

NOTES 21M MORNING SESSIONS:

FIRST PART: 9:30am – 10:30am: EMERGING ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS AND DIGITAL TECHNOLOGIES Moderates: Dalida María Benfield

Which organizational forms were adopted by the movements in each case? What is the role of social media in shaping these emerging forms? Are there similarities among the cases? What do these cases tell us about the conditions and organizational principles of collective action?

Warm up presentation:

Egypt: Nagla Rizk

Spain: Mayo Fuster Morell

OWS: Sasha Constanza

Notes taken and live tweeter: Alicia Solow-Niederman

Participants working that might contribute frequently in the discussion: Mayo Fuster Morell, Sasha Costanza-Chock, Rob Faris, Bruce Etling, Nagla Rizk, Alice Mattoni, Colin Maclay, Pablo Rey, Lina Attalah, Jeffrey Juris, Jason Pramas, Beth Coleman, Alicia Solow-Niederman, Dalida María Benfield, Martha Fuentes-Bautista and Gabriel Schaffzin.

SECOND PART: 10:45am-11:45pm: CONTINUATION STUDYING EMERGING ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS AND DIGITAL TECHNOLOGIES: METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES Moderates: Dalida María Benfield

Warm up presentation:

Social Network analysis, text analysis, blogs, Twitter and MSM: Bruce Etling

Occupy research experience: Pablo Rey

Notes taken and live tweeter: Alicia Solow-Niederman

Ending Session Synthesis: Rob Faris

9:30am – 10:30am:

Key Questions:

Which organizational forms were adopted by the movements in each case? What is the role of social media in shaping these emerging forms? Are there similarities among the cases? What do these cases tell us about the conditions and organizational principles of collective action?

Warm up presentations:

OWS: *Sasha Constanza-Chock*

- Recent work-- trying to think through Occupy Mvmt in terms of “media cultures” frame (not yet sure how productive it will be)
 - Shared video from OWS--Taleb Kwali launching into discourse around framing of mvmt, with focus on amplification of mvmt voice across all platforms (via voice, smartphone, computers, mobile platforms, etc)
- **How can we best understand the complex and mutually constitutive relationships between social movements and the media ecology?**
 - We can't understand mvmts if just look at one platform
 - We have access to new set of tools, but need to think about how phenomena we are seeing have existed over time and how they interact across available platforms
- With social movement media cultures frame, consider:
 1. **How can we think through ‘life course’ approach?**
 - a. How do people take experiences across sites/over time (e.g., from 1999 air radio protests; video activists protesting cable companies during 1980s; how livestreaming has gone from resource-intensive, difficult activity to one with much smaller barriers)
 - b. **How** do individuals move protest/social movement/media practices across different sites, over time? Where do individuals ‘cut their teeth’? Where do they learn (e.g., Gupta’s print practice in NY to create counter-narratives to ‘war on terror’ → co-founder of OWS Journal)
 2. **How can we consider complex media ecology?**
 - a. In context of transformed media ecology, with a lot of attn. on social media spaces, Sasha thinks:
 - i. we can't understand this w/o understanding social media practices/cultures
 - ii. we can't understand how mvmts are translated/circulated internationally w/o looking at complex media ecology
 - how particular texts/frames circulate isn't in one platform (e.g., social media space alone); rather, it's about how message is amplified/circulated across platforms (e.g., print media→online media→ social media space)

Egypt: Nagla Rizk (“One Year Later... Thoughts from Egypt)

- Egypt--people were on the streets in continuation of protests that had been taking place both on and offline
 - “Critical mass of masses”
 - Not just in Tahrir Square; across country
 - Organic, bottom-up, with homogeneous, unified group out on the street--

- Multiple phases (three parts of movement); important to recognize differences between these three parts
 - Homogeneous group that was one voice at beginning is now divided; don't always know who is against whom
 - Would we have ended up with divisions if we had had an organizational leader? Would there have been a chance to crush one leader?
 - No plan after Mubarak left; no leader; everyone was divided among own interests, and homogeneity/collaboration was never the same after this point

