fall outside the normal need to provide in ones livelihood. Instead, users create ethical surplus. This is a social relation, a shared meaning or a sense of belonging (Arvidsson, 2005, p. 241) and it attaches value to a commodity or brand.

The goal of this paper is to describe the different forms of exploitation on Facebook from a theoretical and empirical perspective. The theoretical perspective relies on the aforementioned work of critical authors on immaterial labour and ethical surplus. We describe how Facebook's user exploitation is part of its infrastructure, through its social graph, algorithms that govern UGC and its advertising products.

Method and concepts/approach

Through the reconceptualization of immaterial labour (Lazzarato, 1996; Coté & Pybus, 2007) we want to illustrate how ethical surplus (Arvidsson, 2005) generates value that supplements the valorization of surveillance (Cohen, 2008) most prevalent in the prosumer-commodity (Fuchs, 2012). For the empirical part of this paper we rely on an analysis of the means of production controlled by Facebook to generate value form this ethical surplus. This is not limited to advertising products. We expand our analysis to the underlying infrastructure and language proposed by Facebook needed to control UGC by its algorithm and segmentation options in targeted advertising in order to identify new forms of exploitation.

Relevance

UGC is subject to gatekeeping similar to the influence sponsorship has on more traditional media such as television programming. Little attention has been given to this issue. For now, users have only been approached as a commodity (Fuchs, 2012; Smythe, 1977), subject to advertising messages like mere eyeballs. This structuralist approach fails to account for the other types of work users perform or how they become alienated from their immaterial labour.

Results

This approach enables us to illustrate how immaterial labour is exploited. Exploitation is inherent to being online because every action is copied and reused without users' knowledge and beyond their control. Exploitation as a concept has changed. The required coercion for immaterial labour is no longer materialistic; nobody joins social media to provide in ones livelihood, instead users join for reasons found in their lifeworld. A more important concept that should be researched here is alienation of this lifeworld. Users contrary to writers do not expect to get paid for their content, but their content changes into a commodity nevertheless.

Future research

Coercion on social media exists and it has been researched as the reasons why users join social media. Some of these reasons are negative, fear of missing out for example. More research should

be done to further the concept of coercion beyond materialistic needs. More research should be done to identify other forms of free labour on digital media.

Originality

The originality of this paper lies in the application of new forms of labour to an existing case, Facebook, as a proof of concept. We also expand the idea of labour beyond the mere issue of targeted advertising to investigate the underlying control over the means of production.

Hofmeister, Heather and Alexandra Florea

Occupational Identities and Quality of Life of Digital Workers: Subjective assessments

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The widespread use of accessible technology, such as mobile devices and Internet, has a massive impact on people's lifestyles and work. For more and more people, digital technology opens the door not only to leisure pursuits but also work opportunities and the mix of both (Chatfield, 2012). Topics such as virtual/ digital work, crowdsourcing and online labour markets (OLM) are among the current topics in the broader discussion about the future of work. While some authors focus on the economic aspects of the online labour markets such as price setting, elasticity of supply and demand, skills matching (Horton, 2010; Satzger, Psailer et al, 2012; Ranade, Varshney, 2012), for other scientists in fields such as psychology, computer science and business studies, the focus lies on the innovative aspects of crowdsourcing, risk and rewards (for businesses) associated with crowdsourcing (Chandler, 2013), optimisation and standardisation of crowdsourcing to better serve businesses (Ipeirotis, 2011), psychological priming for improving crowdsourcing quality (Morris, Dontcheva and Gerber, 2012) and various other experimental attempts to understand the dynamics of tasks and incentives, entrepreneurship research, or human behaviour (Rand, 2011; Aguinis, Lawal, 2012; Paolacci et. al, 2010). When social scientists join the conversation about the future of work in the context of the emerging technologies (eg. Crowdsourcing platforms), the accounts are few but diverse. However, the study of the online worker as an individual, a human being, is rarely in focus. Moreover, while traditionally labour sociology looks at employment relations, the challenge raised by digital work is that many of the online work arrangements do not take the form of employment. In the new order of digital work, the employees become independent contractors or freelancers, the employers become clients, and the employment relationship becomes a commercial relationship. What is gained and what is lost in this transformation remains unclear. While the current narratives about the future of work go as far as claiming that by 2020 nearly half of the working age population in certain countries will be involved in some form of technology-mediated freelancing, we don't know much about who are the digital workers, what are their motivations and how they assess their work arrangement. Taking a quality of life approach, the research questions that this paper aims to answer are: what are eWorker's individual perceptions and beliefs about their work arrangements and occupational identities? Is eWork a "good" work arrangement as perceived by the workers themselves? The focus on individuals, rather than on policies, institutions, organizations, or companies, comes from the need to understand particularly what these work arrangements and occupational identities mean for individual people and how these arrangements affect their lifestyles and quality of life, "the degree to which a person enjoys the important possibilities of his/her life" (Raphael, et. al, 1998: 2), in three major life domains: being, belonging and becoming (Renwick and Brown, 1996). Being refers to who one is and includes Physical Being (health, hygiene, nutrition, exercise and general appearance); Psychological Being (psychological health, feelings and evaluations about the self such as self-esteem and identity) and Spiritual Being (one's personal values, standards of conduct and spiritual beliefs). Belonging is about the person's fit with her environment and includes Physical Belonging (connections with the physical environments

of home, workplace, neighbourhood) and Social Belonging (links with social environments and acceptance by intimate others such as family, friends, and community and identity as part of an occupational group). Becoming refers to activities carried out in order to achieve personal or professional goals and aspirations and includes Practical Becoming, Leisure Becoming and Growth Becoming (Akselsen, 2001). Using a qualitative approach, we draw on methods such as auto-ethnography and narrative analysis to understand how the subjects (multi-locational eWorkers who perform activities that they label as work at least one working day per week on one of the following platforms: Amazon Mechanical Turk and/ or oDesk) assess their quality of life. Interviews will be conducted between January 2014 and May 2014, with a sample of at least 10 multi-locational eWorkers targeted. Results will be available by the conference.

Hollinshead, Graham; Jane Hardy and Moira Calveley

Embedded Tendencies and the Offshore Outsourcing of Software Development to Ukraine

Dr Graham Hollinshead, Professor Jane Hardy and Dr Moira Calveley, Hertfordshire Business School, University of Hertfordshire (UK)

The internationalisation of the software development industry has gathered pace in recent years, and has been catalysed by the stabilisation and standardisation of software ‘platforms’ which has enabled offshore suppliers to acquire selected technologies and to employ the engineers knowledgeable about them. This development has been associated with the digitalisation and re-organisation of work processes so that routine commodity components are amenable to international outsourcing. (Aspray et. al., 2006). As labour cost arbitrage represents the key rationale for outsourcing activity (Carmel and Tija, 2005), the decision of a ‘parent’ operation to establish an offshore utility is marked, at its inception, by asymmetry in economic and strategic status between these organisational units.

Accordingly, and defying the ‘hype’ surrounding the ‘world flattening’ effects of IT (see, for example, Friedman, 2006) polarisation is evident in emergent forms of organisation in the sector, with an elite cadre of small and large software firms, invariably inhabiting western ‘nerve centres’ controlling access to codes, and prioritising the achievement of financial targets, brand control and market monopolisation. Concomitantly, more routine development functions are being devolved, with the assistance of digital platforms and broadband connectivity, to geographically distant teams of engineers.

The regional context for our study is Ukraine, a country which was regarded as the ‘high-tech’ capital of the Soviet Union and which was endowed with a reservoir of technical and engineering skills as a legacy of the military and space exploration programme and which continues to invest heavily in technologically based education. Drawing upon in-depth interview data derived from CEOs of four UK based software companies engaged in the sourcing of engineering talent in Ukraine, and supplemented by telephone interviews with a further seven western European based software entrepreneurs, we discern the strategic rationalities, and perceived risks, associated with the regional devolution of software development activity through eliciting their structured and informed commentary. In a second phase of empirical investigation, through a series of visits to indigenous providers in Kiev, we gain insight into the sourcing process as perceived from the host country perspective, through interviewing team leaders and engineers, and observe, first hand, the labour process and working environment on the ground.

Our study reveals that regionally embedded institutional and normative tendencies are indeed influential and pronounced, despite corporate rhetoric to the contrary, within the new global ordering of software development and design, this serving to politicise the tapping and transference of proprietary knowledge and skill from ‘East’ to ‘West’. This is evident in (1) A tendency for western

firms to 'bite off the head and swallow the body' when investing in Ukraine, this being associated with the replacing of indigenous Ukrainian management with instrumentally orientated and peripatetic western counterparts, this enabling the 'syphoning' of Ukrainian engineering talent for benefit western consumers (at the expense of much needed holistic technological advancement in the Ukrainian economy). (2) Risk mitigation strategies being asserted by software capitalists through assertion of 'soft capital' techniques (brand symbolism, virtual team- working, 'geeky' office environments and normative integration) in Ukrainian facilities. The engineering of high trust/ high commitment organisational cultures by management despite the omnipresent reality of precarious employment and transient investment (3) Evidence of resistance from indigenous knowledge workers through quitting (with the associated risk of intellectual property leakage into the informal economy), and their tactical/ instrumental attachment to work (adversely affecting brand/ client loyalty) (4) The assertion of protectionist tendencies from host country workers and other stakeholders, their claiming ownership of locally inspired R&D advances, this contributing to a growing sense of micro- political tension in such embryonic and fluid international software organisation .

Keltie, Emma

Authorised participation: participatory cultural practices as a form of labour within the culture industry

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The use of the Internet for the distribution of content has enabled storytellers and media content creators to circumvent the gatekeepers of traditional media platforms and participate in both localised and geographical dispersed forms of cultural production. These content creators have access to audiences beyond the limitations of traditional forms of media content, such as geographically located broadcasters and distributors. Whilst the Internet is not an entirely democratic medium, as it is often touted to be within participatory cultural discourses, it does allow for greater participatory access than previous distribution platforms traditionally dominated, owned and controlled by the culture industry. In this emerging media landscape marginalised identities are able to share stories on a scale that has not been possible before the advent of digital production and online platforms.

The cultural industry thesis argues that the mass media operates as a form of social control through ideological reproduction. The culture industry thesis is concerned with the control mass media maintains over the means of production to create these messages. Participatory culture is a disruption to the previously held perceptions of the culture industries dominance. Recognised however within this field of study is the current state of unequal access to not only the tools of participation, but also the knowledge and technical ability for individuals to participate in the production of cultural texts.

Currently there exists a participation divide whereby some audiences and individuals are empowered to participate yet may not have the cultural or economic capital in order to engage in production activities. There is a tension between the theoretical positions of participatory culture breaking down barriers between producers and the culture industry thesis that explores the power and control of the mass media. Participatory culture theory acknowledges the control the media industry maintains yet provides a theoretical space to explore the impacts and influence of audience engagement and interaction with media.

This paper is an exploration of the limitations of participatory culture. It is through reflecting on my own creative practice through the development, production and distribution of a web series that I introduce the notion of participatory culture as authorised moments of negotiation with the

culture industry. These moments can influence and alter the production of media content and the manner of media consumption, however, the culture industry is adapting to these practices. By engaging in the creation of a web series this paper reflects on the changes to culture industry in Australia since the web series project began in 2010 and discusses the possibilities and potentialities of participatory cultural practices within this structural framework. I argue that the culture industry adapts to, and absorbs, new media practices. The broader culture industry is in a period of transition and I argue that the conceptualisation of participatory culture does not acknowledge the structural limitations imposed by the culture industry. Rather the conceptualisation of audiences as participants of cultural production instead falsely interpellates audiences as participants and falsely emancipates them as consumers. I argue that this results in the misrecognition of cultural capital by audiences who, through acts of participation, have alienated themselves from the labour process. This leads to the extension of leisure time as a form of labour in the production of cultural texts.

