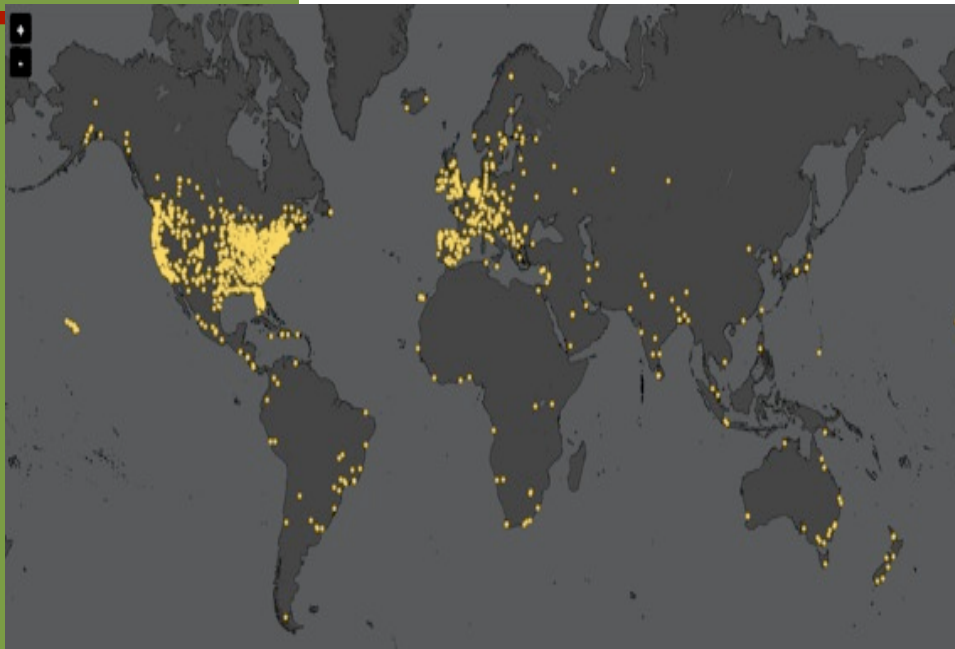


Social Movements, the Media and the Internet



Nikolai Smith
history of information

April 16, 2015

<-- What's that?



my Interest in Tech and Organizing

"The failure to address issues of accessibility for persons with physical, sensory, and cognitive disabilities ultimately threatens to segregate people with disabilities as the permanent second-class citizens of the information age."

-Kylie Brooks (@queerdykekylie); a Deaf Disabled Black cripp queer femme trans dyke who tweets on social justice

- Bedridden and immobile often
- Often only able to engage in movements through technology (internet/text)





On the importance of IT for sustainable disability movements

“Speaking as a chronically ill, queer, disabled — queer woman of color, I’ve been working in the movement since I was sixteen, and there’s a way of organizing that assumes that everybody can make it to sixteen meetings a week and live on coffee. And for a lot of us, whether we’re disabled, whether we’re parents, whether we’re old, that’s not an option, and it stops us from making movements that don’t burn out and that actually are going to be around to transform society.”

Leah Lakshmi Piepzna-Samarasinha, “queer disabled Sri Lankan cis femme writer, performer, organizer and healer & with Sins Valid (Bay area disabled arts collective) on www.brownstargirl.org/



my social movement "expertise"

- Specialist in social movements (communication and organizational tactics/strategies) for sociology phd
- Been active in:
 - School of the Americas closure movement
 - The Coalition of Immokalee Workers
 - Successful reversal of budget cuts/Sacramento takeovers
 - Madison 2011 Capital Takeover (largest VW history)
 - OWS/OSD/Reclaim CLICS
 - Stop Operation Green Hunt (2009-on)
 - Palestine Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement
 - 2013 California prisoner hunger strike (largest in CA)
 - Anti-police brutality organizing (justice4alanblueford)
 - And more so feel free to ask if you have interests in this area



My research areas that interconnect with technology/ movements

- Will draw from these most given my background:
 - Sports and protest
 - Guantanamo and US prison resistance
 - Resistance to the War on Terror
 - Occupy and fights against budget cuts (Madison, WI)
 - Asked fellow “techie/organizers” for thoughts on technologies/images/movements to highlight diverse examples
 - Remember: everything is political. There is no such thing as neutrality especially in a discussion of movements



“d00ds above the age of 35 don’t know the internets”

- Full quote from a tumblr-Famous blogger: “They’re too focused on marketing, not innovative content production b/c they can’t see beyond making \$ off FB ads. They’re antiquated/surprised that millennials can’t watch more than 5 minute clips.”

My internet/tech expertise:

- 28.596 yrs old
- fb famous
- Most of my publications purely online (some monthlys; weeklys/dailys (e.g. campus papers)/oxford handbook of social movements





Note on this lecture/readings

- If I speak quick, make a motion and if you want to say something, ask a question or anything put your hand up
 - You're all experts
- Note on grades/ER
- also avoid assuming authors' genders/GPs; assume 'they'
- Many students asked for views that often go omitted at Cal
- “the (mostly) white-male-tech elite which is ascendant in building and theorizing the web has very little interest in engaging with feminist perspectives on technology, and black feminist perspectives are nonexistent in this realm” (see any top 10 tech-thinker list)
 - Prof. Jessie Daniels, author *White Lies, Cyber Racism*, digital media activist in reimagining scholarly communication



Overview

- Beyond IT
- Internet Technologies as Tactics in Social Movements/Organizing
- Main Tactic of Analysis: Using IT to frame/create a narrative
- Social Media tech beneficial or harmful for movement making?
- Different Models of Technological Protest
- If time: Net Work and interOccupy communication channels



Beyond IT: What other technologies?



How can resistance happen without access to “technology”?

Case Study I: Prisoner Movements

Nearly 1 in every 100 adults in US are in prison or jail (CA would be third largest prison nation behind US and China).

No internet access and little control over educational resources. Especially in CA solitary confinement.

Even more solitary of a state for Guantanamo Prisoners (irony of John Yoo’s “*mosaic of intelligence*” and watches)



Case study 2: Operation Green Hunt



Ever heard of it?

- [**Will the Anti-Graft Gun Really Tame Maoists? - WSJ Blogs**](#)
- [**Rebels Widen Deadly Reach Across India**](#)
New York Times-Oct 31, 2009
- [**Maoist Rebels Suspected as Indian Train Derails**](#) New York Times-May 28, 2010
- [**Indian Maoists Kill at Least 73 Officers**](#)

What you won't hear:

- the triangle of arms/riches: the case of the 12 0's
- Or anything about the resistance: 45 percent of the guerrilla army are women and 90,000 women belong to it, making it the largest women's organisation in India and one of largest's women's movements in the world



Quick Group work

- How do people resist when the internet and TV are heavily censored or unavailable?
 - No need to know anything about prisons or India or movements to be creative on this
 - What tactics/resources/materials/messages can be used? Think back to the “tie/duck/etc.” exercise from week one



Now let's move to Egypt. What caused the unfinished 2011 Egyptian Revolution?

?



**Lots of stuff (academic term).
What about what enabled it?**

?



Beyond IT: Movements Building up to 2011

- 2000: Mass protests for 2nd Palestinian Intifada
- '03: 40,000 in Tahrir for anti-Iraq war protests
- '04: “Kifaya” (Enough) demonstrations
- '06-07': Mahalla textile workers organize two mass strikes occupying their factory; massive waves
- January 2011-Present:
 - Million-person demonstrations occur in Tahrir and spread





...And social media progressively helped

Reminder: be weary when people say one inventor or one causal connection exists rather than a correlation and ignore history

(e.g., Mubarak and the US were never buds;
Ferdinand=wwi or Morse=telegraph)



Quick Note on “Diversity of Tactics”



- Like the “facebook=revolution” debate, social media as a whole, the internet as a whole, technology as a whole represent one tactic in the many available for resistance
- Let’s look at some of the tactics that technology provides for movements



Framing and Tech: Memes/ Images/Soundbites

How do we break down an image, the tech used to create it, and the effect it can have?