- 40% of respondents use Internet, and almost 30% of this group use Facebook
- In Egypt, people communicate mostly face-to-face
 - **Social media matters, BUT need to look at specifics of Egyptian case to understand that in country of 85M, not everyone goes online**
 - **Context is significant--consider place of Egypt's digital network in global network as well as its place in historical context**
- In Egypt, Twitter has smaller share than Facebook
- November was critical--protests against SCAF--negative attitude towards SCAF w/ massacre of Egyptian citizens (survey of #SCAF on Twitter)

- OWS versus Egypt?
 - Yes, both built around occupying a square, but also different
 - Access to tools?
 - Developing country versus developed country?
 - **Distinction between motivations?**
 - To what extent is it all driven by economic motivations?
 - Relative share of political motivation in different mvmts? (political motivations were significant in Egypt, a developing democracy, and there was a need for economic development, not just economic growth; how is this different from OWS and Spain, which are both developed democracies?)
 - Nagla doesn't see clear economic motivations in Egypt; thinks there was much stronger role for politics>economics

- Presentation refers to the Spanish case (“Rebellion of the Indignant”/15M mobilization)
- Fed from a research project Mayo developed last year in Spain, “From digital commons to society commons,” which was based on interviews, participative observation and web analysis of 145 initiatives.
 - Project analyzed the influence of the Free culture movement in the emergence of the *Indignatos* mobilization in Spain.
 - Mayo also developed research on global mobilization 10 years ago

- **Disruptive change of scenario** before and after 15 May (15M) mobilization
- In one month, **level of support in population increased enormously**
 - Largest mobilizations since Spain's transition to democracy in 1975
 - 80% of the population said they identified with 15M mvmt's reasons for mobilizing (Elpais Survey June 2011)

- Citizens aligned with right mobilized and showed support
- Mvmt's mobilization gained visibility by synchronizing with and intervening in **electoral campaigning** (both at level of regional and national elections)
 - Campaigns urging people, "don't vote" or to vote disrupting bipartisanship
- **Political meaning:**
 - Slogans:
 - *"Truly democracy now"*
 - Going to the "roots" and questioning equilibrium built during the transition to the democracy in 1975
 - **Combined social demands with demand for change of the political representational system**
 - *Politics do not represent us*
 - Change of era, rupture with the model
 - Participant message: *"This is not a crisis, is that I don't love you anymore"*
 - Desire for complete change
 - *"We are not a commodity of politicians and bankers"*
 - Questioned both economic and political systems and elites
- **Ambivalent character -**
 - Mvmt transmitted both a message of "protest" against life precarization (e.g., 44% of youth unemployed, abysmal housing conditions, cuts in health and education budgets, etc.) and a message of empowerment built around idea that "we can",
 - citizens getting organized- witness a more active role of active civic society as resource provider and manager (in contrast to market and state modes)
 - Since 2008, high increase of "alternative" practices
 - Deep increase in cooperativism (workers, housing, wireless, consumers (organic food), etc.); increase of ethical banking, time banks and other forms of reciprocal cooperation.
 - Occupy squares were feeding and spreading those practices
 - Data--On the basis of 145 initiatives: **52% framed their action as "performative"/building together/cooperation, in contrast to 32% who framed their action as protest (positioning the action and changes in political institutions).**

Which organizational forms were adopted by the movements in each case?

- From a movement of the global movement to an "informational eco-systemic" movement/ cloud mobilization that flexibly connected several forms, degrees and layers of involvement; and which flow through individual belonging and multi-belonging and previous modes of affinity.
- **Scalability though "layering" of several degrees and model of involvement build**
 - **First layer:** "Non-politicized" initiative to mobilize citizens coordinated through Facebook and casual bars aggregating "new" and youth people and by the new groups during the previous 4 months of 15M (inspired by Arab Spring and Iceland mobilizations).
 - **Second layer:** Convergence with the housing movement and free culture movement.
 - **Third layer:** 15M big mobilization and spontaneous occupation of square in Madrid. Square repression of the little occupation (and its echoes through the social media) activated the solidarity from social movement networks,

mobilizations against education and health cuts and mobilized them coming also to the squares.