Kerr, Aphra

The Occupational implications of Digital Games as a Service

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Globalisation and technical change have had a significant impact on work in the creative and cultural industries. While sometimes the production practices and profiles of writers, directors or producers are self-reflexively on conspicuous display (on blogs, in magazine interviews and at industry conferences) many more remain hidden from view, locked into non-disclosure agreements, dispersed geographically and off-shored into remote low tax havens or industrial development zones.

The digital games industry is a good example of an industry whose content production networks are dispersed internationally and whose production and consumption networks are increasingly virtual. Nevertheless, academic work on production and work in the cultural industries has neglected this industry. A review of recent academic books in English on cultural production in the media industries and a related set of titles on the entertainment industries, the creative industries and the creative economy found only five titles which paid more than a cursory mention (Hartley 2005; Deuze 2007; Hesmondhalgh 2007; Holt and Perren 2009; Deuze 2011). Most of the game specific books were written before recent shifts in the industry towards online, social and mobile and the rise of games as a service (Kerr, 2006; Dyer-Witherford and De Peuter, 2009; Kline et al, 2003).

The digital games industry combines a range of professional occupational roles from design and programming to project management alongside a range of non-professional workers in testing, quality assurance and support. Digital games are increasingly being played online and this is creating new forms of play which are reliant on communication and cooperation. It is also creating new jobs in community management that are outsourced to near to market locations (Kerr and Cawley, 2012). Yet little is known about the workers in these roles, their skills, their working patterns and their work-life balance. Do the workers in these occupations replicate the highly gendered demographic patterns of the wider games industry or are these customer 'facing' service roles going to lead to the feminization of the games industry?. Can we conceive of this type of service work as creative and autonomous and are the workers passionate about their work? What role does technology and automation play?

Much of the research and policy on media work is focused on high status creative occupations, or the investment and exploitation of amateurs. However, there is another category of worker who is involved in service work mediating between the professional creative and the final

customer. This work is not just about reporting bugs and technically maintaining the system; it must also mediate and sometimes adjudicate on issues related to intellectual property rights, cheating and unacceptable user behaviour. This paper draws upon an ongoing project, which is interviewing community management/support and related workers in the contemporary games industry to examine changing occupational roles and skills in the digital game industry. The author draws upon a European cultural industries approach but also draws upon the literature in the sociology of work and the sociology of science and technology. This paper aims to contribute to the skills and occupational identities stream, although it will speak to the new international division of labour and the policy streams of Cost Action IS1202.

Kirov, Vassil

New forms of work and employment and challenges for the social partners in Europe

Dr Vassil Kirov, Centre Pierre Naville, University Evry-Val-d'Essone (France), Institute for the Study of Societies and Knowledge, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (Bulgaria)

New forms of work and employment based often on the online tools but not only (such as portfolio work, labour pooling, triangular relationships, mobile work or collaborative work) gain popularity in the advanced and developing societies in Europe but also in more peripheral areas such as Central or South-Eastern Europe. However these forms are still not well known (Eurofound 2013) and there is a need of better understanding of what they represent in terms of coverage, spread, importance for particular countries and sectors, etc. As very often those forms of employment are not visible (e.g. the translator working for a crowdsourcing website in another country) there are on the one hand 'full of hope' for some policy makers and social partners, but on the other many stakeholders are not well aware about them. The objective of this presentation is to focus on some new forms of work and employment (on the basis of the exploratory research of Eurofound and others) in order to discuss the specific challenges for the European policy makers and stakeholders at EU and national level. Some of the issues that could be addressed are the legal developments and debates in order to regulation NFE, the impacts on working conditions, the development of positions of stakeholders and the opportunities for mutual inspirations on the basis of concrete cases. The research methods used will be desk research on policy documents and interviews with relevant stakeholders.

Kopecka-Piech, Katarzyna

Playbour for brand. How borders between labour and leisure are blurring in the new media

Dr Katarzyna Kopecka-Piech, Division of Social Communication and Media, University School of Physical Education in Wroclaw (Poland)

There are several influential concepts illustrating the processes of blurring borders between a work and a free time (prosumption, produsage, playbour), and between professional and unprofessional activities (Pro-Am, crowdsourcing, audience labour). Moreover, the nature of labour is also changing (free labour, post-industrial unwaged labour). Most of the described shifts are the effect of the changes resulted from the new media technologies domination. The new media, especially the Internet, have changed the ways people communicate both inside and outside organizations, changing this way the patterns of management, but also creating an environment of the new kind of companies like start-ups. The new media companies represent fundamental changes in the philosophy of production and consumption of some media products and services, but also their

distribution, promotion, and creation of a brand image and an image of the company (public relations). Most of the activities are focused on and in the new media. The social media play a special role in this new management strategies, hybridized in their nature. One of the results of the hybridized management is a blurring discourse of top managers which might be observed in the social media. Management of the company, gaining new clients, brand marketing, corporate PR or even PR of the sector merge with the individual PR of a person, a private life and some daily activities. At the same time, a created media content becomes a kind of infotainment (information and entertainment at the same time) to attract the users and build relations with them. Promoted brand is also hybridized: that is a brand of a company, a product/a service and a person in one. The attractive media content production for a hybrid brand merges with the media content consumption making the media activities a new kind of playbour: play and labour for a “multibrand”.

The aim of the paper is to explain how the borders are obliterating in the discourse, media and social practices of top new media managers. In the first part of the presentation the theoretical discussion will be engaged. Which concepts of merged activities mentioned above illustrate the situation in the new media enterprises the best? Which of them deliver a theoretical framework for deeper analysis of this special convergence? The classic concept of prosumption appears inadequate to current digital communication environments. The concept of produsage is closer to peer-to-peer relations and social production of the media content. Finally, the playbour approach typical for hardcore video gamers, is not fully applicable to other media sectors. Moreover, all of the concepts concentrate on a changing nature of consumer assuming the role of producer than vice versa. That is why new approaches or concepts need to be formulated. In the second part the results of the empirical research will be delivered. The case studies of the top Polish new media companies and managers, and start-up creators will be presented. The analysis will be based on the new media content analysis (mostly social multimedia materials created and delivered by managers), critical discourse analysis and interviews. Typical strategies of hybridized activities of playbour for a brand will be enucleated and explained. Finally, the work on the image creation of the new media sector as a hole incorporated into those activities will be described.

Lehdonvirta, Vili and Mark Graham

Does connectivity create opportunity? Structure and evolution of online labour markets

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Professor Mark Graham, Oxford Internet Institute, University of Oxford (UK)

The world’s economic peripheries are increasingly connected to global digital networks. Many policy makers and commentators have highlighted the potential benefits of increased connectivity to social and economic development. According to a market liberal perspective, connectivity creates a “level playing field” on which people of the peripheries can offer their services to the rest of the world, taking advantage of their comparative advantage in labour cost. By participating in global markets, labourers learn new skills, allowing them to upgrade their positions in value chains to higher value-added tasks. At the heart of this model is the notion of access to markets: the ability to directly offer one’s services directly to the highest bidder, as opposed to having to work through gatekeepers and intermediaries who capture most of the value.

Many scholars have criticized the notion of a level playing field, arguing that despite the proliferation of digital connectivity, “the world is not flat”. According to these perspectives, market access continues to be structured and constrained by culture, geography, social networks, and technological topologies of the communication media. Disparities in market access are in many cases deliberately maintained through the use of power. Under such circumstances, increasing

connectivity only reproduces and expands existing exploitative economic relationships, where risk and uncertainty are pushed down the value chain, profit and knowledge retained at the top. From this perspective, the notion of a level playing field is at best a dangerous myth that both legitimizes and obfuscates exploitation.

Empirical studies to test theories on the developmental effects of connectivity and international trade have mostly focused on call centres and other business process outsourcing (BPO) services. The findings are mixed, ranging from spectacular successes in some facets of India's BPO sector to the foundering of Kenya's BPO sector and the exploitation of call centre workers. In explaining both the successes and the failures, scholars have invoked factors such as geography and social networks, suggesting that market access remains structured and gated, not flat and open. However, the BPO-lead approach to informational development is starting to look outmoded today. Thanks to improving connectivity, individuals in the world's economic peripheries are gaining personal access to the Internet. With this enrolling of billions of people into the global network, a new breed of online marketplaces has emerged to allow buyers to directly procure labour from connected workers. It is at this moment of newfound connectivity that we see value in asking, are online labour marketplaces coming close to realising the vision of a level playing field?

In this paper, we use observational data obtained from marketplace administrators to examine the structuring of the global market for online labour. We focus especially on marketplaces that connect workers in the world's economic peripheries to buyers in economic centres: marketplaces for digital microtasks and online game items. Our analysis is built around three questions: 1) How flat is the market – is revenue evenly distributed among numerous individual sellers, or does a small club of big players dominate? 2) Does distance matter – are revenues the same regardless of location? 3) Who accumulates human capital – do experienced labourers upgrade to higher-value added tasks? Through these analyses, we assess to what extent today's online labor marketplaces are level playing fields, and how their structures have been developing over time. Said differently, we can ask whether inequities of global trade can be addressed by increasing digital connectivity, or whether doing so only reproduces and expands exploitative relationships?

Preliminary results suggest that connectivity evens out some disparities in opportunity but also creates new ones. For example, even as the amount of work contracted through e-lancing marketplace oDesk continues to grow, opportunities for new workers from countries that have recently obtained high-speed Internet connectivity may not be increasing. The reason is that many contracts today are won by early members who have accumulated large amounts of reputation points and are thus in a much stronger position to compete than newcomers. There are indications that at least in some cases, these incumbents have begun to act as new gatekeepers, farming out work to their own pools of labourers.

Leung, Wing-Fai

App Men and Her: Taiwanese online entrepreneurship and gender

Dr Wing-Fai Leung, University College Cork (Ireland)

Taiwan's OEM (original equipment manufacture) industry, an important part of the country's economy in the 1970s and 1980s, has found itself competing with industrializing countries in Asia, most notably the People's Republic of China (PRC). Conversely, the knowledge based economy has become an important growth area for the island, which will ensure its global competitiveness. While many Taiwanese high-tech firms are based on the production of hardware such as semiconductors and computer chips, this study focuses on enterprises that seek to exploit the virtual economy, especially the web 2.0 environment. There are some high profile Taiwanese entrepreneurs in this

sector: Kaifu Lee, Taiwan born ex-head of Google and Microsoft in China, who set up the incubator Innovation Works in 2009; Cher Wang, Chairwoman of the Taiwanese corporation HTC and the chip maker VIA Technologies; Eva Yi-Hwa Chen, co-founder of Trend Micro, an antivirus software and cloud security firm operating out of Tokyo. All three were educated in the USA. While they can serve as model virtual workers, constituting the discourses of creativity and innovation, research into start-up entrepreneurs will shed light into the challenges and successes of businesses in different stages of establishment.

My empirical research considers the biographical and company details of the nascent entrepreneurs and through conducting semi-structured interviews aims to examine factors influencing their businesses including education, training, and national and transnational social and cultural networks. This research paper focuses on the gender dimension of the sector. While there are high profile female entrepreneurs such as the above-named Wang and Chen, personnel of the online economy is predominately male from the entrepreneurs to engineers and junior designers (evident also by my research in the PRC). An analysis of 73 Taiwanese start-up companies on the Angel List website, only 9 of the 118 founders (7.6%) are female (with one founding two enterprises). These virtual enterprises are also more conventionally gendered, including a herbal health site, online design market place and language learning app. Another example by a female entrepreneur with a product aimed at women is Miranda Chang's company Pad peiwang (www.padpad.com.tw), an online subscription service for sanitary products.

