

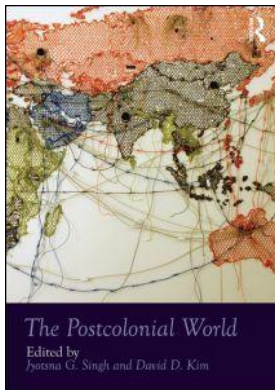
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CHAPTER TWENTY ONE

IF FANON HAD HAD FACEBOOK

Postcolonial knowledge, rhizomes, and the gnosis of the digital



Adeline Koh

The Third World must start over a new history of man which takes account of not only the occasional prodigious theses maintained by Europe but also its crimes, the most heinous of which have been committed at the very heart of man, the pathological dismembering of his functions and the erosion of his unity, and in the context of the community, the fracture, the stratification and the bloody tensions fed by class, and finally, on the immense scale of humanity, the racial hatred, slavery, exploitation and above all, the bloodless genocide whereby one and a half billion men have been written off.

So comrades, let us not pay tribute to Europe by creating states, institutions, and societies that draw their inspiration from it.

Humanity expects other things from us than this grotesque and generally obscene emulation.¹

In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Frantz Fanon makes a stirring argument that colonialism cannot end without a radical shift in mainstream discourse. He issues a call to accomplish this shift through pioneering ideological innovations. But the media environment available to Fanon at that moment was drastically different from the one today. In this essay, I would like to explore the question: what if Fanon had had Facebook at his disposal in the 1950s? By invoking “Facebook,” I am not limiting this question to that particular platform, but I want to gesture towards a larger conceptualization of knowledge distribution in digital ecologies. I ask: how would Fanon have reacted to the Internet and social media? How would he have tried to deconstruct and reconstruct it for his own radical use? Anticolonialist theorists like Fanon emphasized the disconnect between material realities and conventional ideologies – seen, for example, in his well-known argument that the inferiority complex of the colonized subject “is the outcome of a double process: – primarily, economic; subsequently, the internalization – or, better, the epidermalization of this inferiority”² – an argument as to how economic inequity becomes naturalized into issues of race. For Fanon, it is absolutely urgent for postcolonialist critics to point out and emphasize this dissonance. Social media outlets provide more avenues for individuals to influence popular opinion than previous ones. Do the abundance of

new outlets to distribute information in the digital space – what I term the “networked digital ecology”³ – provide a platform to create this room for relative ideological freedom?

This chapter considers this question through studying what I term the *gnosis* of the digital frontier. I borrow this term from V.Y. Mudimbe’s exploration of *gnosis* and the construction of Africa, signifying methods of inquiry and knowing that are shaped by the procedures of its use and transmission.⁴ I will elaborate on this term in the next section. While there have been many studies of radical media forms utilized by decolonial activists in the form of print media, radio, television and film,⁵ scholars have yet to make progress in connecting the political use of digital media with the history of radical media. In other words, they have frequently written off digital forms as lightweight “clicktivism” and “slactivism,” arguing that social media only engenders “weak ties” as opposed to the “strong ties” needed to form robust political community, and cautioning against the preponderance of corporate data-surveillance methods particularly in forms of social media activism.⁶ Yet, the potential of social media activism and the web more generally in providing new avenues for social organization since 2009 has been undeniable, ranging from groundbreaking events such as the Arab Spring, the Occupy Wall Street movement, hashtags on feminism on Twitter (#SolidarityisforWhiteWomen, #NotYourAsianSidekick) to online movements protesting the state treatment of the police shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, and the murder of Trayvon Martin in Florida. All of these events convene around community passions and angers around issues such as class exploitation, racism in white feminism, and the racism of law enforcement institutions, all of which are not generally given voice within the mainstream media.

In this essay, I argue that postcolonial scholars should intervene in this discussion and engage with social media especially because of the historical relevance of media to constructing political discourse in postcolonial thought. I unpack the ways in which digital knowledge is fundamentally different from print and consider several ways of developing a postcolonial “*gnosis*” given this difference. A foundational aspect of this shift lies in the changing notion of expertise and authority. Because digital publishing is generally so much cheaper and more freely available to content producers than print has ever been, information and its dissemination on the web are flourishing and multiplying in a way that exceeds everything available in print. Additionally, unlike print knowledge, digital knowledge is much less hierarchal, more continuously public, and less centrally administered or controlled. Access to digital knowledge also functions differently: valuable work is filtered to users via hyperlinks and algorithms rather than through traditional experts and authorities.