- **Four:** Merging in the squares between “new” active citizens with previous (more traditional) social movements networks of the global movement or recent mobilizations of students. Later on, going from central squares in each city to neighborhoods.
- **Five:** Square repression arriving to mass media activated the sympathy of older generations very sensibility in Spanish with police repression evocative of the dictatorship, and the sensibility of large population suffering life precariousness. Not mobilized in the street but supporting the mobilization.
- **Six:** In the course of one month, major trade unions and lefties political parties also called to mobilize to the days of protest but did not converge with the squares.
- **Seven:** The organizers of the first mobilization (Truly democracy now) did not converged with the squares either, but keep mobilizing for the shared days of protest.
- **At the end:** Plurality of mobilization processes without or with minor direct communication sharing “moments of convergence”/days of action (15M, 17J, 15O, 12M etc) coordinated though an “informational ecosystem” that facilitate the synergy between several forms, degree and layers of involvement – which favor mobilization scalability and increase the capacity and speed of citizens to react and organization.

- **“Committed” individualism and “friend affinity” put into action:** Increase of individuals base modes of involvement and multi-belonging. Organization of the mobilization though previous networks of friendship and other forms of affinity.
- **Questions “any” form of representation.**

What is the role of social media in shaping these emerging forms?

- Social media and the Internet is not only a tool (a media), importantly is an organizational metaphor (I.e. proliferation of technological symbolism).
- Social media and its dialogue with traditional media creates the “informational ecosystem” that make possible the collective action. Favors scalability, unpredictability and speed the mobilization.
- The organizational form of the mobilization has similarities with the commons based peer production (digital commons such as Wikipedia): Power law distribution of participation (combining several levels and forms), decentralization - being together in a fragmented way, and individual forms of participation.
- Free culture movement played a mayor role in 15M mobilization. As one of the starting points (“Sinde Law” approval in December 2010), trajectory of mobilization (shift from digital commons to society commons), and as organizational model.

Are there similarities among the cases?

* Level of support very high and large dimension of the mobilization, like in Arab Spring, but in contrast to USA.

* Similar repertoire of actions between the several cases: square occupation with “informational ecosystem” movement.

* Ambivalence character: In Spain increase of “alternative” practices since 2008.

* In Spain increase both of the use of commercial tools (such as Facebook and Twitter) and of “autonomous alternative infrastructure” (such as N -1).

Final reflections on theoretical frame of analysis:

- Media/communication versus organizational approach
- Mayo is not interested on mobilization per se, so much as what mobilization can tell us about emerging models of production and organization
 - **Occupy as a business model**
 - Increase in civil society as opposed to increase in role of state or market
- Mayo applied **common base peer production theoretical frame to analyze new wave of social cooperation cases**
- Need to **move beyond traps of social movements theory and civic society studies**, approaching **civic society autonomously as a “productive” model of resources**, in order to verify if it is increasing in importance in contrast to market and state formats

Cristina Maria Flesher Fominaya:

- Encourages us to think about importance of #13M protests, and how protests against terrorism attacks in Spain opened up space to protest in the day before elections (when political activity typically prohibited) “without getting your head cracked open”

Jeffrey Juris:

- Social networking tools bring together individuals; one way to look at issues is by thinking less about dynamics of networking and more about **dynamics of aggregation**
 - In thinking about OWS, consider them not in terms of networking frames, but rather more as flash mob-esque mobilizations that transform temporary protests of individuals into individuals via a convergence of space → activists using social media ‘converge’ on the social networking space in ways that extend over time

Martha Fuentes-Bautista:

- Consider what groups (e.g., sports clubs, celebrity clubs, etc.) can play a role in combating oppression because they already have organization and know-how
 - What is the logic of how different groups organized/operated on the ground in each space?

Nagla Rizk:

- How to think about dynamics of offline/online presence, and how online players interact with people on the ground? How do these dynamics evolve over time?
 - For example, in Egypt, how did Muslim Brotherhood interact at beginning of revolution versus now (e.g., role at outset was very different from today, when it is in parliament), and how has this role evolved over time?
- How do events (e.g., SCAF massacres) affect dynamics over time and cause roles played by particular groups to evolve? How can we consider different population compositions in different cases and take these “mosaics of the population” into account in our conclusions and frames?