Many of these enterprises, especially the established cases, are globally orientated and export focused, but the characteristics of the enterprises should be understood within the notion of Asian capitalism. Equally, the gender bias within the ICT sector is not exclusive to Taiwan but it must also be analysed within the country context because family firms dominate Taiwanese industry, ranging from corporations to SMEs. HTC and Trend Micro started as family concerns, with Wang and Chen coming from wealthy business empires and working with close relatives. This pattern presents a specific impact on the management hierarchy of these companies and the gender relations within. For start-up companies, the family effectively acts as security against high risks, and social capital and social networks translate into the funding model of 'founder, family, friends and fools'.

These small to medium sized businesses rely heavily on social capital and social networks, especially as provided by the family and its internal hierarchy. Social capital and network further impact on the gender specificity within these enterprises, reflected in the product choices and the management structures of the start-ups. While there is no one type of Asian capitalism and one type of Asian business system (Witt and Redding, 2013), this discussion uses the gender dimension of the Taiwanese online economy to shed light on an innovation ecology and as an example of a persistent yet new type of 'Asian entrepreneurship'.

Mandl, Irene and Maurizio Curtarelli

Crowd employment and ICT based, mobile work – Implications on working conditions and the labour market

Irene Mandl and Dr Maurizio Curtarelli, European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (Eurofound) (Ireland)

With the aim to identify emerging employment trends in Europe, the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (Eurofound) launched a research project in 2013, mapping 'new forms of employment', among which are crowd employment and ICT based mobile work. In 2014, in-depth case studies on these employment relationships are elaborated, shedding light on the working conditions of the affected workers and the implications for the labour market.

Crowd employment, understood as matching demand and supply (by an indefinite and unknown group of potential providers) for services and work through virtual platforms, was found as a new or increasingly important employment form in Belgium, the Czech Republic, Germany, Denmark, Greece, Spain, Italy, Latvia, Portugal and the UK. The employment relationship between the buyer and those supplying the services is based on individual agreements. Consequently, it is observed that crowd workers are characterised by low working conditions and wages, poor representation and social protection. At the same time, high levels of autonomy, better possibilities to combine multiple jobs and a better work-life balance is observed. From a labour market perspective, it is feared that pay systems and pay levels of crowd employment undermine traditional forms of wage setting and that jobs are increasingly offshored. From a positive side, crowd employment is assessed to provide freelancers with job opportunities, including first work experience for young job starters.

ICT based mobile work, that is work which is mainly conducted outside of the employer's or client's premises, with strong dependency on ICT, is emerging in half of the EU Member States and Norway. Often, it is linked to other new employment forms, notably crowd employment, but also coworking or portfolio work. As regards the implications of ICT based, mobile work on working conditions, both positive and negative effects are observed. While some workers appreciate the higher autonomy and flexibility, leading to a better work-life balance, others suffer from work intensification, isolation and less personal interaction with coworkers and superiors as well as blurring boundaries between work and private life. The use of modern technologies, on the one hand, results in improved communication and access to information, but on the other hand can drive bore out as commissioned tasks are small and repetitive. From a labour market perspective, ICT based, mobile work is assessed positively as it contributes to upskilling and organisational efficiency gains. However, there is the danger that employers and employees cannot adapt to the accelerating technological developments and consequently fall behind.

From a policy perspective, an important challenge related to both crowd employment and ICT based, mobile work is that neither is subject to specific legal regulation, leaving it to the discretion of the employer/buyer and worker to arrange acceptable working conditions and social protection as well as intellectual property rights. A balance between ensuring employers'/buyers' flexibility and workers' protection needs to be found, particularly in those countries considering fostering these employment forms in the framework of national growth or innovation strategies.

Mazali, Tatiana

Digital creativity professionals in Italy: a national survey

Dr Tatiana Mazali, DIST Interuniversity Department of Regional and Urban Studies and Planning, Polytechnic University of Turin (Italy)

The paper presents the final results of an empirical research focused on digital creativity professions in Italy. Local socio economical environment and global network communities, the do-it-yourself and self-entrepreneurship culture, decentralized forms of explorative learning and mutual adaptation: all these are examples of the dynamics that characterize the complex world of digital culture and digital creativity professions. My project consists in two studies:

- Field research over a sample group of young-adult professionals of digital creativity in Italy (in the field of content production, media-oriented digital professions: Videomaking, animation, web/mobile applications, visual and graphic design).
- Desk research on the international models of digital creativity (cluster, network, ecosystem).

The specific features of analysis are: digital professions culture and praxis; needs and expectations; perception of the current crisis. The Frameworks within which to study these professions are:



Knowledge Economy and knowledge workers; Creative and Cultural Economy and Industries (CCE-CCI) and digital creativity workers.

Field research is based on questionnaires (CAWI questionnaire - starting September 2013 ending February 2014) and in-depth one-on-one interviews (starting September ending November 2013).

First Findings that will be discussed:

- Professionals of digital creativity mostly have a high-level training/specialisation, they begin to work young, their working profile is mainly as freelancer and independent contractor, in general they earn low or even very inadequate wages.

- Key points (based on the strength of the results from the questionnaires) concerning digital creativity professionals are:

1. Self-learning

All the subjects consider self learning strategies as being most important for their professional evolution. Digital creative professions initially need and imply specific, in-depth formation, and furthermore relevantly rely on continuous, informal, yet highly specific, training.

2. Team work: a new myth?

Since digital media projects are more complex (due to the convergence/transmediality phenomenon that changes the overall digital chain), they demand a high amount of interdisciplinary work, usually delivered through the cooperation of specialized experts.

Teamwork is a strategy for self-improvement ("one learns from others/colleagues") and the improvement of projects with regards to both general quality and final results ("If the results are finer, it's everyone's gain"). The critical question is: does collaboration replace competition?

3. The Fablab Model

The fundamental dimension of concrete praxis (and authorship) is a specific hallmark of digital creativity professionals. The critical question is: do we pass from virtual creators to digital artisans? And what does this mean?

4. What is flexibility?

Digital creatives appear to express many different motivations about their work, but they mostly rely on the lack of repetitiveness in their professional activity, and on the possibility of constantly taking on changes and getting to face new challenges. The critical question is: How do they deal with precarity?

5. Digital shadows

The current difficulties most creatives appear to be facing appear to have been provoked by the economical crisis (the difficulty to transform and convert one's own cultural capital into economical capital). Beyond these difficulties, our creatives mention a condition of frustration and uneasiness provoked by what they themselves define as "a chronic lack of acknowledgement from the surrounding world" (a difficulty which we may define as one of a symbolic order).

The critical question is: What hides behind this source of frustration with regard to personal identity? The paper will present the key findings critically, especially focusing on changes in skills and occupational identities in the digital economy.

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McKercher, Catherine

Converging Toward Precarity: Journalism in the digital world

Professor , School of Journalism and Communication, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada

Plenary Speaker

Presentation will be available on conference website

Moral, Lucía del and Ivana Pais

Time-base exchange as a feminized altruistic process? Confronting digital and traditional time banks in Italy and Spain

Dr Lucía del Moral, COMPOLITICAS-Taraceas S.Coop. (Spain)

Dr Ivana Pais, Università Cattolica del Sacro, Milano (Italy)

The origins of timebanking in Europe go back to the early 90's (Amorevole y Guareschi 1997; Amorevole 1999; Coluccia 2001). However, since 2008, in a context of what has been called a "multidimensional global crisis" (Fernández Durán 2011) or a "polycrisis" (Morin 2011), they have experienced a peak. Over the last few years TBs and other practices which integrate what used to be considered as separated spheres of action (work, consumption and participation) are becoming more and more popular.

These emerging forms of interaction in working patterns are characterized by the logic of co-production, the reduction of stages of intermediation, peer to peer practices (Benkler 2011, Sennett 2012), the importance of reputation, network organization and the blurring boundaries between working and free time, private and public space, online and offline. In particular, the birth of the prosumer (Toffler 1987) and the practice of produsage (Burns 2008) highlights the collapse of the distinction between work and consumption and between work and participation, opening up possibilities for collaborative networks among volunteers for the creation of immaterial "commons" (Ostrom 1990). There is an increasing number of spaces, mainly digital, where users test products and give information for the design and improvement of those products in a logic of coproduction (often voluntary and unpaid).

What is the role of gender in these issues? Previous research confirms the overwhelming role that women play in these kind of initiatives, especially in time banks (Boyle, 2013) while they seem to be underrepresented in other for example coworking spaces (Deskmag, 2013). Some initiatives, such as barter networks or social currencies, have been seen as possible women empowerment tools (Pereyra 2007; Walker 2012) and TBs as a tool to foster work-life balance (Torns, 2001, Gisbert 2010). In addition to this, they, theoretically, break up with some of the founding dichotomies of the still hegemonic androcentric economic perspectives (public/private, work/non-work, paid/unpaid) (Nelson 1995).

In this picture a crucial role is played by the evolution in communication technology over the last ten years and the availability of digital channels. Internet and digital communication allow the diffusion of "personalized networking" (Wellman 2001) and of network sociality as the dominant pattern of social relation: individuals have wider networking possibilities and they can easily build "ad hoc" communities around their identity, or interests and life styles. Meanwhile, they implement forms of horizontal communication many-to-many, facilitating the creation of networked communities (Castells 2007) or networked collectivism (Baym 2010)

These processes have opened new horizons for timebanking. Not only global digital TBs have been created but also traditional TBs have integrated digital technologies in their organizational schema. This brings opportunities and challenges in relation to at least two relevant issues in TB: gender parity and reciprocity. Previous literature on timebanking has revealed, on the one hand, the

over-representation of women in timebanking. On the other, that while TB managers tend to emphasize timebanking's dimension of utilitarian exchanges and reciprocity; TB users tend to understand timebanking as a space for giving in an altruistic way.

This paper emerges from a transnational case study research involving 6 different TBs. The selection of the cases intended to cover the whole spectrum of successful TB from the pure off-line to the pure on-line, the mixed and hybridized TBs. The Spanish TBs are: Ecolocal TB; Malaga TB, and Communitats. The Italian TBs are Milano TB, BdT Modena and Timerepublik. The study is based on a mixed method approach including in depth interviews with TB managers and TB members, a questionnaire for the members and participant observation both online and offline (member meetings, online forums...). In addition to that, several interviews with experts have been conducted.

The main objective of this research is to confront on-line and off-line TB. Specifically, we analyze whether their members' profile, their expressed purpose, the kind of services, the nature of the exchange (reciprocity-altruism) show different patterns in on-line and off-line TB. The main hypothesis of the paper is that online TB tend to balance the over representation of women in TBs and to promote reciprocity vs altruism.

Mosco, Vincent

Lost in the Cloud: Virtual Work in a Material World

Dr Vincent Mosco is Professor Emeritus, Queen's University (Canada)

Plenary Speaker

Presentation will be available on conference website

Moser, Karin

Effects of cultural background and professional status on emotional and behavioural reactions in electronic communication between health care professionals

Dr Karin Moser, Department of Psychology, University of Roehampton London (UK)

This paper extends knowledge about the effects of status and cultural background on norm violation perceptions within virtual communications. There is little research on the role of norms in virtual work, and still less that considers the interaction between status, cultural background and norms, and yet professional status and cultural background and norm perceptions are central in regulating group processes at work and in virtual collaborations. Computer-mediated communication (CMC) is today one of the main ways of professional interaction, also in the health care sector, for example between doctors and nurses, but also in patient care (e-health provision) and for record keeping and exchange of information among medical institutions. Although electronic media facilitate communication in many ways, they are also a great challenge given the large number of collaborators and institutions from many different backgrounds, both professionally as well as culturally.