How is this important for co-optation? (e.g., movement portrayed as just a charity/NGO or one-day event; anything but mass, prolonged protest)

How was framing & tech used in protests before the “age of the Internet”?

For example, what are some of the symbolic traits in the following image?







Framing & symbolism (IT beyond "IT") w/ "artifacts"

- Black glove
- Raised fists
- Black scarf on neck
- black shirt over U.S.A. uniform/bowed heads
- Rolled pants' legs
- black socks/no shoes
- Shoe alone on stage
- Beads
- Patch





National Days of Action and Symbolic Protest



Knowyourmeme.com

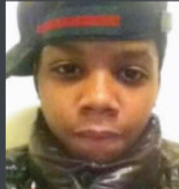
For example,
National Hoodie
Day For Trayvon
Martin, 6/10/13

Terrence, what
was the
significance of
yesterday and
the day before
for movements?

**TUESDAY
APRIL 14**

#ShutDownA14

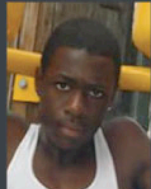
STOP MURDER BY POLICE



Kimani Gray, unarmed, 16, murdered by NYPD 3/12/13



Ousmane "Monte" Zongo, 43, unarmed, murdered 5/22/03 by NYPD



Ramarley Graham, unarmed, 18, murdered by the NYPD 02/02/2012



James Brissette, 17, killed by New Orleans police during Katrina, 9/4/05



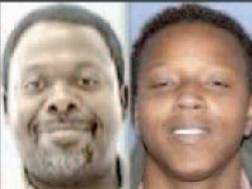
Malcolm Ferguson, 23, unarmed, murdered by the NYPD 3/1/2000



Rekia Boyd, 22, unarmed, murdered by a Chicago cop, 3/21/12



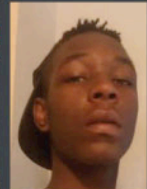
Tyisha Miller, 19, murdered while unconscious by Riverside, CA cops, 12/28/98



Timothy Russell, 43, and Malissa Williams, 30, unarmed, murdered by 137 bullets fired by Cleveland police, 11/29/12



Tarika Wilson, 26, murdered by Lima, OH police, 1/4/08



Dakota Bright, 15, murdered by Chicago police, 11/8/12



Manny Loggins, 31, murdered by Orange County, CA Sheriff's, 2/12/12



John Crawford, unarmed, 22, murdered by Beavercreek, OH police, 8/5/14



Nicholas Heyward Jr., 13, unarmed, murdered by NYPD, 9/22/94



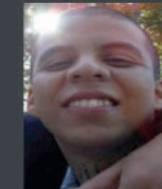
Kathryn Johnston, 92, murdered by Atlanta police, 11/21/06



Ronald Madison, 40, mentally ill, killed by New Orleans police, 9/4/05



Oscar Grant, unarmed, 22, murdered by Bay Area transit police, 1/1/09



Joel Acevedo, 22, unarmed, murdered by Anaheim police, 7/22/12



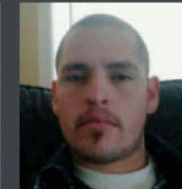
Kendrec McDade, 19, unarmed, murdered by Pasadena police, 3/24/12



Jordan Baker, unarmed, 26, murdered by Houston police, 12/16/14



Manuel Jaminiez, 37, killed by LAPD, 9/5/10



Manuel Diaz, 25, murdered by Anaheim, CA police, 7/21/12



Michael Brown, unarmed, 18, murdered by a Ferguson, MO, cop, 8/9/14



Akai Gurley, unarmed, 28, murdered by NYPD, 11/20/14



Sean Bell, 23, unarmed, murdered by NYPD 11/25/06



Tamir Rice, 12, murdered by Cleveland police, 11/22/14



Aiyana Stanley-Jones, 7, murdered by Detroit police, 5/16/10



Eric Garner, 42, unarmed, murdered by NYPD, 7/17/14



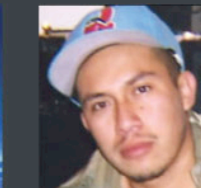
Ezell Ford, mentally ill, 25, murdered by LAPD, 8/11/14



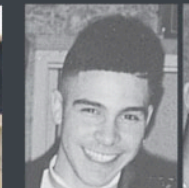
Jaime Gonzalez, 15, killed by Brownsville, TX school police, 1/4/12



Corey Harris, 17, murdered by Chicago police, 9/11/09



Omar Abrego, unarmed, 37, beaten to death by LA police, 8/2/14



Anthony Rosario, 18 (left) and Hilton Vega, 21 (right) murdered by New York police detectives, 1/12/95



Damien Hunt, 22, murdered by Sarasota Springs, UT police, 11/10/14



Roshad McIntosh, 19, murdered by Chicago police 8/24/14



Ruben Garcia Villapando, 31, killed by Grapevine, TX police, 2/21/15



Yvette Smith, 47, murdered by Bastrop County Sheriff, Texas, 2/16/14



Anthony Baez, 29, unarmed, murdered by NYPD, 12/22/94



Patrick Dorismond, unarmed, 25, murdered by NYPD, 3/16/2000



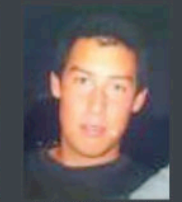
Amadou Diallo, unarmed, 23, shot at 41 times and murdered by the NYPD, 2/4/99



Timothy Stansbury, 19, unarmed, murdered by NYPD, 1/24/04



Darius Pinex, 27, unarmed, murdered by Chicago police, 1/7/11



Richard "Pedro" Perez, unarmed, 24, murdered by Richmond, CA police, 9/14/14

These are some of the thousands killed by police nationwide

two days ago; take a second to read some of these



Media/movements commodifying death in memes

"Dead Black people are not ornaments to be put up and taken down for every activist need, purpose and point. Treating those who have come before us as such might reinforce our objectification and further cement our disposability in public consciousness."

"Black people whose lives have been taken become a commons of sorts: Their bodies are utilized as signs of solidarity, collective struggle and rallying points, and also as media commodities. We must be aware that this metamorphosis of their bodies into perdurable tools puts us at risk of desensitizing ourselves to their fatalities."



From Lynching Photos to Michael Brown's Body: Commodifying Black Death

It's worth questioning what it means for us culturally that the media exploits images of brutalized and dead Black people.

Michael Brown's family:

"remove photos of Michael laying dead in the middle of the street. they're everywhere - on Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, hashtagged with Brown's name. Celebrities like Souljaboy are sharing photos of the body."

'We don't want that out there. 'His body was in the street for hours.'"



Case Study: Sports, Protest, and Technology



- “World’s Largest Stages”
- Largest advertising extravaganzas and done by largest firms and the Pentagon (think of ads during games)
- One recent challenge:
#changethename
 - Can’t afford Super Bowl ads so release on internet & goes viral
 - Radio ads in various NFL markets; recently began robo-calls
 - Hip-hop and songs used to spread movement



APR
16

Boots Riley and Dave Zirin: Hip Hop, Sports, & Struggle Under The New Jim Crow

Public · Hosted by [Todd Chretien](#) and 4 others

Maybe ▾

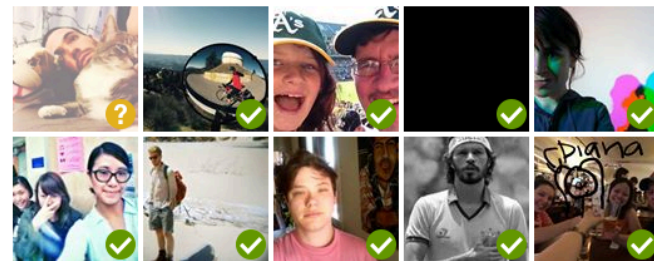
Invite ▾



🕒 Tomorrow at 7:00pm - 10:00pm
Tomorrow

📍 Oakland Peace Center, 111 Fairmont Ave

Join [Boots Riley](#) and [Dave Zirin](#) in a discussion about the role of mass culture in building resistance against racism and mass incarceration today.