I contend that studying the *gnosis* of digital media offers the possibility to create a “rhizome” for knowledge distribution, a structure that conforms to many goals within anticolonial critique. Developed by Deleuze and Guattari, the “rhizome” offers a polyvalent structure that was invented to counter the binary oppositions in Enlightenment thought. Through an analysis of the *gnosis* of digital media, I suggest that decolonial revolutionaries like Fanon would have encouraged postcolonial activists to emphasize and utilize the rhizomatic structures of the digital world as a means of pushing the limits of colonial hierarchies and its orders of knowledge, while at the same time cautioning against the increasing reliance of algorithms to filter information.

PRINT VS. DIGITAL GNOSIS: PYRAMID, NETWORK, RHIZOME, AND OPENING UP EXPERTISE

In *The Invention of Africa*, V.Y. Mudimbe writes that

it is obvious that since its inception Africanism has been producing its own motives as well as its objects, and fundamentally commenting on its own being, while systematically promoting a *gnosis*. From this *gnosis* ultimately arose both African discourses on otherness and ideologies of alterity, of which *négritude*, black personality, and African philosophy might be considered the best established in the present-day intellectual history of Africa.⁷

Through this critique of knowledge formation by and about Africa and its peoples, he calls for a critical reflection on the role of Africanism – a discipline largely dominated by Europeans and Americans studying Africa and Africans – in creating the knowledge of Africa. For Mudimbe, *gnosis* is both a critical engagement with the colonial construction of this knowledge while simultaneously giving indigenous African philosophy equal weight. I find Mudimbe’s construction of *gnosis* particularly valuable in studying the landscape of social media because of his emphases on self-reflexivity and the ways in which structures create possibilities for knowledge. In this section, I outline some of the core differences between the structures of print and digital knowledge, to elaborate on what I consider digital *gnosis*.

Print and digital knowledges differ structurally. As the shape on the left in Figure 21.1 illustrates, print knowledge operates according to a pyramid structure. The expense of print production necessitates filters – filters that come in the form of the “expert” or specialized authorities who have been chosen for their ability to select work of merit because of their trusted mastery of certain areas, or their tastes and sensibilities. Print’s widespread reliance on expertise to assert its value has its origins in the mid-nineteenth century, with the burgeoning of scientific fields and industries, which emphasized positivism, data collection, measurability, and repeatability.

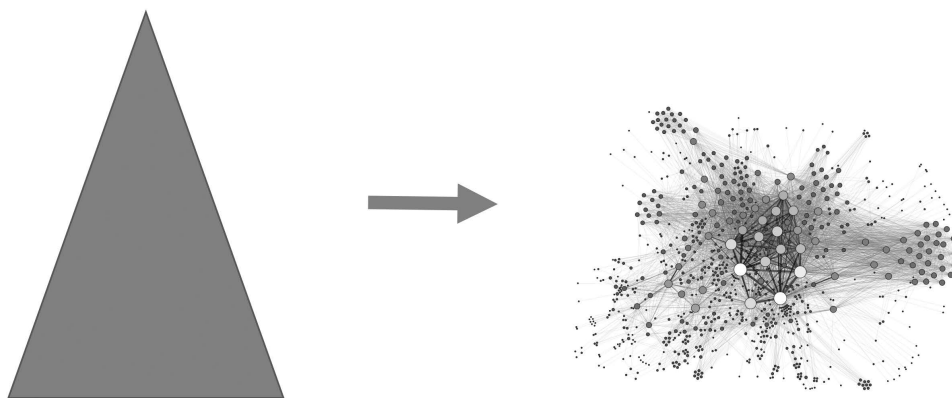


Figure 21.1 From print knowledge to digital knowledge.
Source and Permission: Author, Adeline Koh.