Communication may also be affected by the different cultural and social background of collaborators. For example, emails can be misunderstood, because collaborators may have different cultural norms governing the relationships between people of different status or different professional groups. Such misunderstandings may negatively influence collaboration and affect performance outcomes. This study aims to improve electronic communications amongst health care

organisations and professionals and to help develop electronic collaboration within and between organisations, also in an intercultural context.

In an experimental study with a 3 (sender status) x 3 (receiver status) x 2 (cultural background) factorial design 146 doctors and 84 nurses from UK hospitals participated as two distinct status groups. In an online survey, the same email violating several formality norms was either 'received' from someone of the same, lower or higher status (nurse or doctor) and with the same or a different cultural background from the sender. Emotional, attributional and behavioural reactions to the emails were measured alongside various controls (e.g., age, familiarity with technology).

We found an out-group bias with both more negative reactions towards, and a stronger perception of norm violations for out-group senders with respect to professional status. Furthermore, reactions were stronger from higher status individuals, particularly in response to senders of lower status. There was also some evidence of lenience and compliance towards higher status senders from receivers of lower status. Overall, norm violations by in-group members resulted in the harshest reactions, irrespective of status.

Consistent with this, a different cultural background resulted in less negative emotional reactions to the sender (such as anger or guilt) than with senders from the same cultural background as the receiver, and there was also a higher willingness to comply with the sender's request if he or she was from a different cultural background. However, there was also an interaction effect between cultural background and professional status, showing that only higher or same status individuals profited from a more tolerant attitude and higher compliance if they had a different cultural background, but not lower status individuals, indicating that the different perceptual processes might lead to discrimination and inequality.

Our research extends previous studies on norm violations and electronic communication and our understanding of the complex inter-relationship between norms, status and culture in virtual contexts. Overall, it supports previous research about inter-group processes and in-group favouritism and outgroup bias and suggests that special care is required in email communication especially in an intercultural context, as those of high status might get away with more and unintentionally discriminate against lower status professionals from a different cultural background. This is of special concern in the field of health care as the harsher emotional and behavioural reactions might lead to faulty information processing and a lower willingness to act on information received.

Nakrosiene, Audrone

Satisfaction with telework and the influence of telework on individual's work-life balance

Audrone Nakrosiene, ISM University of Management and Economics (Lithuania)

Information technology has become such an integral part of the office environment that physical location of working place is less important than ever before. The labour market has changed considerably over the past few decades, moving towards more flexible working time and work organisation arrangements (Eurofound, 2010). An ability to work from home has increased the possibility for women with children, students and disabled persons to enter the labour market (Reaney, 2013). Telework, which is defined as a work performed at home or a satellite office to reduce commuting (Nilles, 1992), is attracting much attention as an alternative way to organise work. According to a new Ipsos/Reuters, "about one in five workers around the globe, particularly employees in the Middle East, Latin America and Asia, telecommute frequently and nearly 10 per

cent work from home every day“ (Reaney, 2013). Telework is expanding rapidly and over 1.3 billion people will work virtually within a few years (Johns and Gratton, 2013).

The work done from other place than traditional office has various definitions: virtual work, telecommuting, home-based teleworking, mobile telework, remote work, etc. The lack of common understanding of the work done from other place than traditional office make difficult to evaluate this phenomenon and to quantify different empirical and statistical data.

Numerous research studies have pointed out a variety of advantages, as well as challenges of telework for individuals, organisations and society. But there are contradictory arguments regarding negative or positive telework influence on a work-life balance. Some researchers supports the idea that telework increases work-life balance, because of time planning freedom (Salaff (2002); Morgan (2004)) and other factors, while other research results show that teleworkers work overtime (Bailey and Kurland (2002); Madsen (2011)) that have a negative influence on a work-life balance.

The contradictory results among the scholars regarding the telework phenomenon raise the question what factors make influence on individual’s satisfaction with telework and whether telework makes positive or negative influence on a work-life balance.

The purpose of the paper is to clarify the telework concept, to present the advantages and challenges of telework, to show the influence of demographical and other factors that make influence on overall satisfaction with telework and what influence telework makes on a work-life balance.

Research methodology - the study is based on a web survey of 128 teleworkers representing different sectors in Lithuania. Statistical data analysis allowed identifying factors influencing satisfaction with telework, the influence of telework on a work - life balance depending on the demographical aspects (gender, age, marital status, number of children, etc.), intensity of telework and working place at home. Work-life balance was measured using Netermeyer (1996) measurement scale.

The main research findings – it was identified that the main factors influencing the satisfaction with telework were manager’s trust and support, time planning freedom, possibility to work more productively. The highest satisfaction with telework was indicated by teleworkers not older than 33 years, those who don’t have children and those who telework not all time, but once per week or once per month. Teleworkers indicated the overtime when teleworking. The lowest work-life balance was indicated by those teleworkers who telework all the time. The research showed that 88,7 per cent of the respondents were satisfied having a telework possibility, and 75,4 per cent of respondents would select an organization providing teleworking opportunities.

Main contribution of the research – the research provides an in-depth assessment of the challenges of telework that teleworkers and organisations meet, as well as the factors influencing satisfaction with telework and telework influence on a work-life balance.

Managerial implications - the findings of the research could provide knowledge about the relationship between telework and work-life balance and may be used to develop more integrative job/work disengagement programs that facilitate effective human resource planning.

Noronha, Ernesto and Premilla D’Cruz

Legal process outsourcing in India: A move up the value chain?

Ernesto Noronha and Premilla D’Cruz, Professors of Organisational Behaviour, Indian Institute of Management in Ahmadabad (India)

Legal process outsourcing (LPO) forms part of global offshoring, with a large number of American jobs being relocated to India. Debates ensue about the nature of job design and work organization in such instances, raising questions as to whether LPO falls into the realm of knowledge process

outsourcing (KPO) where high-end tasks predominate. This qualitative inquiry into Indian LPO firms shows that offshored legal work comprises low-end tasks with limited complexity, autonomy and variety combined with high controls and quality measures that meet American ethical requirements. Service level agreements facilitate such migration of work which contributes to the competitive advantage of clients and vendors. Yet Indian lawyers who are the employees in such firms face a paradox. That is, while Indian lawyers employed in LPO firms benefit in terms of expansion of employment opportunities, the simplified, standardized and routinized nature of offshored legal work precludes any transformation of the Indian legal profession.

Pitts, Frederick Harry

Form-giving fire: value production and the creative industries as Marx's 'work of combustion'
Department of Social and Policy Sciences, University of Bath

Frederick Harry Pitts, PhD candidate, Department of Social and Policy Sciences at the University of Bath (UK)

This paper speaks to the broader question of what exactly value creation is and exactly how we can speak about value creation with reference to the creative and digital economy. It will do this by means of a critical rereading of Marx's treatment of the topic of productive and unproductive labour. The paper will consider the role played by the work that takes place in the sphere of circulation- what Marx calls the 'work of combustion'- in the operation of the law of value as theorised in Marxian approaches. This discussion will reference one type of circulation work in particular, that of the creative and cultural industries, with a particular emphasis upon design, advertising and branding. One specific approach will be utilised, an interpretation of Marx's theory of value which emphasises value as being subject to the social validation of abstract labour by means of exchange. In so doing, the paper will focus on the question of productive and unproductive labour, for the simple reason that it is in the various considerations of productive and unproductive labour in Marx's oeuvre that we find the most direct engagement with so-called 'circulation workers' and the specific role they play in the production of value. By looking at design, advertising, branding and related fields more closely with reference to value-form interpretations of the law of value, the intention of this piece is to give a reconstruction of the theory of productive and unproductive labour that does away with many of its key assumptions, and situates the distinction between the two as internal to the law of value rather than as one of its foundations.

An examination of the 'work of combustion' highlights why and how poles of valorisation other than merely that of labour should have attributed to them greater credit in the question of where value-productivity lies. In this paper, focusing on the creative and cultural industries as a case study, it will be seen that the examination of the economic activities of which circulation is composed from the standpoint of a reconstructed theory of both the value-form and productive and unproductive labour helps expose the essentially retrospective nature of productivity, and the way in which the criterion of productivity is located in exchange rather than in labour. The cultural and creative industries, particularly fields such as advertising and design, and the circulation workers who are their functionaries, can be seen to play a more integral part in the production of value than might commonly be conceived. In 'realising' value, to use the more familiar Marxian parlance, they simultaneously 'produce' it. It is the liquidation of the distinction between realisation and production that concurrently liquidates the orthodox distinction between productive and unproductive labour.

The paper concludes that advertising, design and other activities of circulation and combustion are productive not on the basis set forth by the traditional Marxist understanding of productiveness, but on a more profound level. They make productiveness possible, by creating the conditions where value can be realised. It is the contention of this paper that production and

productivity do not have a concrete existence, save for their appearance as a residue of the labour process in exchange. At the moment whereby value is 'realised' and thus brought into being, so too is brought into being the possibility of its having been 'produced' at all. The role of circulation work such as design and advertising within this is to create saleable commodities out of the simple products of labour, attaching to pre-existing use-values another layer of significance which styles them in such a way to attract the desire and wants of consumers, and creating new use-values by creating new needs where neither were present previously. Without this, there is a lessened likelihood of exchange, and without exchange, the impossibility of value.

Primorac, Jaka

Towards more insecurity? Virtual work and sustainability of creative labour

Dr Jaka Primorac, Institute for Development and International Relations (IRMO) (Croatia)

The interest in research on creative labour in the last two decades concentrated mainly on the changing working practices and conditions of employed in the field of cultural and creative industries. Although cultural and creative industries are heavily influenced by the digitalization processes, it is intriguing to note that the input of virtual work in these industries has been researched marginally. Previous research has shown that the vulnerability of the creative (cultural) workers (Banks, 2007) is connected to the contradiction between artistic autonomy and creativity on the one hand and the market and income on the other. These contradictions are inscribed in the productivity type as well as in the organizational contexts of the cultural and creative industries (Hesmondhalgh, 2002). Creative (cultural) workers are in constant conflict both with external and with internal control mechanisms that limit their autonomy, but that contribute to self-exploitation (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2011) and thus to the deepening of their precarious situation. The precarity of their position stems from the type of labour and employment in cultural and creative industries that is by definition atypical and non-standard with the elements of non-paid work and under-employment to use Edgell's (2006) categorization. In addition, the nature of creative (cultural) work demands long-term temporal and financial investment into various skills and expertise (McRobbie, 2002; Barada, 2011). Unlike the former notions that these labour and employment types are liberative and emancipatory, it has been shown that they contribute to the reproduction of the already present class, gender and ethnic inequalities in the contemporary capitalist societies (Hesmondhalgh, 2002; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2011). These workers cannot be purely defined as 'virtual workers' as their labour practices encompass both 'real' and 'virtual' dimensions. However, researchers of creative labour seldom investigate the input of virtual work to the daily working practices of creative (cultural) workers – it is more taken for granted and seldom discussed. The exceptions are Terranova (2000) who focused more on creative workers dealing with digital content, or e.g. Burston, Dyer-Witthford and Hearn, (2010) with their focus on 'digital labour'.