[Dan](#), [Todd](#) and 34 other friends are going

‘Are We Still Thugs When You Pay to Watch Us Play Sports?’

Dave Zirin on March 13, 2015 - 11:48 AM ET

Share Tweet +1 SHARE TEXT SIZE SUBSCRIBE



The University of Oklahoma football team stands arm in arm in response to the recent racist video from the now disbanded Sigma Alpha Epsilon fraternity. (AP Photo/Sue Ogrocki)

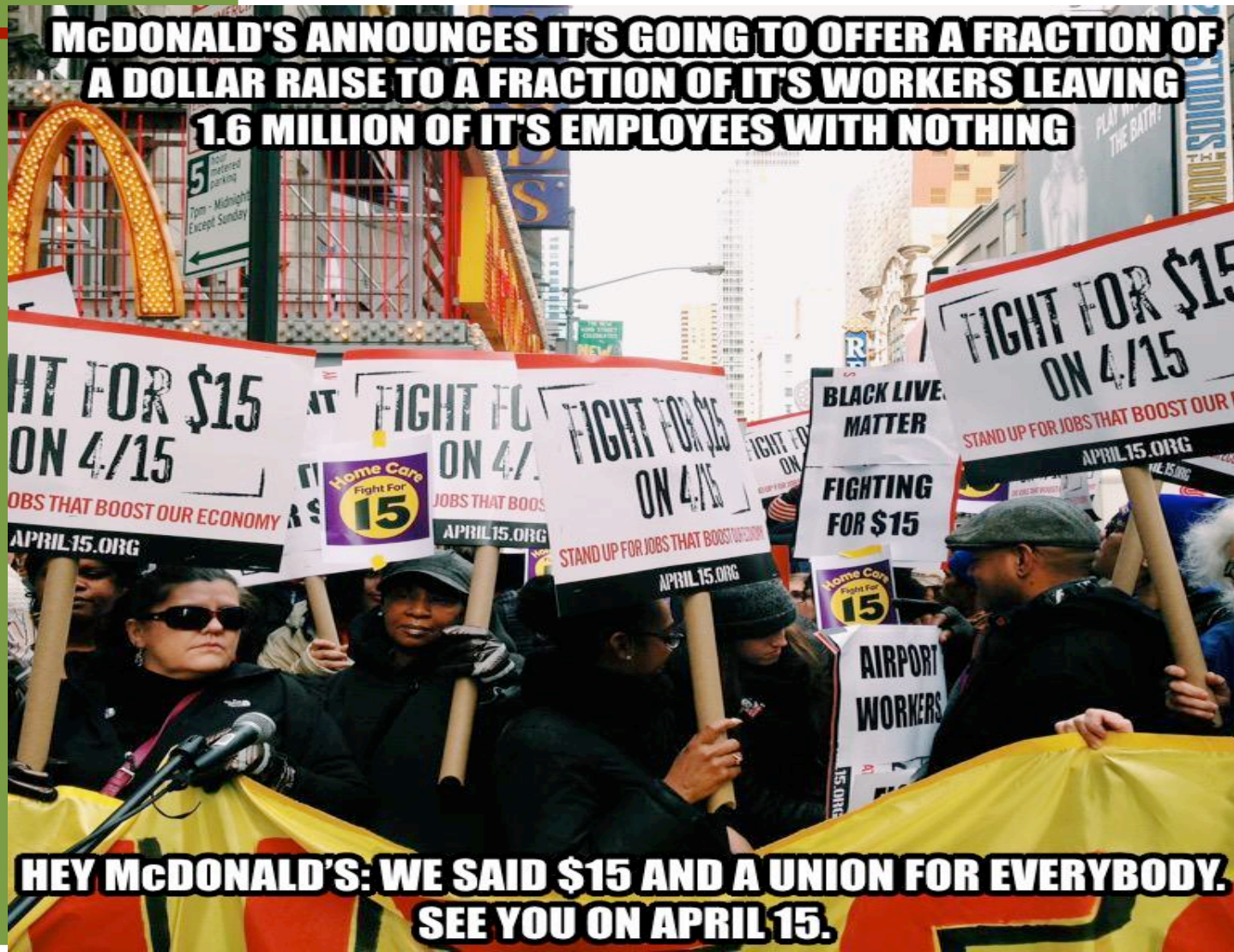
It is difficult to imagine two more different university towns than Madison, Wisconsin, and Norman, Oklahoma. Madison has a reputation stretching back decades as liberal—even radical—territory. That ain't Norman. This week however, both of these communities were connected by the resistance of black students—along with allies and supporters—against racism. Madison and Norman are bringing together different aspects of the #BlackLivesMatter movement and demonstrating how this struggle is now firmly implanted among the young—and among young athletes—in a manner that for now seems set in stone. In Madison, several thousand high school students marched and sat in the streets demanding answers and justice after Tony Robinson, an unarmed 19-year-old, was killed by Madison police. In addition to protests and sit-ins, [high school basketball fans, players and even coaches](#) arrived at several games wearing either all-black or shirts that read #JusticeForTony or #BlackLivesMatter.

Site of symbolic protest on a university campus and some of the main communication tactics are still clothing and silence*

*who must be silent as a tactic?
To not be further harmed



Consistent mass mobilization days (for \$15 4/15)





IT/technology progressing beyond 1 leader movement?

- Are movements belittled in today's description as "leaderless?" Is that ever true?
 - Why beneficial for those in power? Pits individuals against organizations/unions; divisive
- Historically, what are the few movements/individuals we learn about?
 - MLK; Susan B Anthony; Helen Keller; Harvey Milk; Savio
 - Mostly men, mostly white
- Why is this framing beneficial for those in power?
 - takes a "superman"
 - These movements start and end. Racism is over!
 - Counter-frame: movements take decades and evolve
- Similar to the one villain frame...(kony?)...

BRACE YOURSELVES

**THE MOCK KONY 2012
POSTS ARE COMING**



quickmeme.com



Kony huh? We'll start a viral campaign against Joseph Kony. We'll appeal to first world guilt and self righteousness of hipsters by making a youtube documentary, with an epic music that sounds like the Gladiator theme, with women crying and stuff and post it on Reddit.

Anyone know the president of uganda?



Case Study of a Frame Fail. Cal holds a poster contest for the 50th anniversary of the Free Speech Movement...





Framing Fail 2: In Madison, Palm Trees & Violence





Technology as tactic to maintain and challenge stereotypes/racism

#NotYourAsianSidekick ignites massive conversation about race, stereotypes and feminism

"This is not a trend, this is a movement," tweets Suey Park, the writer and activist behind the hashtag

KATIE MCDONOUGH [Follow](#)

[Share](#) 0

[Twitter](#) 410

[Google+](#) 14

[Comments](#) 0



TOPICS: FEMINISM, GENDER, SEXUALITY, PRIVILEGE, IDENTITY, INTERSECTIONALITY, LIFE NEWS, NEWS, POLITICS NEWS



Examples:

#blacklivesmatter

#EndIslamophobia (instead of #muslimlivesmatter) after the UNC terrorist attacks and hate crimes

#NotYourAsianSidekick



Anatomy of a hashtag

#NotYourAsianSidekick:
How did it take off on Twitter?