Sasha Costanza Chock:

- Like Juris’ intervention re: looking at actual organizational forms (from GAs to Working Groups, histories of activists within each, eg Food tents organized by food not bombs, medics connect to street medic history, tech networks connected to indymedia tech networks, and so on.
- What to learn from failure of OWS to “massify” beyond young, liberal, educated, white people?
 - Racial politics/divisions around race and ethnicity will differ in each case, but this is interesting to look at and consider in each case to see what we can learn

Jason Pramas:

- So called base building organizations don’t have a base in most cases

- They play a gatekeeper role, and in many cases kept people of color from participation
- downwardly mobile white people participated in occupy originally, but then left as they felt they weren't core

Gabriel Schaffzin (?)

- Need to look at movement, not specific occupation; when do so, question arises whether there is really anything that is new?
 - When consider movements over time, realize it is specific occupation in a particular location that is new, not sentiments behind the movement
 - **Issue of boundaries of movement become critical**
 - What is specific to one occupation, and what goes beyond this occupation to broader movements that existed before that particular occupation? what extends beyond this particular occupation?

Autonomist left is key, although they also rejected occupy as naive

When occupiers wanted to negotiate w/police, anarchists and autonomists decided not to participate.

Decolonize / (de)occupy

Dalida Maria Benfield--Concluding Remarks:

Key Points:

Question of new and old in media and politics

Emerging logics of representation

Layers, fragmentation, and boundaries

10:45am-11:45pm: CONTINUATION STUDYING EMERGING ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS AND DIGITAL TECHNOLOGIES: METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

Moderator: Dalida María Benfield

Warm up presentations:

Social Network analysis, text analysis, blogs, Twitter and MSM: Bruce Etling

- Some ways that Berkman has done research--
 - Social network analysis of foreign language blogospheres (Based on languages; language groups as opposed to countries because it works better for software)
 - Find that a lot of groups that don't have space to organize offline appear online
 - In Russia, find a lot of groups organizing in non-aligned way (e.g., in ways that don't align with traditional political party, such as cultural, public affairs, dem-opp, business/econ, etc.)
 - Media Cloud analysis (based on Ethan Zuckerman's software over at MIT)
 - US popular blogs
 - Analysis of Russian blogs v. MSM
 - Analyzing whether blogs/MSM discuss issues in ways that reinforce or oppose language of Russian government
 - Find that MSM/TV are much more similar to gov't language than blogs; therefore, blogs rep. "alternative public sphere"
 - Analysis of Egypt; find that once again, blogs have different line on issues than MSM, which tends to be closer to gov't language

- Yochai's Truthiness research-- analysis of blogosphere for SOPA/PIPA
 - Huge role for tech news, independent groups (both U.S.-based, like EFF, and also internat'l groups like *laquadrature.org* in France), and for specific campaign sites against proposed laws
 - Not to say that MSM has no impact; however, not central in map and not biggest nodes in map, suggesting that they are far less central to conversation
 - Future research-- Explore connections among nodes to see how nodes talked about specific issues

Occupy research experience: Pablo Rey

(Please see <http://www.occupyresearch.net/> and <http://www.slideshare.net/numeroteca/methods-occupyresearch-and-15m> for more info)

- Analyze role of social media v. MSM in covering Spanish protests:
 - Compare front pages from Spanish newspapers addressing #15M versus Twitter #15M Movement (w/ caveat that this depends a bit on which hashtags you follow)
- See how MSM and social media re-framed same events
 - Analyzed role of social media v. MSM in occupy movements
- Assess coverage of various Arab countries during Arab Revolutions
 - Interestingly, only one country seems to be covered at once
- **Methods used by Occupy Research:**
 - (All methods actually! It's a platform for sharing research questions, tools, methods, data, processes. The most active currently are survey, data viz, occupy oakland wg but that changes quickly)
 - Data and visualization
 - People tend to pay more attention to Twitter (easy to get data quickly)
 - Trendistic (tool to see trends in Twitter, in real time)
 - ScraperWiki (tool to automatically scrape Numeroteca/Occupyboston tweets in real-time)
 - 'R' tool (tool to see small amount of tweets around one keyword, e.g., #occupy)
- Considering best ways to visualize data as well as how to collect it
- Determining what to extract from what has been collected/explained already
- Synthesizing data from across different sites (e.g., Occupy Oakland survey)
- **Other tools:**
 - Maps:
 - Bifi (allows you to see, live, different movements)
 - Occupy Streams Map (visual rep. of different occupy streams that exist)
 - Other Visual Representations:
 - 'Meta-meme' to see different memes/images that have been created
 - Less mathematical, more artistic media that use data to create image (e.g., 'Walk like an Egyptian' mosaic using images from individual protesters)
 - Blogs:
 - 15M CC
 - Observatorio Metropolitano (synthesizing research across different orgs)
- **Details on Occupy Research:**
 - Network of researchers developed in early Oct 2011
 - Wanted to research in spirit of occupy mvmt-- built around idea of open research that shares results/efforts in a public way