Donald Ableson⁸ locates the rise of reliance on the “professional expert” in the United States with a meeting held six months after the end of the Civil War, where scientific experts from a variety of fields were brought together to create the American Association for the Promotion of Social Science to inform public policy. The degree to which the “scientification” of such knowledges is politically charged with racial and colonial overtones can be found in the rise of “scientific racism” common in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which employed scientific discourses such as anthropology, craniometry, and other disciplines to suggest the inferiority of some races and superiority of others.

The point is that print and digital knowledges are differently constituted. Only a little bit of all information produced eventually passes through the filters to be published – what gets published is symbolized by the narrow apex of the pyramid. This fraction has gone through extensive review and selection, after experts in the form of professors, acquisition editors, and review boards have combed through innumerable proposals and manuscripts to deem what is fit to print.

At the same time, digital publication has no real need for experts for vetting ideas prior to being made public. The rise of WYSIWYG editors and simple, free blogging platforms such as Blogger and WordPress makes disseminating information as easy as a click of a mouse button. Internet publication does not require the heavy investment of production supplies – typesetters, printers, paper, storage for books, etc. Mistakes are easily corrected on a website, quite unlike the mistakes in print, which once typeset are difficult and costly to amend. Current forms of social media – most notably the “microblogging” platform of Twitter – allow for new imaginings of idea dissemination and what constitutes a research text or literary work. Digital knowledge, in this regard, works more similarly to the shape on the right in Figure 21.1 – that of a network.

The structural shift from pyramid to network has many implications. First, a shift to a network suggests that digital knowledge is much less hierarchical and more decentered. In print, in order to make work public, one needs to get the approval of traditional gatekeepers such as acquisitions editors, editorial boards, scientific authorities, professors, academics, teachers, and magazine and book editors. The logic goes something like this: print is too expensive to allow for mediocre or poor work to be published and thus we need these gatekeepers. But because the costs of digital publishing are so low in comparison, this logic does not quite work. Anyone with a connection to the Internet with the desire to make their work and ideas public is capable of doing so. The democratic vision I am painting here, however, presumes universal and permanent access to the Internet, which continues to be uneven according to social-economic class and digital infrastructures in varied locations.

This ability to make one’s ideas public while bypassing such gatekeeping is both revolutionary and in line with the work of many postcolonial scholars, who have tried to problematize the concept of the neutral, depoliticized “authority.” As Edward Said’s foundational work with *Orientalism* has shown,⁹ the notion of “expertise” took shape within European thought to construct discourses of the Other that were used to justify colonial expansion. Much of postcolonial scholarship – as showcased by the work of Said, Mudimbe, Fabian¹⁰ and others – has been inspired by this effort to rewrite and restructure hierarchical knowledge. Mudimbe’s concept of *gnosis*,

pointedly, was especially built on this effort to go beyond the binary within European forms of reason, the product of which he called “the colonizing structure.”¹¹ In *The Invention of Africa*, he writes:

Because of the colonializing structure, a dichotomizing system has emerged, and with it a great number of current paradigmatic oppositions have developed: traditional versus modern; oral versus written and printed. . . . This presupposed jump from one extremity (underdevelopment) to the other (development) is in fact misleading. . . . Between the two extremes there is an intermediate, a diffused space in which social and economic events define the level of marginality.¹²

In contrast, Mudimbe asks to begin a type of discursive formation that “might be considered as a naming and an analysis of an alterity and refers to a new epistemological ordering: a theory of understanding and looking at signs in terms of ‘the arrangement of identities and differences into ordered tables.’”¹³

The ecology of digital knowledge through its decentering of hierarchy offers tremendous potential to subvert colonial structures of knowledge, which are often fully aligned with racialized systems of power. To illustrate: Wikipedia is a system open to anyone to edit (as long as they include cited references), providing a tremendous opportunity for postcolonial activists to counter the creation and dissemination of misinformation regarding the world both inside and outside of Asia and Africa. The Postcolonial Digital Humanities’ website’s Rewriting Wikipedia Project¹⁴ is one such example that makes use of the decentered hierarchies of knowledge offered by the web. The decentralization of power and access to publishing allow for more varied views on a subject to be made public, including those narratives that go against colonial stories. Indeed, websites and projects such as Africa Is a Country,¹⁵ Making Britain: Discover How South Asians Shaped the Nation, 1870–1950,¹⁶ the Rewriting Wikipedia Project,¹⁷ and Digitizing Chinese Englishmen¹⁸ are digital contributions to a larger endeavor to “decolonize the archive” by providing alternative ways of representing people of color and people of non-European descent around the world, and creating alternate maps of ethnic, racial, and cultural identities around the globe.