It started with a tweet.



Suey Park began the hashtag on December 14 to discuss Asian American feminism.



Others felt connected.



A part of the discussion turned into one of commonalities between people of color.





““a space [for Asian-American, Pacific Islander and Native Hawaiian women] to use our voices, build community, and be heard.”-writer and activist Suey Park

#NotYourAsianSidekick

During that span, those 50,000+ tweets traveled all around the world, showing up in more than 60 countries.



Where will the conversation go next?

THE
STREAM

Sources: Twitter API, Topsy Pro



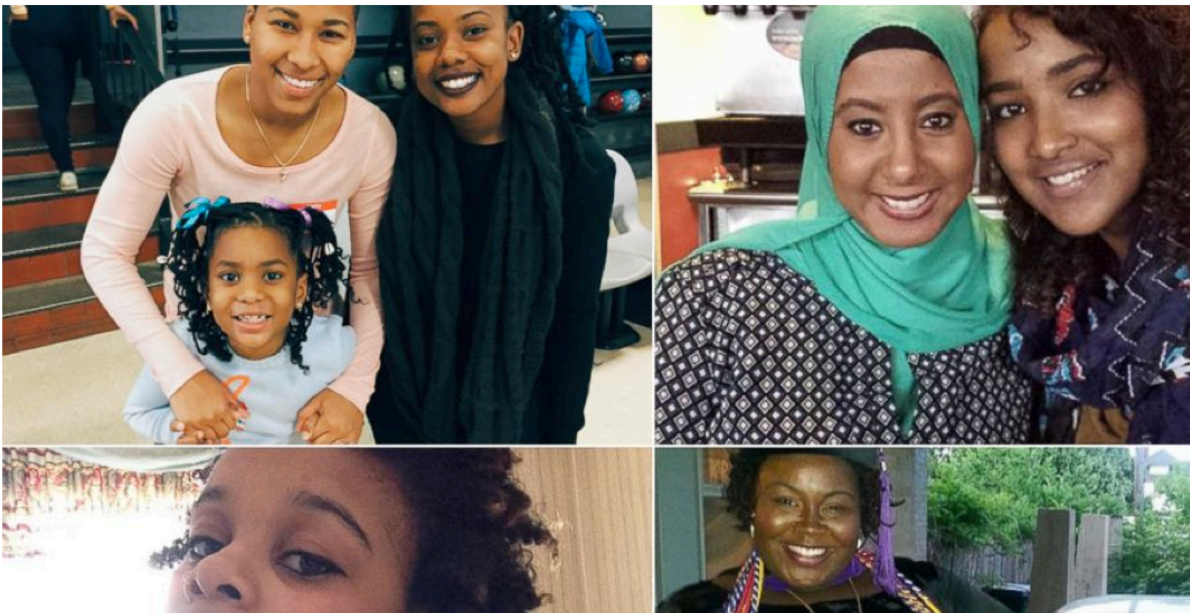
Tech and creating community/identity and movements

#BlackOutDay: Trending Twitter Hashtag Celebrates Black People, Fights Negative Stereotypes

Mar 6, 2015, 12:54 PM ET

By AVIANNE TAN via **GOOD MORNING AMERICA**

Like share 1270 Tweet 6K +1 75



"Unfortunately, in most popular media talking about black people and our bodies, it's mostly of us breaking the law, being killed or mistreated," YouTube personality Franchesca Ramsey added. "So it's nice to combat these negative images and stereotypes with positive representations of ourselves."

A highlight of the diverse faces of people from the social media campaign #BlackOutDay.



#FemmesOfColorVisibility

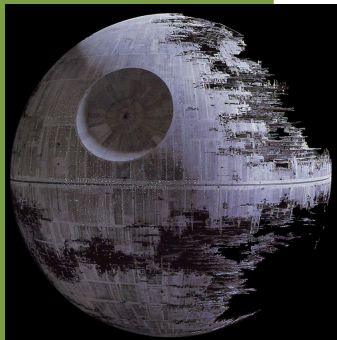
“[The L.A. Femme of Color Collective] noticed that there was a lack of accurate and diverse representations of people on social media and in femme-focused blogs. They are so often filled with images of thin, white, cis women. #FemmesOfColorVisibility allows us to document our selfies as a form of resistance and it gives femmes of color the opportunity to combat invisibility, misogyny and the devaluation of femininity perpetuated by masculine-of-center folks within queer communities and spaces. The hashtag allows us to be intentional about creating a sense of community in digital spaces; and that can manifest to community-building in many other settings. This is not just a hashtag. It’s a social justice movement that gives people the opportunity to witness the brilliance, beauty and badassery that is femmes of color!”

-Vanessa Durand, “unapologetically fat, genderqueer femme,”
social justice activist and member of the LA Femmes of Color Collective



Quick Partner Work

- With a partner, discuss a movement or issue you care about & how it is framed? How could it be framed more effectively? How does it use IT/ different tactics, get attention of the media, and how can it do so more effectively? How does it address critiques/ misperceptions?
- Ex: “don’t raise fees” & petition or offensive “free education!” & burn debt slips (e.g., draft cards); or how to get more gender equality in STEM: emphasize change education or anti-discrimination laws?
- Quick anecdote as a prompt:
 - How many environmentalists does it take to stop Darth Vader from blowing up Earth?
 - How many environmentalists does it take to change a light bulb?

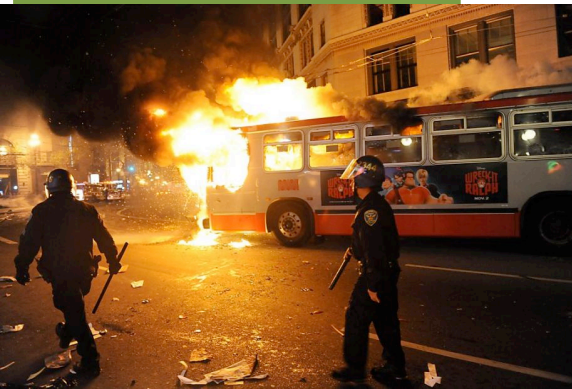




The readings from Jones, Kaba and Smith, and Loza focus on social media technology as a powerful social change resource for marginalized groups (whether based on race, gender, sexuality, ability, citizenship, and/or class). Whilst readings from McKenzie and Lenzo suggest that social media technology uses the same racialized portrayals (“Ferguson protesters are violent rioters”) and over-simplified narratives (“Facebook=revolution”) as mainstream media. Referencing both perspectives, use specific examples to show whose argument is more convincing. What implications might these arguments have for social issues that you care about?



Technology in shaping what is protest/violence



- Recall past week's readings and issues of truth/trust in mainstream and social media with use of framed images
- Example: Is Ferguson a riot or revolt? If a riot is a violent disturbance of the peace, what's violent about a peaceful protest? Are we in a state of peace with "modern lynching?" Are Giants "parties" riots?
- Power of words: they elicit certain affect and emotion and vested interests
- Recall some of the responses from Darnton prompt:
 - "Prior to leaving for my review session, I received an email from the Vice Chancellor warning commuters to leave before the demonstration commences. I heeded to the warning and made sure to be out of Berkeley before 5 P.M. Following my commute, I went through my Facebook feed and saw an image of protesters shutting down the freeway."



A little too much disruption for Peter Thiel, Silicon Valley's iconoclast-in-chief

by Shalene Gupta

@ShaleneGupta

DECEMBER 11, 2014, 7:21 PM EDT



The well-known tech investor and big thinker gets run off the stage at U.C. Berkeley.