- Continuing efforts to make tools shareable and encourage collaboration
- Organized around wiki/conference calls (every other Tuesday)

Mayo Fuster Morell:

- In Spanish case, protests increased use of infrastructure/use of tools for mobilization/organization, yet movement tools (e.g., wiki) are typically not public
 - Movement very public in some ways (e.g., public demonstrations), yet closed in other ways because some spaces (e.g., wikis) are only open to very committed members who are specifically given access
 - **Open versus closed/hidden spaces for organization, protest, and collaboration**

Nagla Rizk:

- Offline modes of coordinating and reaching others come to mind as spaces for mobilization that are protected and safe

Bruce Etling:

- In Arab world, forums exist with invitations that provide safe space for political discussion (sort of equivalent of password protected Facebook group)
 - Issue that many different spaces and players are 'hidden' in order to feel safe expressing themselves; as a result, they cannot effectively come together and collaborate because they never know that another group thinks/feels similarly

Sasha Costanza Chock:

- In case of Occupy Research, desire to get researchers who would all be interested in same questions (e.g., scraping Twitter) to collaborate and share what they were doing/methods they were using, etc.
 - Successful in sense of sharing data, hackathons, etc.
 - BUT there are also huge challenges around issues like access; big picture questions re: relationship of researchers to research; privacy issues (how to share data in open way when people shared private information in survey); tension between open collaborative processes and some type of accountability/face-to-face communication (working groups that made the most progress after initial convening were those with face-to-face meetings)

Media Cloud Analysis:

- *Question: Are clouds/relationships among nodes dynamic? Do they change over time?*
 - In case of Occupy Research, desire to get researchers who would all be interested in same questions (e.g., scraping Twitter) to collaborate and share what they were doing/methods they were using, etc.

Bruce Etling: In Russian case, most issues remain static; however, government does seem to have more power to affect and shape conversation around elections

- Autonomous groups outside the mainstream political process join together in mobilization moments

Dania El-Khechen:

- Question re: Videos and analysis. For example, there's an analysis of videos about Syria. YouTube is widely used in protests; is anyone working on analysis of that?

Dalida Maria Benfield: Dalida has been working on analyzing representations of race&gender in OWS videos. There's a working group called Occupy Race <http://occupyresearch.wikispaces.com/occupyrace> w/in ORnetwork; people are going to do crowdsourced analysis of racial representation. Phone calls, announced on the wiki.

In terms of Dania's question re: distributed methodology (see above): through phone calls, have had shifting group of researchers (new movement actors join in conversation). It's been a space where people could discuss race in Occupy in ways that were difficult to do in their local space. Should work to synthesize this sort of work, and think about how to include analysis of youtube in conversations.

Laurence Cox:

- There are always methodological issues w/bottom up research. Part of what makes a movement successful is that it gets out of one sphere; however, that doesn't mean that sphere isn't important.

Tim McCarthy:

- There's an Occupyvideo group on Vimeo; Archives of video from Occupy will be avail.

Jeffrey Juris (responding in part to Mayo and Laurence):

- Ethnography is still key. If you want to get to intimate spaces, you have to get beyond broad based mapping approaches. I'm geeky enough to love these maps and visualizations.
- **To be a bit controversial, want to ask to what extent are maps and visualizations useful, and to what extent are they a distancing from movement goals?** On one hand they resonate with free software movement; on the other they bring objectification / distance. It's difficult to make interviews and ethnography public. There's a tension there.
 - **How to bridge divide between ethnographic methods and data driven methods?**

Dan Ryan:

- Need more data on ethnographic end of things to see who is reading things/who cares
 - The more I play w/data, it's if you have a hammer, everything looks like a nail. We forget about reception end. Does anyone actually read this stuff? We're shallow on whether anyone is reading this, and are they moved by it. We don't have enough reception studies in this area.