Furthermore, Hesmondhalgh (2010) criticized the prevailing focus of research in 'digital labour' on the position of 'users' and 'prosumers' rather than 'professional workers'. He also highlighted how one has to approach the notion of 'exploitation' in creative labour and virtual work more carefully so as to put the negative trends in creative labour in the adequate political framework. The diminishing of labour rights of creative cultural workers, the increase of unpaid labour in cultural and creative industries and the decline in the professional standards (to name but few problems of creative labour) have to be taken into account and researched in order to bring about adequate policy solutions for the development of models for sustainable creative labour. In this article I will try to overview the input of the 'virtual' work in the creative cultural workers practices, in order to decipher its' input to the prevailing insecurity and overall precariousness of

creative labour. This will be done in order to outline the possible policy implications for the development of sustainable creative labour models, oriented primarily towards 'professional workers' in cultural and creative industries.

Ramioul, Monique

Understanding the impact of offshore outsourcing on work: what can we learn from the business functions approach?

Monique Ramioul, University of KU Leuven

Plenary Speaker

Presentation will be available on conference website

Rapaport, David

Laughing All the Way to the Data Bank: The Privatization of Information Technology in the Ontario Public Service (1975-2000)

David Rapaport, Trent University (Canada)

The Canadian State has been systematically privatizing Information Technology (IT) since the 1970's. My research explores IT privatization in the Ontario Public Service (OPS) within the wider context of neo-liberal state restructuring, specifically New Public Management (NPM) and its impact on the IT labour market in the public sector. Ontario is the largest provincial jurisdiction in Canada.

There has been substantial research on the polarization of skills and compensation in the international IT labour market, on employer programs to deskill computer programmers and systems analysts and on the increase in precarious working conditions at the lower ends of the IT labour market. This paper describes how IT out-sourcing and privatization contribute to the concentration of technical and organizational skills in the consultant elite of the IT labour hierarchy and how precarity at the top end of this labour market often translates into higher compensation rates, prestige and more influential and creative work assignments.

The so-called 'creative class,' which includes IT consultants, is more willing to acquire risk, long hours, and precarious working conditions when balanced with the opportunity for higher compensation rates and more challenging assignments. They are less interested in job security, benefits and social solidarity. In competition with in-house IT staff, IT consultants receive backing from state managers, particularly in the unionized public sector.

IT privatization is actively opposed by public sector unions in the course of collective bargaining and in the arena of grievance/arbitration. As an employer, the OPS seeks to weaken the influence of unions in its IT labour market. Yet it ironically enhances the influence of more powerful institutions, multinational management consulting and IT service providing corporations. My research uncovered a middle-level management resistance to IT privatization in the early 1980s as costs escalated and influence and skills were divested. Archival evidence indicates a noticeable decrease in IT contracting-out in the late 1980's. However, following the election of an unabashed neo-liberal government in Ontario in 1995, IT privatization re-emerged more aggressively in the form of Public-Private Partnerships.

IT privatization engenders the divestment of technical skills and systems development knowledge from the public sector to independent consultants and IT service providers such as Accenture, EDS and IBM. The transfer of skills enhances state dependency on the knowledge pools of external sources, undermining basic Knowledge Management (KM) principles. Outside consultants acquire the more creative and responsible positions in systems development projects. Thus, in a cycle of procurement and dependency, IT service providers acquire the latest skills which are then leveraged for future contracts. Furthermore, my research indicates that the contracting-

out of the design and the development of IT systems is inefficient; costs are higher, managers lose control of essential IT systems, the state becomes dependent on external sources and internal capacity is weakened.

My research speaks to the panel's theme on "changes in skills and occupational identities in the digital economy." Using interviews, archival material and public documents, I critically examine the restructuring of the IT labour market in the public sector. The privatization of information technology occurs within the intersection of state transformation, privatization, expanding venues for capital accumulation, labour market transformation, IT skills hierarchies, information-age transition and technological change. It has produced a techno-worker elite that contracts their work with large organizations such as the Ontario Government. With their wizard status, they promise the path to an orderly technological transformation for organizations horrified by the spectre of new technologies and terrified by the prospect of not implementing tech change and falling behind. The IT labour elite is both the creation of neo-liberal policies and the vehicle of IT privatization.

David Rapaport worked as an Information Technology programmer/analyst for the Ontario Government for twenty-five years. David also served on the executive of the Ontario Public Service Employees Union and in that capacity was active in the union's struggle against IT privatization. Upon David's retirement in 2009, he embarked on a late-life academic journey in the PhD program at Trent University in Peterborough, Ontario. He is currently writing his thesis, "Rewiring the State: IT privatization in the Ontario Public Service."

Refslund, Bjarke

The political Economy of Danish firms international sourcing – implications for wages and employment

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In the increasingly integrated international economy firms become more fragmented as they outsource various business functions or activities, while at the same time experiencing increasing competition (Feenstra 1998; Gereffi 2013). Firms can transfer tasks or different business functions to external partners either at the domestic or international level or it can be relocated within the firm e.g. to subsidiary corporations abroad. Functions or jobs moved abroad are often labelled offshoring. These changes in the international (as well as national) division of labour can have profound impact on the organisation of the involved societies (as well as the companies) through wage and employment developments e.g. changing job qualification needs, but also the overall economic performance. Despite the significance of the phenomena social scientist still don't know much about the empirical implications nor the scope and scale, which is mainly due to the fact that the relocation or offshoring process is very difficult to trace in macro data.

Since the decision is taken at the firm level a survey approach seems much more promising in determining the extent and impact of this phenomenon, especially as to the employment effects, since trade statistics etc. can't provide much information on this. Statistics Denmark have conducted two major surveys on relocation/offshoring; one covering the period of 2001-2006 and the second covering 2009-2011. Despite being part of a broader Eurostat framework, the Danish survey data provides high quality data, mainly due to the very high reply rate, since the survey was mandatory in Denmark. These internationally unique data are combined with Danish census data that matches employers and employees with large amounts of data information e.g. employment, educational composition of the labour force, wages as well as firm characteristic as size, turn-over, industry and so forth.

This paper explores these data on relocation/offshoring to answer some of the fundamental questions on how the political economy of the Danish welfare state is affected by relocation and offshoring processes. The emphasis in the analysis is on how firms that have relocated activities, mainly internationally, but also to some extent domestically, and workers in these firm, fare compared with firms that have not done so. The main research questions addressed in the analysis:

- How are employment levels affected? Doesn't relocation let to aggregate job losses as often feared in public?
- Are wages driven down by an increasing international division of labour?
- How are the competitive positions of the firms affected? Are companies that relocate or offshore in a stronger position?

Rigi, Jakob

Peer Production and the Dethroning of the Productive Labor For Capital From the Vintage of the Cognitive Labor

Dr Jakob Rigi, Central European University (Hungary)

From the point of view of humanity at large and transhistorically any labor producing use value (a hard object subject to wear and tear, an ephemeral service consumed on the spot of production such as care or education, or universal-eternal commons of knowledge) is productive. From the point of view of capital, however, only the labor that directly produces surplus value is productive, and all other labors are unproductive. Thus the dichotomy between productive and unproductive labor is specific to the capitalist mode of production. That the Soviet political economy also upheld the dichotomy indicates its capitalist orientation.

In 1960s, the intertwined rise of feminism and the expansion of the service sector which was, and still is, overwhelmingly run by women labor made the dichotomy the subject of a heated debate among Marxists.

Those Marxists who considered factory workers the vanguard of the class struggle claimed that only the labor that produced hard objects was productive. Outside agriculture and manufacturing, they claimed, only the labors spent on services which were required for preservation, transportation and modification of these hard commodities were productive and the rest of human labor was unproductive.

The feminist Marxists critiquing the male bias of this approach demonstrated that: 1) Women reproductive labor played a central role in the sustaining and reproduction of the capitalist system of exploitation. 2) The labor employed in the private profit making service enterprises produce value and surplus value.

Marx and Engels writings are rather supportive of the feminist position. Engels in his *The Origins of Family, Private Property and State* argued that production and reproduction equally constituted the material base of society. Marx, though not always consistent, argued that any labor that was exchanged with capital, regardless of its form was productive for the latter. Notwithstanding their political and theoretical achievements, feminist Marxists, to my knowledge, have not critiqued the privileged position of productive labor in the Marxist discourse. They have merely expanded the scope of productive labor. This paper aims at dethroning this privileged position of productive labor from the vintage of cognitive labor.

Adopting a celebratory attitude towards the unproductive labor, the paper attempts to demonstrate that relation between this labor and capital is far more antagonistic than that between productive labor and capital. The reasons for this are as follows. The first expresses an antagonism between two totally heterogeneous phenomena namely use value and value. The second is an antagonism within the value form itself. In other words, while productive labor is abstract and in this

sense homologous to capital, the unproductive labor remains always concrete. Therefore, the subjugation of unproductive labor by capital leads to far more explicit and explosive antagonisms. Furthermore, unproductive labor standing for use value represents the interests of humanity against capital.

I argue that cognitive labor, defined as labor that produces concepts, is in all circumstances unproductive for capital. While unproductive labor does not produce directly value and surplus value, it is indispensable for such production. In other words, the very existence of the capitalist mode of production relies on an element that remains alien to it and cannot successfully be assimilated into its logic, i.e. abstract value. Therefore, unproductive labor, particularizes, historicizes and de-naturalizes capital and reminds us of the possibility of alternatives to capitalism. Hence, the current hegemony of cognitive and affective labors in the contemporary economy can become the driving force for transcending capitalism.

The paper focusing on the role of cognitive labor in peer production in a couple of hacker spaces, attempts to demonstrate that peer production's regime of value makes productive the very forms of labor that capital renders them unproductive.

Ryser, Thomas; Elisabeth Angerer and Hartmut Schulze

Towards a model of collective competences for distributed collaboration in a global context

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In the age of globalization and the associated expansion of virtual work forms, a new type of collaboration that is of increasing economic significance is emerging. Global and virtual collaboration means to manage complex group dynamics due to cultural heterogeneity, geographical distance and computer mediated communication. An extensive literature review including models of intercultural, computer mediated communication as well as team level competences revealed that Individual level competences - which are often seen as pre-requirements for successful collaboration - do not significantly predict effectiveness and efficiency in global and virtual contexts. Concepts operationalized on the collective level have a higher predictive value (c.f. Gröschke, 2010; Hertel, Konradt, & Voss, 2006). In different disciplines and national research communities ideas and models to conceptualize competences on the collective level have been developed, but an integrative model and operationalization of competences for global and virtual collaborations is still missing.

This integrative framework for global and virtual collaboration competences will be outlined from the insights of an extensive literature review on collective competences and be used as sensitizing framework for an explorative expert survey to conceptualize collective competences for global and virtual collaborative work forms. The development of the model will be grounded in an explorative-qualitative expert study. Following the principles of explorative heuristic research (c.f. Kleining & Witt, 2001) the study is guided by a maximal variation of disciplinary and field related perspectives on globally distributed collaborative work. The variation of perspectives thereby should enable the development of an integrative preliminary model for pragmatically required collective competences to generally co-create new practices in distributed work and thus create new forms of social, organizational, process- and product related innovations in globally distributed socio-technical systems.

Salamon, Errol

Digital Media Labour Organising: A Profile of the Precariat Newsworker

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Precarity has been used increasingly as a term to explain key political, economic, cultural, and technological changes in labour processes in a contemporary creative or knowledge economy. At the same time, information and communication technologies (ICTs) have expanded the ways in which workers organise against these precarious labour conditions. In my paper, I draw on Guy Standing's (2011) related concept, "the precariat," to develop a profile of one media worker identity in this economy for which digital labour organising is central: the precariat newsworker. To build this profile, I link the cybertariat with the autonomous worker, two precarious labour profiles outlined in the political economy of communication literature (de Peuter, 2011). The precariat newsworker illuminates the contradictory tensions of a heterogeneous class-in-the-making, an exploited class that is positioned to not only accept flexible, unstable, and insecure forms of work but also resist these conditions through autonomous labour practices. These practices can help to imagine collectively built and democratic communication systems for the precariat newsworker as well as determine lessons for a broader class of precarious workers.