Peter Thiel

Photograph by David Paul Morris
—Bloomberg via Getty Images

Peter Thiel does not like disruption.



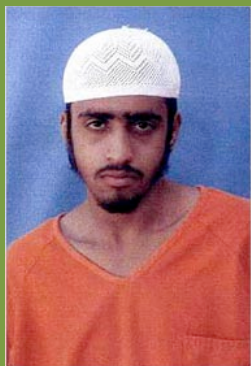
“Peter Thiel matters”

“The Black Lives Matter slogan itself seemed to lose its original meaning as it got spread, amplified and qualified in the virtual public (30) I experienced this “mixture” of communications (9) when the Peter Thiel event I attended got violently disrupted by the “Black Lives Matter” demonstrators. Oral interactions during this incident re-manifested as Facebook/Twitter rant statuses, online criticisms and later spoken news, fluidly reshaping our views towards the campaign.”

When is a status a rant and a Forbes article is not?



“riots”



“During the dead week of the last semester, Berkeley commemorated a death of an African American teenager, Michael Brown, with a huge riot, Ferguson protest. Protesters occupied roads, chanted “F*** the Police”, and some of the violent protestors broke windows of many buildings. This was a huge issue at the moment, as choppers were flying directly above Berkeley, which disturbed people’s sleep and study. The news about this protest was all over my Facebook newsfeed, and anyone whom I talk to would complain about the noise and the violence about the protest.”

- See “riots” as racialized, politicized categories, e.g. “terrorists,” which is particularly important at UCB with John Yoo across from our classroom



What matters?

- A lot of the responses showed that, when hearing about protests, the concern isn't about police brutality, but how it will affect campus talks or a review session.
- Is it simply a matter of protest tactics? Is not disrupting daily life more important? What if the tactics (e.g., highway shutdowns) have proven effective repeatedly, especially on campuses?
- Consider privilege and removal from these issues
- Police violence ignored while protestors are considered "violent", "outsider agitators," "rioters"
- Note how watching a 1 minute news snippet allows the viewer to be able to define an entire event and it's trajectory (i.e., the viewer hears the media's depiction of a protest and then shares that depiction as fact).



“Why Social Media can’t ignore Race”

“ According to a Pew Research Center [poll](#) released Monday, 80 percent of African-American adults answered that the shooting and killing of the 18-year-old Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, raises important issues about race, while 18 percent answered that the topic of race is “getting more attention than it deserves.” White adults polled held very different opinions: Thirty-seven percent answered that the case is raising important issues while a plurality, 47 percent, said the topic is receiving too much attention.” –

- Some of this week’s responses ask if race can be ignored and focus on commonalities
- The blackgirldangerous reading addresses this and her blog cites the above study
- How is social media effective in demanding this discussion? In providing the counter-propaganda of the “riots” (e.g., exposing police infiltrators, recording them saying “throw a rock” and then doing so)



Blackgirldangerous viral challenge

Challenge to White Folks: Take The Black Girl Dangerous White Privilege Bucket Challenge

I was recently challenged by a dear friend to participate in the ALS Ice Bucket Challenge. Coming from this friend, the challenge was particularly poignant considering that her father was recently diagnosed with ALS, and just watching the video where she challenged me brought me to tears.

However, I wasn't sure I wanted to do the challenge. It's not that I have a problem with the ALS Foundation or with people's participation in the challenge. It more had to do with what I saw on my social media at the height of the challenge.

When most people were participating in the challenge corresponded to a pivotal moment in our nation's history: the protests in Ferguson, MO after the extra-judicial killing of Michael Brown. Virtually every person of Color I knew (and some White folks acting in solidarity) were posting about Ferguson, offering analysis and updates of what was happening on the ground.



Whose story is told at protests?

~~<http://www.afsc.org/friends/note-to-self-white-people-taking-part-blacklivesmatter-protests>~~

- “Wear a red nose”-Occupy
- Who gets interviewed? Photographed? Is it by “grassroots media”? What’s public media? PBS?



Canadian pro-Ferguson rally organizers ask ‘whites’ to stay in background

OTTAWA — The Canadian Press

2014-07-07 11:00 AM EDT



Eternity E Martis

♥ Become a fan



Lifestyle writer, blogger, mixed-race feminist

Dear Angry White People, The Ferguson Protest Was Not About You



Why is social media technology effective for change?

“Social media facilitates the debate and discussion of social issues that are not able to permeate the mainstream media. *For example Loza alludes to the way that the #solidarityisforwhitewomen raised awareness of the inequality that exists. The Jones reading refers to the black twitter and how these audiences and individuals now have their own public space. Whilst McKenzie highlights the narratives of anti-blackness and Lenzo questions the actual power of social media in mobilization they fail to address that whilst the social media technology that they are criticising does adopt these portrayals and narratives it also enables perspectives and voices such as their own to enter the public space, and to provide a counter-argument to the debate. The implications for social issues such as climate change are ultimately positive. The mainstream media has tended to downplay the effect of global warming but with increasing access to alternative media sources through technology people will be better informed.*

-SOPHIE-ANAIS BARBEAU-SCURLA; discuss above 😊



Speed of and equal ground for ideas

Social media allow anyone with access to a computer to make their opinions available, and often to make them actually heard. *When an issue like #FastTailedGirls that concerns marginalized people can become a widespread topic of conversation "within a few hours" (Loza), and one of journalism within days, it's clear that this technology accelerates the spread of ideas, a necessary precursor to social change.* Unfortunately, it also allows for the spreading of backwards ideas, like tweeters using "violence" to refer to "property damage" rather than the killing of people. (McKenzie). I find this "misunderstanding" that McKenzie discusses particularly appalling. The Internet allows for just as much bullshit as any previous IT. *However, I find that it also increases the expression and availability of marginalized opinions like BGD and tweeters who do understand what "violence" means. It puts opposing voices on a slightly more even playing field, giving truth and activism a more equal shot over lies and oppression.* I think we're not any "more prone to... misleading information than before" (Lenzo). On Twitter, for instance, everyone is subject to the same rules, and no one can stop anyone else from tweeting, following, and sharing; that's why it works.

-JACOB ELI WINTER BARCZAK

Rhizomatic Communication

HORIZONTAL AND NODAL DISTRIBUTION OF INFORMATION



FEATURES

Multiple channels for collecting, sorting, collating, and broadcasting information for the purpose of coordinating action.

Public space or POPS

Websites

WePay account

Amazon registry

Twitter

Facebook

Email

Map

Text (SMS) Groups

Conference Calls



Structural change key

While social media played a role in “drumming up international sympathy,” it may have actually caused little physical local change. (Lenzo) This raises the question of whether “hashtags” really revolutionizes social activism. According to Loza, it is the choice of hashtags that determines its impact. For example, *the use of ironic hashtags like “#NotYourAsianSidekick” worked by opening up a “third space” for sensitive discussions otherwise suppressed* (Loza).

But to Loza, it is more crucial for today’s activists to turn the hashtags – to “channel the passion of social media into something more lasting: a grassroots movement” (Loza). This undermines Jones’ statement that “140 characters can be all it takes to spark a movement.” (Jones) Kaba/Smith’s attitude towards “social media toxicity” supports Loza’s approach by showing *how social media is not necessarily a tool for change, but a pointer to how the more fundamental social problems can be solved, that is, focusing on the “structures that create toxicity” rather than the toxicity itself* (Kaba/Smith).

[NING DE-EKNAMKUL](#)



In/Effectiveness of Social Media Technology

“As a student of history, I personally would like to see progress beyond what would be expected from the past but it appears that social media has less effectiveness than its potential.”