While some decry this openness and flexibility as a disadvantage – as any random person with a computer now has access to a soapbox and megaphone, meaning that there is a lot of mediocre work that circulates – digital publishing offers us the opportunity to interrogate the notion of the unassailable, powerful expert. For instance, David Weinberger notes:

As knowledge becomes networked, the smartest person isn’t the person standing at the front lecturing us, and isn’t the collective wisdom of those in the room. The smartest person in the room is the room itself: the network that joins the people and ideas in the room, and connects to those outside of it.¹⁹

In other words, it is not the “expert” at the front of the room or the people who make up the room that structures knowledge – it is the *infrastructure* that creates the forms of communication, which in turn gives this knowledge its content by giving it its shape.

The disruption of the image of the stable, neutral expert has extended to the fields of journalism and academia. Traditional journalists now report that their work is now instantly under scrutiny once published, with bloggers and social media accounts that quickly fact-check their stories once the post has been uploaded. At the same time, the authority of professional journalists to be the sole people to report news accurately is being challenged, as mainstream journalism increasingly finds itself taken in by knowledge scams and Internet hoaxes.²⁰ Journalistic authority and prestige for being the quickest source of news is also being challenged by citizen journalism, which often provides the most immediate access to stories before credentialed journalists can actually appear on the ground.²¹ Furthermore, the immense array of news covered by citizen journalists and social media users reveals the narrowness of the spectrum of news reported by traditional media outlets, as was evident with the dramatic underreporting of the anti-capitalist Occupy Wall Street Movement and racially charged incidents such as the killing of Trayvon Martin in Florida and of Mike Brown in Ferguson, Missouri. The slowness and reluctance of the traditional media to report on these issues in contrast to what has appeared in reports by citizen journalists on the Internet lays bare the more conservative and tightly controlled nature of mainstream journalist outlets.²²

Another important structural shift that reveals the rhizomatic potential of the digital is the degree to which the production of knowledge takes place in public rather than in individual, private silos. Digital production – in forms such as blogging, tweeting, other types of social media – encourage sharing ideas before they are fully formed, and hashing them out with an online community before committing to a finalized structure for these ideas, in effect making the private labor of reading and writing groups that have previously done this work quietly more public. This publicity extends to one of the most traditional realms of expertise: academic publication. Increasing numbers of academics are taking part in experiments between forms of publication, such as books that are written in public, commented on, and publicly peer reviewed before publication. Examples include Kathleen Fitzpatrick's *Planned Obsolescence*,²³ the *Shakespeare Quarterly* experiments,²⁴ and innovative experimental journals such as *Hybrid Pedagogy*²⁵ and *Ada*:²⁶ *A Journal of Gender, New Media and Technology*, both of which experiment with varied forms of public review and making work public before traditional external review has been completed. In this regard, the digital ecology allows us to see behind the closed curtain of academia – at each stage of the process. It reveals the complex process of creating this knowledge, rather than representing only the final version presented as an autonomous piece.

In this manner, the network structure potentially mirrors the form of Deleuze and Guattari's rhizome. In *A Thousand Plateaus*, Deleuze and Guattari propose the model of the rhizome as an alternative structure for the binary, dialectical thinking, which has been the foundation of Enlightenment thought. The rhizome model is an effort to think beyond the concept of a dichotomy, the thought of a strictly dichotomous, linear, ordered structure:

[A]ny point of a rhizome can be connected to anything other, and must be. This is very different from the tree or a root, which plots a point, fixes an order. The

linguistic tree on the Chomsky model still begins at a point S and proceeds by dichotomy. On the contrary, not every train in a rhizome is necessarily linked to a linguistic feature: semiotic chains of every nature are connected to very diverse modes of coding that bring into play not only different regimes of signs but also states of things of differing status.²⁷