Cristina Maria Flesher Fominaya:

- **Also concerned about ethnographic issues in terms of power struggles w/in social movements**
 - The data stuff is absolutely incredible. Stacks of stuff that's hand coded. But in the shift from data collection and analysis, what do we lose?
- What gets published and who doesn't? Who controls what is published? Who has access to which information? What is closed v. open? Who is reading what?
- Need to consider how digital access inequality affects access to information and participation in mvmt--issue of tech savvy, digital access inequality.
 - Face value of production of information. We know there are tremendous power struggles for example behind Indymedia. What gets posted. Closed lists and open lists.
- **Also should consider how meanings change over time, and how this interacts with questions about power**

- How do meanings change as story/issue goes across different platforms?
 - Example: A man who died in London protests, who wasn't even protesting, gets held up as a protest martyr. So the shifts in meaning across the space as they get mashed up is really interesting.
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Martha Fuentes-Bautista

- Sharing data via OccupyResearch space has been really interesting; first release will be this weekend
- Consider how people may share different kinds of data in different contexts
 - There are things people will say to an ethnographer, and things they might say in an anonymized survey. Going back to reception, we need to bring all of this to bear and say: 'here's where the data matches, here's where there are gaps.'

Jason Pramas

- What is the primary audience for all this research? The opponents. People are doing stuff that governments and the state can take and say 'oh, thanks, this saved us a lot of money.' There are sympathetic researchers. But the question is: **what kind of research does the movement need?** Power structure analysis in every city, for example. Key targets to go after. That kind of stuff.

Sasha Costanza Chock:

- Next step for OR network is to take shared tools/skills people are building through movement research process to research the 1% and identify targets in a particular location (for example, Occupy Oakland Research WG is doing this now), then share how to expand this research across multiple sites.

Mayo Fuster Morell:

- Important to consider: **although there's a powerlaw distribution, there are many people who are important to a movement who are participating; how to incorporate them in research?**
- Big data analysis needs to include people beyond core groups
 - It's not just about research based on the activities of those at one end of powerlaw distribution
- To some extent, the results you get depend on the methods you use
 - We can't do everything at once, and as we generate all this data, we don't have time to look at it. So a survey might get people who just show up once but aren't sleeping there.
 - In case of Montreal, website survey had a different crowd
 - In Montreal, linguistic differences are very important, so the language of the survey made a huge difference
 - Montreal is a bilingual city; the poor people occupying were mostly francophone, the leaders mostly anglophone
- If use just one method (especially in face-to-face studies), will miss a lot
 - Consider what method (snowball sampling, surveying people who go to website, random survey, etc.) fits best in certain instance
 - Consider ramifications of relying on online v. offline research methods
 - May get different groups/results depending on use of technology (or not)
 - Most people staying in the occupations weren't looking at the web at all. They don't have internet access, and too busy w/f2f

activities of working groups.

- **Need to think about security/state surveillance in online monitoring efforts:**

- cops don't need to infiltrate, as real names are used (e.g., on public discussion on facebook page), information is on the web.

Sasha: naive to think everyone who is protesting isn't aware of security; some people are very savvy, people know that this is happening and still choose to be transparent. Of course not everyone, but this is reductive.

- Need to be careful when making generalizations about how people in a mvmt act

Sasha, with support from Nagla Rizk:

- Part of moral power of movement that people chose to make things transparent even though they are being surveilled; have made choice as agents and as mvmt actors to participate transparently *despite* risks, and this is part of the mvmt effort itself (in contrast with closed nature of extreme security culture)

Laurence Cox:

- Does security culture really even work?
 - Example: The IRA was heavily infiltrated. There's something interesting that happens when people beyond the closed loop start participating.
 - Consider who will object to police repression, who will object if the movement adopts a certain tactic. Who supports our right to protest?