- How does this relate to past technologies?
 - Erasmus and the limitations/critiques of printing
- Are we giving up too soon on new media technology?
 - Like movements, long arc
- What about the structural limitations? Ex: tuition hike leaks to informal press; then least accessible time/date/time of year/campus/location/venue/sec checkpoints
 - Creating inner divisions/tensions

Opinion Did Napolitano's 'crap' comment traumatize students?



SHUT DOWN CAMPUS!

THURSDAY FEBRUARY 13

1PM @ UPPER SPOUL



Students of Color Solidarity Coalition

#NO2NAPOLITANO

#NO2NAPOLITANO

STUDENTS OF COLOR SOLIDARITY COALITION
FACEBOOK.COM/NO2NAPOLITANO





Hacktivism/Online Protest Anonymous/Wikileaks/ Snowden

Illegal Immigration

UC San Diego professor who studies disobedience gains followers -- and investigators

Ricardo Dominguez, an electronic civil disobedience expert, is the target of probes examining whether his work improperly uses public funds and violates security laws.

May 07, 2010 | By Richard Marosi, Los Angeles Times



Email



Share



0



Tweet

0



Recommend

0

Reporting from San Diego — When protesting students spilled into University of California campus courtyards in March, Ricardo Dominguez took to the streets in his own way — digitally — leading a march to the online office of the UC president.

The group targeted, among others, the Frankfurt stock exchange to protest mining investments in Mexico, and the Mexican government for its military actions against the Zapatista rebel movement. Dominguez likens the protests to thousands of people standing in the middle of the information superhighway, or massing as if they will.

In 1998, for example, the U.S. Defense Department, anticipating a virtual attack from the Disturbance Theater, set up a program to divert the virtual swarm to a nonexistent website, the New York Times





Memory and Sharing of Public Artifacts: IT memorial



Inspired by the actions of these anonymous artists, The Illuminator Art Collective recreated the intervention ephemerally by projecting an image of the sculpture into a cloud of smoke,” [the group wrote on its blog.](#)

“Our feeling is that while the State may remove any material artifacts that speak in defiance against incumbent authoritarianism, the acts of resistance remain in the public consciousness. And it is in sharing that act of defiance that hope resides.”



Imagine a World Without Free Knowledge

For over a decade, we have spent millions of hours building the largest encyclopedia in human history. Right now, the U.S. Congress is considering legislation that could fatally damage the free and open Internet. For 24 hours, to raise awareness, we are blacking out Wikipedia. [Learn more.](#)

Contact your representatives.

Your ZIP code: [Look up](#)



mozilla

Protect the Internet

Help us stop Internet censorship legislation

Today Mozilla joins with other sites in a virtual strike to protest two proposed laws in the United States, called SOPA and the PROTECT IP Act. On **January 24th**, the U.S. Senate will vote on the PROTECT IP Act to censor the Internet, despite opposition from the vast majority of Americans.

Join us to protect our rights to free speech, privacy, and prosperity.

What's this about?

Congress is trying to pass legislation that threatens free speech and innovation on the Internet, under the banner of anti-piracy efforts.

What's at risk?

The proposed infrastructure would damage the security of the Internet and allow the government extensive censorship abilities.

The result?

Your favorite websites, both inside and outside the US, could be blocked based on a single infringement claim, without any due process of law.

How is it done?

The US will be able to block a site's web traffic, ad traffic and search traffic using the same website censorship methods used by China, Iran and Syria.

What about piracy?

Piracy is a problem but there are better ways to address it that don't stifle innovation, knowledge and creativity — or give the US such unchecked power over the global Internet.



Google Search

I'm Feeling Lucky

Tell Congress: [Please don't censor the web!](#)



REDDIT IS DOWN -09:48:41

SOPA and PIPA damage the Internet. today we fight back.

Dear reddit,

Today, for 12 hours, reddit.com goes dark to raise awareness of two bills in congress: H.R.3261 "Stop Online Piracy Act" and S.968 "PROTECT IP", which could radically change the landscape of the Internet. These bills provide overly broad mechanisms for enforcement of copyright which would restrict innovation and threaten the existence of websites with user-submitted content, such as reddit.

Please take today as a day of focus and action to learn about these destructive bills and do what you can to prevent them from becoming reality.

[make a call](#)

[sign the petition](#)

[learn more](#)

PROTECT IP / SOPA Breaks The Internet



Live Updates

Last updated 10:10am

9:54am Video of my appearance on @CNN this morning with @Soledad_OBrien! <http://t.co/Xc3EgaCd> #SOPA #PIPA #Blackout — Alexis Ohanian

9:26am "It's The Internet's Moment" @Forbes

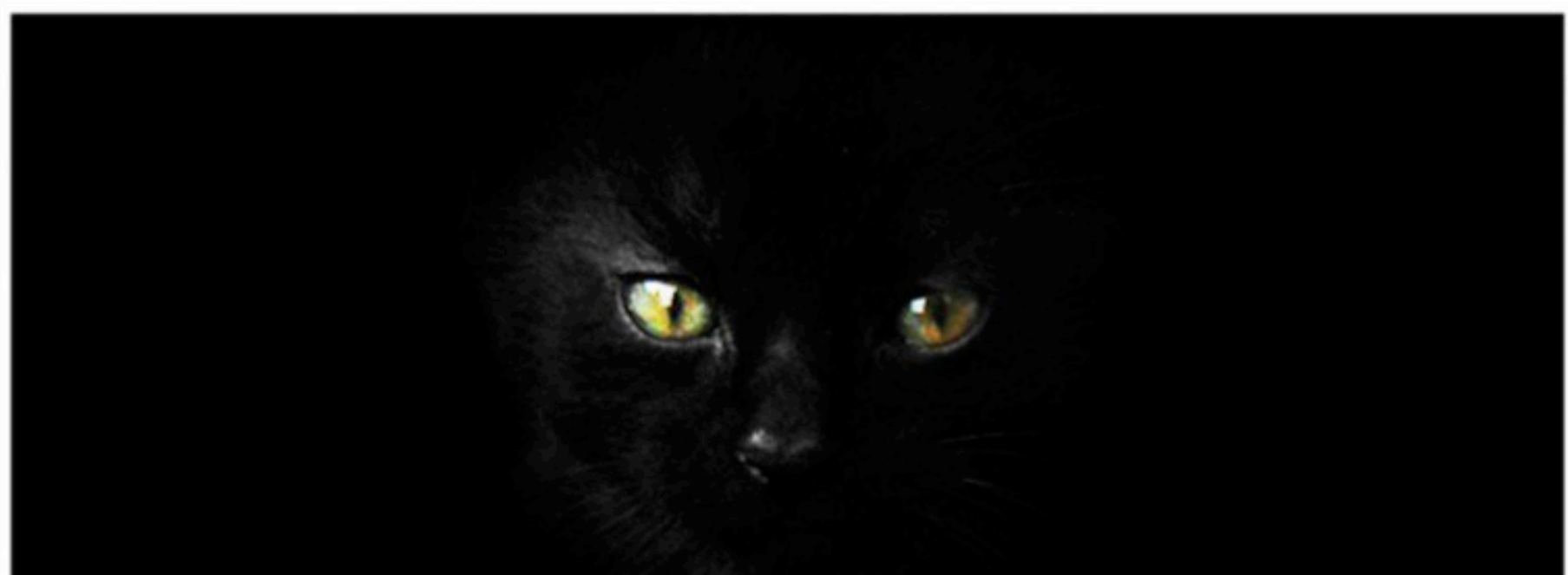
action of the hour speak out

Write a letter to the editor of your local paper, opposing the bills. Contact local news stations and let them know that this is an issue worth covering.