The decentered structure of digital knowledge and the erosion of traditional authority recalls the antilinear structure of the rhizome that demands that we move beyond the pyramidal structures offered by print knowledge. It is interesting that while *A Thousand Plateaus* was first published in 1980, preceding the invention of the Internet, Deleuze and Guattari's central object of criticism was the print book, which for them represented the tyrannical structure of the Hegelian dialectic:

There is no longer a tripartite division between a field of reality (the world) and a field of representation (the book) and a field of subjectivity (the author). Rather, an assemblage establishes connections between certain multiplicities drawn from each of these orders, so that a book has no sequel nor the world as its object nor one or several authors as its subject. (23)

Here, they criticize the pyramid-like structure of print knowledge. Their conceptions of the “assemblage” and “connections between certain multiplicities” anticipates the hyperlinked nature of the digital world, where multiple types of knowledge can simultaneously exist and be interconnected.

The fluid structure of the rhizome is by nature well suited to postcolonial criticism: presenting a great opportunity for postcolonial critics to participate in new modes for identification and community. For example, social media is credited for both increasing public outrage against the Israeli government's 2014 attacks on Gaza and escalating the conflict between supporters of both sides.²⁸ Yet, social media can fruitfully be a space of educating the public of larger comparisons between colonial situations in different places, such as the comparison of Israeli rule to apartheid in South Africa, thereby creating new modes of imagining community through a postcolonial lens.

Digital ecologies thus provide opportunities for postcolonial activists aiming to reveal the ideological leanings and biases of ideas associated with processes of knowledge production. Through the ease of access to production, digital media make it possible to highlight and make legible the experiences and narratives of subaltern subjects. In this manner, the structure of the ecology of digital knowledge, which prioritizes the *crowd* rather than giving control over to a small group of experts, is rhizomatic: it bases its main creative spark and reason for being on the *people* who create it. It is also rhizomatic because there are so many points for exit, entry, and connection between these forms of knowledges. The “Wild West” nature of the Internet indicates the diverse potential of social thought, as well as the limitations associated with the idea of “facts” – for every website that uses “facts” to support its message, there exists a completely different website that marshals different facts for the opposing cause. Unlike the linear, totalizing order of print, the ecology of digital publishing is anarchic in a liberating sense: with social media, blogs, and wikis open to the public to edit.

DIGITAL FILTERS AND THEIR POLITICS: HYPERLINKS VS. ALGORITHMS

Through its rhizomatic structure, the web offers great potential for creating a post-colonial *gnosis* in which the concept of neutral expertise is laid bare by alternative forms of information being available and connected to more dominant knowledges. The process of knowledge-creation is made more public, and not presented in neat, coherent narratives.

I locate most of this potential in the ubiquitous presence of the *hyperlink* on the World Wide Web. The hyperlink is an interesting representation of this human-curated system of knowledge. Web pages are made up primarily of information and hyperlinks, which are links to additional information or like-minded sources for users to follow, such as the concept of a “blogroll” in a traditional blog, which showcases what other bloggers one blogger follows. The choice to create a hyperlink – or not – is in the hands of the person who creates the webpage. Creating a hyperlink also allows for the connection of disparate things which might not normally be linked together, thus engendering rhizomatic potential. The hyperlinked nature of the web is also present in the concept of open-source resources and software and open-source code repositories such as Github, which allows anyone to make use of source code and “fork” their own versions of programs. As such, the hyperlink is deeply connected with the web’s rhizomatic potential because it is human-curated, yet open: authors of webpages can choose what other pages they choose to link their works.

The importance of the hyperlink in directing user’s attention is starting to be replaced by the *algorithm*. Algorithms are mathematical formulas that are utilized in many big e-commerce websites to determine what people should see, read, watch, or buy. They include suggestions such as those from the Netflix algorithm, which suggests films and television shows to the user based upon their previous selections, to the Amazon recommendation engine, which suggests purchases based on previous ones.