Cristina María Flesher Fominaya:

- Disagrees with some of what has been said:
 - There's being hyper security conscious, and there's being naively open, and there's something in between: being smart.
 - We have to take anonymity and protection very seriously.
- 'Being smart' is essential; can't say surveillance doesn't matter at all as prepare next move for mvmt
 - The element of surprise of direct actions is crucial.
 - Mvmnts often share information selectively with only a core group
 - <http://lahaine.org/>
- The context of repression is important, as are the possible consequences of participation
 - Are you gonna spend a night in jail? be tortured? be disappeared?

Francesca Vassallo:

- Francesca brings up example of GMO activism:
 - Announcing which fields you're going to burn down in the context of GMO activism. There's a cat and mouse game: sometimes movement wins, sometimes police. The next step in the movement: self report yourself to the closest police station. There's a trial, a conviction, a fine, sometimes a year in jail. There is this strategy: we will do this in public. This allows them to expand the message and amplify it.
 - In case of GMO activism, everything goes back to amplifying the message. Even with the idea of fear of authority, people will pay the consequences because it's good for mvmt in longer term

Francis Dupuis-Dert

Are people doing research on new methods of police repression w/these tools?

The little we know about the repression is what we can see: what they do in the streets. Some

sociologists have done interviews and observation of the cops. But we never read research about new problems w/police repression. Be interesting to look at that. It could help the movement.

Jeff: Tourin Monahan is doing a lot of work on police surveillance techniques.

Liberation Technology group out of Stanford is doing a lot of work in this space. It can be very difficult unless you go offline. At the nation state level it gets even more sophisticated.

Mayo: we're thinking about hiding things or making them public. But there's an element of fast and slow, and an element of scalability. The speed of the movement changes the equation. Who thought it wouldn't be risky to block the Catalan Parliament? In 3 days it was decided to do it. The fact that organizations can move very fast, changes the distribution of risk. Beyond hidden and open to speed and scalability.

Synthesis and Session Conclusion:

Rob Faris:

- One key point: surveillance, when carried out well, is unobservable; what we learn about are the failed efforts/things that have leaked
- There's a lot more to do in the afternoon in talking about organization forms.
- Suggests that a lot of what we're talking about is **social capital** (e.g., everything that's really important in life that we don't know how to capture and measure)
- Key take-away: notion of having different organizations and groups--some formed independently, some coalescing and coming together--over time
 - Nuanced understanding of group organizations: Different groups that at times come together over a different issue, then at times break out and attract new people, and interact with other groups
- Lots of unpack in terms of media structures/ecologies (*Mayo* brought up this point)
- *Nagla* mentioned leaderless revolutions; we could talk about that for days.
 - This is not 'free nelson mandela' with a name and face at the top.
 - But there are voices, there is leadership. The question is, when you disembodify leadership what happens?
 - What is interaction between new organizational forms and new forms of leadership? How do groups coalesce over time, as leaders lead communities rather than individuals?
- *Methodological questions:*
 - The rich nature of digital media allows us to visualize and quantify in rich ways. We have unparalleled ability to look at it. Organization becomes visible; you can see structure emerge; you can see digital communities take shape.
 - That said, we don't know what we're seeing and what we're missing when we do that. What's represented there and what's not? Which issues are missing from the online agenda?

[Rob thinks we see most of the framing and organizing but miss some of it]

[*scc: I think the opposite: we're seeing just the tip of the iceberg and missing most of it :)*]

]

- Security is important to be mindful of and keep a focus on.
- *Key Question:* What's really new and different? Across mobilization spaces; what is different in 2012? Are the tools and mechanisms of social movements really different from 10-20 years ago. Is there a paradigm shift, or business as usual?
- Are organizational forms really different? Do we have a shift around hierarchy? Or is it just human interactions that haven't changed that much? I'm in favor of the 'quantum

change' theory but don't have the evidence to back it up.

BIKE RACK

questions/backchannel/stuff that we don't get to discuss.

[Does anyone actually think direct actions are being planned on FB?]

[One Answer: Maybe not now/in U.S. case, but it has happened:

<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1354096/Egypt-protests-Police-use-Facebook-Twitter-track-protesters.html>

and not quite the same, but also see:

<http://www.forbes.com/sites/andygreenberg/2011/02/04/as-egyptians-reconnect-their-government-will-be-watching/>

Synthesis and Session Conclusion: Rob Faris