“Internet Freedom Day”

- Last week Geoff brought up net neutrality
- Brought up perception that most people fighting for it are already activists
- With the websites that went black, think about how many people in your life use these sites and how many are "activists"/organizers”
- Example of reach of IT used to engage the masses
- r.i.p. Aaron Swartz (Creative Commons/RSS (Reddit); jstor for all; faced 35 yrs)



**DON'T MESS
WITH THE
INTERNET**



Surveillance and Counter-Surveillance

- Anyone been to an activist meeting?
 - What do folks say about filling out an email list?
- New mccarthyism
 - Reports leaked: “rogue elements” on fb
- Surveillance
 - cctv uc berkeley; your local bus
- Cop Watch
 - deCal





[Jay Stanley](#), senior policy analyst with the Speech, Privacy and Technology Project at the American Civil Liberties Union. See "You Have Every Right to Photograph That Cop."



Divided Movements

“Despite subdivisions of never-unified movements, it appears that vocal communities share a common ‘other,’ defined by the dominant mechanisms of ‘white supremacy, [heteronormativity,] settler colonialism, capitalism, and patriarchy’ [Kaba and Smith].” -

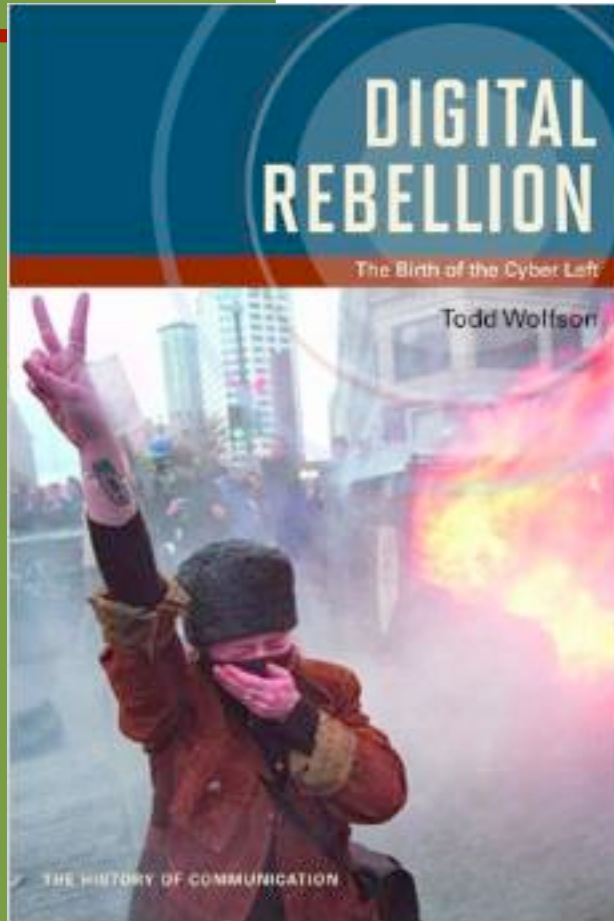
[william alexander tokumaru](#)

- Means by which to know the specific “other”
 - Their names, offices, homes, banks
- Know how much support within and for a movement
- Role of the ally/ability to educate self (secondary sources)
 - “I always feel uninformed when discussing topics like this due to being part of the majority and would prefer to let others speak” (explain William)





On divided movements and the internet



Begins with the rise of the Zapatistas in the mid-1990s, and how aspects of the movement--network organizational structure, participatory democratic governance, and the use of communication tools as a binding agent--became essential parts of Indymedia and all Cyber Left organizations.

Understanding the intersection of Indymedia and the Global Social Justice Movement illuminates their foundational role in the Occupy struggle, Arab Spring uprising, and the other emergent movements that have in recent years re-energized radical politics.



Downfalls of Trust and Social Media

“...these authors fail to realize the damaging consequences that have come about as a result of trusting social media. *We must realize that behind social media are “marketing people with a financial interest to exaggerate their particular sector in the economy” (Lenzo) and the heavy reliance of this medium is simply condoning such behavior. Furthermore, examples such as the imposter “Gay Girl from Damascus” and Kony 2012 illustrate that people are too easily swayed and have forgotten to be vigilant and discerning of the information they see/read.”*

-JESSICA SOOMI LEE



Authenticity?

Is mainstream media more “accountable for its information”?

Is knowledge from above and approved by Rupert Murdoch accountable?

Is traditional media held to a higher standard?

How long does it take for a mainstream media story to be proven false compared to a viral video?

Access to sources? Access to counter-propaganda?

What about open source software? Abilities to create own media and how interact with media



Social Media Reproducing Dehumanizing Narratives

Journalists (who use the same tools) and “twitter trolls” contribute to the same dehumanizing narrative that all Ferguson protesters are violent looters. (McKenzie) Kaba and Smith goes on to explain this, saying that the construction and deployment of negative tropes is only possible from a position of power. This “power” comes in the form of the status quo, which is constantly being reinforced through social media. Over-simplified narratives, despite the open-source nature of the internet, still receive the most traction since they play upon easily digestible and pre-conceived notions.

-RAYMON LACY



Smith's Challenge: Center on those most excluded

“Inclusivity has therefore come to mean that we start with an organizing model developed with white, middle-class people in mind, and then simply add a multicultural component to it” (Smith 2006). Native American activist and feminist scholar/prof Andrea Smith recommends that mainstream feminism stop fixating on superficial inclusion and instead center its analysis and organizing practice on the marginalized.”



Tech Specifying the Oppressor/the othered other

High Tech
Diversity

Human Rights

Media
Accountability

Open Internet

colorofchange.org

What We Do

“Using the Internet, we enable our members to speak in unison, with an amplified political voice...We lobby elected representatives using email, the telephone, and face-to-face meetings.

We bring attention to the needs and concerns of Black folks by holding coordinated events in different parts of the country, running TV and print advertisements, and demanding that the news media cover our issues.

We also work with other groups - online efforts and other organizations that are doing related work - to magnify our impact.”



Tech specifying/justifying the “other”

**Your Country needs
YOU!**



*...but NOT if you are
one of 'Them'*

Make the “other” scary (riots) and insignificant (leaderless, demandless, organizationless, ranting in-fighting longers at their desks); internet helps for both Jasbir K. Puar and Amit S. Rai’s “Monster, Terrorist, Fag: The War on Terrorism and the Production of Docile Patriots:” “the construction of the pathologized psyche of the terrorist monster enables the practices of normalization, which in today’s context often means an aggressive heterosexual patriotism.”

Long words, but the implication is that we create big bad wolves and then create both mockery and fear around it (“you foolish kids protesting, that’s what you get;” “you violent hoodlums rioting, that’s what you get”). Movements still = abnormal psych



Tech talk: beyond the “we’re changing/saving the world”

- Income inequality in Silicon Valley and SF (“worse than Rwanda”)

“it is quite beneficial financially for Silicon Valley to talk about how important they are.

...We are told that change is taking place at an ever-accelerating pace, and that the new is increasingly powerful. The world, the gurus insist, is entering a new historical epoch as a result of technology. In the new economy, in new times...knowledge of the present and past is supposedly ever less relevant.”

“By emphasizing the liberating role of the tools and downplaying the role of human agency, such accounts make Americans feel proud of their own contribution to events in the Middle East. After all, the argument goes, such a spontaneous uprising wouldn’t have succeeded before Facebook was around—so Silicon Valley deserves a lion’s share of the credit.”



What did Occupy do? 1 case study among many: Hurricane Sandy

INTEROCCUPY.NET

ABOUT NEWswire HUBS CALENDAR SERVICES GET IN



HOME

UPDATES

LOCATIONS

MAP

VOLUNTEER

FAQ

RESOURCES

STORYLINE



DONATE

SANDY'S WEDDING REGISTRY



HELP IN
NEW JERSEY!