Perhaps the most pernicious use of the algorithm is its use in social media sites such as Facebook, which calculate what and how many posts people view from their network in their feed, based upon the options that they have selected. Facebook’s algorithm, much like Netflix’s and Amazon’s, is secret and proprietary, meaning that they are not open to the public to inspect, and they are not open to be “forked” by developers to create their own iterations. This has tremendous political consequences because people are increasingly getting their news and information from their social networking feeds. Zeynep Tufekci, for example, recently argued that the Facebook algorithm was the reason why her Facebook feed was dominated by the more apolitical ALS Ice Bucket Challenge, while her Twitter feed, in which algorithms play a smaller role, was overrun with news about the riots and demonstrations in Ferguson, Missouri, over the killing of Michael Brown.²⁹

The power of algorithms lies in their increasing pervasiveness, by which they are starting to take the place of the old gatekeepers of experts and authorities. In this experiment, Tim Herrera demonstrates that Facebook’s algorithm prefers to show its users older, more popular content than new content that has not been engaged with. Given the growing popularity and presence of these social media platforms in our lives, the algorithms have become the new political space upon which the battle

for control over hearts and minds is being waged. While in the past we had “experts” and “authorities” to curate our information for us, increasingly, the content that we see is influenced by these mathematical formulas which claim to employ user data to generate results, but to which individual users cannot actively choose to influence and contribute. Where we once had a pyramid-like structure, linear information flow, and the gatekeeping expert, we now have an algorithm.

POSTCOLONIAL GNOSIS: RHIZOMATIZING THE ALGORITHM, NET NEUTRALITY, AND CORPORATE-OWNED DATA

To return to the opening question with which I started at the beginning of this essay – what if Fanon had had Facebook? For one, it is likely that he would be tremendously excited by a great deal of the political potential of the web, given the many ways it can be used to destabilize colonial objectivity and authority. In his attempt to find “new inventions,” Fanon’s work anticipates the rhizomatic structures later elucidated by Deleuze and Guattari. The open web – one in which access to publication is quick and easy, with minimal cost and setup – is one that offers postcolonial scholars and activists tremendous potential and possibility.

Still, Fanon would be concerned with the growing use of proprietary algorithms in determining the information that people see. In this regard, *making algorithms open* is imperative, and a necessary element of any postcolonial, political program engaged with digital media today. To open up these algorithms, make them accessible, and allow users’ input into them – this is the essential next step that we have to take. In this regard, opening up algorithms signifies that “Net Neutrality” – the principle that Internet service providers and governments should treat all data on the Internet equally, not discriminating according to user, content, site, or mode of communication – is one of the most important fights which postcolonial scholars need to take up. Net Neutrality has been an ongoing issue since 2003, since Tim Wu coined the term,³⁰ but one which has been of less interests to postcolonial scholars and activists.

At the same time, Fanon would have also been concerned with how social media platforms that are increasingly being used to form activist work are owned by corporations who employ data-gathering surveillance methodologies; thus allowing seemingly innocuous online activism to be harvested for marketable data³¹ – data that can potentially be used to put individuals in danger if the corporations who own this data choose to turn it over to governments. There are a slew of ways he could have approached this, including encouraging the creation of alternative social media platforms or the co-optation of current corporate ones, but this is an aspect of the web he would have paid attention to.

Postcolonialism has fundamentally been about complicating and understanding the relationship of domination and control between colonizer and colonized. Much of anticolonial and postcolonial criticism has been dedicated to unpacking and complicating the ways which dominant ideological discourses encourage forms of social alienation. We need to move to the social space in which we fight this battle from postcolonial studies’ traditional territory, the colonial library of print, to that of the networked public sphere. Postcolonial studies is greatly needed to understand subtle, unspoken domination or co-optation of digital knowledge hierarchies and networks.

The Internet is the new frontier of tremendous potential and power and control. If postcolonial scholars and activists want to continue fighting the problems of neo-colonialism, the Internet and its structures demands our urgent attention. If Fanon had had the digital media ecology available to him today, there would be a decent chance that he would urge us to pay attention and intervene in debates and activism about the Internet today, for it is here that our perceptions and ideologies are constantly transfigured and reconfigured. It is here as well that the struggle against imperialism and self-determination in the twenty-first century must take place.