As regards the cybertariat, I consider Vincent Mosco's (2009) North American tradition of the political economy of communication, particularly in connection to journalism, as well as Ursula Huws' (2003) feminist approach to labour process theory. The processes of commodification and of structuration are entry points, serving as a general theoretical focus to guide this part of my framework. In a creative, knowledge economy, the exploitative division of news labour has been reorganised significantly through the extensive use of ICTs. In the news gathering process, ICTs have exasperated the separation of conception and execution of work in the shift from the news print shop of the 19th century to the contemporary news conglomerate; led increasingly to the differentiation and professional specialisation of news labour, which have been structured along technological lines; led news organisations to incorporate the newest technologies in the news process to create a discourse of speed and brevity; and contributed to the deskilling and multiskilling of journalistic labour (Örnebring, 2010). Labour as a standpoint of resistance and media activism are major tendencies of this political economic approach that are indispensable for my framework. These tendencies signal collective responses to precarious news labour: self-organised and non-traditional worker associations as well as alternative media. Some workers that do not often share a centralised workspace, such as freelance newsworkers, have used digital media to establish and sustain new worker associations, like the Canadian Freelance Union and the Washington Alliance of Technology Workers, to resist transnational corporate domination and link traditional unions with professional associations (Mosco & McKercher, 2008).

After outlining this profile of the cybertariat, I describe the autonomous worker, starting with how it has been developed in Hardt and Negri's (2000, 2004, 2009) trilogy of books and in the broader Italian autonomist Marxian literature. Exploitative immaterial labour—of which digital communication is central—is immanent to this vision. Like the cybertariat, the autonomous worker elucidates practices and strategies for worker resistance: autonomous media and collective worker organisations. Independent media centres or Indymedia are a key example of the autonomous worker response: dialogic, participatory, and collectively-run digital-based networks of print and video news (Uzelman, 2012). Finally, I consider why (counter) hegemonic practices and strategies associated with theories of knowledge labour clash with autonomous theories of labour.

By introducing these worker profiles, I build on political economy of communication scholarship. Unlike some of this scholarship, my aim is to not only understand and critique the commodified and precarious labour process of news work but also offer autonomous and alternative strategies to resist, change, or transform the conditions of the precariat newsworker and the news labour process. A discussion about the cybertariat and the autonomist worker can expand the broader debate regarding labour resistance. It can provide an opening to consider not only policy reform and the organising of big trade unions but also the immanent and autonomous organising strategies of rank-and-file newsworkers at the core of which is the digital dimension of labour organising.

Sarikakis, Katharine

Changing geographies of production and consumption in the global online porn industry: the impact on sex workers

Professor Katherine Sarikakis, Department of Communication, University of Vienna (Austria)

Plenary Speaker

Presentation will be available on conference website

Schmiede, Rudi

Digital Labour and the accumulation of capital – Plenary Session

Professor Rudi Schmiede, Department of Sociology, TU Darmstadt (Germany)

I would like to locate digital labour not only within the labour theory of value, but within the total process of capital accumulation. To do this I would start off with the Marxian distinction between productive and unproductive labour: productive labour has to fulfill the two conditions of producing value (which is also realised) and of producing a use-value which enters again into the process of capital accumulation.

This implies that not only the productive creation of value (and surplus-value) but also its realisation (as detailed in the 2nd volume and the first chapters of the 3rd vol. of Capital) play a crucial role for the accumulation of capital, or that the circulation process of capital is equally important as the production process.

Based on that my first thesis is that one of the main effects of the digitisation (or informatisation) of work is the acceleration and increasing efficiency of the realisation of value, i.e. the acceleration of the turn-over of capital (a substantial increase in the turn-over speed of capital increases profitability of capital as much as a substantial increase of the rate of surplus-value in the production process); it seems to have developed into one of the most important counter-tendencies against the falling rate of profit. The intensification of work which is a nearly universal tendency in both processes is contributor to and expression of these acceleration processes. The connection between these two sides of valorisation is intensified by the real integration of production and realisation work as we find it e.g. in mass production industries (like cars, furniture etc.) and in the contemporary forms of consumer work.

In the value theory of labour transport work is usually seen as productive labour since the commodity is of use (a use-value) only at its place and in its context of destination. Therefore, my second thesis is that digital labour plays a crucial role in the revolution of international transport

which has taken place in the past four decades – although one should not neglect the enormous changes on the material side of mobility.

The digitisation (or informatisation) of work means that a substantial part of it deals with abstract processes, rules, algorithms etc and the corresponding technologies. So (the first part of) my third thesis is that we witness massive processes of the material realisation of abstract labour – a real abstraction from work which is an important dimension of alienation. However, since the world as a whole is not working along algorithmic formulas, the inevitable holes and breaks between the informatised fields and processes have to be bridged by human intelligent activities, i.e. by experience, knowledge, and communication. Therefore the second part of this thesis is that the abstractification of work and its subjectification are two – albeit necessarily contradictory – parts of the coin of contemporary development of digital labour.

Simon, Jean Paul

The Digital Shift in the Media and Content Industries

Jean Paul Simon

Plenary Speaker

Presentation will be available on conference website

Smrke, Jurij

The emperor's new spectacles

Jurij Smrke, Goldsmiths College, University of London (UK)

Not so long ago Marx exposed the attitude that the *subjects* of capitalism generally assume towards one of the central technocultural forms of their societies - the commodity. The invisibility of the social character of its qualities that are the result and the cause of the specific organization assumed around the challenge to produce subsistence, results in a fetishistic treatment of the products of labour. Ironically, not so long after Marx, our sociality is exponentially becoming visible to us. It seems as if, in a reversal of roles, we can now see the social, without recognizing its "objective" character - the fact that it is extracted and thrown in front of us (objète), quantified, commodified and fed back into our conscious or non-conscious, discursive or non-discursive attitudes towards the world; the fact that, for an individual, the sublime and overpowering character of a technocultural form is a real abstraction, an influential factor, a dispositif endowed with a rationality. We can recognize this remediated visibility of the social on various platforms, which enable its users to approach the management of their sociality in proto-sociological ways, based on various automatically quantified indicators of interactions. While Google Glass and other wearable technologies are only yet surfacing, it already seems considerably clear that they might continue along the set trajectory - "they" (will) afford ever more meticulous databasing of our socio-bio-spatial actions. They are extensions of already existing networks.

Such a set-up presents interesting challenges to the study of value, labour, power, knowledge and subjectivity. Most notably it creates a rift that many have attempted to reconcile - on the one hand the (non) visibility of the social relations that make up the commodity form and on the other hand the (non) visibility of knowledge on the base of which we perform our docility and/or the technologies of the self. One of the attempts to understand these processes together is the work

done around the concepts of immaterial labour and the social factory. The debates that these have subsequently raised revolve around two questions - the question of the (new?) emancipatory subject and the question of the radicality of the transformations. I try to develop and clarify these problems in order to apply them to the study of GoogleGlass, one of the most fetishized wearable devices so far. I make the case for the necessity of the study of technological objects through the concept of the apparatus/dispositif. I attempt a defetishization of GoogleGlass in the sense that I situate it, first as part of the global production chain and second as a product of and productive of a certain dispositif. In other words, I inquire in the conditions of possibility of GoogleGlass - from the mining induced socio-ecological crisis of the global south to the gridded gaze of the enlightened male. Furthermore, since large chunks of contemporary investments in wearable technology and augmented reality are about increasing the ability to situate ourselves spatially and socially (tagged maps, directions, instant searchability of surroundings), a decisive question becomes the *culture* of this spatiality, sociality and situatedness. It seems crucial to attempt to explain why our increasing ability to recognize our positions has nothing to do with what Jameson calls cognitive mapping. I develop this by claiming that in order to intensify the extraction of value, the subject/knowledges according to which we are managed become more and more granular. In other words - the making of a productive abstract wage-labourer exponentially depends on concreteness. The whole is managed individually. *Subjects* have quantified profiles. The well known dirty little secret of contemporary networked sociality is that it is dividualistic and dividualising - not only on the level of populations, but also on the level of the "in"dividual and his bodily operations. GoogleGlass seems to promise greater connectivity and an immediate experience of the world, yet it is through this intensified connectivity that subjects become more divided and it is through the seamlessness that intense mediation is achieved.

Steglich, Steffen

Globally distributed cooperation – challenges of work based on modern information and communications technology

Steffen Steglich, Institute for Social Science Research (Germany)

In a perspective upon the history of productive forces, the increasing importance of modern information and communications technology like the internet as a base of work is the most important development in the modern working society. This process is often referred to under the headers of informatization, digitization or virtualization of work. A special reason why this development is so important is that it affects all industries and skill levels.

Against this backdrop, the presentation focuses on a special part of the subject „Dynamics of Virtual Work.“ Its focus is the cooperation based on information and communications technology, more especially in the IT sector. In this context, cooperation is understood as work on a shared work object, including the necessary communication and the exchange of knowledge for mutual learning. The technological change has altered the way of cooperation in two dimensions: 1. Work is increasingly independent of a fixed space and can hence be done in different locations. For example, cross-boundary collaborations of teams, projects or communities have become usual. 2. Work and work processes are done in totally new ways. For example, software developers are present on ‘virtual platforms’, receiving their tasks from them. In doing so, they communicate via video conferences and share knowledge in wikis. Their whole work process is structured by these platforms and the progress of the task is transparent there.

In sum, a new global space for social action is generated which is referred to as “information space” (Boes). Thus, a successful approach to cooperation has to include the participating actors as

an important factor. If globally distributed collaboration is only regarded as a matter of organization, without taking into consideration the actual practices and perspectives of the actors involved, collaboration projects usually fail, as empirical studies have shown. Such approaches leave a lot of questions unanswered: What is decisive for the success of globally distributed collaborations? How is the information space constituted by the management and the users actually working there? How do the persons involved experience and evaluate their work under those circumstances?

The presentation intends to give answers to these questions and to contribute to the understanding of global cooperation. The findings show that cooperation based on modern information and communications technology assumes different shapes. In addition, the research results offer insights how different social and organisational settings affect collaboration. One of the main problems is the issue of cooperation and competition, a problem which in this context appears on a new qualitative level. On one hand, especially high-skilled work involves the willingness to team up. On the other hand, in the information space employees work together with colleagues who often do the same job for a much lower salary. This situation may give rise to competition and even to the fear of losing the job. Thus, competition between employees from different areas can prove to be a huge obstacle to successful cooperation. Taking a look at different organizational settings, a variety of strategies to deal with this problem could be found. While some organizations tend to create a working environment, where cooperation is based on hierarchies and control others prefer collaborative networks based on trust.

The findings are based on empirical research. Different organisations were analyzed and compared in case studies. The sample of cases includes a producer of software, a service provider and an open source project. In total, 60 qualitative interviews were conducted. In addition, other available interviews were subjected to secondary analysis.