Volunteers, start here:

1 Register

2 Visit a main distribution center (520 or Jacobi)

We can use your help. Please [donate](#) and [volunteer](#).



CURRENT NEEDS: blankets (we have none), **flashlights**, aaa batteries, **gallon ziplock bags**, cleaning hardware, especially **brooms, flat shovels, mops**, masks and gloves, **hydrogen peroxide**, white vinegar, **any sort of baby/toddler food and formula**, duct and scotch tape, **toiletries (deodorants, tampons, soap, etc)**, can openers. **WE NO LONGER NEED ANY CLOTHING SUPPLIES.** You can ship these items through our wedding registry right now!

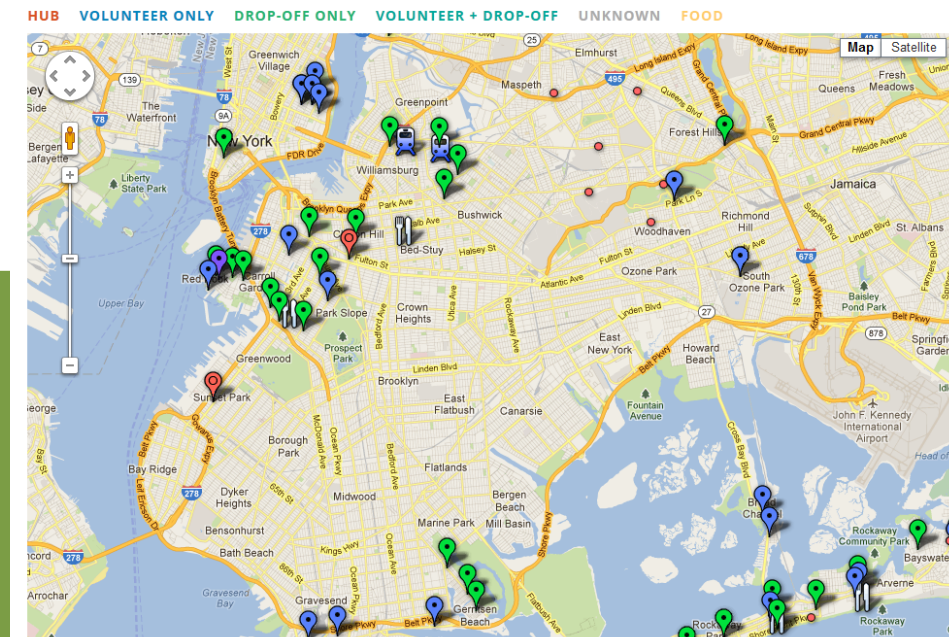
URGENT

ALL NEWS



Cold front coming today! Be prepared with warm clothes and rain gear! [@tumblr.co/ZhOArtX8K-zM](https://tumblr.com/zhOArtX8K-zM) @occupysandy #sandyaid #sandyvolunteer #sandyhelp

6 hours ago · reply · retweet · favorite





Are Movements spontaneous social media outings?

After all, some of the more recent examples of protest seem to have occurred rather spontaneously. Think of the protests in the Arab world, the 2013 protests in Brazil and Turkey, the protest events around WTO meetings, and the mobilizations effectuated by Occupy. Often the role of social media and the availability of free spaces is considered to be critical in understanding whether and how such movements and their mobilizations can exist, when there is no apparent leadership or unitary organization ([Bennett and Segerberg 2012](#); [Castells 2012](#)). This impression is reinforced through selective media coverage of the symbols of protest and the clashes with authorities. On this account [Ishkanian and Glasius \(2013: 9\)](#) assert that “mainstream media ignored the organisational aspects of the [Occupy] encampments,” even though there was ample organization in each of these encampments, such as horizontal organizational structures, strictly enforced rules, and additional services such as classes or separate spaces for women.



Online Technology and Movement Membership

This trend has continued and is visible in, for example, “radical democratic networks” such as Indymedia ([Pickard 2006](#)), as well as in the many examples of post-bureaucratic “DIY” activism, in which membership of SMOs is increasingly unimportant, focussed as it is on specific protest events ([Hensby et al. 2012](#)). Regarding the latter, [Bennett and Segerberg \(2012: 742\)](#) point out how even established SMOs when participating in such protest events “step back from branding [them] in terms of particular organizations, memberships, or conventional collective action frames ... [but rather] cast a broader public engagement net using interactive digital media and easy-to-personalize action themes.” Digital media have reinforced and strengthened this trend in an instrumental manner, but have not created it.

Making use of, and stimulating emergent order in movements is, indeed, an important feature of present day movements. Yet, these alternative forms of organizing give rise to specific issues that can be related to the presence or absence of organizational elements.

The Occupy London Stock Exchange (OLSX) protest camp provides a telling illustration.⁶ Because the camp was open to all, it inevitably attracted homeless people looking for shelter and support. Its inclusiveness was heralded as the embodiment of Occupy’s claim that current capitalism has become exclusive.



On anti-organization and technology

or example, [Soule \(2013: 108\)](#) suggests that “many movement scholars have become interested in loosely structured networks of social movement participants that deliberately eschew formal organizations.” Or, they “have become interested in online activism, which may be possible without traditional social movement organizations” ([Soule 2013: 108](#)). Indeed, several contemporary social movements—opposing corporate globalization, advancing social justice—are increasingly inspired by participatory democracy, “horizontal, leaderless organization” ([Sutherland, Land, and Böhm 2013](#)) and other “post-bureaucratic” ([Grey and Garsten 2001](#)) or even anarchist principles ([Benkler 2013](#); [Graeber 2004](#)). The apparent rejection of received principles of formal organization ([March and Simon 1993](#)) in and by these movements



Anti-hierarchy/rules and technology

Benkler (2013: 216) illustrates this in his analysis of several “working anarchies” in movements around cooperative banking and open source software, confirming that—within these movements —“hierarchy and power reappear, to some extent and in some projects, although they are quite different than the hierarchy of government or corporate organization.” Similar reasoning may apply to other social movements.

Schneider (2011b) reports that “The committee responsible for media relations for Occupy Wall Street has already begun preparing messaging—down to specific tweets—to use in case someone in the movement ends up using violence.”

Schneider, Nathan (2011b). “What ‘Diversity of Tactics’ Really Means for Occupy Wall Street.” Available at www.wagingnonviolence.org/feature/what-diversity-of-tactics-really-means-for-occupy-wall-street/, posted October 19, 2011, accessed November 25, 2013.



Internets is a "series of tubes"

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_cZC67wXUTs



On framing, net neutrality, and the power of “comments”

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?
feature=player_detailpage&v=fpbOEoRrHyU#t=610](https://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_detailpage&v=fpbOEoRrHyU#t=610)



Warning: what you post on the internet is forever

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eNhl0voWsUA>



Homework

This week you can choose to do the assignment for the Tuesday or the Thursday Class. The assignment for the Tuesday class should be submitted via bCourses at the usual time on Sunday. Details on the Thursday class are below.

For Tuesday (4/21): Social Implications of the Internet (Part 2)

Looking back across the course, choose at least two examples that suggest how place has been important in the history of information. Show how these examples support or challenge Marshall's argument.

For Thursday (4/23 class): Storage and Search: (If you choose this assignment, you must work in groups of 2 or 3; send your joint findings to Nikolai or to Paul as a pdf by Tuesday at 6; and come to class prepared not only to discuss your findings, but also if called upon to present your findings to the class.)

Eric Schmidt of Google writes, "We know where you are. We know where you've been. We can more or less know what you're thinking about." By analysis of the ads and links that Google offers you, explore what Google "knows" about you and to what extent it is possible to spoof Google and change its "perception" without losing your identity or Google's utility. Show whether your findings endorse or challenge Schmidt's claim or Zuboff's response.