ENDNOTES

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2. Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*. Translated by Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Grove Press, 1982), 13.
3. I use the term “ecology” to signify how different media outlets rely and feed on one another in the world connected by social media; mainstream news outlets, for example, often derive their most recent news from citizen journalists and bloggers.
4. V.Y. Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988).
5. There are so many studies on older forms of media used for radical purposes that I will not be able to list them all. I list three glaring examples: Third Cinema, an anticolonial form of cinema developed by Solanas and Getino; the role of the radio in anticolonial struggles; and music. For Third Cinema, see for example: Anthony Guneratne and Wimal Dissanayake, eds., *Rethinking Third Cinema* (New York: Routledge, 1st ed., 2003); Jim Pines and Paul Willemen, *Questions of Third Cinema* (London: British Film Institute, 1990); Mike Wayne, *Political Film: The Dialectics of Third Cinema* (London: Pluto Press, 2001); Frieda Ekotto and Adeline Koh, eds., *Rethinking Third Cinema: The Role of Anti-colonial Media and Aesthetics in Postmodernity* (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2009). For the radio, see: James R. Brennan, “Radio Cairo and the Decolonization of East Africa, 1953–64.” In *Making a World after Empire: The Bandung Moment and Its Political Afterlives*, ed. Christopher J. Lee (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010), 173–95 and the second chapter which studies radio in Elizabeth C. Hanson, *The Information Revolution and World Politics* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008). On music, Marissa Jean Moorman has published a study on connecting music to nationalism in Luanda, Angola: Marissa Jean Moorman, *Intonations: A Social History of Music and Nation in Luanda, Angola, from 1945 to Recent Times* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2008).
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13. *Ibid.*, 9
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21. See, for example: Axel Bruns, “The Active Audience: Transforming Journalism from Gate-keeping to Gatewatching.” In *Making Online News: The Ethnography of New Media Production*, ed. Chris Paterson and David Domingo (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 171–184, and Rena Kim Bivens, “The Internet, Mobile Phones and Blogging.” *Journalism Practice* 2.1 (February 1, 2008): 113–129. doi:10.1080/17512780701768568
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23. Fitzpatrick’s book was published online before print publication and reviewed by two traditional external reviewers as well. The original digital experiment can be found here: <http://mcpres.media-commons.org/plannedobsolescence/four-preservation/>
24. The traditional *Shakespeare Quarterly Journal* tried two experiments in open peer review, once in May 2010 with the “Shakespeare and New Media” special issue, http://mcpres.media-commons.org/ShakespeareQuarterly_NewMedia/, and another time in February 2011’s special issue on “Shakespeare and Performance,” <http://mcpres.media-commons.org/shakespearequarterlyperformance/>
25. See the *Hybrid Pedagogy* peer review process here: Sean Michael Morris, “Collaborative Peer Review: Gathering the Academy’s Orphans.” *Hybrid Pedagogy*, 2013, accessed September 22, 2014. <http://www.hybridpedagogy.com/journal/collaborative-peer-review-gathering-the-academy-orphans/>
26. See the *Ada* journal peer review process here: “Review Process.” *Ada: A Journal of Gender, New Media and Technology*. <http://adanewmedia.org/beta-reader-and-review-policy/>
27. Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1st ed., 1987), 7.
28. Colin Daileida, “Israel Is Losing Control of the Gaza Media War.” *Mashable*, July 22, 2014. <http://mashable.com/2014/07/22/israel-losing-media-war-gaza/>
29. Zeynep Tufekci, “What Happens to #Ferguson Affects Ferguson: Net Neutrality, Algorithmic Filtering and Ferguson.” *Medium.com*. August 14, 2014, accessed September 22, 2014. <https://medium.com/message/ferguson-is-also-a-net-neutrality-issue-6d2f3db51ebo>. This is changing, as Twitter is starting to use algorithms to show users

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30. Tim Wu, “Net Neutrality, Broadband Discrimination.” *Journal on Telecommunications and High Technology Law* 2.1 (Fall 2003): 141–176.
 31. See José Luis Brea, “El Teatro de La Resistencia Electrónica.” *Aleph*, July 11, 1999. <http://aleph-arts.org/pens/teatro.html>

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