Stumberger, Michaela

The appropriation of one's own purpose using digital media at work: exploring employees' practices of demarcation and integration

Michaela Stumberger, University of Erfurt (Germany)

This qualitative study examines non-work related media practices of non-executive office workers and their digital media usage at the workplace. First, the intent is to determine what types of "private experiences" are created by digital media usage at the workplace and how they relate to employees' overall lives. Second, this PhD thesis shall show how such experiences are influenced by power structures, media devices, personal interests, spatial arrangements, and social relationships within and outside of the respective organization. During recent years, significant research has been conducted regarding private media usage at work, which is also known as "cyberloafing" or "personal web usage in the workplace". Previous research focused mainly on perspectives related to employees' performance or the effects of personal media usage. In particular, such research examined how non-work media practices influence employees' productivity or business processes. For example, studies have sought to predict or prevent personal media usage and determine under what circumstances employees may lose or gain efficiency at home or at work due to non-work related media usage. One question that still remains unanswered, however, is how office workers are able to (re)negotiate boundaries between personal and job-related activities using personal media and, consequently, what corresponding processes and patterns can be identified. As personal media usage at work provides an individual digital space with specific situational and structural options for various types of actions, non-media practices influence how boundaries are drawn between individual spheres of privacy and work on a daily basis. Such research is concerned with the subjective perspective of employees. It inquires into the meaning what these practices may

have in relation to the entire lives of office workers and what risks and opportunities they may imply.

Theoretically, this PhD thesis is framed by the process-oriented perspective of “mediatization” as defined by Krotz. This concept of mediatization describes the continuing and increasing diffusion of mediated communication into everyday life as a social change and draws upon approaches of the field of cultural studies as well as from the theory of symbolic interaction. Regarding the latter, this study examines employees as inhabitants and creators of multiple “social worlds”, which to some extent are translocal and constituted communicatively. These might include a group of working colleagues, family members or a circle of friends. Within the framework of mediatization, relationships between individual media situations and organizational contexts are analyzed on the basis of de Certeau’s concept of “appropriation”. In this context, media appropriation means that individuals make digital media devices their own by using them in their individual way. In this manner, individuals create their own experiential space within the organization. Taking into account that self-determined actions are always structured and influenced by social and environmental conditions that might conflict with non-work media practices, the concept of media appropriation is assessed in conjunction with Goffman’s concept of “secondary adjustment”. This concept describes courses of individual action by which a member of an organization may seek to avoid the organization’s code of conduct. This theoretical discussion in conjunction with the empirical data shows how diverse types of self-determination are represented by patterns of non-work media practices.

Empirically, therefore, this study relies on qualitative case studies of non-executive office workers using the “grounded theory” as the basis of cross-case analysis. The data gained in each case will be collected by means of individual in-depth interviews, media diaries and sketches of working environments provided by employees.

The results of this study show how non-executive office workers cope with the boundaries between work-related and not work-related workplace activities. In so doing, strategies and types of self-determined “mediatized boundary work” are identified. The resulting findings aim to provide transparency regarding self-determined and self-controlled (private) workplace media usage as well as to enhance our understanding of today’s challenging and complex mediatized working and living conditions.

Surugiu, Romina

Freelancing, micro-work, piece-work and the changing identities of digital journalists

Dr Romina Surugiu, Department of Journalism, University of Bucharest (Romania)

The present paper will investigate the challenges and opportunities of digital labour, from the perspective of journalists and their professional identity. We argue that journalism as a profession has not been changed so dramatically by the offline-to-online transition. On the contrary, nowadays journalism is being shaped by the rapid changes in the working conditions of journalists, presumed by employers and employees to be necessary for the digital transition. From this point of view, the ideology of freelancing or of entrepreneurship, and the overgrowing tendency to use micro-work or piece-work in many economical contexts (including media) have strongly influenced the way job is done by journalists, especially by digital journalists. The latest developments in journalistic realm (structural changes in the media industry as the introduction of taylorised work organisation or casualisation/outsourcing of labour as a management strategy) have implications in the professional identities of journalists, i.e. self-exploitation, a low autonomy, powerlessness, boredom, self-doubt, and social insecurity.

The research is based on the evaluation of the recent bibliography related to the changing identity of journalists (the reports of the International Federation of Journalists, and the works of David Hesmondhalgh and Sarah Baker, 2011, Mark Deuze, 2007, Mark Deuze and Nicky Lewis, 2013, for example) and on a qualitative research which comprises participant observations in newsrooms and semi-structured interviews with digital journalists in Romania about the nature of their work and its consequences on building a professional and personal identity.

Valtysson, Bjarki

Mission impossible: Cross media communication, user-generated content & the Digital Agenda for Europe – Plenary Session

Dr Bjarki Valtysson, Department of Arts and Cultural Studies, University of Copenhagen (Denmark)

The Digital Agenda for Europe is the first of seven flagship initiatives under Europe 2020 and represents EU's strategy to help Europe's citizens and businesses to get the most out of digital technologies. With its seven pillars and 13 specific goals, the strategy has a vast span that reaches through categories like 'life & work', 'entrepreneurship & innovation', 'science & technology', 'telecoms & the internet', and 'content & media'. As clearly formulated in the Commission's communication from 2010, the agenda's objective 'is to chart a course to maximise the social and economic potential of ICT, most notably the internet, a vital medium of economic and societal activity: for doing business, working, playing, communicating and expressing ourselves freely' (COM(2010), 245 final, p. 3).

As can be seen, the agenda is meant to cover both social and economic activities, but in order to frame this paper, attention will be given to the categories 'telecoms & the internet' and 'content & media', thereby putting the focus on how cross media communication travels through the different regulatory frameworks of cultural-, media-, and communication policy.

More specifically, the aim of this paper is to detect what kind of environments are constituted within regulation that relate to production, consumption and distribution in online environments with the Digital Agenda for Europe as case. Furthermore, it is the aim to inspect how

processes of convergence affect regulation and how users in online environments are staged within these regulations. Here, the notion of ‘user-generated content’ is of particular importance, as the aim is to analyse how this is treated in two vital directives that relate to the Digital Agenda’s two main categories as treated in this paper – namely the Telecommunications directive and the AVMS (Audiovisual Media Services) directive.

In order to do this I conduct a critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1996; 2003) on the Commission’s Communication A Digital Agenda For Europe, the AVMS directive, and the telecommunication package (directive 2009/140/EC). Much user-generated content travels through social media services, such as Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, and some of these are capable of acting as social networks, venues for publishing, for exchanging TV streams, live casts, mixing different semiotic expressions, and challenging notions of transmission, content, jurisdiction, sender/user/audience, medium, platforms and public/private communications (Drucker & Gumpert, 2010). This paper treats these convergences of communications and broadcasting technology via digitisation, with the main aim of analysing what kind of environment EU’s regulatory framework sets the users that actively engage in sharing, using, consuming and producing content.

Finally, this paper argues that despite EU’s Digital Agenda for Europe’s objective of simplifying regulatory frameworks and react to regulatory convergences, the user-generated content that travels as multimodal and multichannel communications in convergent participatory media landscape still hovers between different regulatory frameworks, where for instance transmission and content are still treated through the different directives of telecommunications and audiovisual media content.

Van Aerden, Karen et al.

Contemporary employment arrangements, new ways of work and work-related well-being in the European labour force

Authors: Van Aerden, K., Moors, G., Levecque, K. and Vanroelen, C.

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Background. In recent years, awareness of the importance of the quality of jobs has grown in Europe (cf. Lisbon Strategy and Europe 2020). Analytically, job quality can be divided in two components: intrinsic ‘work quality’ (job content and working conditions) and ‘employment quality’ (employment conditions and relations). Although most research on the topic of job quality has focused on job content and/or working conditions, also employment conditions and relations have changed considerably from the end of the 1970’s onwards. Around that time, the industrialised economies of Europe and the US were confronted with a combination of a severe economic recession, globalisation processes, profound demographic changes and technological innovations with far-reaching consequences. The changes in the nature and the organisation of work are related to the increased demands for flexibility and competitiveness that followed the breaking-down of the post-Second World War model of industrial mass production. This process of ‘de-standardisation’, causing

profound changes in the nature of work, is compelling the need to assess the magnitude of these changes and their consequences for the work-related well-being of employees. Specific attention will be paid to the profile of contemporary employment arrangements regarding variables that characterise the 'new ways of work', including teleworking, working from home, working with computer/internet, work-life balance and prospects for career advancement.

Objectives. The goal of this study is twofold: first, we aim to investigate – in a sample of wage-earners from the EU27 – the characteristics of contemporary employment arrangements when it comes to the introduction of new ways of work. Our second goal is to examine the relationships between employment quality on the one hand and three indicators reflecting the work-related well-being of individual employees (job satisfaction, the perception of health or safety at risk because of work and the perceived ability to stay in employment until the age of 60) on the other hand.

Method. Data from the 2005 and 2010 European Working Conditions Survey (EWCS) are used. First of all, Latent Class Clustering techniques are applied to construct a typology of contemporary employment arrangements, based on seven facets of employment quality: [1] employment (in)stability, [2] (low) material rewards, [3] (erosion of) workers' rights and social protection, [4] (de-)standardised working time arrangements, [5] (limited) employability opportunities, [6] collective (dis)organisation and [7] (im)balanced interpersonal power relations. Secondly, descriptive analytical techniques and binary logistic regression analyses are used to relate the typology to respectively variables that characterise the new ways of work and the indicators for work-related well-being.

Results. Five types of contemporary employment arrangements are found, each with a unique answering pattern regarding the facets of employment quality: (1) 'standard employment-like jobs'; (2) 'instrumental jobs'; (3) 'precarious intensive jobs'; (4) 'precarious unsustainable jobs' and (5) 'portfolio jobs' (Van Aerden et al. 2013). These five types of jobs clearly differ on the variables reflecting the new ways of work and show clear relationships with the three work-related well-being variables, even when controlled for intrinsic work quality indicators.

Conclusion. The typological approach to the measurement of employment quality provides innovative insights into the structuring of contemporary employment arrangements among European wage-earners, the extent to which new ways of work have been introduced in these types of employment and the consequences for the work-related well-being of employees. The results of this study will raise awareness to the consequences for contemporary employment of both the increased demand for employment flexibility and competitiveness and the 'new ways of work'.

Vartiainen, Matti and Johan Lönnblad

Employee and team leader competences in global virtual work

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In the past, knowledge work used to be carried out mainly in offices. Nowadays, as a result of globalization, and as information and communication technologies are advancing at a never increasing speed, the contents of work are changing. This has led to new ways of working – such as mobile, multi-locational, remote, flexible, distributed, and virtual work – becoming more common. These terms, while distinct, share common traits in regards to location (on the move, separated by a large distance etc.), and information and communication technologies play a central role. This report focuses on identifying the competences of the future required by this type of work.

Competences are defined as characteristics or capabilities and operative actions that an individual or a team needs to carry out his/her task properly. The objects of our competence analysis

are individual and collective characteristics, i.e. what kinds of characteristics are needed to meet a job's demands and skilful operative actions, i.e. how competences are shown during performance.

The review of existing studies revealed that the focus has been on identifying characteristics rather than skilful operative actions. Consequently, the studies tend to consist of lists of varying lengths describing these characteristics. Also leader competences have received more attention than employee competences.

To complement the literature review, we conducted 103 interviews in 12 global companies. Unlike previous studies, we identified a set of competences (operative actions, characteristics) that both global employees and leaders need: communication skills, understanding (cultural) differences, being flexible, proactive, outgoing and systematic, and having an open mind. Out of these, communication skills and understanding differences were seen as the most important. In addition, leaders need competences such as focusing on the bigger picture, management skills, people skills, having presence and using different approaches. These are not veritably different from the 'local' leader competences, but being separated geographically across several time zones adds completely different complexities and challenges to the leaders.

Velkova Öberg, Julia

Workflows, labour and value in open animation production: an ethnographic study of a distributed animation training creation

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Animation is considered to be one of the most important creative forms of the twenty-first century (Wells, 2002, 1) a form of cultural practice that is both art and craft, highly ubiquitous in today's media landscape, but rather overlooked in academic research. A complex, time- and effort demanding production practice, animation incorporates a multitude of other forms – music, lightning, visual arts to name a few, which suggests a complex interaction between different types of labour, skills, and resources.

The aim of this paper is to explore virtual work, forms of labour (art and craft labour, but also immaterial labour) and the creation of value in the context of a rarely discussed example of animation production called "open animation projects", and in particular - one aspect of this production – complementary training materials creation.

Emerging in the middle of 2000s, open animation projects are often distinguished by four aspects: the projects are initiated by clusters of individuals largely organising themselves online; the artwork and other production materials created are released digitally for free reuse; some documentation of the production process is published online, along with some training courses or materials explaining and/or educating on the technology used. The projects are also distinguished by a particular approach to labour organisation based on a mix of professional and non-professional contributions, and a specific remuneration scheme. The open sharing of resources and collaborative organisation through the Internet allow to speak about an open production process and connect the open animation production practice to the open source/free culture movement, the latter described by Lessig as driven "by values, and not commercial interests" (Lessig, 2004), and structured around forms of self-organisation (Koch, 2011, 17) described as commons based peer-production (Benkler, 2006, 60).

This paper is based on an ethnographic study of one of the aspects of open animation production in a concrete production example – the creation of an open source video course on making cut-out animation with open source software. The course was produced in the autumn of 2013 within the open animation project called "Morevna project", initiated in the Siberian city of

Gorno-Altaysk, Russia, and having expanded to include contributors from Europe and Asia collaborating online. The training course, consisting of 10 video lessons was produced in the time-span of two weeks through non-professional contributions, released through a particular online service – Udemy for online education, and being sold as both “pay-as-you-want” model, and fixed price. For the first two months of its release, the course got 40 students, and generated an income of about 400 USD. Whereas these numbers are not impressive on a large scale, they are notable for a production based on nonprofessional, quickly organised labour, and pose the following questions to be addressed in this paper: Why was the video-course created and what is its value (material and immaterial)? How is this value created? What types of labour are involved, and how does it affect the value of the production – both of the training course, and of the overall project production? How is the value affected by the production approach used, e.g. does it lead to scaling or limitations of the commodities produced? The analysis will investigate four aspects: workflows; quality; value and labour which will be anchored in discussions from the critical cultural theory field on symbolic value production in media industries (see Bolin, 2009), and craft and art labour in creative industries (see Sennett, 2008, Banks, 2010).

Vladi, Besarta

The challenges of Virtual work in Albanian organizations

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Nowadays, the role and the importance of virtual organizations is growing up rapidly, thanks to technological progress and innovation. Virtual organizations are mainly focused on enterprises collaboration and long-term effectiveness. There are many advantages and disadvantages closely related with the way how does they function. The success or fault of these virtual organizations is closely related with the culture of employees that work for these companies. Most of the time personal culture dominates the culture of the company. The main objective of this paper is to make a reflection on the Albanian context about compatibility or non-compatibility between virtual work principles and individual/ organizational cultures. How functional are virtual organizations in Albania? Which is the perception of employees about virtual work and virtual organizations? Does they take virtual work and virtual organizations seriously? How familiar are with concepts such as: Telecommuting, Telecenters, Mobile working, Hot desking, Hoteling, Virtual teams? How important do they consider Knowledge Management technologies that support virtual organizations such as: Collaborative technologies, Extensible markup language, Intranets and extranets, Personal devices, Wireless technologies, Virtual reality, Portals? It seems that the Albanian society is still rejectionist to virtual work and virtual organizations, claiming that they are just some sophisticated versions of organizational fraud. Through a comparative analysis and qualitative data, we will try to go more in depth of this perceptions, in order to achieve a better understand of this individual and organizational culture in Albania.

Webster, Juliet

How can you tell a virtual worker from any other? Issues in the analysis of the class and gender relations of virtual work

Dr Juliet Webster, Director, Gender and ICT Programme, Internet Interdisciplinary Institute, Open University of Catalonia (Spain)

Plenary Speaker

Presentation will be available on conference website

Will- Zocholl, Mascha

New topologies of engineering work - informatisation, virtualisation and globalization in the automotive industry

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During the last decades the automotive industry established global production networks realising economic advantages as well as developing new markets. Today the whole value chain is involved in these restructuring processes. This paper is focussing on the reorganisation in the German automobile industry by describing and discussing the ongoing implications for the product development process and engineering work in the context of informatisation, virtualisation and globalisation. The current developments are closely connected to emerging ICT-based possibility spaces and new construction software enabling locally unbound virtual prototypes. Engineering seems to be becoming temporally and spatially flexible: anytime – anyplace. Under these conditions consequences for the international division of labour and restructuring processes inside the companies are obvious.

Four case studies have been conducted in the field of automotive engineering based on empirically guided qualitative interviews with experts in engineering management and workers in engineering centres or units. In summary, the results illustrate the enormous changes that are in the offing in automotive engineering. The virtualisation and informatisation of work and processes enables the case companies to enhance their global strategies, an intensification of the (international) division of labour and of the process orientation (products follow processes). The outcomes could be characterised as locally bounded and globally distributed at the same time. While outsourcing to nearby located suppliers is old hat, offshoring to Eastern Europe and Asia could be seen as a new trajectory showing parallels to the development in the IT industry. Thus these restructuring processes lead to a reorganisation of work and spatial arrangements.

Wolf, Patricia; Laura Guggiari, Peter Troxler

Open knowledge sharing and co-creation: Earning a living from a co-created idea

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Digital maker communities are groups of “high-tech do-it-yourselfers, who are democratizing access to the modern means to make things” (Gershenfeld, 2012, p. 48). O’Duinn (2012, p. 1) highlights

three characteristics of the maker culture: First, there is a strong emphasis on learning through hands on creation. Second, due to the different backgrounds of the people involved, the maker community lives a trans-disciplinary approach. Third, sharing is a must: similar like in open source communities, maker project details are made freely available online.

Knowledge sharing can be defined as “the provision of task information and know-how to help others and to collaborate with others to solve problems, develop new ideas, or implement policies or procedures” (Wang and Noe 2010, p. 117). In open knowledge sharing digital maker communities, users share instructions or tutorials on how to use 3D machines for certain purposes as well as design blueprints. Other users comment and improve shared blueprints. Thus, in digital maker communities, a lot of ideas for designs are co-created and co-developed by many users and that have a great potential to generate an economic value. Earning money with them based upon a traditional business model is however notoriously difficult, because the legal frames are often not clear due to the involvement of a multiplicity of actors (Wolf et al., forthcoming). Moreover, the blueprints for designs are available online to everybody for free.

Therefore, the proposed paper seeks to shed more light into the question (how) it is possible to earn a living from a co-created idea. Particularly, it will present the findings of a study that searched for business models that emerged from or were applied in digital maker communities. The study is recently conducted and will be finished in spring 2014. The dataset consists of 8-12 qualitative interviews with users of the digital maker community Thingiverse (<http://www.thingiverse.com/>) who made a business out of an idea that was revised and improved by many other users in an early state. For identifying these users, the authors deduced the most remade designs from the statistics of the platform. In a second step, it was studied whether the users who first uploaded the design or those who engaged heavily later made a business out of these ideas. This was done by analysing the profiles and websites of these users. Those who earn money with these ideas were asked for an interview.

The nature of the research question at hand requires that data that reflect the experience of the interviewees. Thus, for data gathering, qualitative, semi-structured guideline with a narrative introduction question is used. This type of interview allows gaining access to deep levels of individual experiences because it “stimulates reflection and exploration” (Davies, 2007, p. 29). Interviewees are first asked to tell the process from the idea to the business, and then invited to present and reflect upon their business model and its underlying mechanisms and values.

Wright, Steve; Emiliana Armano and Raffaele Sciortino

Facebook as a value-producing machine on the net? Interpretative hypotheses and traces of a phenomenology

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Emiliana Armano

Raffaele Sciortino

Arguments concerning online participation through social networks have become the centre of a broad range of scientific approaches and disciplines, from sociology to economics, from political science to neo-marxism to theories of new media, each offering their own particular conceptual tools and perspective.

This paper seeks a) to provide a synthesis of relevant interpretative hypotheses concerning the role and function of one widely used social network – Facebook – in terms of the processes of production of value; b) on the basis of that, to trace the vectors of possible phenomenological readings as to how Facebook manifests itself in social experiences and representations. In particular,

we aim to focus upon the specific differences in the various interpretations through a reconstruction and critical discussion of the principal positions adopted.

We can begin by outlining and discussing three key readings of Facebook. The first of these interprets the latter as machine that produces value through 'prosumerisation', that is the indistinction between production and consumption whether this be called 'Prosumption' (Toffler, 1980; Tapscott, 1995; Ritzer & Jurgenson, 2010; Comor, 2010), 'co-creation' (Prahalad and Ramaswamy, 2000; Banks & Humphreys, 2008), co-production (Dujarier, 2009) or 'playbour' (Kücklich, 2005; Scholz, 2012). The debate that has unfolded from this perspective (Terranova, 2000; Hardt & Negri, 2004; Andrejevic, 2009; Arvidsson & Colleoni, 2012; Ross, 2012; Fisher, 2013) discusses a particular collaborative activity, that of the user-consumer who, in interacting on the Internet through socializing and shared relations and experiences, constitutes a form of value creation from the point of view of production.

The second reading is quite divergent. Emphasising the distinction as well as inter-relationship between value, use value and exchange value, and that between abstract and concrete labour, it sees Facebook as a platform working primarily for the profit maximization of advertisers (Bauwens 2012; Rigi and Bauwens 2012). Rather than producers of surplus value as a consequence of their unpaid 'free' labour, users of Facebook are an audience of potential consumers accessed through targeted product placement. From this point of view, the profits generated from Facebook must be understood as revenue through which advertisers secure a share of the surplus labour generated elsewhere within the capitalist cycle of accumulation.

The third reading, which resonates in certain ways with the second, considers Facebook as a place of value production through the proliferation and sale of metadata. According to some authors, the Internet is configured as an ambivalent relational and technological space of socialization and acceleration, a technological and algorithmic ambience (Fuchs, 2008; 2009; 2012; Goffey, 2008; Zehle and Rossiter, 2009; Neilson, Rossiter 2011; Fuller and Goffey, 2013; Munster, 2011) in which the proliferation of the user to allowing the collection of data and the monitoring of relations. Algorithms can be thought of forms of capital capable of codifying human experience (Braverman, 1974; Alquati, Pentenero, Wessberg, 1994). It is precisely this codification, and above all the compilation of users' data according to preferences and attitudes through information they themselves have provided, that makes this product so attractive. From this perspective, commodification occurs through a cycle of production along and through which the content produced by prosumers is situated as unconscious 'raw material' (to use a terminology typical of industrial sociology). In this instance, is it revenue or profit that is being produced? Has a process of the subsumption of experiences occurred?

As can be seen, even before addressing the matter of phenomenology, this brief overview of interpretative frameworks makes clear how a discussion of Facebook in terms of value production provokes some important theoretical questions. For example, it raises the query as to whether, in a time of 'financialised informational capitalism', Marx's theory of value and revenue production still apply to social relations that are socialized through the Internet. Moreover, it raises the question as to whether some conceptual tools considered fundamental within traditional political-economic theory, such as 'labour', might not be short-circuited by the oxymoron of 'free work': the labour performed by consumers that is free in the dual sense of 'libero' and 'gratuito'. Taken together, these seem to be stimulating implications worthy of further reflection.